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'An Outsider Wherever I Am?'

Transmission of Jewish Identity through

Five Generations of a Scottish Jewish Family

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Abstract

This thesis casts new light on the immigrant experience, focusing on one extended Scottish Jewish family, the descendents of Rabbi Zvi David Hoppenstein and his wife Sophia, who arrived in Scotland in the early 1880s. Going further than other studies by exploring connections and difference through five generations and across five branches of the family, it uses grounded theory and a feminist perspective and draws on secondary sources like census data and contemporary newspaper reports with the early immigrant generations, oral testimony with the third and fourth generations and an innovative use of social networking platforms to engage with the younger generation. It explores Bourdieu's theories relating to cultural and economic capital and the main themes are examined through the triple lens of generational change, gender and class.

The thesis draws out links between food and memory and examines outmarriage and 'return inmarriage'. It explores the fact that anti-Semitic and negative reactions from the host community, changing in nature through the generations but always present, have had an effect on people's sense of their Jewish identity just as much as has the transmission of Jewish identity at home, in the synagogue, in Hebrew classes and in Jewish political, educational, leisure and welfare organisations. It makes an important link between gendered educational opportunities and consequent gendered intergenerational class shift, challenges other studies which view Jewish identity as static and illustrates how the boundary between 'insider' and 'outsider' is blurred: the Hoppenstein family offers us a context where we can see clearly how insider and outsider status can be self-assigned, ascribed by others, or mediated by internal gatekeepers.

Signed

Date

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Neil Rafeek with the author's aunt Hannah Frank Levy, wife of Lionel Levy, third generation Hoppenstein. Garnethill Synagogue, 2006

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I owe a great debt to the late Professor Fred Stone, grandson of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein. He encouraged me from the beginning and I am so sorry that he will not be around to see me graduate.

Fiona Frank

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For Dr S. L. Frank, 1911-1989

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Glossary

Aliyah	Ritual emigration to Israel
Ashkenazi	Eastern European Jews
Baal Tokas	Person who blows the *shofar* at *Rosh Hashonah*
B'nei Akiva	Literally 'Sons of Akiva', a religious Zionist youth movement
Bar Mitzvah, Bat Mitzvah, plural Bar Mitzvot, Bat Mitzvot.	The coming of age ceremony for boys of 13 and girls of 12: Literally 'son of the commandments', 'daughter of the commandments'
Bara elohim	God created (from Genesis)
Bereshit	In the beginning (from Genesis)
Beth Din	The Jewish Rabbinical court
Challah	Plaited loaves, eaten on *Shabbat*
Chametz	Food that cannot be eaten over *Pesach*
Chanukah	The festival of lights
Chedar/Heder plural Chedarim, Hederim)	Hebrew classes
Chevrah Torah	Association for the study of *Torah*
Chovevi Zion	Literally 'lovers of Zion': one of the first Zionist groups
Dorshei Zion	Literally 'seekers of Zion': an early Zionist group
Eyshet chayil	Literally 'Woman of Valour'
Gefilte fish	An Ashkenazi dish made from a poached mixture of ground deboned fish, typically eaten as an appetizer.
Habonim	A socialist Zionist youth movement. Literally 'The Builders'.
Halacha	Orthodox Jewish law

Heder	See *cheder*
Kashrut	The observance of Jewish dietary law
Kashrus	The *Ashkenazi* pronunciation of the word *Kashrut*
Ketubah	Jewish marriage contract
Kibbutz, plural kibbutzim	Originally, a collective farm in Israel, whose members did not hold property individually
Kippah, plural kippot	Jewish head covering
Kosher	Literally 'proper' or 'pure'. Here describes food which is permissible according to *Kashrut,* Jewish dietary law
Kreploch	A kind of cake
Lashon Kodesh	Literally 'holy tongue'
Maccabi	A Jewish youth group
Mikvah	Ritual bath
Minyan	The ten men needed so that certain elements of an Orthodox Jewish service can take place
Mitzvah	A good deed. One of the 613 commandments that observant Jews are expected to carry out during the year
Mogan Dovid	Star of David
Mogan Dovid Adom	Red Star of David, the Israeli Red Cross
Pankuchen	A kind of omelette
Pesach	Passover
Poalei Tziyon	A socialist Zionist group
Rav	Rabbi
Rosh Hashonah	Jewish New Year

Seder	The service conducted at the *Pesach* evening
Sephardi	Spanish Jews
Shabbat	The 24 hours from Friday at sunset to Saturday at sunset, respected as a day of rest by observant Jews
Shabbos	The Ashkenazi/Eastern European pronunciation of *Shabbat*
Shadchen	Marriage broker
Shema	The daily prayer, said in the mornings
Shiur, plural shiurim	*Torah* study group
Shiva	The seven days of ritual mourning observed after a death by close relatives.
Shofar	Ram's horn, blown each year in the synagogue at *Rosh Hashonah*
Shohet	Ritual slaughterer
Shomer Shabbat	Ultra-orthodox
Shul	Synagogue
Smicha	Rabbinical qualifications
Talmud	a record of rabbinic discussions pertaining to Jewish law, ethics, philosophy, customs and history
Talmud Torah	A Hebrew school
Tanakh	The Hebrew bible
Torah	The five books of Moses in the Hebrew bible
Treif	Food which is not *kosher*
Tzitzit	A fringed garment, like a vest, which Orthodox Jews wear under their clothes in fulfillment of the *mitzvah* of wearing fringes on four-cornered garments
Yeshivah	An institute of learning where Jewish students study sacred texts, principally the *Talmud*

Yom Kippur   The Day of Atonement, a religious fast day

I've felt marginal to every community that I've ever been in. Marginal to

Scottish culture, being Jewish. Marginal to Jewish culture, being not one

of the Jewish community because they all lived out in Giffnock and

Newton Mearns and they were all materialist and Zionist and I didn't want

to have anything to do with that, so I felt apart from them. Certainly being

down here [in London], being Scottish and Jewish makes you feel

different. I've always felt an outsider wherever I am. And I'm OK with

that.

Ivor Kallin, fourth generation Hoppenstein[1]

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[1] Glasgow, Scottish Oral History Centre Archive [henceforward SOHCA].   Oral Testimony of Ivor
Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2003. SOHCA031/019.

Chapter One

Introduction: a Scottish Jewish family

'….all historians become historians in a search for their own pasts.'

Alice Kessler Harris[1]

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This thesis focuses on one extended Scottish Jewish family, the descendents of Rabbi Zvi David Hoppenstein and his wife Sophia, who arrived in Scotland in the early 1880s. Going further than other studies by exploring connections and difference through five generations and across five branches of the family, I show how the use of oral testimony with different generations of a family, enhanced by electronic communications with its younger members and the examination of some secondary data with the early generations, can provide new insights into the Jewish immigrant experience. With a focus on class and gender issues, using Bourdieu's theories of cultural and economic capital and a feminist research agenda, it provides a context which contributes towards a new understanding of identity, insider/outsider status and the fluidity of group membership. Previous studies of Jewish immigrants to the UK have tended to ignore the experience of people on the margins, for instance those who married out and were no longer engaged with the Jewish community.[2] The

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[1] Studs Terkel, Alice Kessler Harris *et al.*, 'It's not the Song, it's the Singing: Panel Discussion on Oral History (recorded at Radio Station WFMT, 13 April 1973)', in *Envelopes of Sound*, ed. Ronald Grele, (New York: Praeger, 1991, first published 1973), p.78.

[2] An AHRC funded three year study, 'Nonconformity in Minority Communities: Representations of the Anglo-Jewish Experience in the Oral Testimony Archive of the Manchester Jewish Museum', P.I. Daniel Langton, is likely to redress this balance somewhat. See 'Funded Projects from the Sixth Round of the Collaborative Doctoral Awards 2010'. Arts and Humanities Research Council,

methodology of the study outlined in this thesis allows for an examination of every

member of a family, across five branches and through five generations, whatever

choices individuals within the family made about the extent of their involvement

with Judaism and Jewishness and whomever they married. There is variety, too, not

always through choice, in different family members' experiences of education, work,

marriage, bringing up children and involvement in communal and leisure activities,

extending to the food they eat and the friends they keep. The nature of oral

testimony means that there is an opportunity to explore people's feelings, thoughts

and emotions as well as their actions and activities. Thus, an examination of all these

different areas provides a clear picture not only of the changing nature of Scottish

Jewish identity through the last century, but also the changing experiences of Jewish

women, the ways in which gendered educational opportunities have affected class

and housing, the effect of different marriage choices on the children's involvement

with Judaism, the different reactions of the host community to Jews and the changing

relationship of several branches of one family to Zionism and to Israel across a

century.

The journey which led to this thesis arose from my fascination with Jewish

identity, a sense of how my own Jewish identity has changed over time and space

and my desire to explore how close family members can have a very different sense

of their Jewish identity despite a similar upbringing. I was interested in how a sense

of Jewish identity has been transmitted through the generations, be it through the

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http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/FundingOpportunities/Documents/CDA2010Outcomes.pdf, consulted 15
February 2011.

family, through religious education and the synagogue or through secular Jewish organisations and how that Jewish identity changed as it was passed down. I wanted to see what choices people made in whether to pass on a sense of their Jewish identity and how intermarriage when it had occurred had affected these choices. Additionally I was interested in finding out how far secular education had contributed to the maintenance or attrition of Jewish identity through the generations.

I initially planned to find around twenty Scottish Jews to interview, using the 'snowballing' method, by which the researcher locates one person with the right characteristics for the survey and asks that person to provide introductions to others from the same group.[3] My first interview was with a third generation immigrant, born in Scotland but living in South Manchester. I had been referred to this informant, Arthur Stone, through a local connection, but he was also the brother of Fred Stone, my uncle's cousin. My then supervisor Bill Williams accompanied me to this interview and did much of the interviewing. Arthur Stone talked to us about his paternal grandparents, Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein and their nine children, his maternal grandparents the Morris (formerly Marzinsky) family and about his own life and his involvement with Jewish communal affairs.

My next interviewee was a man of Glasgow Jewish heritage living in London, Ivor Kallin. His mother Gertie Kallin, born in Glasgow but living in Liverpool, had suggested he contact me as he and his wife were visiting Lancaster to attend an exhibition of drawings and sculpture by my aunt, Glasgow artist Hannah

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[3] See for example Leo A. Goodman, 'Snowball Sampling', *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics* Vol 32, no. 1 (1961); Paul S. Gray, John B. Williamson *et al.*, *The Research Imagination: an Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.117-8.

Frank (who was married to Lionel Levy, Fred and Arthur Stone's first cousin). We met, he agreed to be interviewed and I travelled to London shortly afterwards to carry out the interview. In another example of 'Jewish geography', not only had Gertie met my mother the previous month when her Liverpool synagogue went for a seaside day out to my mother's St Annes-on-Sea synagogue, but also she was another of Fred and Arthur Stone's first cousins. As Etan Diamond observes,

> This 'game' of 'Jewish geography' follows a simple pattern. One person asks, 'You're from [insert name of city here]? Do you know [insert person's name here]?' The other one usually responds something like, 'Sure, he sits behind my uncle in synagogue', or 'I met her once at a youth group convention', or 'She is really good friends with my sister's college roommate'. Non-Jews often find it astonishing that such links are made so easily, but given both the relative smallness of the Jewish community … and the extensive overlapping social circles within these communities, it should not surprise too much.[4]

My first two interviewees were first cousins once removed, yet they differed in many aspects. There were differences in the interviewees' upbringing within the Glasgow Jewish community, their notions and experience of the class system, their attitudes to Israel, their feelings about Jewish education and Jewish community, their observance of *Kashrut* (Jewish dietary law) and *Shabbat*,[5] their life experiences, their places of

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[4] Etan Diamond, *And I Will Dwell in Their Midst: Orthodox Jews in Suburbia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), p.xv.

[5] For a full description of the Orthodox Jewish way of observing *Shabbat,* the time between sunset on Friday and sunset on Saturday and *Kashrut*, see for example, Blu Greenberg, *How to Run a Traditional Jewish Household* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983), pp.25-119. For an

residence and even the way in which they responded to me as an interviewer and experienced the interview process. As I reflected on the fact that these two interviewees were both members of the same family, one third generation, one fourth generation, one a grandson of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein, one a great-grandson and that some years earlier I had interviewed my uncle, Lionel Levy, another grandson of Zvi David, I realised that I had stumbled across an original research methodology by serendipity, like other researchers had before me. Sociologist Elliott Leibow, for example, described how he had planned to carry out several small studies in 'the world of the low-income male', but on his first day he 'fell into conversation with some of the onlookers present at a scuffle' which led to several hours of conversation with one young man. This led to his revising his research plan and spending the next year or so in the 'corner carry-out across the street from [his] starting point', the end result of which was his classic study *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*.[6] If I were to interview every living member of the Hoppenstein family, down the generations, I was likely to find a whole range of attitudes to being Jewish within one extended family. Yet they had all started out with the same level of strict observance within the first and second generation so there would be a measurable beginning to the sense of Jewish identity and attachment of each member of the family.

anthropologist's view of *Kashrut*, see Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', in *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*, ed. Mary Douglas, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp.263-5.

[6] E. Liebow, *Tally's Corner: a Study of Negro Streetcorner Men* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967). Cited in Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (London: Routledge, 2007), p.46. And see James E. McClellan III, 'Accident, Luck and Serendipity in Historical Research', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol 149, no. 1 (2005).

Although with this methodology I was unable to use 'snowballing', which would have provided potentially unrestricted numbers of interviewees, the methodology that I had chanced upon was innovative and allowed for a closer analysis of the family members that I chose to study. It also allowed for an analysis of relationships between family members and between different branches of the family. However, the sample size was necessarily limited and if more than a small number of the family refused to be interviewed or if I had difficulty locating those branches of the family who were not in touch with those members whom I already knew, there would be difficulties down the line. Nevertheless I decided to take the risk and proceed with the study in this form. Anthropologist Sherry Ortner, who carried out an anthropological study of everyone from the 'Class of '58' in her high school, also had a fixed dataset of potential interviewees and had to use considerable detective skills to locate them. An appendix in Ortner's book charts the steps which were used to find her potential interviewees.[7] I include as Appendix One an account of how I traced all five branches of the Hoppenstein family using internet searches, family links and a little luck.

This methodology, an intergenerational study of an extended immigrant family, addresses several scholars' suggestions that more work is needed in the area of intergenerational transmission of identity and studies of relationships within and between extended families. Veteran oral historian Daniel Bertaux called 'for the study of family histories, to show how the social trajectory of members is

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[7] Judy Epstein Rothbard, 'Appendix 1. Finding People', in Sherry B. Ortner, *New Jersey Dreaming: Capital, Culture and the Class of '58* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), pp.279-281.

constructed, and the relationship between family members and the "blank spaces" between families that indicate the operation of class relations'.[8] Bertaux's colleague and long-time collaborator Paul Thompson, reviewing Mary Chamberlain's book *Narratives of Exile and Return,* a study of five three-generational, transatlantic Caribbean families, argued that an intergenerational approach to the study of migration was innovative and compelling:

> I long for the work to be taken further down the path which Chamberlain has opened. This is above all true of the intergenerational family dimension. We need to know whether there are clusters of different kinds of family traditions, what they are, how they relate to class and place, and how they shape their members' lives. We also need to develop ways of describing these families, which are inherently so much more difficult to grasp than individual biographies.[9]

In his classic introduction to oral history, *The Voice of the Past,* Thompson had already noted the need for this type of study. He suggested that 'a very fertile way of looking at long-term intergenerational change in work,… family life, and also migration, is to take a cross-class sample of families, and interview two or three generations in each family' or, as in this study, to 'focus on a restricted group, for example interviewing several members of the same extended family group'. The 'circularity of the enclosed group would be a strength rather than a weakness', he

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[8] Daniel Bertaux, 'From Methodological Monopoly to Pluralism in the Sociology of Social Mobility', in *Life and Work History Analyses*, ed. S. Dex, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.87-8.

[9] Paul Thompson, 'Review of Mary Chamberlain, "Narratives of Exile and Return"', *Reviews in History* (1998), http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/46 consulted 28 October 2010.

suggested, and a picture would be constructed of their 'social networks, attitudes, myths and memories'.[10]

       This thesis meets Thompson's and Bertaux's calls for further work in this area; it draws a clear picture of Thompson's 'social networks, attitudes, myths and memories' and in particular sheds light on the operation of class relations in the 'blank spaces between families' as suggested by Bertaux.

Themes and approaches

I use a grounded theory approach,[11] designed to allow the data which flows from the methodology to lead to new insights. Sociologist Kathy Charmaz states in her guide to grounded theory: 'some of our best ideas may occur to us late in the process and may lure us back to the field to gain a deeper view'.[12] In this way, I began to realise that class and gender were key to many of the issues raised in the oral testimony and that the themes of 'insider/ outsider status' and hence the notion of 'belonging' had deep salience in this research, both in terms of my own status vis-à-vis the interviewees and the status of the members of the Hoppenstein family vis-à-vis the host society in Scotland and further afield.

       Social geographer Robina Mohammad defines 'insider/outsider' as referring to 'the boundary marking an inside from an outside, a boundary that is seen to

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[10] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, first published 1978), p.151.

[11] B. Glaser and A. L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967) ; Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006).

[12] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, p.10.

circumscribe identity, social position and belonging and as such marks those who do not belong and hence are excluded'.[13] Sociologist Robin Cohen suggests that the boundary of a group is a useful site of study. Discussing the problem of British identity, he argues that boundaries are 'fuzzy' places and that 'by investigating the outstations, checkpoints and turnstiles where these boundaries are policed, defended and defined, it should be possible to discern how an insider gets separated from an outsider, a 'self-hood' from an 'other-hood'.[14] Sociologist Floya Anthias, considering the same problem, refers to the process of 'crisscrossing borders and boundaries of different types (not only those related to ethnic or national borders), through the terms of diaspora and hybridity'.[15] In the case of the Hoppenstein family, as we will see, there are many examples of fluid boundaries, incidents where the 'insider' becomes an 'outsider' and instances where people come forward to 'police' the boundaries from unexpected places. At the point that I decided to use the extract from Ivor Kallin's interview (see p.xvi) 'An Outsider Wherever I Am' as part of the title of this thesis, it was apparent that I needed to add a question mark to the quote, to draw attention to the fact that the insider/outsider boundary was often a blurred one.

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[13] Robina Mohammad, "Insiders" and/or "Outsiders": Positionality, Theory and Praxis', in *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers*, eds. Melanie Limb and Claire Dwyer, (London: Hodder Arnold, 2001), p.101.

[14] Robin Cohen, 'Fuzzy Frontiers of Identity: The British Case', *Social Identities* Vol 1, no. 1 (1995), p.36.

[15] Floya Anthias, 'Thinking Through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: an Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging', *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* Vol 4, no. 1 (2009), p.12.

Floya Anthias discusses the notion of belonging as something which is necessary to disentangle from the related one of identity 'although they are symbiotically connected'.[16] She writes:

> 'where do I belong' is certainly a question that is posed by (and for) many people who have undergone migration or translocations of different types, whether of national movement or class movement, and is especially true for the children of such people. … It is represented in intersubjective relations by that question so many visible 'outsiders' face (visible either through skin colour, language, accent or name) about 'where are you really from' and 'where do you really belong'.[17]

And we will see throughout the thesis that the question of 'where do I belong' was one which many of the family, especially in the later generations, would ask.

The concept of 'positionality', as developed by Anthias is also helpful here. Positionality relates to social position with regard to the sometimes conflicting areas of, for example, 'gender, ethnicity, national belonging, class and racialisation'.[18] Social geographer Peter Hopkins, who has worked with Scottish Pakistani Muslims, discusses the importance of the researcher's own place in the work and argues that 'the multiple, interweaving and intersecting ways in which our various positionalities and identities are revealed, negotiated and managed in research encounters are

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[16] *Ibid.,* p.7.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp.7-8.

[18] *Ibid.,* pp.15-16.

crucial to the conduct of ethical research'.[19] Hopkins interviewed young Scottish

Muslims in Glasgow and Edinburgh about their feelings concerning their Scottish

and Muslim identities. By all accounts an 'outsider' researcher, Hopkins wrote: 'the

perceived difference between the research participants and myself are often raised by

other researchers as ethical issues. I am not Muslim nor do I have a Pakistani or

South Asian heritage'. However, he argued,

> at the time of conducting the research, I was a young Scottish man, and
>
> so possessed a number of personal characteristics similar to the young
>
> men. Like the majority of the young men, I was born in Scotland, speak
>
> with a Scottish accent and have lived most of my life in urban Scotland.
>
> … All of these factors helped me in 'alliance formation' as I was able
>
> to establish a rapport with the young Muslim men involved in the
>
> research drawing upon our shared experiences and attributes.[20]

Hopkins found during the research process that the elements of his identity that he

shared with his informants provided an excellent basis for useful interviews,

although before he started the research, he said, 'it would have been unlikely that I

could have predicted these points of connection and difference'.[21] Hopkins'

informants, like the Hoppenstein family, had Scottishness as an important part of

their identity. They used particular 'markers' to identify their Scottishness, such

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[19] Peter E. Hopkins, 'Positionalities and Knowledge: Negotiating Ethics in Practice', *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* Vol 6, no. 3 (2007), p.388.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Peter Hopkins, '"Blue Squares", "Proper" Muslims and Transnational Networks: Narratives of National and Religious Identities amongst Young Muslim Men living in Scotland', *Ethnicities* Vol 7, no. 1 (2007), p.68.

as 'place of birth, length of residence, a commitment to place as well as upbringing and accent'. Although some of his informants felt perfectly Scottish as well as Muslim, another felt that he could never been seen by others as Scottish:

> The first thing is my colour, and secondly my accent…thirdly if I was to abandon my Muslim morals and things, yeah, and I was to become, like, totally westernised, I still wouldn't be accepted by you lot as I'll still be seen as an outsider, you know what I mean. It's the same in Scotland, you've got to be white to be Scottish.[22]

In response to this comment from his informant, Hopkins argues that the feelings of 'otherness and difference' can be either 'enforced upon them through others or through personal choice' and states that 'being Scottish still has strong connections with whiteness, and either secularism or other religions'.[23] I discuss briefly in Chapter Three how far the family members felt that their Jewishness resonated with or jarred with their Scottishness and the connections between whiteness and Jewishness.

Educational researcher Sharan Merriam and her colleagues, in an article examining relationships between 'insider' interviewers and interviewees across different cultures in the USA, point out that 'the reconstruing of insider/outsider status in terms of one's positionality vis-à-vis race, class, gender, culture and

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[22] *Ibid*., p.72.

[23] *Ibid*., p.73.

other factors, offer us better tools for understanding the dynamics of researching within and across one's culture'. They suggest that:

> All researchers begin data collection with certain assumptions about the phenomenon being investigated, situations to be observed and people to be interviewed. The more one is like the participants in terms of culture, gender, race, socio-economic class and so on, the more it is assumed that access will be granted, meanings shared, and validity of findings assured.[24]

However, insiders have sometimes been accused of being 'inherently biased, and too close to the culture to be curious enough to raise provocative questions'[25] and it was very clear from the experience of Merriam and her colleagues that the boundary between an 'insider' and an 'outsider' researcher is 'not all that clearly delineated'.[26] I was an 'insider' as far as most (but not all) of the interviewees were concerned, being Jewish with Scottish heritage, middle-class and a third generation immigrant. Like Merriam and her colleagues, I expected no problems in gaining access to and having smooth relationships with my interviewees. But I am a woman, in my fifties, with an English rather than Scottish accent and with limited Jewish knowledge, having only attended Hebrew school for three years from the age of seven to ten. Some of the Hoppenstein family led synagogue services, had taught at Hebrew

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[24] Sharan B. Merriam, Youngwha Kee *et al.*, 'Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures', *International Journal of Lifelong Education* Vol 20, no. 5 (2001), p.406.

[25] *Ibid.*, p.411.

[26] *Ibid.*, p.405.

school and had continued their Hebrew learning beyond childhood. Some of them had lived in Israel and spoke fluent Ivrit (modern Hebrew); several had spent some time there, working or studying. Some identified themselves as working-class: the contrast with my middle-class background heightened the power inequalities already in play between interviewer and interviewee.[27] I was an outsider in terms of my gender for some of the narrators and in terms of my knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish learning for others. I was around thirty years older than most of the members of the fifth generation I wanted to talk to and at least twenty or thirty years younger than the third generation Hoppensteins. I found it difficult to raise certain topics with the older generation (for example, decision-making on circumcision) and felt hampered by my lack of religious knowledge with other interviewees.

Some members of the extended family had not been brought up Jewish. Despite the fact that I had married out, that is had married a non-Jewish man, several saw me as the 'insider' in relation to themselves as 'outsiders'. Sociologist Herbert Gans argued that insider researchers were often 'ethnic retentionists', that is, they were 'personally concerned with the survival of [their] groups'.[28] When interviewing people who had moved away from their Jewish roots or who had not been brought up Jewish, I was very keen that they should not see me as proselytising

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[27] For a discussion of power inequalities in interviewing, particularly related to class, see Karen Olson and Linda Shopes, 'Crossing Boundaries, Building Bridges: Doing Oral History among Working-Class Women and Men', in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, eds. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, (London: Routledge, 1991); Merriam, Kee *et al.*, 'Power and Positionality', e.g. p.416; Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Oxford: Altamira Press, 2005), pp.176-7; Soon Nam King, 'Whose Voice Is It Anyway? Rethinking the Oral History Method in Accounting Research on Race, Ethnicity and Gender', *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* Vol 19, no. 8 (2008).

[28] Herbert J. Gans, 'Toward a Reconciliation of "Assimilation" and "Pluralism": The Interplay of Acculturation and Ethnic Retention', *International Migration Review* Vol 31, no. 4 (1997), pp.876-7.

in any way, but I realised that my own identity could be problematic within the interviewer-interviewee relationship. On my way to an interview with one older man who had married out, I recall looking at myself in a mirror on the train journey and then taking off the *mogen dovid*, the Star of David, that I usually wore at that time, in an attempt to ensure that my interviewee would not see me as critical of his choices, which might have detracted from the interview process. Development of trust and rapport is essential when doing oral history and it is necessary to pay attention to unspoken messages as well as spoken ones. This was probably the first (but not the last) instance that I became aware of the inter-subjective relationship between me and my interviewees, defined by oral historian Juliette Pattinson as when the 'two subjectivities of the narrator and the listener interact and influence the life story that is composed'.[29] Historian Penny Summerfield's definition of intersubjectivity includes 'silent intersubjectivity – the unspoken and unwitting message of one female body to another'.[30] So, by removing my Star of David, I was removing any unspoken message that that symbol might say to my informant.

What mattered far more than my positionality or any aspect of my identity was my personal relationship with the people I was interviewing and how I represented their voices. Anthropologist Kirin Narayan, in a discussion on anthropology by 'insiders' and 'outsiders', makes this point, arguing that we need to

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[29] Juliette Pattinson. '"The thing that made me hesitate …": re-examining gendered intersubjectivities in interviews with British secret war veterans', *Women's History Review* Vol 20, no 2 (2011), pp.245-6. See also Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp.23-6.

[30] Penny Summerfield, Dis/composing the Subject: Intersubjectivities in Oral History. In *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods,* eds. Cosslett, Celia Lury and Penny Summerfield. London: Routledge, 2000, pp.91-106.

remember that our 'subjects' are not just a generalised 'Other' about whom we can write 'professionally self-serving statements'. They are people, 'with voices, views, and dilemmas – people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity and who may even be critical of our professional enterprise'.[31] Veteran oral historian Alessandro Portelli, for example, was noted for the trust he was able to build up with his informants. As folklorist Doug Boyd writes, reviewing Portelli's book *They Say in Harlan County*: 'the trust built up between Portelli and his informants plays a critical role in the overall effectiveness of these interviews and this book'.[32]

Social and cultural capital

The ideas of French anthropologist and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu are highly relevant in the discussion of group membership and marriage choice and to ideas of transmission through the generations. While facing criticism from some feminist scholars for 'positioning sex/gender, sexuality, and even "race", as secondary to that of social class',[33] his theories of economic, cultural and social capital provide a theoretical framework with which we can examine the actions taken by members of the family with respect to group membership and on marriage.

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[31] Kirin Narayan, 'How Native Is a "Native" Anthropologist?', *American Anthropologist* Vol 95, no. 3 (1993), p.672.

[32] Boyd, Doug. 'Review of Alessandro Portelli: "*They Say in Harlan County: An Oral History*"'. *Journal of Folklore Research* (2011). http://www.indiana.edu/~jofr/review.php?id=1210 consulted 12 August 2012.

[33] Terry Lovell, 'Thinking Feminism With and Against Bourdieu'. *Feminist Theory* Vol. 1 no. 1 (2000), p.12.

Bourdieu argues that when an anthropologist draws up a genealogy, it is sometimes forgotten that those genealogies are 'the product of strategies (conscious or unconscious) oriented towards the satisfaction of material and symbolic interests and organised by reference to a determinate set of economic and social conditions'.[34] In this way, Bourdieu would suggest, any family tree like that of the Hoppenstein family is not only a history. It represents a series of clear choices. Individuals within the family have made choices about who to marry or whether to marry, within a social context which reflects influences of their parents, of their extended family and community and of the times in which they live. The influence of the past on these choices is also important, as Thompson, drawing on Marx, suggests:

> Men's and women's lives are both shaped by the social past, which gives them constraints and opportunities, but also their own life choices help to shape the social structures of the future, so that there is a double process going on all the time. … Marx wrote 'men make their own history. But they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under given circumstances directly encountered and inherited from the past'.[35]

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[34] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.36.

[35] Paul Thompson, 'Life Stories, History and Social Change', *Researching Lives Through Time: Time, Generation and Life Stories. Timescape Working Paper Series No. 1* (2008), www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk consulted 21 March 2009, p.19. Citing Karl Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, trans. E. and C. Paul 1926 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1852).

Bourdieu's theory of capital suggests that only certain forms of capital can be transmitted directly to succeeding generations. He sees capital as presenting itself in three forms which are inextricably linked. Economic capital is 'directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights'.[36] Cultural capital can consist of objects, such as artworks, to which economic capital can be converted and it can also be 'embodied' in the form of educational qualifications. Social capital is made up of social obligations, or 'connections'. Economic capital can be inherited; cultural capital in the form of objects can be inherited, but neither embodied cultural capital nor social capital can be directly inherited; they have to be gained by the individual during the life course through investing time in their acquisition. This time, of course, can be 'bought' with economic capital: if an individual is freed from having to sell their time to acquire economic capital, they can invest more of it in the acquisition of embodied cultural capital or social capital.

Various commentators have described the selection of spouses as a 'game'.[37] Bourdieu extended the idea of 'the game' of marriage choice as being a set of strategies linked to the amount of cultural, economic and social capital that the 'players' may have. The 'game', as he asserts, is played between actors with different numbers of counters, where:

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[36] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1986), p.243.

[37] One of the first was anthropologist Meyer Fortes: Meyer Fortes, *Marriage in Tribal Societies*, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Archive, 1972), pp.2-3.

the strategies of the different players will depend on their resources in

tokens, and more specifically on the overall volume of their capital (the

number of tokens) and the structure of this capital, that's to say the

composition of the piles (those who have lots of red tokens and few

yellow ones, that is, a lot of economic capital and little cultural capital,

will not play in the same way as those who have many yellow tokens

and few red ones).[38]

Bourdieu's ideas of marriage as a 'game' and of women as the prizes in this game,

has also been criticised by feminist scholars: Terry Lovell argues that in

Bourdieu's schema of the social field, women are seen as 'capital-bearing objects

whose value accrues to the primary groups to which they belong, rather than as

capital-accumulating subjects in social space'. As she suggests, 'women still

feature … primarily as social objects, repositories of value and of capital, who

circulate between men and who serve certain important functions in the capital

accumulation strategies of families and kinship groups … he rarely considers

women as subjects with capital-accumulating strategies of their own'.[39] As we

will see in Chapter Four, the extended Hoppenstein family includes several

women – both direct descendents and spouses of descendents of Zvi David and

Sophia Hoppenstein – who had careers and therefore capital-accumulating

strategies of their own. However, it can also be seen that the marriage choices of

the Hoppenstein family members in the early generations was very much linked to

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[38] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1993), p.34.

[39] Terry Lovell, 'Thinking Feminism', pp.21-2.

class and education, with those men who were able to gain professional qualifications, thus increasing their embodied cultural capital and their potential earning capacity, in every case marrying a woman from a family with higher economic capital. The five generations of the Hoppenstein family, then, provide a new context in which to examine these theories.

Oral history methodology

It was Bill Williams's experience as an oral historian which encouraged me to use oral history methodology. Williams, together with Ros Livshin and Rickie Burman, conducted a set of groundbreaking interviews with children of first generation Jewish immigrants in Manchester in the 1970s, from which they wrote several key books and papers.[40] Social historian Tony Kushner, in a paper written on the occasion of Williams's retirement, wrote that Williams, Livshin and Berman were

> not just pioneers of oral history in Britain but amongst its finest
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> practitioners. With a deep empathy for the importance of the everyday
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> experiences of ordinary people, the tapes provide a unique archive
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> allowing insights into the trials, tribulations and triumphs of those
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> establishing for themselves and their offspring a new life in Britain.[41]

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[40] See for example Bill Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History', *Oral History* Vol 7, no. 1 (1979); Rickie Burman, 'The Jewish Woman as Breadwinner: the Changing Value of Women's Work in a Manchester Immigrant Community', *Oral History Journal* Vol 10, no. 2 (1982); Rosalyn Livshin, 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

[41] Tony Kushner, 'Bill Williams and Jewish Historiography: Past, Present and Future', *Melillah* Vol 1 (2006), p.6.

As Karen Fog Olwig states in her study of Caribbean social networks, life stories 'shed light on the life courses people have lived, the sociocultural order that they establish in their life stories, and, hence, their understanding of this order from their particular vantage point'.[42] Much more effectively than structured interviews or questionnaires, then, the life story interview would provide personal accounts of the Hoppenstein family members' own focus on their life courses. They would be able to provide their own structure to their story, rather than responding to specific questions of my choosing. Historian Kathy Burrell, in her study of first and second generation Polish immigrants to Leicester, used the same approach. As she explains: 'in their narratives, individuals choose how to represent their memories, choose what to include, what to emphasise and what to omit'.[43] As Alessandro Portelli puts it in an article entitled *Peculiarities of Oral History*, 'the organisation of the narrative … reveals a great deal of the speakers' relationship to their own history'.[44]

Oral history methodology has been used for many different purposes, charting many different histories. Thompson's seminal study, *The Edwardians*[45] was one of the first large oral history projects, covering a wide range of topics such as class, food, money, leisure, religion and crime, with over 400 informants from all over the UK, designed to be a representative sample of people born in the Edwardian

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[42] Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.17.

[43] Kathy Burrell, *Moving Lives: Narratives of Nation and Migration among Europeans in Post-War Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), p.16.

[44] Alessandro Portelli, 'Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal* Vol 96, no. 12 (1981), p.100.

[45] Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992, first published 1975).

era. But oral history projects do not need to be large scale or representative to be significant. Hearing the voice of one individual or, as in the case of this thesis, the voice of one family, is also valid. Daniel James's *Doña Maria's Story: Life History, Memory and Political Identity*[46] uses the oral testimony of one woman to provide insights into aspects of life, politics and experience in working-class Argentina, giving a voice to a previously marginalised community. Gemma Romain gives a comprehensive overview of recent developments in oral history, citing many community oral history groups which have published transcripts and tapes of their work on the internet.[47] She argues that 'oral history can be used not only to document marginalised voices but to re-assess previous conclusions made about communities, which were made without actually looking at the individual experiences from their own perspective'.[48]

In the present thesis it has been possible to use oral testimony from a relatively small group to draw new conclusions about Jewish life in the home and in the community, on the transmission of Jewish identity through the generations and on the effect of outmarriage on Jewish identity. Although most of the Hoppenstein family would not consider themselves to be 'marginalised' in society, their story of Jewish life and for some, life on the edges of the Jewish community, through the

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[46] D. James, *Doña Maria's Story: Life History, Memory and Political Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

[47] Gemma Romain, Connecting Histories: A Comparative Exploration of African-Caribbean and Jewish History and Memory in Modern Britain (London: Kegan Paul, 2006), pp.12-18.

[48] *Ibid*., p.18.

whole of the twentieth century, adds a new chapter to the canon of literature on Scottish Jewry.

Some studies using oral testimony, like those of Thompson above, are written in a way which reports to us the voices of the informants and illustrates a way of life which is now lost to us. Historian Lynn Abrams, in her study of oral history theory, calls these 'recovery oral histories'.[49] Other studies, which could be called 'interpretive histories', begin from the same starting point, that is a set of interviews with a certain group of people, but use different tools in the analysis. These studies take note of the way in which the informants have related to the interviewer, the changing nature of memory, the myths and discourses involved in telling and retelling the past and what the interviews tell us about issues such as gender relations.

An example of one of these 'interpretive histories' is Penny Summerfield's work with women talking about their wartime lives. She found many 'contradictory discourses' in her informants' testimonies,[50] and showed how interviewees will recount their stories in different ways. Summerfield refers to the ideas of oral historian and medical psychologist Peter Coleman when she discusses two types of reminiscence or 'processes of composure' arising from people's contribution to a life story interview. The first is a 'life review' 'in which individuals engage in making sense of and in integrating their lives'. This process sometimes ends in tears as the interviewee starts to 'raise disturbing periods of life and unresolved issues'.

[49] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp.5-8.

[50] Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.14.

Summerfield called the second type of reminiscence 'maintenance of self esteem'. Here 'the narrator seeks to maintain a sense of selfhood by reiterating stories which prove their worth and the value of their past in their lives'.[51] The two interviews mentioned above, carried out at the beginning of this research process with Hoppenstein family members Arthur Stone and Ivor Kallin, were examples respectively of 'maintenance of self esteem' and of 'life review'. Arthur included readings from newspaper articles and from notes that he had written in order to prepare for the interview, whereas Ivor found himself discovering things as he spoke.

This thesis presents the oral testimonies of the Hoppenstein family narrators both as 'recovery oral history' and as 'interpretive oral history'. Within the 'recovery' accounts of Jewish life in Glasgow and memories of secular and religious education in the thematic chapters, I interpret recurring myths and memories and issues arising from the interviews themselves.

The interview process

Prior to each interview I asked people to sign copyright assignment forms in accordance with the recommendations of the British Oral History Association[52] and clearance forms agreeing to the depositing of the interview. I started by saying that I was interested in the 'transmission of Jewish culture', that I wanted people just to talk to me about their lives and that I would just let them 'run it' prompting them if

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[51] Peter Coleman, 'Ageing and Life History: The Meaning of Reminiscence in Late Life', in *Life and Work History Analyses, Qualitative and Quantitative Developments*, ed. S. Dex, (London: Routledge, 1991). Cited in Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, pp.18-9.

[52] http://www.oralhistory.org.uk/ethics/index.php#cops, consulted 21 January 2011.

their narrative dried up. As Kathy Charmaz found, sometimes '[the] first question may suffice for the whole interview if stories tumble out'.[53] I asked people to tell me their full names, where they were born and anything they could tell me about their names. In Jewish families children are usually named after deceased relatives so this question almost always leads to a story about earlier generations. It turned out that although the Hoppenstein surname had been lost in the later generations, many of the family had kept a connection with the name, either with the anglicised hyphenated name Hope-Stone in one branch or, in two other branches, by using the name 'Hope' as a middle name for both boys and girls, thereby keeping a connection with their heritage. In this way they seem to be proving 'Hansen's Law', the idea, put forward in the 1930s by Professor Marcus L. Hansen, that although the sons and daughters of immigrants were anxious and insecure about their parentage, the third and subsequent generations were secure and took pride in the past: 'what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember'.[54] At the end of the interview I asked some specific questions: what people liked and disliked about other Jewish people and what they thought about Israel. For those informants brought up in Scotland, I also asked about what they thought the relationship was between being Scottish and being Jewish, which evolved into a discussion of their experience of 'hybridity' and 'multiple identities'.[55]

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[53] Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, p.29.

[54] Cited in Eugene I. Bender and George Kagiwada, 'Hansen's Law of "Third-Generation Return" and the Study of American Religio-Ethnic Groups', *Phylon* Vol 29, no. 4 (1968), p.360.

[55] Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan *et al.*, Eds., *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), p.2; Anthias, 'Translocational Positionality', pp.10-11,16.

Each interview took place over one or two occasions. Spouses were sometimes present and contributed to the discussion. Three interviews took place over the telephone for reasons of distance and convenience. The others were all carried out in person. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, although there were technical difficulties with the tape recorder during some of the early interviews. In most cases transcripts were sent or taken back to the interviewees and they were asked for any comments on the transcripts. The issue of location seemed significant. An invitation into someone's home – which happened in all but three cases – is linked to notions of being a guest, with its expectations of provision of cups of tea and other refreshments and its expectations of friendship. At several interviews I was given lunch or dinner before, during or after the interview.

As a distant relative of the family by marriage, my relationship with the interviewees could be seen as fluid. As a researcher there was the expectation of a professional relationship with a specific and limited purpose, but as a relative, even on a first acquaintance, there was a possibility that the relationship could continue. Christie Kiefer, who took part in many activities alongside a Japanese-American community as part of the research for her book on three generations of members of that community, found that her 'key respondents' also provided 'what is much of the reward of doing ethnography – friendship'.[56] Sociologist Pamela Cotterill, in her paper *Interviewing Women: Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability and Power,* cites Ann Oakley whom, she said:

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[56] Christie W Kiefer, *Changing Cultures, Changing Lives: An Ethnographic Study of Three Generations of Japanese Americans* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974), p.xii.

believes that the interviewer should invest her own personal identity in the research relationship by answering respondents' questions, sharing knowledge and experience, and giving support when asked. Reciprocity of this kind invites intimacy and, in Oakley's experience, can lead to long-term friendships with interviewees.[57]

But Cotterill feels that Oakley ignores issues about 'how easily friendships can be manipulated to obtain source material'[58] and that it is important to consider the power relations implicit in interviewing women in any feminist research. I have continued a friendship with one family, staying with them when in London. I have met up with others at various family occasions. I have, however, always tried to demarcate the 'researcher' and 'friend' role, ensuring that people felt they could speak freely around me and that I would not surprise them by using their words in anything I wrote, unless I checked with them first.

I felt that the three interviewees who chose not to invite me to their home were unconsciously redressing the power balance in the interviewer-interviewee relationship and also, in practice, ensuring that it was their choice when, if ever, their spouses would be involved in the interview process. Using a business or a neutral venue ensured that the interviewing relationship was posited on a 'professional' rather than a 'familial' footing. However, interestingly, the interviewee whom I had met at her place of work later opened her house to the whole extended family when I

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[57] Pamela Cotterill, 'Interviewing Women: Issues of Friendship, Vulnerability and Power', *Women's Studies International Forum* Vol 15, no. 5-6 (1992), p.594. Citing Ann Oakley, 'Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms', in *Doing Feminist Research*, ed. Helen Roberts, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).

[58] Cotterill, 'Interviewing Women', p.598.

was looking for a venue for a 'respondent validation' event where my interviewees could meet each other and discuss the research with me. Ortner, too, conducted interviews in a range of venues. Although she also had a prior, albeit loose, connection with her respondents, having been at school with them, she was not invited into her respondents' homes on every occasion. Her interviews took place in a wide variety of public and private sites such as restaurants, bars, shopping malls, business, medical and law offices and Ortner was comfortable with taking the information wherever it was offered.[59]

A list of interviews, dates and locations constitute Appendix Two.

Using Facebook with younger respondents

By the end of 2007 I had conducted 16 interviews with members of the third and fourth generations of the family. There were several more fourth generation people to interview, plus several sets of adult siblings (aged 18 and over) in the fifth generation. I was concerned about time constraints and had been thinking of conducting focus groups either with the sets of siblings or with larger groups of the fifth generation cousins. At that time I had recently started to use the social network site Facebook and had noticed that several of the younger generation of Hoppensteins were also using that site for communications among their friends. Using the Freirean principle of 'starting where people are'[60] rather than asking them to travel to somewhere at a specific time and place for a group discussion, I

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[59] Ortner, *New Jersey Dreaming*, p.15.

[60] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).

wondered if they would respond to some discussion questions using Facebook. I found that it was possible to set up a group which was private, in that people's other Facebook 'friends' could not see that they were members of it, but to which I could invite selected individuals who could discuss issues which I posted on the discussion group 'wall'.

After piloting a 'Facebook discussion' with some helpful academic friends who were also Facebook members, I broached the subject of trialling this 'virtual focus group' with three siblings from the fifth generation, Sophie, Phoebe and Hamish Kallin, whom I'd met at their parents' house on several occasions. The three siblings were keen to take part and I asked them to complete and return written copyright assignment and clearance forms (altered to include a reference to electronic writings). I posted a series of questions on the site for them to answer. All three responded to the questions within a few days and wrote quite a lot: all of them were interested to see their siblings' responses and were looking forward to engaging with other members of the fifth generation, their third cousins.

Figure 1.1 Electronic focus group on Facebook

I then invited other members of the fifth generation to join the group. Another set of three siblings, three of David Stone's four children, joined the discussion, as did one of their cousins. One fifth generation cousin chose to respond to my questions by email rather than on Facebook.   One member of the fifth generation had agreed to join the group but in fact I interviewed her face-to-face while visiting her family in Cape Town.

One cousin whose father had married out and who had not been brought up Jewish found that some of my Facebook discussion site questions did not work as well for her as for the other cousins who had had a Jewish upbringing. My status as a Jewish 'insider' meant that it took me some time to work out my relationship with

and the exact place in the research of those members of the fifth generation who joined the discussion but who had not been brought up Jewish.

I thought that the cousins might spontaneously start up new discussion 'chats' between themselves on the board, but the 'Facebook' generation seems to have treated the format more as a questionnaire, albeit an open one where they could see others' responses, rather than a focus group, where they might have sparked off others' ideas. The responses could, then, be more accurately described as 'written questionnaire responses' rather than 'electronic focus group responses'. Some respondents may well have mediated their responses in view of the fact that the answers were open for other cousins to see. However, the integration of 'Facebook' responses with oral testimony within a historical study of five generations of one extended family provides an innovative and inclusive response to a problem of reaching a larger quantity of potential interviewees over a large geographical area. Other studies have used Facebook to recruit participants to be interviewed for specific research projects,[61] and the use of electronic focus groups in social science research is not new.[62] The use of Facebook in this thesis, however, is an original and innovative method of engaging with a group of known younger respondents who are

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[61] See, for example, Nancy Walton and Chris MacDonald, 'Facebook and Research', *The Research Ethics Blog* (2009), http://open.salon.com/blog/researchethics/2009/06/14/facebook_and_research consulted 21 January 2011.

[62] See, for example, Roger J. Rezabek, 'Online Focus Groups: Electronic Discussions for Research', *FQS Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1, no. 1 (2000), http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/viewArticle/1128/2509 consulted 21 January 2011.

accustomed to using electronic social networking[63] and, significantly, have some kind of prior relationship with each other.

I investigated the lives of the first and second generations using secondary sources such as census data and contemporary newspapers. I conducted life story interviews with living members of the third and fourth generations. It felt very appropriate to engage with the fifth generation through yet another medium, where they felt comfortable. Despite the fact that it could be said that the Facebook responses lacked the spontaneity and openness of the oral testimony of the older generations, I would argue that this way of reaching younger respondents added to the overall reach of the thesis and has potential to be further investigated by scholars wishing to reach younger members of intergenerational groups. I have listed the topics included in the Facebook discussion as Appendix Three.

Non-participation

Two members of the fourth generation declined to be interviewed and four members of the fifth generation, across three families, did not respond to my invitation to take part in the Facebook discussion.[64] Interview refusal is not uncommon in ethnographic research. Of the 304 potential participants in Sherry Ortner's study, several refused to be interviewed and others refused to let her tape record the

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[63] According to Neilsen Online, in June 2009, 87 million Facebook users spent an average of 4.39 hours a month on Facebook. 'Nielsen Provides Topline U.S. data for June 2009'. www.nielsen-online.com/pr/pr_090713.pdf. Consulted 4 October 2012.

[64] Thanks to Peter Gow for pointing out that this was research data in itself, rather than a problem to be solved.

interviews or to use the material from the interviews in the book.[65] Robert Perks,

writing about an oral history study of Ukranian immigrants in Bradford, noted that

some potential informants refused to be interviewed, giving as reasons that they did

not want their voices to be recognised on the tape recording for fear of repercussions

against relatives in the Ukraine or that they did not want to be recognised as being

anything but British.[66] Educationalist Youngwha Kee, who studied reasons for non-

participation in adult education of Koreans living in the USA, found she did not have

easy access to interviewees despite her 'insider' status, perhaps because of the very

nature of the topic she was studying.[67] In the present research project, the two fourth

generation members of the Hoppenstein family who declined to be interviewed had

married non-Jewish women (one of whom had converted, one of whom had not) and

two of the fifth generation who did not want to participate had had no involvement

with Jewish family as part of their upbringing.[68] In retrospect, I wondered whether if

the research had been introduced as, for example, 'a study of an extended Scottish

Jewish family' rather than a study of 'transmission of Jewish culture' then those non-

participants might have been more willing to be included in the research.

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[65] Ortner, *New Jersey Dreaming*, p.18.

[66] Robert Perks, '"A Feeling of Not Belonging": Interviewing European Immigrants in Bradford', *Oral History* Vol 12, no. 2 (1984), pp.65-67.

[67] Merriam, Kee *et al.*, 'Power and Positionality', p.407.

[68] In fact in December 2010, three years after my unsuccessful initial contact, I met one of the two people who had declined to be interviewed at a 'respondent validation' event/family reunion in her aunt's house and she expressed an interest in being interviewed at that time. This shows the benefit of long term involvement in a research field and the fact that people's interest and willingness to be involved may change over time.

As an extension of the research, I conducted two 'respondent validation'[69] events, one in Scotland in 2008 and one in London in 2009. Additionally one fourth generation family member invited the extended family to another 'family reunion' in December 2010 and included me in the invitation. I held a fourth event in April 2011, an afternoon tea near the home of the oldest family member, to celebrate the fact that the thesis was nearing completion. At each event there were ten to twelve interviewees, plus partners, spouses and children, from the third, fourth, fifth and sixth generations. At the second event one respondent connected through a 'Skype' video link from Cape Town. The first two events were recorded and transcribed and provided additional data which has been used in the thesis. At both events I presented an update of my research and each participant introduced themselves and also took time to comment on the research project and the research process. Some of the attendees had not met each other before; others, third generation cousins, had not met for many years and this all provided additional data.

Sociologist M.J. Bloor suggests that the aim of 'respondent validation' is to 'establish a correspondence between the sociologist's and the member's view of the member's social world by exploring the extent to which members recognise, give assent to, the judgments of the sociologists'.[70] Educational researcher Pat Sikes, in an essay on writing life narratives in educational research, notes that the practice of taking research back to the participants 'raises the difficult issue of who "owns" the

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[69] Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography*, pp.181-3.

[70] M. Bloor, 'On the Analysis of Observational Data: a Discussion of the Worth and Uses of Inductive Techniques and Respondent Validation', *Sociology* Vol 12, no. 3 (1978), pp.548-9.

lives we write about'.[71] She found, as I did, that sometimes respondents are not interested in reading what a researcher might write. But some of my respondents did read the work, which made me very aware of, in Sikes' words, the 'significance of language', and how important it is to 'weigh up carefully how the words and phrases, the discourses, we use can be understood and experienced'.[72] Referring to Alessandro Portelli's assertion that 'what informants believe is indeed historical fact (that is, the fact that he or she believes it), as much as what "really" happened'[73] might have been seen as insulting to three family members who recalled an incident differently. One family member, reading that I had written that she had 'no embodied cultural capital', Pierre Bourdieu's concept invoked to mean that she had no academic qualifications, felt somewhat demeaned. Human geographers Sarah Turner and Stephanie Coen argue that even with negative experiences of 'member checking' they still feel that it 'holds as a valuable method … to facilitate credible qualitative inquiry … when incorporated with critically reflexive strategies'.[74]

My narrators had their own views both about what I was doing and what they told me. As Portelli writes, 'it is interesting to see what the informants think is wanted and expected, that is what the informants think the historian is'.[75] Some of

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[71] Pat Sikes, 'The Ethics of Writing Life Histories and Narratives in Educational Research', in *Exploring Learning, Identity and Power through Life History and Narrative Research*, eds. Ann-Marie Bathmaker and Penelope Harnett, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p.16.

[72] *Ibid*.

[73] Portelli, 'Peculiarities of Oral History', p.100.

[74] Sarah Turner and Stephanie Coen. Member Checking in Human Geography: Interpreting Divergent Understandings of Performativity in a Student Space. *Area* Vol 40, no 2 (2008), p.192.

[75] Portelli, 'Peculiarities of Oral History', p.103.

my respondents saw the research as a 'family history'; others were interested in the analysis, the overview and the links to the wider research context. I feel that having ongoing links with respondents has been of great benefit to the research process. Inaccuracies have been corrected, I have been able to approach individuals for follow-up information, I have had great encouragement from the respondents throughout and I have been able to remember and respect the fact that I am writing about real people, with all that that entails.

A feminist approach

Every PhD student has a 'dinner party sentence' about their research topic. When I began my research into the Hoppenstein family, I initially told enquirers that my research was about 'a rabbi who had come over from Russia at the turn of the last century and had nine children'. No-one questioned my statement that 'the rabbi had had nine children', but if I was not foregrounding Sophia Hoppenstein's role in raising her family, who would? Certainly not the Glasgow Jewish newspapers or the written records of the Edinburgh or Glasgow Jewish community, where even Sophia's 300-word obituary begins with a 175-word homage to her husband.[76] Cultural historian Joyce Antler writes about the 'peripheralness' of Jewish women in many major histories of American Jewry and argues that there is a place for 'integrating women's experiences into the main narrative of American Jewish

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[76] Rev M. S. Simmons, 'Obituary of Sarah Hoppenstein,' *Jewish Echo*, 14 February 1936. And see Wendy Webster, Representing Nation: Women Obituaries and National Biography. In: *Re-Presenting the Past: Women and History,* eds Ann-Marie Gallagher, Cathy Lubelska and Louise Ryan.. (London: Longman, 2001), pp. 124-141.

History'.[77] Jewish theologian Lawrence Silberstein makes the same point,

suggesting that 'in the history of Judaism, women have been marginalised, excluded

and silenced'[78] and citing Jewish feminist theologian Judith Plaskow, who wrote:

'our experiences are not recorded, and what is recorded formulates our experiences

in male terms'.[79]

Challenging the prevailing emphasis on male-dominated history is perhaps

one of the most important contributions that a feminist approach can make to oral

history methodology. In 2006 when Bill Williams retired from the Centre for Jewish

Studies at Manchester University I moved my part-time time PhD to Strathclyde to

start work with feminist social historian Eileen Yeo and began to pay much more

attention to feminist practice in my research. This affected my approach to the

interviews themselves and also how I listened to what people were saying. I became

much more aware of the women's roles in the lives of the families I was interviewing

and I began to listen in a different way to the accounts of how people remembered

their grandmothers, as well as their grandfathers. I also began to think more about

power relations within the interview and about my own relationships with the

narrators. As Shulamit Reinharz states: 'many feminist researchers have written

about the ethical and epistemological importance of integrating their selves into their

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[77] Joyce Antler, 'Introduction', in *In Our Own Voices: A Guide to Conducting Life History Interviews with American Jewish Women*, ed. Jayne K. Guberman, (Brookline, MA: Jewish Women's Archive, 2005), p.7.

[78] L. J. Silberstein, 'Others Within and Others Without: Rethinking Jewish Identity and Culture', in *The Other in Jewish History: Constructions of Jewish Identity*, eds. L. J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn, (New York: New York University Press, 1994), p.15.

[79] Judith Plaskow, *Standing Again at Sinai* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990), p.4.

work, and of eliminating the distinction between the subject and the object.'[80] Feminist scholar Kristina Minister suggests 'for feminist researchers, questions flow both ways. Narrators have the opportunity to interrogate interviewers about the research project and about the interviewer herself'.[81] In my interviews I was often part of a dialogue and my narrators of both genders had their own views both about what I was doing and what they told me.

Using other materials

In a study of relations between Irish Catholics and Jews in Glasgow, historian Billy Kenefick acknowledges possible difficulties with accuracy of data gained through oral history and proposes the use of a 'four stage process of evaluation and validation' of interviews, developed by Murray Watson. The four stages are: 'i) to clearly distinguish between first-hand and secondary knowledge, ii) to seek internal consistency within individual testimonies, iii) to verify and corroborate content against other sources …and iv) to search and identify recurring themes throughout all the testimonies'.[82] I have followed all of these stages within this thesis. As Ronald Grele writes, oral testimonies are only one part of finding out about the past: 'where written sources are available, they should be used as background as well as

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[80] Shulamit Reinharz. *Feminist Methods in Social Research.* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.69.

[81] Kristina Minister, 'A Feminist Frame for the Oral History Interview', in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, eds. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), p.36.

[82] Murray Watson, *Being English in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p.4. Cited in William Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations: The Glasgow Waterfront c.1880-1914', in *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism*, eds. David Cesarani and Gemma Romain, (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), p.54.

corroboration'.[83] In this research siblings or other family would talk about the same events, which allowed ease of cross-checking of much of the data for internal consistency (although as mentioned, some responses describing the same event differed considerably). I used transcriptions of the oral testimonies to search for and identify recurring themes, which helped me to organise the information in this thesis. When looking at the history of a family spanning more than 100 years, it is of course necessary to look further than life story interviews and virtual focus groups with living people. It proved possible to verify content and enlarge on the content by using various other sources of information.

The first of these were additional oral histories carried out by others. A BBC radio programme and associated book on different immigrant groups in Scotland were released in 1982 and as part of the research for that book Moss Stone, the youngest son of the second generation, had been interviewed by Murdoch Rodgers. Several extracts from the interview were used in the radio programme and the book and these have been drawn on for the current research.[84] Harvey Kaplan at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre provided access to a series of oral history interviews which had been conducted by Ben Braber in the 1980s with contemporaries of the Hoppenstein second generation, some of which I cite within this thesis. There are some tensions in using interviews carried out by others. As oral historian Joanna Bornat argues, 'not being there reduces the interview to the text alone and changes

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[83] Grele, *Envelopes of Sound*, p.5.

[84] Murdoch Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', in *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past*, ed. Billy Kay, (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982). *Glasgow Jewry*, BBC Radio Scotland, 24 March 1982.

the way that the text can be analysed',[85] and health researcher Wendy Rickard et al

suggest that this leads to ethical and methodological tensions.[86] But by paying

attention to these issues, it is to be hoped that an empathic researcher will be able to

avoid such tensions.

Evidence about the family was also found in contemporary newspapers,

valuation rolls, trade directories, census records, birth and death registers, marriage

certificates and records of wills and testaments. The work of contemporary

historians of Glasgow Jewry Kenneth Collins, Ben Braber, Harvey Kaplan, Billy

Kenefick and Linda Fleming, who had themselves uncovered much of this type of

evidence, was invaluable.[87]

Several family members held documents and photographs which were used

in the research process. Arthur Stone, a third generation Hoppenstein, regarded

himself as the 'historian of the family'[88] and allowed me access to his collection of

press cuttings, memoirs, letters, documents and photographs from various family

members. Doreen Spevack (fourth generation) is a very different type of archivist;

she does not consider what she does as 'being a historian'.   But she, too, has

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[85] Joanna Bornat, 'Recycling the Evidence: Different Approaches to the Reanalysis of Gerontological Data', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung* Vol 6, no. 1 (2005), p.5.

[86] Wendy Rickard, Nikita *et al.*, 'What Are Sex Worker Stories Good For? User Engagement with Archived Data', *Oral History* Vol 39, no. 1 (2011), p.100.

[87] See for example Kenneth Collins, Ed., *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow: Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, 1987); Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1990); Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005); Harvey Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow: SJAC, 2006); Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007).

[88] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank and Bill Williams, Cheadle. 2003. SOHCA031/005a.

preserved family documents and items from her past: 'and I've got the pay slip my father had during the war and all his war letters and absolutely everything. Invitations. My parents' wedding, my grandparents' wedding. Absolutely everything'.[89]

Figure 1.2 Rev Zvi David Hoppenstein and his youngest grandson Harold.
(From the collection of Doreen Spevack)

[89] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/007.

Figure 1.3 Sophia Hoppenstein (seated) with her first grandson Harold, daughter Eva and son-in-law Morris. (From the collection of Doreen Spevack)
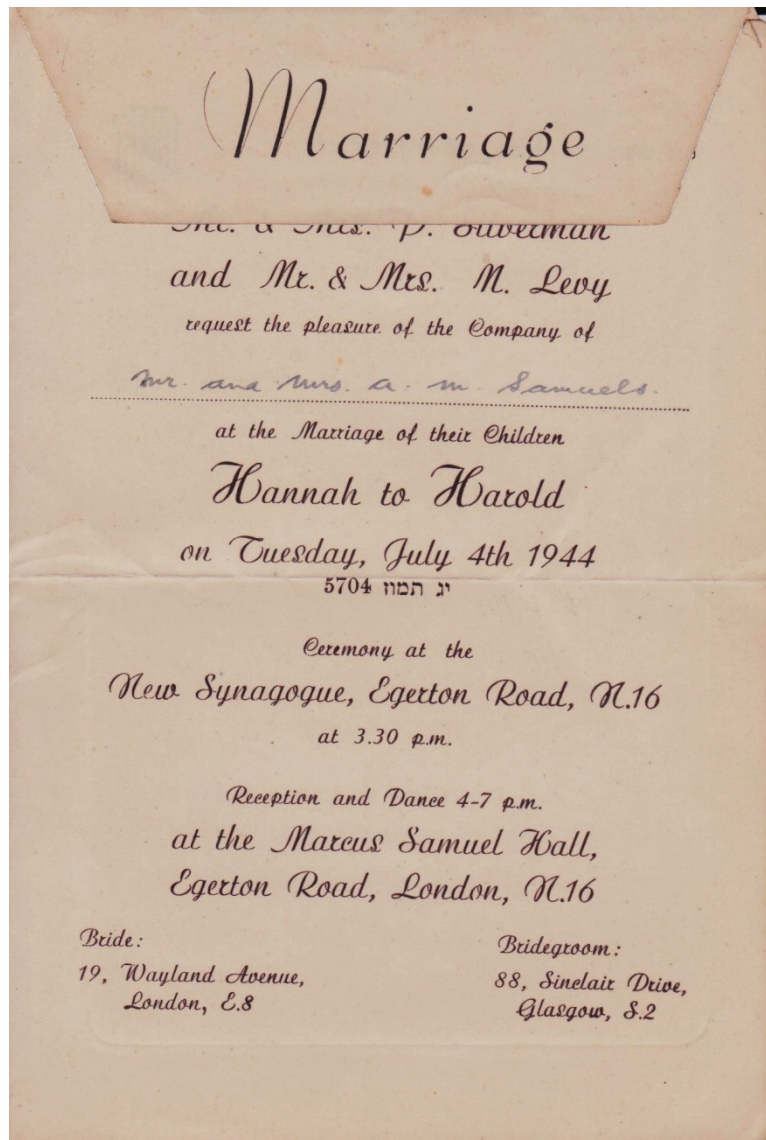
Figure 1.4 Wedding invitation, Harold Levy (grandson of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein) to Hannah. (From the collection of Doreen Spevack)

Hannah Frank (wife of Lionel Levy, third generation) never threw any letters or certificates away and on her death at the age of 100 eight crates of material were deposited in the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre. Ivor Kallin, fourth generation, showed me a box which he kept carefully behind his bed containing some papers that his paternal grandfather had brought with him from Russia.

Most of the women in the couples I talked to had a collection of photographs of their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles which act as a reminder of those

people. 'Keeping family snaps is a gendered activity', states feminist geographer

Gillian Rose.[90] As Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton write:

'perhaps the major icons of continuity in American culture today are photographs.

They seem able to provide a record of one's life, and of the lives of one's ancestors,

and can be handed down to one's descendants'.[91] Several of my informants had

preserved other artefacts, physical objects passed down through the generations,

which have lasted longer than the life of the person with whom they were originally

connected. Social geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly, in a discussion of the importance

of artefacts in modern British Asian homes, discusses material items which

'ironically … are sometimes transient, ephemeral things, which in turn fade, tear,

fragment, dissolve and break'. [92] The items which have lasted through the

generations, however, are mostly made of metal, ensuring a long life. Doreen

Spevack, the oldest of the fourth generation, for example, still had her great-

grandmother's ring and a pestle and mortar that had belonged to her great-

grandfather (see Figure 1.5 below). David Stone is in possession of a silver loving-

cup which had been presented to his great-grandfather, Zvi David Hoppenstein, by

the committee of Edinburgh Central Synagogue in 1905 in recognition of his

'untiring zeal and his valuable services to the congregation',[93] and which had been

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[90] Gillian Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and The Politics of Sentiment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), pp.25-40.

[91] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[92] Divya Tolia-Kelly, 'Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-memory Through Artefacts in the British Asian Home', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* Vol 29, no. 3 (2004), p.315.

[93] *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 January 1905.

carefully preserved by David's father Fred Stone. In addition to his grandfather's

papers, Ivor Kallin showed me two silver cups on display in his kitchen, which had

been presented to his paternal grandfather from the Workers' Circle.[94] Less durable

items also lasted through the century. For example, a framed embroidery of a

mourning poem composed by Zvi David Hoppenstein and embroidered by Sophia

Hoppenstein had been passed on to Arthur Stone (see Figure 6.4). These items all

had deep significance for their owners. Each of them was at least the third owner of

the item and in the case of Ivor Kallin, he had never met his grandfather who had

died before he was born, but he had been named for him and felt a close affinity with

him. The items were described and shown to me with great reverence which

demonstrated the importance of the members of previous generations in the lives of

the interviewees.

**Figure 1.5. Pestle and Mortar, brought to Scotland by Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein,
1880s. (From the collection of Doreen Spevack)**

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[94] The Workers' Circle, formed in March 1912, was a friendly society which collected weekly
subscriptions and paid out sickness benefits, but also organised political debate and other activities,
much of which took place in Yiddish. Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.97,164.

When looking at the question of transmission of identity, the thinking of political scientist Yoav Peled in the area of nationalism studies on 'strong' and 'weak' communities is also helpful. Peled distinguished between two distinct notions of community: 'a weak community, in which membership is essentially voluntary, and a strong, historical community that is *discovered*, not formed by its members'.[95] In a strong community, 'members of this community must be committed to its ongoing existence as an important value in and of itself' and its ongoing existence 'becomes one of the most (if not *the* most) important imperatives of the moral community'.[96] If we accept that Judaism is a 'strong community' in Peled's sense, then its transmission would be built into its every activity. The very institutions of Judaism, its synagogues and national offices for example, are entirely dedicated to its transmission. Thus, I have organised the chapters thematically relating to the different sites, both public and private, where Jewish identity is transmitted.

Organisation of chapters

Sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis notes that there is some inconsistency among different authors in drawing boundaries between public and private spaces. Some scholars, she asserts, distinguish the public sphere as a political sphere, in contrast to the private sphere of 'the family domain, where women are primarily located'. Others

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[95] Y. Peled, 'Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State', *American Political Science Review* Vol 86, no. 2 (1992), p.443. Cited in Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Some Reflections on Citizenship and Anti-Racism', in *Rethinking Anti-Racisms*, eds. Floya Anthius and Cathie Lloyd, (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.48.

[96] Yuval-Davis, 'Some Reflections', pp.48-9.

see the private sphere as being 'that which is not financed and/or controlled by the state'; in that analysis, religious institutions would be included within the private domain.[97] In my analysis I make a distinction between Jewish life as enacted in the home, Jewish life in the public sphere (that is in the synagogue, in religious classes, within communal organisations) and secular life in the public sphere (including non-religious education in state schools, colleges and universities, the world of work outside the religious domain and relations with the host community).

Chapter Two is a review of relevant literature and a discussion of the context and background to this study. Chapter Three examines the Hoppensteins in the public sphere, focusing on the family's experiences in the secular world and looking at the relationship of the family with the host community. As well as experiences and choices of education and employment, this chapter also examines the different ways in which the family has experienced antisemitism through the generations. Chapter Four focuses on marriage choice and its effect on class mobility, linked to gendered educational opportunities. Chapters Five and Six focus on the specific contexts of intergenerational transmission: the family and the wider community. Chapter Five examines Jewish life in the home, looking at festivals, food, housekeeping and cleanliness and Chapter Six is on Jewish life in the public sphere – which for the early generations at least means the Jewish public sphere – the synagogue and Jewish public organisations. Within each of the empirical chapters, I

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[97] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997), p.78. Citing Laksiri Jayasuriya, *Multiculturalism, Citizenship and Welfare: New Directions for the 1990s*, 50th Anniversary Lecture Series (Sydney: University of Sydney Dept of Social Work and Social Policy, 1990).

look at the main themes through the triple lens of generational change, gender and class.

In Chapter Seven I summarise the previous chapters and consider insider and outside status within the family. I look at ways in which the thesis has contributed to learning and finally make recommendations for further research. A family tree of the Hoppenstein family is included as Figure 1.6 overleaf for ease of reference.

The examination of five generations of the Hoppenstein family, as set out in this thesis, provides a new context for the examination of Bourdieu's theories of social and cultural capital and shows how class and gender are central to the understanding of the family's progression through the twentieth century.

Dayan Ezra Hoppenstein

Rabbi Mordechai Hoppenstein

Rabbi Aharon Hoppenstein d 1867 Neustadt m Shulamith (Sulka) Cohen

David Zvi Hoppenstein b 1862 Wladyslawow d 1944 Glasgow m (1882, Neustadt) Sophia (Penkinsky) Wittenberg b 1862 Wladyslawow d 1936 Glasgow

Abraham Klonnemans (aka Coleman Abrahams) m Hannah Marks

Philip (Feival) Penkinsky/Wittenberg m Chaya Mary (Eva) Abrahams/Klonnemans

Eva, (Ipa') b 1883, d 1960 m(1908) Morris Levy

Abraham Aaron (Harry), b 1885. d 1957 USA

Isaac b 1887 d 1953

Solly (Sidney), b 1889 d 1933 m Dolly Cohen d 1943. Changed name to Hope-Stone

Beatrice (Beatie) b 1891 d 1981 m (1923) Yudel Hertz d 1976

Lily (Leahie) b 1895 d 1974 m (1925) Manuel Goldberg (Mannie Gould) b 1898 d 1977.

Mordechai (Marcus) b 1893 d 1961 m (1920) Eva Morris (Marymski) b 1894 d 1979. Changed name to H. (Hope) Stone.

Moses (Moss) b 1897 d 1982

Esther (Ootie) b 1899 d 1990 m (1923) Abe Cowan, b 1902 d 1976

Harold Levy b 1909 d 1987 m Hannah Silverman d 1987

Rita (Hanriena) Levy b 1910 d 1999 m (1931) Alex Samuals b 1917 d 1991

Lionel Levy b 1912 d 2002 m (1931) Hannah Frank b 1908 d 2008

Morris Hope-Stone b 1923 m (1953) Betty (Lizzie) Phillips b 1931

Harold Hope-Stone b 1926 d 2008 m (1954) Shelagh Gullimore b 1931 d 2008

Leslie b 1926 d 1979 m (1953) Muriel Barb b 1923 d 2003. Changed name to Harts.

Frederick Hope Stone b 1921 d 2009 m (1946) Zelda Elstron b 1923, d 2006

Ida Zena Stone b 1925 d 1984

Arthur Harold Hope Stone b 1931 m Judith Tamara Bovin b 1943

Gertie Cowan b 1930 m Stanley Kailin b 1926 d 2010

Doreen b 1949 m Martin Spersack

D (A,O) m J (F) (d 2011)

Leslie b 1954 m (1) Michael Rodrigues (=div) (2) Marc Caplan

Rodney b 1957 m Shireen Mathrani

Hugh b 1960 m Nina Bell

Alice b 1958 m (1) Brenda m (2) Geoff Garner

Kenneth b 1963 m Sharna Davies

Barbara Mary Hope Harts b 1956 m Mike Brennan

Judy m 1952 m (1) Malcolm Adams (2) Craig Gershmer

David b 1949 m Susan (div)

Richard Hope Stone b 1949 m Rachel Lightstone

Michael Hope Stone b 1956 m (div) Ursula Tucker

Ivor b 1957 m Jenny Finkal

David b 1959 m Jenny Gubbay

Barbara Spersack b 1977

E (F).

Amber Caslan b 1988

Samir b 1996

Anne b 2000

Tom b 1996

Max b 1993

Geoffrey b 1988

Laura b 1961 m Jeff Hill

Jameah b 1996

Hannah b 1982 m Matt Panter

Natalie b 1976 m Jeff Ismal

P b 1971 m C

Neil b 1980

Cornelia b 1983

Ben b 1979

Rachel b 1980

Laura Hope b 1988

M (A,0) m P (F)

J (F) b 1991

Ilana Ada Hope b 2006

Rafael b 2008

Sophie b 1983 m Stephen Levi

Phoebe b 1985

Horwich b 1988

Daniel b 2004

Abigail Elizabeth Hope b 2004

Charlie b 2005

Lilliah Grace b 2012

Harry b 2004

Sofia b 2005

Leo b 2011

Clara b 2011

Mathilda Hope b 2002

Ella b 2005

Misha Stanley b 2011

second generation

third generation 'first cousins'

fourth generation second cousins

Fifth generation third cousins

6th gen

Key: Underlined – interviewed by FF
Underlined italic -- took part in 'Facebook' electronic discussion

Figure 1.6: Hoppenstein Family Tree (as at August 2012)

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Chapter Two

Transmission of Jewish identity in an extended Scottish Jewish

family: literature, background and context

This thesis brings together oral history methodology and the transmission of Jewish identity within the context of Scottish Jewry. In this chapter, I review the relevant literature on these topics. After a section on transmission of identity, I examine some empirical studies of transmission of identity within other cultures. I then turn briefly to studies of different groups which have immigrated to Scotland before looking at literature on Jewish immigration to the UK relevant to this study. I cover the literature on Glasgow Jewry in some detail, pointing out areas in which the present thesis builds on and differs from existing work. I examine the nature of community and identity and consider the question of 'Who is a Jew?' Finally a discussion of the literature on the linked question of Jewish outmarriage provides context for the lives of the Hoppenstein family through the twentieth century.

Transmission of Identity

Scholars suggest different motivations for transmission of identity and have investigated this process in different ways. In the 1950s, developmental psychologist Erick Erikson argued that a 'desire to transmit' arises at a specific point in the life cycle of human psychological development and comes from positive childhood experience, from those who were 'taught the basis of how to

live by significant parental or quasi-parental figures'.[1] Bertaux and Thompson

suggest that oral historians would argue with Erikson's focus on childhood

experiences, arguing that the wish to transmit 'characterises the "life review"

phase typical in later life after transitions and losses such as widowhood and

retirement'. [2] They agree that the family has a strong role in intergenerational

transmission, but they argue that there has also always been a role in transmission

of social identity between generations. In the case of transmission of Jewish

identity, the wider Jewish peer group and social institutions have a part to play

which is as important as that of the family. I show in this thesis how the desire to

transmit does, indeed, happen within Jewish families after a transition, as Bertaux

and Thompson suggest. In terms of family transmission, Bertaux and Thompson

also make the point that however much parents make a decision to transmit an

identity and a culture to their children, the children have the choice of accepting

that identity.

> Parents may offer their own unrealised dreams to their children, but
>
> the children on their side must either turn them down or make them
>
> their own. Transmission is at the same time individual and
>
> collective, and it takes place through a two-way relationship.[3]

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[1] Erik Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: International Universities Press, 1959).

[2] Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson, 'Introduction', in *Between Generations: Family Models, Myths and Memories*, eds. Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson, (Oxford, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.7.

[3] *Ibid*., pp.1-2.

Parents may involve their children in Jewish practices at home, ensure that they attend Hebrew classes and go to synagogue and send them to Jewish social groups. Nonetheless it is still up to the children, as they get older, to make the decision whether to take on this identity and to choose whether they themselves will pass it on to their own children. By tracking members of an extended family through the generations, as I do in this thesis, it can be seen how some decide to take on their parents' transmitted values and identity as Jewish, whereas others reject them wholly or choose certain aspects of them for themselves and to transmit to their own children.

Jacqueline Goldberg, in an international collection of essays on Jewish identity, lists several influences on an individual's Jewish identity and notes the changing nature of Jewish identity through time:

> The Jewish identity of an individual does not develop in a vacuum: it evolves over time in transactional relationships with the influences surrounding that individual. Such influences may come from parents, friends, school and other education, work, Jewish communities if they choose to belong to one, and even their children. Jewish identity is not static or fixed in time, but instead can be more usefully regarded as being in a constant state of flux: it is a process rather than a product.[4]

This study provides a very clear context for noting change in Jewish identity over time. Goldberg suggests that as well as parental and communal influences, 'key

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[4] Jacqueline Goldberg, 'Social Identity in British and South African Jewry', in *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, eds. Zvi Gitelman, Barry Kosmin, and Andras Kovacs, (Budapest and New York: Central Europe University Press, 2003), p.19.

life events' such as *Bar* and *Bat Mitzvot*, marriage and having children also 'impact upon and are impacted by Jewish identity'[5] and are thus another way in which transmission of Jewish identity takes place. Bourdieu extends French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep's idea of a rite of passage,[6] arguing that a rite of passage seen as a line between two periods of time masks the essential social function of the ritual and the essential social meaning of the 'line, or the limit, which the rite of passage demarcates'. He uses the term 'institutional rites' (*rites d'institution*) and asserts that their essential social meaning is to '*separate* those who have undergone it, not from those who have not yet undergone it but from those who will never actually undergo it – and thus to *institutionalise* a difference between those for whom the rite has relevance, and those which it does not concern'.[7] When a child is born to a Jewish couple, or a Jewish person within a mixed marriage, the question of transmission arises immediately as the issue of circumcision has to be addressed. The fact that this act is expected to take place within the first eight days of birth and is, in people's minds, irrevocably linked with Jewish identity, immediately links the Jewish family with Jewish institutions. In orthodox Jewish practice, a *mohel*, a Jewish person, often a rabbi, trained in the practice of circumcision, comes to the family home on the eighth day and carries out the ritual in the presence of family. At this stage the parents

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[5] *Ibid*., p.7.

[6] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge, 2004, first published in English 1960, original edition first published 1909).

[7] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Les Rites comme Actes d'Institution', *Rites et Fétiches*, no. 43 (1982), p.58. (Emphasis in original, author's translation).

have to face the fact that, in the words of Jewish educators Diane Tickton

Schuster and Lisa Grant, 'the transmission of Jewish values and rituals is their

responsibility – and cannot be delayed'.[8] Circumcision makes a clear separation

between males and females and it provides a clear message within the family of

the gendered nature of Judaism. Jewish Studies scholar Shaye Cohen goes

further, echoing Bourdieu in stating that Judaism is not just gendered, but is

'synonymous with maleness':

> Circumcision celebrates the birth of a male, marking him as a member
>
> of the covenant, as a member of his people, as his father's son, as a
>
> future citizen. Circumcision excludes women: by investing
>
> circumcision with covenantal value, both the Bible and the Talmudic
>
> sages declare that Judaism, or at least Jewishness, is in the first instance
>
> synonymous with maleness.[9]

There has been a debate on circumcision in Judaism for many years; Isaac

Bashevis Singer in his novel about nineteenth century Shtetl life has his

protagonist, Dr Ezriel Babad, the secular son of a religious Jew, say:

> Circumcising an eight-day old child seemed to him an act of barbarism.
>
> … Must he, Ezriel, a doctor living in the second half of the nineteenth
>
> century, emulate an act of black magic that a group of Bedouins had
>
> performed in Asia four thousand years before? But not to have the

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[8] Diane Tickton Schuster and Lisa D Grant, 'Teaching Jewish Adults', in *The Ultimate Jewish Teacher's Handbook*, ed. Nachama Skolnik Moskowitz (Springfield NJ: Behrman House, Inc, 2003), p.151.

[9] Shaye J.D. Cohen, *Why Aren't Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p.135.

circumcision was impossible. Shaindel [his wife] would die of

mortification.[10]

Although one rabbi suggests that belonging is at the heart of the matter, saying:

'circumcision is a mark of Jewish identity. Even Jews who never go to synagogue

and chomp bacon sandwiches have their sons circumcised'[11] there is an alternative

movement in Judaism today, as doctor, psychotherapist and Jewish feminist Jenny

Goodman discusses in her article on alternative perspectives to Jewish

circumcision.[12] As we will see, each family in our study in the fourth generation

takes a different approach to the issue of circumcision.

A notable factor in a study of transmission of identity is the researcher's

ethnicity and the purpose of the study. Paul Thompson argued in the late 1970s

that the history of immigrant groups had at that time been 'mainly documented

only from outside as a social problem' and that an 'approach from the inside …

[was] certain to become more important in Britain'.[13] Twenty years later, Gans

was able to note that:

the major researchers and theorists of the European immigration were

... outsiders who were neither members of, nor had any great personal

interest in, the groups they studied. Many of their contemporary

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[10] Isaac Bashevis Singer. *The Manor* and *The Estate*. (Grand Terrace: Terrace Books, 2004, first published 1969), p.465.

[11] Rabbi Jonathan Romain, cited in: Jo Carlowe. 'Secular Jews retain an innate faith in the scalpel'. http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/faith/article716383.accessed 21 August 2009**.**

[12] J Goodman, 'Jewish circumcision: an alternative perspective'. *British Journal of Urology International*, Vol 83 supplement 1 (1999), pp.22-7.

[13] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, first published 1978), p.7. Cited in Alistair Thomson, 'Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies', *Oral History* Vol 27, no. 1 (1999), p.26.

successors are, however, insiders who often come from the ethnic

groups they are studying and are personally concerned with the survival

of these groups.[14]

As raised in the previous chapter, Gans suggests that 'insider' ethnographers,

whom he calls 'ethnic retentionists', are more likely to 'avoid acculturation and

instead retain their ethnic ties'. On the other hand, he suggests, 'outsider'

ethnographers have 'outsider values'. He has named those outsider ethnographers

'acculturationists', people keen to see immigrants joining with the host nation

culturally, (but not necessarily socially).[15]

Of studies which have used oral history to examine transmission of

identity within intergenerational family networks, those of oral historian Mary

Chamberlain and anthropologist Karen Fog Olwig are of note. Chamberlain

chose her research dataset as 'transatlantic family clusters, 39 themselves

migrants to Britain, 20 of their children also here, and 23 of their parents and three

children back in Barbados'.[16] Most interesting of these clusters, suggested Paul

Thompson, was 'a family which traces its 'specialness' six generations back to a

sole white ancestor and uses this to explain why they migrated by unusual paths,

settled successfully, but then returned to buy their own independent land'.[17]

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[14] Herbert J. Gans, 'Toward a Reconciliation of "Assimilation" and "Pluralism": The Interplay of Acculturation and Ethnic Retention', *International Migration Review* Vol 31, no. 4 (1997), p.877.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp.875-6.

[16] Paul Thompson, 'Review of Mary Chamberlain, "Narratives of Exile and Return"', *Reviews in History* (1998), http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/46 consulted 28 October 2010.

[17] *Ibid.*

Anthropologist Karen Fog Olwig carried out life story interviews with members of three transnational Caribbean families, spending time with the families in Britain, North America and three Caribbean islands over a period of four years. She was more interested in social network analysis, in the migrants' field of relations, than in the migration process as such and I draw on this methodology in this thesis, using social network analysis to examine relations between the different branches of the extended Hoppenstein family (see Chapter Four).

Fog Olwig introduced the concept of 'foundational narratives', developed by anthropologist Marc Augé.[18] She argued that 'an important part of place making at a collective level... is the creating of foundational narratives that validate the claim of a social group to a particular place' and suggested that 'a life story entails an accounting of an individual's movements through life – geographical, as well as social, economic or cultural – in such a way that it portrays a sense of coherence reflective of the narrator's sense of self'.[19] The 'foundational narrative' in the case of Fog Olwig's families relates to the Caribbean, their recent homeland. In the case of the Hoppensteins, the foundational narrative, in Augé's terms, is more likely to relate to Israel. This concept, of Israel as a homeland has of course changed through the life of the five generations of the Hoppenstein family under consideration within this thesis.

[18] Marc Augé, *Non-Places – Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995), p.43.

[19] Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.17.

Israel was first a mythical homeland, then a potential reality, then an independent state, now both a site of conflict and difficulty and a place where, for at least one fifth generation member of the Hoppenstein family, you might go and visit your granny for a beach holiday.

Immigration to Scotland has been studied widely and the range of works on this topic reflect the range of immigrants who have arrived in Scotland over the centuries. Billy Kay's book *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past* and associated series of radio programmes, uses oral history to provide a rich account of the Lithuanian, Irish, Jewish, Italian, Pakistani and other immigrant groups who came to Scotland over the last century and also includes Scottish workers' memories.[20] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the section on the Jews in Glasgow includes an interview with Moss Stone providing an actual voice, otherwise unrecorded, of the second generation of the Hoppenstein family.[21] Mary Edward's work on groups who have made Glasgow their home over the past 200 years include, as well as the Jews, the Irish, Italians, Poles, Chinese, Asians and more recent asylum seekers from countries such as Somalia, Algeria, Sri Lanka, Kosovo.[22]

James Handley's seminal work on the Irish in Scotland[23] charts that group's mass emigration from the Potato Famine in 1847-54, stating that the

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[20] Billy Kay, Ed., *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982).

[21] Murdoch Rodgers, *Glasgow Jewry*, BBC Radio Scotland, 24 March 1982; Billy Kay, *The Complete Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), pp.227-35.

[22] Mary Edward, *Who belongs to Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2008).

[23] James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork and Oxford: Cork University Press and B. H. Blackwell, Ltd., 1947).

preferred destination was North America, but those Irishmen who did not have the

necessary ten to twelve pounds to spend on the crossing to the USA would settle

for Scotland or England.[24] Handley examines work, poverty, education, political

activity and religious and racial discord. Writing about the Irish labourer, he

suggests that that far from being committed to education for their children as, we

will see, were many of the Jewish immigrant families,

> the long day of toil that left them no leisure to develop intellectual
>
> interests or appreciate them sufficiently to ensure that the opportunity
>
> for their development would be secured for their children were two
>
> factors that retarded the promotion of education among them.[25]

Murray Watson, in his study of English immigration to Scotland, examines a group

whose choice to move to Scotland had certainly not been related to persecution. The

English, while being the largest group of immigrants in Scotland, have had very little

or no attention by scholars prior to Watson's study. In this oral history study,

Watson comments on the concept of 'invisibility' as attached to migrants, which has

been a useful concept in this thesis, particularly looking at the increasing

'invisibility' of the Hoppensteins as they moved through the generations. Watson

suggests 'some groups of migrants, regardless of their numbers, are more visible than

others and structural factors play an important role in this process. These include

ethnicity, religion, language, patterns of migration, social class and occupation'.[26]

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[24] *Ibid*., p.23.

[25] *Ibid*., p.191-2.

[26] Murray Watson, *Being English in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), p.100.

Watson's comments on his informants' views on anti-English sentiment are also salient for the current thesis. He relates this to different appearances of reality, suggesting that the fact that 'anti-English comments were perceived by most contributors as banter, or teasing, but as racist by others'[27] was related to Schacter's concept of 'memory distortion'.[28] Fog Olwig's narrator Henry Muir, mentioned above, also brushed off racist comments as 'merely incidences of the kind of stereotyping that many others experience'.[29] In my interviews, narrators would relate the antisemitism they had experienced as either 'banter or teasing' or something more serious. However, rather than this being the effect of distorted memory, I felt that this effect was more related to the intersubjective process. In other words, I felt that it was unlikely that older narrators would want to talk to a younger interviewer about the antisemitism they faced in Scotland during wartime, whereas younger narrators were able to talk freely about anti-Semitic incidents they had experienced.

There is a plethora of general histories of Jewish immigration to the UK which concentrate on the period between 1871 and 1914, the time of the 'great migration' which brought Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein to Scotland. Sophia, the oldest daughter of a successful merchant, married Zvi David, whose parents had died young, but who was from a long line of rabbis and who had studied for his rabbinical qualifications at a young age. Contextual background on the lives of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein's generation growing up in

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[27] *Ibid*., p.62.

[28] Daniel L. Schacter, *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[29] Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys*, p.76.

Eastern Europe can be found in works such as *Daughters of the Shtetl*,[30] by historian Susan Glenn. Glenn describes the life of religious scholars and their families in the Pale of Settlement – those territories in the Russian Empire where Jews were allowed to live. She asserts that:

> no sacrifice was too great to send a son to Yeshiva – advanced religious school. Parents hoped their sons might become rabbis and bring great prestige to the family name. Women, who could not become rabbis and whose place in the community depended upon their husband's or father's status, considered it a mark of great success to marry a learned man.[31]

Women, she said, were 'excluded from the main lines of public authority in matters civic and religious', but 'played a central role in economic life and were charged with the fundamental religious rituals of private life';[32] that is, they worked inside and outside the home while their men studied and they also maintained religious standards in the home. Some studies of Jewish immigration to the UK also include background on life in the *Shtetl* and on reasons for immigration, as well as on life for the immigrants in the UK. Two of the most useful of these works are by historians David Englander and Lloyd Gartner. Gartner's *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914,* first published in 1960,[33]

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[30] Susan A Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[31] *Ibid*., p.10.

[32] *Ibid*., p.8.

[33] L. P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London and Portland Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001, first published 1960).

included in the introduction to the third edition published in 2001 a useful

literature review on works published in that forty-year period on British Jewry.[34]

He devotes considerable space to accounts of the long and arduous journey

between Eastern Europe and the UK and draws attention to the fact that many

authorities in Britain, Jewish and non-Jewish, were sending messages out to

Russian Jews urging them not to leave home, drawing their attention to the poor

conditions and limited scope for economic advancement which existed and the

difficulties in maintaining orthodox Jewry in the new country.[35]

Englander's *Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain*

1840-1920[36] is unique in providing copies of primary source material on

immigration, such as an article by A. Weiner from a 1905 journal on 'Jewish

Industrial Life in Russia'.[37] As Weiner recounts in dramatic language, the Laws of

May 1882 drove most of the Jews out of the villages and agricultural areas of the

Pale of Settlement. They moved into towns and urban areas which, he argued,

created ghetto areas, with a 'dangerous concentration' of certain trades leading to

'merciless competition' where 'wages are forced down to the lowest margin of

subsistence, ... life being thus rendered intolerably hard and precarious'.[38] These

conditions contributed to the 'poverty and economic hardship' which led to what

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[34] Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England*, pp.xi-xxi.

[35] *Ibid*., pp.28-30.

[36] David Englander, Ed., *A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain, 1840-1920.* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1994).

[37] A Weiner, 'Jewish Industrial Life in Russia', *Economic Journal*, no. XV (1905). Cited in Englander, Ed., *Jewish Immigrants in Britain*, pp.12-14.

[38] Weiner, 'Jewish Industrial Life', p.13.

has been called the 'great migration' of more than two million Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States, Canada, the Argentine, South Africa and France, of whom around 100,000 settled in Britain adding to the existing Jewish population which numbered around 60,000 in 1870.[39] The majority of these settled in London, with some going to other cities such as Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh and a few settling in smaller towns around the UK.[40]

Several writers have examined Jewish immigration in particular cities in England. One of these is historian Bill Williams, who has concentrated on the history of Jews in Manchester.[41] Williams's book on the life of Sir Sidney Hamburger,[42] Manchester's successful Jewish and secular leader, has provided a useful comparison to the life of Hamburger's Glasgow contemporaries. The book describes a similar intellectual life led by middle-class Manchester second

[39] Englander, Ed., *Jewish Immigrants in Britain*, p.8; John D Klier, 'Emigration Mania in Late-Imperial Russia: Legend and Reality', in *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*, ed.Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil (London: JHSE and Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996), p.22; Lord Jakobovits, 'Preface to the Second Edition of The Jewish Immigrant in England', in *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914*, ed.Lloyd P. Gartner, (London: Valentine Mitchell, 2001), p.xx. Klier, in his paper, argues strongly against the 'pogrom' factor in emigration from Russia, which, he states, is put forward by most historical textbooks as a main reason for the mass emigration.

[40] For an account of how new Jewish immigrants in London were encouraged to disperse to smaller English cities, see Cecil Bloom, 'Jewish Dispersion Within Britain', in *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*, ed. Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil (London: JHSE and Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996), pp.31-49.

[41] Bill Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History', *Oral History* Vol 7, no. 1 (1979); 'The Beginnings of Jewish Trade Unionism in Manchester, 1889-1891', in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities; Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914*, ed. Kenneth Lunn, (Folkestone: Wm Dawson & Sons, 1980); *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985, first published 1976); '"East and West": Class and Community in Manchester Jewry, 1850-1914', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990); *Sir Sidney Hamburger and Manchester Jewry* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1999).

[42] Williams, *Sir Sidney Hamburger and Manchester Jewry*.

generation immigrants as was to be found in Glasgow, with Jewish literary societies and rambling groups reflecting similar groups in mainstream society. In Glasgow many male Jewish leaders assisted by Carnegie grants which were established in 1901, went on from school to Scottish universities and into the professions. Hamburger and his English contemporaries, however, were more likely to leave school and go straight into English retail and manufacturing companies, rising to management positions.

The works mentioned above provide useful context and background for understanding the lives of the early Jewish immigrants to Scotland. Far fewer works looking at the more recent history of Jews in the UK exist. Specialist works such as Sharman Kadish's book and papers on the Jewish Lads' Brigade[43] and a collection of memories of Glasgow's Jewish Lads and Girls Brigade over the last 100 years put together by Harvey Livingston[44] provide useful context about one of the several Jewish youth groups in which many Hoppenstein family members were involved through the generations.

Existing studies of UK Jewry fall into three main types. The first type often represents dedicated activity by an 'insider' historian, occasionally someone who has a 'day job' outside the academy. They undertake research into archival records of Jewish community institutions, contemporary newspaper reports and

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[43] Sharman Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman: the Jewish Lads' & Girls' Brigade 1895-1995* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1995); '"Ironing Out the Ghetto Bend": The Impact of the Jewish Lad's Brigade on the Jewish Immigrant in England, 1895-1914', in *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*, ed. Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil (University College London: JHSE and Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996).

[44] Harvey M. Livingston, *"From Strength to Strength": 100 Years of Service 1903-2003: Celebrating the Centenary of the Glasgow Jewish Lads' Brigade* (Glasgow: JLGB, 2004).

written records such as shipping lists, school board archive material, burial records, representations to commissions and tribunals and census returns in order to provide a chronological account of the community's arrival and its religious, educational, recreational, accommodation, employment and welfare history. In a second type of history of local Jewry, the same types of records and sources are used, but the writer, usually an 'outsider' historian, takes an obvious political or theoretical position and the sources provide evidence to back up a hypothesis or analysis. A third type of work uses oral testimony as its main source, drawing on the historical reviews of the sources as background and including new source material but taking a clear 'bottom up' approach and drawing out themes and issues relevant to the individual interviewees.

The first type is exemplified for the Glasgow community by Abraham Levy's book on the early nineteenth century origins of Glasgow Jewry, followed by Kenneth Collins' detailed work on the community from 1790 to 1919, together with Harvey Kaplan's more recent work using census data.[45] These works provide extensive information on the Glasgow Jewish immigrant population. Collins begins by charting the early days of Jewish settlement in Glasgow.[46] A Glasgow Hebrew Congregation was founded in 1823, with a similar congregation being founded seven years earlier in Edinburgh, but there was some evidence of

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[45] Abraham Levy, *The Origins of Glasgow Jewry 1812-1825* (Glasgow: Macfarlane, 1949); Kenneth Collins, Ed., *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow: Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, 1987); Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1990), p.51; Harvey Kaplan, 'A Snapshot of Edinburgh Jewry in 1801', *Edinburgh Star*, July 2000; *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow: SJAC, 2006).

[46] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp.19-56.

Jewish activity in the two cities prior to those dates. Members of the early

Glasgow community, which at first worshipped in a small synagogue in a first

floor flat in Glasgow's High Street, came from Germany and Holland, but there

were already some Jews from Eastern Europe in Glasgow by 1860. Other Eastern

European Jews arrived in Glasgow in a process of secondary migration from other

centres in Britain, attracted by the growing economic opportunities in this city

which was increasingly seen as the 'second city of the empire'.[47] In Glasgow,

most of the early Jewish community settled in the West End and city centre areas

of Glasgow. With increasing numbers, a larger city-centre building was

purchased in 1858 which provided a new synagogue and in the late 1870s with a

Jewish population reaching around 1000 north of the river,[48] plans were made to

build a new, purpose-built synagogue in Garnethill, on the west side of the city

centre, which opened in 1879 and had seats for 580 people.[49] This new, imposing

building, almost cathedral-like in stature, was modelled on some large English

synagogues; historian Ben Braber points out its strong resemblance to the Princes

Road synagogue in Liverpool and the New West End synagogue in London.[50] As

Collins said, 'its concentration of the most successful and assimilated members of

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[47] W. Hamish Fraser, 'Introduction: "Let Glasgow Flourish"', in *Glasgow, Vol II: 1830-1912*, eds. W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

[48] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p.45.

[49] Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), p.9.

[50] *Ibid*., p.143.

Glasgow Jewry led to its being described with awe as the *Englische Shul* by the Jewish newcomers in the Gorbals'.[51]

By the 1870s there was also increasing settlement south of the river by immigrant Jews from Russian Poland and Lithuania.[52] Despite the new synagogue in Garnethill having enough seats to accommodate the entire expanding Glasgow Jewish community, by 1880 Glasgow Jewry was already divided into two communities separated by the River Clyde. The first Jewish prayer-house in the Gorbals opened, a burial ground was purchased and Hebrew classes and a *mikva* were established in the area during the early 1880s.[53] Collins discusses the effect on Glasgow's Jewish life of the massive increase in numbers, with the Jewish population increasing from around 2000 in 1891 to around 6000 at the beginning of the twentieth century.[54] He suggests that:

> with the movement of large numbers of Jews from the *Shtetl* to the urban centres … came the beginnings of the estrangement from religious traditionalism. The immigrants themselves might maintain traditional patterns of Jewish behaviour but there would be a weakening of the transmission from generation to generation.[55]

In this thesis I make extensive use of the invaluable source material unearthed by Collins and also by Kaplan who, in his detailed study of the Gorbals Jewish

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[51] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p.39.

[52] *Ibid*., p.45.

[53] *Ibid*., pp.51-3.

[54] *Ibid*., p.69.

[55] *Ibid*., p.70.

community of 1901, uses material from the 1901 census, unavailable at the time of publication of *Second City Jewry*, to expand on Collins' findings.[56] But with the additional evidence of the oral testimony from the Hoppenstein family I am able to challenge Collins' assumption of the weakening of religious transmission through the generations.

Collins' work has been criticised as being a 'history from above', based as it is mainly on institutional records and documentary sources. Williams, for example, argues that 'a communal history drawn from documentary sources tend[s] to be a re-enactment of community myth, since most surviving documents were formulated by those most concerned to keep the myths alive' and suggests that 'the surviving documentary evidence was almost entirely the product of the majority society and of an Anglo-Jewish elite'.[57] So, in this type of history, the rise of Jewish charities, for example, 'is put down to the traditional emphasis on charity in Jewish religious training or to the special place of philanthropy in synagogue life'.[58] An alternative view is put forward by economist Joseph Buckman in his Marxist study of Jewish immigration in Leeds.[59] Buckman suggests that most studies of British Jewry foreground the Jewish bourgeoisie and are 'unable to conceive of a Jewish proletariat having an existence as a separate

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[56] Harvey Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow: SJAC, 2006), p.20.

[57] Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester', p.52. The 'elite' class in Scottish Jewry was often known as Anglo-Jewish, just as it was in England, hence the '*Englische' shul.*

[58] *Ibid.*, p.43.

[59] Joseph Buckman, *Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds, 1880-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

and distinct historical class'.[60] He asserts that philanthropic and other communal

institutions set up by the Jewish middle classes are usually discussed in the

literature as '"protectors" of the aliens against the hostility of British society', but

calls for a different reading of these institutions, as being 'agencies of social

control'.[61] In Buckman's analysis, such agencies allow for ease in layoffs and

payment of breadline wages, because they ensure protection for the very poorest

against these circumstances).

Examples of the second, more analytical, type of history of local Jewish

communities include Collins' doctoral research looking at how and why many

young second generation Jews took up the study of medicine in Scotland and

more specifically Glasgow, in the early twentieth century,[62] Ben Braber's research

on the Jewish community in Glasgow, extending the story up to 1939 and beyond

and looking particularly at how far integration took place[63] and Billy Kenefick's

work on Jewish and Catholic Irish relations.[64]

Like Buckman, Kenefick notes the scarcity of other historical works

foregrounding working-class Jews, commenting that: 'apart from a few notable

exceptions … the contribution of the Scottish-Jewish working class in Scotland

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[60] *Ibid*., p.viii.

[61] *Ibid*., p.ix.

[62] Kenneth Collins, *Go and Learn: the International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988).

[63] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*.

[64] William Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations: The Glasgow Waterfront c.1880-1914', in *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism*, eds. David Cesarani and Gemma Romain, (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006).

has been largely overlooked'.[65] In his discussion of the intersection of Irish and

Jewish immigrants to Scotland he emphasises the importance of class and

suggests that antisemitism from Scottish workers in the early twentieth century

was due to a common, but possibly inaccurate, perception of Jewish immigrants'

sweating workshops undercutting Scottish workers' wages.[66] He charts the

formation of organisations by the working-class Jewish immigrants of the South

Side of the river such as the Jewish Tailors Union, the Jewish Working Men's

Club and the Jewish Workers' Cooperative Society, which, he asserts, shows that

the Gorbals Jews were 'embracing mainstream Scottish working-class values and

culture'.[67] He outlines the development of Zionist organisations at the beginning

of the twentieth century, noting that they were very much aligned to Gorbals

rather than West End Jewry and that the West End Jews did not want to 'bear an

undue burden of the costs involved' in helping their co-religionists.[68] Like

Collins, he comments on the division between the West End and the South Side

among Glasgow Jewry, but unlike Collins, he argues that this was a class division.

He cites Chaim Berman's statement that 'the West End Jews had nothing against

the South Side, as such, but he did not want his daughter to marry one and if she

did, she was considered as having married out of her class.'[69] Although Kenefick

is correct to make this division between middle-class West End and city centre

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[65] *Ibid*., p.216.

[66] *Ibid*., p.217-8.

[67] *Ibid*., p.220.

[68] *Ibid*., p.222.

[69] Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations', p.222.

Jewry and working-class Gorbals Jewry – the sentiment expressed by Bermant is also found in the Hoppenstein interviews – the new immigrants were not all working-class. Collins, for example, mentions that there were two distinct occupational profiles among the new immigrants living in the Gorbals. Although one group, living mainly in two-room flats, were peddlers or employed tailors and were indeed working-class, another group, in larger accommodation, were self-employed Jewish tailors and other small businessmen.[70] Kenefick's analysis, however, provides a useful frame of reference for the analysis of class differences within the Hoppenstein family.

Ben Braber's study of Jewish integration in Glasgow from 1879 to 1939 charts the reaction of the older Glasgow Jewish community and the local Scottish community to the newer arrivals and considers the process by which the Jewish immigrants who arrived in Glasgow between around 1879 and the beginning of the First World War become integrated into their new environment. He pays considerable attention to links with the host community. In contrast to Buckman, Braber suggests that the reason that the settled Jewish community set up various philanthropic associations to support the new arrivals was to protect their own social position, 'as they felt that the presence of migrants could evoke bias against Jews in general'.[71] The immigrants themselves, Braber points out, soon set up their own self-help initiatives, which, he suggests, were 'to provide an alternative

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[70] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p.46.

[71] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.21.

for general welfare provision'.[72] He notes the formation of mutual aid societies in

the early twentieth century for this purpose. By the end of the 1920s there were

almost 30 Jewish friendly societies operating in Glasgow. These organisations

increasingly resembled Scottish freemason's lodges in their format and structure

and took regular subscriptions in return for benefits.[73]

Braber's discussion of the rise of antisemitism and anti-alienism as part of

the response of the host society to the new immigrants shows how this was

exacerbated as a result of various high-profile criminal cases and increased along

with the rise of fascism in inter-war Scotland. The argument between religious and

secular Jewish education demonstrates how the secular Zionists pushed for the

teaching of Hebrew as the national language of the Jewish people, rather than as the

language of the prayer book and the Torah, which the religious traditionalists saw as

paramount. [74] Braber also highlights the high percentages of Jewish children at the

Gorbals Public School[75] and the history of the debate about the introduction of a

Jewish primary school to Glasgow, something which was not to happen until the

1960s.[76] He discusses the importance of hawking, retailing and the clothing industry

in the economic breakdown of occupations of Gorbals Jews up to the end of the

Second World War[77] and points out that although the Jews worked in a limited

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[72] *Ibid*., pp.22,25-7.

[73] *Ibid*., pp.101-3.

[74] *Ibid*., p.59.

[75] *Ibid*., p.67.

[76] *Ibid*., pp.23-39.

[77] *Ibid*., p.86.

number of occupations, many more Scots than Jews worked in these occupations.[78]
He also outlines the 'success stories' of some of the Gorbals immigrants who
progressed either through education or through commerce. Among these were two
women, Edith Morrison who set up a successful fashion retail firm in the early
twentieth century and Sophie Geneen, who ran a successful *kosher* hotel and two
other restaurants and delicatessen stores in the Gorbals, one of which became a
popular communal meeting place.[79]

Braber discusses the declining attendance at all the synagogues across
Glasgow in the inter-war years. Referring to work by Callum Brown and others,[80]
he notes that at that time there was falling church attendance in the wider Scottish
society too (among non-Catholics, at least), stating that 'while in the early 1910s
most Scots still went to church on Sunday, the same could not be said of the
1930s'.[81] He suggests that 'the fact that synagogues were only filled to their
capacity on Festival days was not necessarily an indication of a decline in
Judaism',[82] and that the many new secular Jewish organizations were attracting
people who might have attended synagogue in the past. Membership of those
groups, Braber reports, 'quickly outnumbered the synagogue seatholders' and
provided their officers, ('ambitious men' as Braber said; very few were women)

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[78] *Ibid*., p.91.

[79] *Ibid*., 99.

[80] Callum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987).

[81] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.152,153.

[82] *Ibid*., p.154.

with seats on the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, which 'gave people a special status'.[83]

Braber discusses post-war developments such as the opening of the Jewish primary school, Calderwood Lodge, in 1962 and its subsequent entry into the state sector in 1982, the end of hawking and peddling, increasing involvement in higher education and the professions and a phenomenon which has been relevant to the Hoppenstein family and which is not mentioned by other commentators who have dealt with earlier periods, the increasing geographical flow of Glasgow Jews to London.[84] He also notes the exponential increase in support among Glasgow Jews for the Zionist movement.[85]

By discussing the involvement of Glasgow Jews in local and national politics, in secular occupations and in education and by demonstrating that every development in Glasgow Jewry was mirrored either by events in the local Scottish community or in other immigrant communities, Braber concludes that 'there was assimilation and acculturation in terms of daily habits, religious practices, language, politics and acculturation, but there was also an opportunity to maintain and develop distinct Jewish identities'.[86] Braber's substantial work builds on that of Kenneth Collins and brings the history of Glasgow Jewry forward beyond the Second World War and again I have drawn extensively on his findings in the

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[83] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.154.

[84] *Ibid*., pp.171-3.

[85] *Ibid*., pp.171-8.

[86] *Ibid*., p.204.

present study. I would, however, argue that it is difficult to discuss assimilation, acculturation and changing Jewish identities purely through the use of written sources. Braber himself carried out a set of oral history interviews in the 1980s in Glasgow with Jewish men and women born in the early twentieth century. I would suggest that Braber's argument would have benefited greatly from the inclusion of evidence from this oral material. These interviews are deposited in the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre at Garnethill Synagogue and have provided useful source material for other historians, among them Billy Kenefick, who uses the interviews to argue that there is a class dimension within the discussion of anti-Semitic and sectarian incidents recounted by the interviewees and to illustrate the working conditions of the early Gorbals Jews.[87] In the present thesis I use the oral testimony of my own interviews with the Hoppenstein family and also some of the interviews carried out by Braber himself to extend his work by studying how individuals form and experience their identities and how the changing nature of Jewish society is played out through the generations.

One scholar who has used oral testimony in research on Glasgow Jewry is Linda Fleming. In her PhD research on Jewish women in Glasgow[88] she seeks to 'place women at the centre of the immigrant narrative, [to] … explore the materiality of working-class women's lives and to make a gendered analysis of

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[87] William Kenefick, 'Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities in Twentieth Century Scotland', in *Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory*, eds. David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, and Milton Shain, (Edgeware, Middlesex and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), pp.53-68.

[88] Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005).

aspects of Jewish suburban life'.[89] As historian David Cesarani said, 'most

research [is] concentrated on the history of Jewish men and adults to the exclusion

of women and the young'.[90] Fleming argues that using personal testimony is a

way to remove the focus from the 'more customary social and economic aspects

of the migration process' and to reveal the 'central roles played by women

immigrants'.[91] Fleming's work is a rare example of a localised study of UK

Jewish immigration focusing on gender and the only one focused on Scotland. In

other communities, Rickie Burman has worked on the interviews with women in

the Manchester Jewish community, challenging the view that 'sees Jewish woman

as preeminently homemakers'.[92]

Cesarani argues that oral histories are sometimes no more accurate than

the 'official histories'. Within the corpus of Jewish migration stories, popular

memoirs and family myths of origin often talk about pogroms and harsh treatment

in the military, the veracity of which can often be challenged. There is, he states,

a place for 'public memory', a way of history that falls somewhere between

'official' and 'vernacular' history and which would be a 'depiction of the past that

mediates between the two and broadly satisfies both'.[93] Oral historian Alistair

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[89] *Ibid*., p.ii.

[90] David Cesarani, 'Introduction', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p.4.

[91] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.ii.

[92] Rickie Burman, 'Jewish Women and the Household Economy in Manchester, c.1890-1920', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

[93] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp.13-20. Cited in David Cesarani, 'Social

Thomson, in a review of oral histories of immigrant groups, cites Bill Williams's study of Jewish immigrants in Manchester to show that often, oral history gives rise to 'myths', but, he argues, the myths themselves are not 'wrong'.[94] Williams argued that there were, sometimes, incongruities in the oral testimonies, but felt that these incongruities had their own rationality. Putting forward an example of an interviewee talking about the Jewish 'love of learning' while actually having been withdrawn from school at a young age for 'life-long, low-paid, repetitive work in a tailoring sweat-shop', Williams asserted:

> oral evidence restores the full context of Jewish life as it was reflected in individual experience. While exploding many inherited collective explanations of communal evolution, it also reveals the role and power of such generalisations as mechanisms of solidarity and defence. It is for this reason that communal myth may co-exist in oral testimony with contradictory personal experience.[95]

At least one of the Hoppenstein fourth generation family members told me the very commonly recounted Jewish immigration myth that Zvi David Hoppenstein landed in Leith but thought he was in the USA.[96] Many Scottish Jewish families have this narrative as part of their imagined history and Cesarani cites several

Memory, History, and British Jewish Identity', in *Modern Jewish Mythologies*, ed. Glenda Abramson, (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), pp.16-20.

[94] Alistair Thomson, 'Moving Stories: Oral History and Migration Studies'. *Oral History*, Vol. 27, no. 1 (1999): p.26.

[95] Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester', pp.51-2.

[96] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Michael Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2008. SOHCA 031/017.

more examples of this myth in his chapter in the edited collection *Modern Jewish Mythologies*.[97]

Ralph Glasser, Evelyn Cowan, Chaim Bermant and C. P. Taylor are among a small group of Scottish Jews who published literary works about Jewish life in the Gorbals. C. P. Taylor's play *Walter* examines the issue of intermarriage.[98] Avram Taylor, the playwright's son, suggests that *Walter* provides an 'illustration of the difficulty of separating religion from culture' and that his father dealt with that difficulty in 'an honest and revealing manner, capturing much of the essence of the experience of his community'.[99] Glasser and Cowan's works,[100] as Fleming points out, are contrasted by their gendered nature and their political outlook; Cowan's, although dealing with lived poverty, are far more positive and conciliatory while Glasser's resonate with his own bitterness:

> Cowan's book is filled with female protagonists, strong and intelligent women who clearly influenced her future life which was lived out entirely in the heart of Jewish Glasgow. Glasser on the other hand, took flight from Glasgow as a young man and his memories of the Gorbals are principally with the men who shaped his own concerns – work, politics, street fighting, and his struggle to get an education. Where women do appear, they are in the guise of downtrodden victims

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[97] Cesarani, 'Social Memory', pp.24-5.

[98] C.P. Taylor, *Walter.* Todmorden: Woodhouse Books (1975).

[99] Avram Taylor, 'Breaking Free from "A Scottish Shtetl": the Life, Times and Jewishness of CP Taylor', *Immigrants and Minorities* Vol 21, no. 1/2 (2002), pp.179-80.

[100] Evelyn Cowan, *Spring Remembered: a Scottish Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh: Southside, 1974); Ralph Glasser, *Growing up in the Gorbals (Omnibus Edition)* (London: Pan, 1987).

of the Gorbals or as women who adopted ruthless methods to escape this fate.[101]

The current thesis builds on and extends this existing literature on Jewish life in Glasgow with two new areas of focus: marriage choice and 'insider/outsider' identity. These two areas are closely linked and allow for issues arising from marriage choice, such as class issues and outmarriage, to be tracked through the generations.

Outside Glasgow, two autobiographies by sons of first generation immigrants who grew up in middle-class professional households contrast markedly with the working-class world of the first generation to grow up in Glasgow, portrayed by Glasser and Cowan. David Daiches, son of well-known Edinburgh rabbi Salis Daiches, gives a rich picture of Jewish life in Edinburgh, contrasting his secular education with a strictly Orthodox Jewish upbringing in his much-cited autobiography *Two Worlds*,[102] and Sidney Price, son of a Dublin GP, writes about growing up in the tiny Dublin Jewish community in the 1930s.[103]

In any work on Judaism it is useful to look at the literature on definitions and discussions of Judaism and Jewishness and to consider the nature of Jewish community and the debate on 'who is a Jew?' Fleming makes the point that the words 'community' and 'communal' are 'slippery descriptions that defy concise definition' and points out that readers should be aware that although she uses the

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[101] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', pp.16-7.

[102] David Daiches, *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1997. First published 1956).

[103] Stanley Price, *Somewhere to Hang My Hat: an Irish-Jewish Journey* (Dublin: New Island, 2002).

expression the 'Glasgow Jewish Community' to refer to Jews living in Glasgow as a collective, 'this does not override the heterogeneous nature of the individuals'.[104] Cesarani agrees, stating that 'the notion of community is extremely problematic and its careless usage promotes a false impression of homogeneity, shared values and accepted sources of authority for a social collectivity in which none of these things actually juxtaposed'.[105] In Glasgow, Jewish people might live in the West End or the South Side, areas largely differentiated by class and origin. Their ancestors might have arrived in the early 1800s from Germany or have been newer arrivals from Eastern Europe; they could be members of any number of different Orthodox synagogues or of the small Reform synagogue which was established in the 1930s.[106] As Fleming points out, there were some who 'did not take an active part in any communal structures, but nevertheless asserted themselves as Jews'.[107] There might be others who considered themselves to be Jewish but who might not be accepted as such by other Jews.[108] Others, as Collins suggests, 'rejected the entire concept of Jewish cohesion' and for whom 'the best solution to their problems was to escape the past, both from oppression and from religion and to cease being Jews'.[109] I

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[104] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.12.

[105] Cesarani, 'Introduction to "The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry"', pp.4-5.

[106] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.159.

[107] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.11.

[108] See, for example, a discussion about Charles Mabon's claim to a Jewish identity, *Jewish Echo,* 28 September 1930. Cited in Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.165-6.

[109] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p.13.

would assert that the evidence in this thesis shows that in fact, people never 'cease being Jews'; as we will see, the regular practice of Judaism may cease, but Jewish heritage becomes important in different ways during the life course.

This discussion stresses that it is not useful to essentialise 'being Jewish', as even in Glasgow, with its relatively small Jewish population, Jewishness comprises many different identities. For the 'Black community', Stuart Hall problemetises this by calling for the end of the 'essential black subject' that will involve a

> recognition of the extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social experiences and cultural identities which compose the category 'black': that is the recognition that 'black' is essentially a politically and culturally constructed category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed transcultural or transcendental racial categories and which therefore has no guarantees in Nature.[110]

In the same way, there is no essential 'Jewish subject'. The methodology of the present thesis brings this out very clearly. The Hoppenstein family within this study spans age, class, gender, political affiliation, attachment to Israel and Zionism and geographical affiliation. They also cover a wide span in terms of their attachment to Judaism. In the next section I look at different definitions and constructs of Jewishness; all of these constructs can find their affiliations within the Hoppenstein family.

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[110] Stuart Hall, 'New Ethnicities', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, (London: Routledge, 2006), p.200.

As discussed in Chapter One, a person's Jewishness (or any identity) can either be ascribed by others or be self-defined. The boundary of the community can change and can be set from either side. Philosophers David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz, in the introduction to their edited book *Jewish Identity*, assert that there is a difference between being Jewish 'simply by way of descent' and '*affirming one's Jewishness* as a matter of choice' and that 'Jewish identity' differs from 'imposition of Jewish identification'.[111] Goldberg and Krausz wonder why one might actually want to establish whether a particular individual was Jewish (or indeed black), with an assumption that this question would only be asked with an anti-Semitic (or racist) undertone.[112] Floya Anthias suggests that institutions and public bodies may want to establish individuals' identities and sort populations 'for the purposes of regulation and control'.[113] Social scientists David Graham and Marlena Schmool, discussing the responses to the 2001 UK Census, argue that:

> Ultimately, the definition of who is 'Jewish' depends on who is posing
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> the question and why it is being asked, as well as the cultural and social
>
> milieux in which Jews live, in other words, it is contextual, it will

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[111] David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz, 'Introduction: The Culture of Identity', in *Jewish Identity*, eds. David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), p.6.

[112] *Ibid.*, p.5.

[113] Floya Anthias, 'Thinking Through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: an Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging', *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* Vol 4, no. 1 (2009), p.7.

depend on which religious, sociological and national factors are held to

be important by the people asking the question.[114]

Dina Pinsky, in a collection of narratives on Jewish feminist identity, agrees that 'there is ongoing debate about the definition of a Jew. Are Jews an ethnic group, a religion, both, or some other category?' She suggests that Jewishness is 'a contested category and a special case. It is not quite ethnicity, not quite religion, and certainly not a monolithic category'.[115] She makes the point that 'since Judaism requires action rather than belief, and ritual observance is prioritised over belief in God, it is possible to be a religiously observant Jewish atheist'.[116] She suggests that geography has an influence on Jewish identity, with those living in areas of large Jewish populations having a stronger sense of their 'Jewishness'.[117]

In an essay looking at changing identities of British Jews,[118] social scientist Stephen Miller has attempted to characterise the underlying dimensions of Jewish identity, 'e.g., intensity of religious belief, strength of belonging' across different age groups, to see how identity changes over time. Using data from the 1995 Institute for Jewish Policy Research Survey of British Jews[119] he

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[114] David Graham, Marlena Schmool *et al.*, 'Jews in Britain: a Snapshot from the 2001 Census', (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2007), p.12.

[115] Dina Pinsky, *Jewish Feminists: Complex Identities and Activist Lives* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), p.13.

[116] *Ibid.*

[117] *Ibid.*, p.116.

[118] Stephen Miller, 'Changing Patterns of Jewish Identity among British Jews', in *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, eds. Zvi Gitelman, Barry Kosmin, and Andras Kovacs, (Budapest, New York: Central Europe University Press, 2003).

[119] S. Miller, M. Schmool *et al.*, 'Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey', (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1996).

distinguishes between 'religiosity' which he defines as 'degree of faith in God and observance of demanding rituals' and 'mental ethnicity' which he defines as 'strength of belonging expressed as personal Jewish feelings'.[120] The different kind of questions asked in this survey relate, for example, to observance of rituals, such as whether people fast on *Yom Kippur*, light candles and stay at home on Friday nights and refrain from work on New Year, ('religiosity') versus questions like whether they 'feel Jewish inside' and whether there is a 'bond which unites all Jews' ('mental ethnicity'). He divides people into their self-descriptor of Strictly Orthodox, Traditional, Progressive, 'Just Jewish' and Secular and notes that the self-description 'Secular' does not denote an absence of ritual – it is used in some cases by 'people who observe a number of common rituals'.[121] Political scientist Hila Elroy, commenting on Miller's work, suggests that Miller's definition of 'mental ethnicity' underlies the fact that 'for young people today Jewish ethnicity is *mental* in the sense that the old rituals have been abandoned and young Jews identify themselves as such through feelings'.[122] In fact, Miller finds that although it is true that the 'identity measures that capture a *feeling* of Jewishness … are actually stronger in the younger groups' and what he calls the 'tougher practices', such as *Shabbat* observance and eating *kosher* food, are observed more in the older generations, the 'key ritual expressions of ethnic

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[120] Miller, 'Jewish Identity', p.55. Cited in David Graham, 'European Jewish Identity at the Dawn of the 21st Century: a Working Paper', (2004), http://www.jpr.org.uk/ downloads/European_Jewish_Identity_in_21st_Century.pdf consulted 8 September 2010, p.48.

[121] Miller, 'Jewish Identity', p.47.

[122] Hila Elroy, 'Anglo – First, Jewish – Next? An Introspection of Jewish Identity as Mirrored in the Academic Boycott Initiative', (2008), http://www.ef.huji.ac.il/ publications/elroy.pdf consulted 8 September 2010, pp.9-10.

identification [such as fasting on *Yom Kippur*] are preserved across generations'.[123]

Sociologists Harriet Hartman and Debra Kaufman, looking at a range of surveys carried out in the USA on Jewish identity, comment that 'survey data are notoriously weak at allowing us to know how respondents distinguish between the categories presented and the meaning and motivations for their ethnic/religious behaviours'.[124] They cite Mayer et al who, in the American Jewish Identity Survey 2001, remind the reader that 'the setting of the social boundaries is determined as much by the questions asked as by the subjective meaning associated with those questions on the part of the respondent'.[125] Questionnaire surveys may, then, be skewed in that respondents may not have the same understanding of the questions asked as those who are asking them. The findings of the Institute of Jewish Policy Research survey and the American Jewish Identity survey are based on self-completed postal questionnaires and therefore, the questions answered by respondents were based on what the authors of the reports felt were worth asking, rather than what the respondents wished to answer.

Social psychologist Bethamie Horowitz, also critical of current survey data, carried out a study designed to explore the place and meaning of being Jewish in the lives of younger, American-born Jews and discovered that tracking

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[123] Miller, 'Jewish Identity', p.50.

[124] Harriet Hartman and Debra Kaufman, 'Decentering the Study of Jewish Identity: Opening the Dialogue With Other Religious Groups', *Sociology of Religion* Vol 67, no. 4 (2006).

[125] Egon Mayer, Barry Kosmin *et al.*, 'American Jewish Identity Survey 2001: An Exploration in the Demography and Outlook of a People ', (2003, first published 2001), http://www.simpletoremember.com/vitals/ajisbook.pdf consulted 12 February 2011, p.17. Cited in Hartman and Kaufman, 'Decentering the Study of Jewish Identity', p.370.

'behaviours' (fasting on *Yom Kippur*, for example) was easier and perhaps more clear-cut than tracking internal attachment to Judaism, but 'can lead us to underestimate the persistence of Jewish identity'.[126] Using a set of in-depth interviews and focus groups, she asked people 'for you, personally, what does being Jewish involve'? Horowitz created a 'map of people's Jewishness, using two dimensions', with one axis being people's 'Jewish attachment' and the other charting the 'behavioural aspects' of Judaism. In the upper right quadrant were people who experience 'high commitment and intense feeling and are highly active'. The lower right quadrant contains people who 'feel little attachment and do little'. What is new in Horowitz's approach is the other quadrants, that is, the people who feel a deep connection to being Jewish but do very little and, in contrast, people who 'outwardly conform but without strong commitment.'[127] As we shall see, there are examples of individuals from the Hoppenstein family in each quadrant. What all of these surveys miss, however and what is apparent in this study of one family over several generations, is the opportunity to chart changes in behaviour over time. Floya Anthias suggests that identity is a process, rather than a possessive attribute of an individual or a group.[128]

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[126] Bethamie Horowitz, 'Connections and Journeys: A New Vocabulary for Understanding American Jewish Identity', in *The Ultimate Jewish Teacher's Handbook*, ed. Nachama Skolnik Moskowitz, (Springfield NJ: Behrman House, Inc, 2003), p.76.

[127] *Ibid*., p.77.

[128] Anthias, 'Translocational Positionality', p.7.

The debate on 'who is a Jew?' has raged for many years, not least in the English High Court during 2009[129] and in the Israeli parliament since the foundation of the State of Israel.[130] In the Orthodox tradition a Jew is defined as being someone with a Jewish mother, that is, someone herself born of a Jewish mother or who has converted to Judaism through a recognised Orthodox process. In the UK, the Orthodox synagogue (United Synagogue, as represented by the Chief Rabbi) and the Reform synagogue, stand by the matrilineal principle but have different processes for conversion. Liberal Judaism, on the other hand, states that Judaism is not transmitted genetically, but culturally. So, in Liberal Judaism,

> a child of a non-Jewish father and a Jewish mother is regarded as Jewish, without the need of conversion, if brought up as a Jew, whereas the child of a Jewish mother and a non-Jewish father, if brought up in another religion or identifying with a religion other than Judaism, is regarded as non-Jewish and able to become Jewish only by conversion.[131]

The choice of marriage partner is, therefore, salient in the discussion of whether the children of the marriage will be Jewish. Ancient Biblical and Talmudic texts (for example, Deuteronomy 7:3, Nehemiah 13:23-5) prohibit Jews marrying non-

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[129] See, for example, Afua Hirsch and Riazat Butt, 'Faith School's Admission's Policy Discriminatory, Says Appeal Court', *The Guardian*, 25 June 2009.

[130] See, for example, Akiva Orr, *The Unjewish State: the Politics of Jewish Identity in Israel* (London: Ithaca Press, 1983), pp.35-7.

[131] Rabbi John D Rayner, 'Liberal Judaism and Jewish Identity', (n.d.), http://www.liberaljudaism.org/lj_wherewestand_liberaljudaism.htm consulted 17 September 2009.

Jews, although even these texts reflect the fact that that Jews have always married non-Jews wherever they have lived. From biblical times through to the present day, Orthodox Jewish commentators have seen intermarriage as a threat to Jewish continuity and the transmission of Jewish culture and heritage. Philo of Alexandria, who lived between c.20 B.C.E. and c.50 C.E., commenting on intermarriage in his *Special Laws*, saw it as step towards a 'pathless wild' and a threat to the children of the marriage.[132] The current Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, in his book *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren?* felt that the problem of intermarriage was the most important one that he had to face in his new appointment, bigger than the 'war of cultures between religious and secular Jews, … the … separation of Israel and the diaspora… and the … schism between orthodoxy and liberal interpretations of Judaism'.[133]

In contrast to Orthodox anti-assimilationist views on intermarriage, some non-Orthodox commentators throughout the twentieth century, particularly in the USA, proposed that intermarriage would help to solve problems of racism and prejudice. The 1908 play *The Melting Pot,* by Israel Zangwill, for example, as well as introducing its title into the language, brought this concept into the hearts of many new Jewish (and other) immigrants. The play's protagonists suggested to the audience that intermarriage would 'smelt America's diverse citizenry into a

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[132] Philo of Alexandria, *On The Special Laws 3.29*, trans. Colson, Vol. VII (London: Heinemann, 1937), pp.492-3.

[133] Sacks, *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren*, p.1.

unified and stronger alloy'.[134] Milton Gordon, writing in 1964, again in the USA,

felt that the fact that 'Jews could freely marry non-Jews' ushered in a 'new era of

individual autonomy'.[135]

This viewpoint does not seem to have been prevalent in Glasgow Jewry.

Rabbi Gottlieb, head of the Glasgow *Beth Din* [the Jewish rabbinical court] said in

1931 that 'intermarriage means the dissolution of the community',[136] and the

editor of the *Jewish Echo* suggested in 1965 that the growth of intermarriage was

due to a 'lack of Hebrew knowledge and literature'.[137]

Braber attributes the rise in the number of mixed marriages after 1939 to

be the 'result of war circumstances, when young people were away from home

and had many opportunities to find non-Jewish partners' and suggests that 'their

offspring no longer consider[ed] themselves or [were] regarded as Jews'.[138]

Fleming, in her work, mentions the 'countless [individuals] who disengaged

themselves from Judaism and from their Jewish ethnicity' but does not include

them in her analysis as, she states, they 'are very difficult to identify and must be

considered as totally assimilated'.[139] Kenefick cites one of Braber's informants

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[134] Cited in Lila Corwin Berman, 'Sociology, Jews, and Intermarriage in Twentieth-Century America', *Jewish Social Studies* Vol 14, no. 2 (2008), p.35.

[135] Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.263. Cited in Berman, 'Sociology, Jews and Intermarriage', p.48.

[136] *Jewish Echo,* 30 October 1931. Cited in Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.65.

[137] *Jewish Echo,* 26 March 1965. Cited in Tova Benski, 'Inter-Ethnic Relations in a Glasgow Suburb' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1976), p.81.

[138] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.171,180.

[139] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.9.

who uses language which clarifies how Glasgow Jews felt about people who married out:

> Dr Naftalin cited the case of a prominent Glasgow Jewish woman who became President of the non-Jewish Scottish Boys Club Association. This was a great achievement and a great honour and a further example of how far the Jewish community had come in Scotland. Indeed, she [too] went on to receive an OBE. But her family was totally assimilated and as a result *'[t]hey disappeared*. The whole family are [sic] no longer Jewish'.[140]

This statement suggests that the woman had literally become invisible to him and to other Glasgow Jews once she had moved away from the Jewish community. As mentioned, we will see that the reality is not so simple. Those individuals who marry out do not simply 'disappear', neither do their children. The methodology of the current thesis allows us to track those individuals and reflect on their and their descendents' relationship with their Jewish family of origin.

Writers in other geographical areas have looked at the 'other side' of this story, often because of their own experiences. Emma Klein, a child of a Jewish father and non-Jewish mother, interviewed children of mixed marriages, some of whom still felt very connected to Judaism, as does Emma herself.[141] She was particularly interested in 'those on the outside edge' of Judaism, 'Jews who

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[140] Kenefick, 'Jewish and Irish Communities', p.65. Citing Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Dr Leslie Naftalin, interview by Ben Braber. 1989. My emphasis.

[141] Emma Klein, *Lost Jews: The Struggle for Identity Today* (New York: St Martins Press Inc, New York, 1996).

mingle mainly with their gentile fellow-citizens, young Jews alienated by communities they perceive as too narrow, people with one Jewish parent or more remote Jewish descent' and feels that it is those groups who are 'most likely to be lost to the Jewish people'. She suggests that in the past, those people 'would have been content to disappear, to be absorbed into the wider culture and forget their Jewish ancestry'. But that recently 'thousands of lost Jews are seeking out some testimony of their Jewish heritage, many going so far as to assert a Jewish identity denied them by parental or ancestral negligence or by the rigours of Jewish religious law'.[142] Others of Klein's interviewees, despite having Jewish names inherited from their fathers, were uninterested in the Jewish side of their heritage.[143]

An international collection of essays on mixed marriage, edited by Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio Della Pergola, compares and contrasts the attitudes to and history of intermarriage in France, Britain, Scandinavia, Canada, the former Soviet Union, South Africa and South America.[144] Keren McGinity, a Jewish historian married to a non-Jewish man, made a study of American women throughout the twentieth century who had also married out, starting with Mary Antin Grabau, Rose Pastor Stokes and Anna Strunsky Walling who immigrated to the USA between 1886 and 1894 and ending with a group of her own contemporaries. McGinity mentions the phenomenon of 'return in-marriage',

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[142] *Ibid*., p.5.

[143] *Ibid*., p.174.

[144] Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola, Eds., *Jewish Intermarriage Around the World* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

something which we shall see occurs within the Hoppenstein family. She cites

Bruce Phillips who found that 'adult children of mixed marriage, whom many

observers of the Jewish scene have written off, make up a critical proportion of

recent in-marriages'.[145] The National Center for Jewish Policy Studies at Hebrew

College commissioned a survey of intermarried (Jewish and non-Jewish) families

in the early 2000s. While stating that it was a 'policy-oriented study', looking at

ways in which the Jewish community should approach the issue of intermarriage,

it begins with a discussion about the early 'panic' reaction of the Jewish

establishment to statistics on intermarriage and suggests a 'maturing of attitudes

on the part of the community generally and an evolution in approach since the

original polar communal responses of the 1990s'.[146]

　　　None of those writers on mixed marriage examine the effects of

intermarriage on communications within an extended family, although McGinity

and Dashevsky et al do discuss familial (parental) reactions to outmarriage.[147]

The one exception is Chaim Bermant's *The Cousinhood*, a book which considers

an extended Jewish family, in England rather than Scotland and a very different

kind of family to the Hoppensteins. It takes an overview of the Anglo-Jewish

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[145] Keren McGinity, *Still Jewish: A History of Women and Intermarriage in America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), p.215. Citing Bruce Phillips, *Re-examining Intermarriage: Trends, Textures, Strategies* (Los Angeles: Susan and David Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies and the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center of the American Jewish Committee, 1997), p.78.

[146] Arnold Dashefsky and Zachary I. Heller, 'Intermarriage and Jewish Journeys in the United States. (A purposive sample of intermarried couples who agreed to be interviewed. Reproduced by permission of the author)', (2008), http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Reports/Intermarriage_and_Jewish_Journeys_in_the_United_States.pdf consulted 14 March 2008, p.32.

[147]*Ibid*; McGinity, *Still Jewish: A History of Women and Intermarriage in America*, pp.89-95.

elite, the extended Sephardi[148] family of Cohens, Rothschilds, Goldsmiths, Montefiores and Sassoons, many of whom married into the English gentry in order to better assimilate. The 'Cousinhood' dynasty traced by Bermant tracks the passing down of Jewish culture through the generations, the differences in observance across branches of the family, the way in which the religion can die out in some branches and be maintained and even strengthened in others and the different choices made by people, albeit with similar backgrounds, in education and career choice, marriage and raising children. The book charts a very public British antisemitism that accompanied the rise of the family, the antisemitism which accompanies wealth and favour,[149] and this book has provided a useful model for the charting of a very different family who also experienced changing types of antisemitism through the generations.

Having examined ways in which other scholars have discussed the themes and issues which will be raised in this thesis, I now move on to the four empirical chapters, looking at five generations of the Hoppenstein family through the twentieth century, firstly in the secular sphere, next making marriage choices, then in the home and finally in the Jewish public sphere. In each of these chapters I draw on the context, background, theories and approaches as outlined above.

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[148] Sephardi Jews are Jewish of Spanish descent: the older established Anglo-Jewish community was mainly of Sephardi origin, whereas the newer immigrants from Russia at the late nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century were Ashkenazi Jews, of Eastern European origin.

[149] Chaim Bermant, *The Cousinhood* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1971).

Chapter Three

'Some of them couldn't make a living and he had to support them':

living, learning and working in Scotland

> Referee Mr McRae states that applicant led him to understand that his
> reason for seeking naturalisation was because he was afraid that the
> Jews might be expelled from this country. The applicant now states
> that he wishes to be naturalised in order that he might become a British
> subject, as he prefers the laws of this country to that of his own.
>
> William Frew, Detective Officer, Edinburgh City Police, 1894

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In this chapter I examine the lives of the five generations of the Hoppenstein family
in Scotland and discuss how they integrated and mixed with the host community in
school, work and other contexts. Using personal testimony in the case of the latter
three generations and some other primary sources such as contemporary newspapers,
census documents, naturalisation papers, wills and valuation rolls, which shed light
on the lives of members of the earlier generations, I will show that mixing with
members of the host community in the context of secular education and the
workplace often served to bring out feelings of difference and, hence, to intensify in
a new way the Jewishness of the new immigrants and their descendants. And I will
show how there is a gendered aspect to the 'public sphere', the sphere in which, for
the most part, the family played out their learning and working lives.

The first immigrant generation, fresh from a wholly Jewish life in the *Shtetl*, found a very different life in Scotland.[1] Although they stayed within the Jewish community for their religious education, friendship networks and marriage and, in some cases, their work, they had to make contact with the indigenous Scottish population in order to meet their basic needs of food and shelter and for the secular education of their children. Braber examines the ways in which the immigrant generation integrated with the host population in Glasgow.[2] Among other themes, he analyses the education and working lives of the immigrants and suggests that within three generations the population 'became part of a changing society, and adopted a new lifestyle, while holding on to and developing what they believed was essential in their own identities'.[3] Braber uses contemporary written sources but does not explore complementary and occasionally contrasting evidence from oral testimony among members of the Glasgow Jewish community. Exploring the same themes of education and work through a narrower focus of the lives of members of five generations of the Hoppenstein family, I draw some different conclusions here.

Several members of the later generations referred to feeling 'different' or like an 'outsider' from an early age, at school and alongside non-Jews and even in comparison with other Jews who lived in more close-knit communities. Through an

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[1] See for example Irving Howe and Kenneth Libo, *World Of Our Fathers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), pp.5-25; S. S. Weinberg, *The World of our Mothers* (New York: Schocken Books, 1988).

[2] Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007).

[3] *Ibid*., p.204.

analysis of the oral testimony of my informants' experiences of school, higher education and work, I will consider how far this is the case through the different generations. If, as I will argue, Jewish identity is intensified by contact with non-Jews, then it can also be argued that teaching about Judaism in the home and the synagogue (see Chapters Four and Five) may be only two sides of an essential triangle of influence on an individual's Jewish identity. For an individual to gain a full understanding of their own Jewish culture and identity, it may be that going out into the world and experiencing themselves as the 'other' serves to complete a picture of a person's sense of their Jewishness in what was and is a predominantly gentile world. Einstein's 1914 statement: 'I discovered for the first time that I was a Jew. I owed this discovery more to Gentiles than Jews'[4] resonates here. In the same year, the Glasgow Jewish Literary Society held a debate on 'Is persecution necessary for the preservation of the Jewish race?'[5] The motion was narrowly carried, showing that the Jews of Glasgow felt that the reaction of host nations, even if it was a negative reaction, was important in the establishment and continuation of their Jewish identity. Avraham Burg, writing in *Haaretz*, the left-wing Israeli English-language paper, cites two scholars writing 60 years apart, Sartre in 1946 and A. B. Yehoshua in 2008, who both make the same point. He writes:

> despite his diligent struggle against antisemitism, [Sartre] saw the
>
> Jews as no more than a produce of the antisemitic gaze. … he

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[4] Alice Calaprice, Ed., *The Expanded Quotable Einstein* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.126. Cited in Sander L Gilman, *Multiculturalism and the Jews* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), p.102.

[5] *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 January 1914.

maintained a trenchant existential observation that it is actually the

antisemite who determines who is a Jew. Years later, in *Homeland*

Grasp (2008) A.B. Yehoshua wrote 'in a certain tragic sense,

antisemitism has become the most important and most natural

component in crystallising Jewish identity, so much so that for many

Jews the absence of antisemitism ... appears suspicious and

unnatural.'[6]

Following this argument it can be seen that Jewish adoption of a new lifestyle was

mediated by their reception by the host community. This reception was by no means

always hostile, but was occasionally unwelcoming.

Kushner points to Jewish evacuees during World War Two who attended

non-Jewish schools being 'first made aware more starkly of being Jewish'.[7] Jewish

secondary schools have existed in London since 1732 and in Manchester since 1842,[8]

but the first Jewish primary school was not established in Scotland until 1962 and

there has never been a Jewish secondary school in Scotland.[9] It was not until the fifth

generation, in the 1980s and 1990s, that any of the Hoppenstein descendants were to

attend a Jewish school (except for a short time in the 1950s when one branch of the

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[6] Avraham Burg, 'When the Walls Come Tumbling Down,' *Haaretz*, 1 April 2011. Citing Jean Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York: Schoken Books, 1965), and A.B. Yehoshua, *Homeland Grasp* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2008).

[7] Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society During the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p.77.

[8] Joseph Jacobs and Isidore Harris, 'Manchester', in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Cyrus Adler, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), p.286. And 'JFS History'. JFS, www.jfs.brent.sch.uk/jfs-history.aspx, consulted 24 April 2010.

[9] Eleanor Caldwell, 'A Little Bit of Israel in Glasgow; Opinion,' *Times Educational Supplement Magazine* 1998.

family lived in Israel and their oldest son attended an Israeli primary school). So it was at these non-Jewish schools where members of the second and third generation Hoppenstein family and those of the fourth generation who had been brought up Jewish – and even some of those who had not been brought up Jewish – say they first became aware of their identity as members of a separate Jewish minority or as people whom others wanted to single out as 'different'.

There is evidence from the oral testimony of the third, fourth and fifth generations and from written accounts of earlier generations that members of each generation of the Hoppenstein family have experienced behaviour which they saw as antisemitic or which could be classed as antisemitism. The nature of antisemitism as experienced by the Hoppenstein family and as outlined by other scholars, has changed throughout the century. Scholars such as Mandle, Lebzelter, Holmes, Kushner and more recently Julius[10] have all looked at antisemitism in British society. In the main, these discussions focus on English or more specifically London society and do not specifically look at the Scottish experience. Each of these volumes attempts to categorise different types of antisemitism. One category dealt with by each of the writers is the blood-libel, that is, accusations of ritual murder. These accusations start in the twelfth century and can still be found in the present. A second type is 'legal differentiation' or seeing the problem of Jews being related to their being 'non-Christian', with conversion to Christianity being a 'cure' for this

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[10] W. F. Mandle, *Anti-Semitism and the British Union of Fascists* (London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd., 1968); Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939* (London: Macmillan, 1978); C Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979); Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice*; Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

problem.[11] A third type is 'post-industrial antisemitism', including what Lebzelter

calls 'non-violent social antisemitism[12] or, in Julius's terms, a 'modern, quotidian

antisemitism of insult and partial exclusion'.[13] Julius brings the discussion up to date

by including a fourth category of antisemitism (which, as we will see, has been

experienced by the later generations of Hoppensteins): 'a new configuration of anti-

Zionisms....which treats Zionism and the State of Israel as illegitimate Jewish

enterprises'.[14] The episodes of schoolyard and street violence experienced by some

of the Hoppenstein family throughout the twentieth century do not figure in this

typology but are certainly part of the lived experience of the Hoppenstein family, as I

demonstrate in this chapter.

Men are often associated with the public sphere and women with the private

sphere. Historian Paula Hyman quotes the French 'Archives Israelite' of 1858

saying that 'man exists for public life; woman, for domestic life'[15] – but as we shall

see this is not always the case. Fleming warns that it would be a mistake to:

> [confine] female experience to the home and [ignore] their life
>
> outside it. ... immigrant women did not spend all of their time at
>
> home. ... [but] dominant historical discourses have created this

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[11] Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England*, pp.2-3. Jews were officially restricted in standing for most public offices by not being able to swear a Christian oath, which lasted until the passing of the Promissory Oaths Act of 1871. See Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society*, p.8.

[12] Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England*, p.3.

[13] Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, p.xxxvi.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp.xxxvi-xxxvii.

[15] Cited in Paula Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: the Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1995), p.28.

image and these in turn have had an effect on how female

experiences can be narrated.[16]

Fleming used oral testimony in her research to illustrate the fact that, in contrast to

the 'dominant historical discourses', 'immigrant women were conspicuous in the

Gorbals and not confined to the home, they have been merely reconstructed as such

by a communal history that tends not to intrude on perceived private areas'.[17]

The first generation: arrival in Scotland

Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein arrived in Edinburgh from Lithuania in the early

1880s. In order to meet their most basic needs for shelter and food, they had to

engage with the local community. Although qualified as a rabbi, Zvi David's first

employment was as a peddler, hawking jewellery and pictures.[18] This was not such

an unusual way of earning a living; there were nine Jewish picture dealers or frame

makers, fifteen jewellers and seventeen hawkers listed in the 1881 Census for

Edinburgh.[19] Zvi David would have obtained the goods for sale from Jewish

wholesalers and sold them to Scots around the streets of Edinburgh in the way

described by Simons in his fictional account of the life of a Scottish Jewish peddler

and by Bill Williams in his account of similar activity among the Jewish immigrants

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[16] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.18.

[17] *Ibid.*, p.394.

[18] This was Zvi David's profession as noted on the birth certificates of the couple's first three children: Eve Ettey in 1883, Abraham Aaron (Harry) in 1885 and Isaac, in 1887. Edinburgh, General Register for Scotland: Birth Certificates 685/3/1883/399 (Eve Ettey Hoppenstein); 685/1/1885/0963 (Abraham Aaron Hoppenstein); 685/1/1887/763 (Isaac Hoppenstein).

[19] Harvey Kaplan, 'A Snapshot of Edinburgh Jewry in 1801', *Edinburgh Star*, July 2000.

in Manchester.[20] Zvi David spoke only Yiddish in the home.[21] Despite this, he would have had to learn at least some English, in order to successfully trade with members of the host nation, although many Jewish travellers or peddlers were able to ply their trade using solely Yiddish in the early days of immigration.[22] Sophia would have been responsible for shopping for the couple's domestic needs and later for her growing family and it was likely that she needed to speak some English. But especially in Glasgow and to a lesser extent in Edinburgh, business was carried out in Yiddish in Jewish shops, often run by women on their own.[23]

Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein also engaged with the local Scottish community through renting accommodation. The couple lived in Leith, near the port of immigration, when they first arrived in Edinburgh in 1883, but by 1885 they had moved to Dalry in the city centre. Over the next ten years they had at least six other addresses, mainly tenement flats in and around Caledonian Crescent near the city's main synagogues.[24] Many of the other tenants in their buildings were also new

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[20] J. David Simons, *The Credit Draper* (Ullapool: Two Ravens Press, 2008), based on accounts from Simons' own family. '"Picture-fakers" sold picture frames and tinted photographs on a door-to-door basis, teams from Manchester travelling as far as Scotland and South Wales. 'Klappers' (from the Yiddish, 'klap', to knock) travelled from house to house buying gold jewellery and ornaments for resale at a profit to city bullion dealers'. Bill Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History', *Oral History* Vol 7, no. 1 (1979), p.52 note 41.

[21] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/004a.

[22] See for example David Daiches, *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1997. First published 1956), p.123.

[23] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.102.

[24] Edinburgh, General Register for Scotland. Birth Certificates: Eve Ettey Hoppenstein, 1883. 685/3/1883/399. Solomon Hoppenstein. 1889. 685/3/1889/625. Abraham Aaron Hoppenstein. 1885. 685/1/1885/0963. *Jewish Chronicle,* 1 May 1903. Glasgow: Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1905. Arthur Stone archive: inscription in book. Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Census Entry for the Hoppenstein family. 1911. 1911685/06001/00002.

Jewish immigrants, but the buildings were owned by Scots and there were several non-Jews as well as Jews in each of the buildings.[25] The couple would have had no choice but to engage with landlords and the majority of other tenants in English.

Zvi David Hoppenstein applied for naturalisation in 1894. For this purpose he had to provide references from five Scots. Daniel McDougall of 22 Downfield Place wrote that he had known Zvi David Hoppenstein for seven years, 'not from information merely, but from personal knowledge of him, … having been neighbours together and residing in the same locality'.[26] Four other non-Jewish Edinburgh Scots testified that they had known Zvi David Hoppenstein personally for between two and five years.[27] The requirement to find five local residents to vouch for an immigrant applying for naturalisation may well have posed challenges.

Zvi David's occupation at the time of his naturalisation was listed as both 'Teacher of Hebrew' and 'Hawker of Jewellery'. On another letter in the naturalisation file, the occupation 'traveller' had been scored out and 'teacher' was inserted above it, presumably showing that Zvi David was not only beginning to earn his living as a Hebrew teacher within the Jewish community, but also, perhaps, that he thought that the occupation of teacher might serve him better in his appeal for

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[25] In 1885, for example, Zvi David Hoppenstein rented a tenement in 38 Caledonian Crescent, Dalry, from 'Miss Susan Darling's Representatives', for £9.00 per year. Other tenants in the building included another Jewish traveller, a Jewish waterproof coatmaker and five Scots with trades including butcher, railway servant and mason. Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Edinburgh Valuation Roll, St Cuthbert's Parish Vol One. 1884-5. VR100/127, p.200.

[26] Edinburgh City Police, Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein.

[27] Daiches, writing about his father, an Edinburgh Rabbi of the same generation as Zvi David, talked about his living in a different world to the secular Edinburgh society. Although from the evidence given in the naturalisation form it seems that Zvi David did associate with Scots, it is likely that he encountered some difficulty in finding five Scots willing to vouch that they had known him personally for the length of time stipulated in the documentation.

naturalisation. As noted in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, Zvi David

gave as the reason for his application that he was 'afraid that the Jews might be

expelled from this country' and that he 'prefers the laws of this country to that of his

own'.[28] The fact that Zvi David Hoppenstein wrote in his naturalisation application

that he thought that at some stage the Jews might be expelled from Britain gives the

first indication that he thought that there might be a prospect of institutional

antisemitism or 'legal differentiation' on the part of the government. According to

Moss Hoppenstein, the youngest son of Zvi David and Sophia, in a radio programme

on Jewish immigration to Scotland recorded in 1981, the couple had wanted to leave

Russia because of the antisemitic regime:

> because, I'm not sure if it was 1880 or before that, it was enacted
>
> that all Jews were liable for military service, it applied to everybody
>
> in the country. Well, there was a difficulty there with dietary laws
>
> being infringed, they couldn't eat bacon and so on like that and they
>
> wanted time for worshipping so they decided to get out.[29]

There are many such accounts of Jewish migrants fleeing harsh conscription laws,

pogroms or antisemitism in Russia, recounted by children of first generation

immigrants.[30] Historian John Klier,[31] however, challenges the assumption that

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[28] Edinburgh City Police, Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein.

[29] Murdoch Rodgers, *Glasgow Jewry*, BBC Radio Scotland, 24 March 1982.

[30] For example, Gloria Mound, *Take a Basket* (London: Privately published, 1980); Cyril Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy* (London: Centerprise, 1988).

[31] John D Klier, 'Emigration Mania in Late-Imperial Russia: Legend and Reality', in *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*, ed. Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil (London: JHSE and Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996), p.22.

migration was entirely due to the pogroms or legal restrictions, arguing that the real

stimulus for the mass migration was poverty and economic hardship. In a collection

of papers on *Modern Jewish Mythologies*, David Cesarani argues that Russian

antisemitism was a constructed 'myth of origin'; there were few or no pogroms at the

time that the largest numbers of Jewish immigrants came to the UK and the

conscription laws for Jews had been considerably relaxed. However, he suggests,

'since the 17th century the English [sic] had been famed for their loathing of

standing armies and conscription' and it was 'in the interests of the immigrants to

characterise the flow of migration as a flight from persecution'. Talking to a British

border guard about fleeing a harsh regime could 'make the difference between

admission to Britain and instant deportation'.[32]

It is significant that Moss ascribed the threat of conscription and the

problems of *kosher* food and lack of time for worship as reasons for his parents'

migration. What people remember and recount in their oral testimony is as

significant as the actual facts.[33] Zvi David Hoppenstein had trained as a rabbi as a

young man and Moss was aware that his father's most cherished values were the

maintenance of his Jewish traditions. Of course, this was not the case for every

immigrant; many had left the 'old country' in order to throw off the old traditions.[34]

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[32] David Cesarani, 'Social Memory, History, and British Jewish Identity', in *Modern Jewish Mythologies*, ed. Glenda Abramson, (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), pp.21-2.

[33] Alessandro Portelli, 'Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal* Vol 96, no. 12 (1981), p.100.

[34] Many of the Russian immigrants went to the USA rather than Scotland. One of Sydney Stahl Weinberg's American Jewish immigrant interviewees remembers her mother throwing her *sheitel* (wig) out of the train on the way to join her husband in the United States, saying 'In America, they don't wear these'. Weinberg, *The World of our Mothers*, p.77.

As soon as he could, Zvi David obtained work in the Jewish community, as a teacher of Hebrew and as a *shohet*. Although working as a peddler could have allowed him to keep *Shabbat* and choose his own hours, there was always a pressure for peddlers to work on Saturdays. Bill Williams suggested that

> for the credit draper – a traveller selling domestic textiles and
>
> clothing on the basis of small weekly payments – Saturday was the
>
> most important day of the week, an essential collecting day if the
>
> week's wages of his customers were not to be drunk away in the
>
> pubs.[35]

As we shall see in Chapter Five, male members of the Hoppenstein family through subsequent generations have indeed worked on Saturdays, while their wives maintained the traditions within the household. Once Zvi David had found work wholly within the Jewish community, his life was lived largely in a separate, Jewish world. The first generation, then, was a time when Zvi David tried to move back from the public Scottish sphere to the Jewish sphere, which was public in that it was external to the home, but private in that it was contained within the Jewish community. The couple's children, however, all moved into the Scottish secular sphere through their education and their work, as we see in the next section.

The second generation: new names and new careers

Scotland in the early years of the twentieth century was a particularly hospitable environment for the children of the new Jewish immigrant. The long-held Scottish

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[35] Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester', p.46.

tradition of meritocracy, where clever children had always been allowed to go on to higher education without regard to their background, was coupled with the availability of grants and bursaries through the Carnegie Trust from 1901.[36] The 'conscience clause' enshrined in the 1872 Scottish Education Act, whereby children could be withdrawn from religious education, allowed the new Jewish immigrant to feel comfortable sending their child to Scottish schools without the danger that they would be converted or made to take part in Christian prayers.[37] This meant that the Scottish educational system could be seen to hold few if any barriers to advancement (for men, at least).

The second generation Hoppenstein children attended Boroughmuir High School, Viewforth, one of Scotland's first non-fee-paying secondary schools,[38] which was close to Caledonian Crescent and the Dalry synagogue. 'There is no scientific way to extract Jews from census records' or any other list, as Kaplan reminds us,[39] but out of 45 children listed as taking the first term examinations in 1911 Moses Hoppenstein was one of only two children with a Jewish name,[40] clearly indicating that Jews were very much in the minority. We have no oral testimony from the second generation about their experience of school, so we know little about

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[36] 'Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland: Our History'. http://www.carnegie-trust.org/our_history.htm, consulted 4 March 2010.

[37] Alexander Craig Sellar, *Manual of the Education Act for Scotland.* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1872), p.40.

[38] 'Boroughmuir High School'. Boroughmuir High School, http://www.boroughmuir.edin.sch.uk, consulted 29 May 2010.

[39] Harvey Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow: SJAC, 2006), p.5.

[40] Edinburgh, Boroughmuir School. *Examination Lists.* First Term, Session 1911-1912. Second Term, Session 1912-1913.

whether the children's Jewishness was remarked on by the other pupils or teachers, whether they did, in fact, 'withdraw' from the periods of Christian prayer or religious education or whether they were able to take time off school for religious holidays. We do know, however, from the experience of Jewish children at other Scottish schools that they were very likely to have taken time off school for religious holidays and to have left school early on *Shabbat*.[41]

The evidence suggests that the Scottish school system worked well, at least for the younger male second generation Hoppenstein children. Harry, the oldest son, had left school by the age of fifteen and was apprenticed to a watchmaker.[42] The newly available Carnegie grants enabled the other four boys to go on from school to higher education. However, whilst the grants provided some financial resources covering fees and other expenses so that the four younger brothers could study, the time invested in studying was still a financial investment by the sons and the whole family, as this was time not spent earning money for the family. Dr Emil Glasser, another second generation immigrant, interviewed by Ben Braber in the 1980s (and who has also been interviewed for the present study) recalled: 'I would say that the parents who allowed their children to go to university made enormous sacrifices – the first generation immigrants – that we should go to be able to go to university'.[43] The four Hoppenstein boys all studied chemistry and medicine-related subjects and

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[41] Glasgow: Glasgow City Archives. *Logbook, Gorbals Public School.* 3 October 1887 and 25 November 1914. Cited in Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.66.

[42] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Census Entry for the Hoppenstein family. 1901. 1901685/01123/01007.

[43] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Dr Emil Glasser, interview by Ben Braber. 1988.

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progressed to work in the medical field. These four brothers were able, in

Bourdieu's terms, to invest considerable time in their 'embodied cultural capital'.

Isaac, the second son, had a glittering early career as a research chemist, winning

medals and prizes throughout his university career in Chemistry, Physics, Mechanics

and Natural Philosophy.[44] He returned to university in his forties to study medicine

and became a Glasgow GP for the last years of his life. Solly (Sidney), the third son

and Marcus, the fourth son, also won medals and prizes for chemistry and pharmacy

studies.[45] By the time Marcus was at university, the family's financial situation had

worsened and he was not able to complete his medical studies at university. His son

Arthur Stone recalled:

> So he studied medicine, my father. … And he went to the third year,
>
> out of the five years, won the prize in physics and chemistry, gained
>
> the gold medal in *Materia Medica*, and then unfortunately he
>
> couldn't continue his medicine because he was keeping the family.
>
> He couldn't afford it. Some of them couldn't make a living and he
>
> had to support them.[46]

Bourdieu reminds us that not all families 'have the economic or cultural means for

prolonging their children's education beyond the minimum necessary'[47] and until the

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[44] *Jewish Chronicle,* 11 May 1906, 24 April 1908, 8 April 1910, 5 August 1910. And Andrew Connor, 2007. Personal communication with the author (Email, 14 November).

[45] *Jewish Chronicle,* 15 May 1908, 28 April 1911, 12 January and 15 November 1912.

[46] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Cheadle. 2004. SOHCA 031/005b.

[47] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1986), p.254.

availability of grants, there had been no possibility of Zvi David and Sophia

Hoppenstein's children going to university at all. Social historian David Vincent

cites several examples of individuals in England who were forced to leave their

education for the sake of the rest of the family.[48] Ralph Glasser writes compellingly

of the day he was forced by his father to leave school to start work in a barber's

shop.[49] The four younger brothers of the Hoppenstein family, however, did move

into middle-class professional careers and in this way they were following in the

footsteps of several of their mother's cousins as well as treading a path which was to

be followed by many Scottish Jewish men. I look in more detail at the issue of class

mobility through education, the gendered nature of the educational opportunities

available to the Hoppenstein sons and daughters and how this relates to Bourdieu's

theories of capital in the next chapter when I examine how the Hoppenstein sons'

educational qualifications allowed them to make 'good' marriages.

Collins notes that the medical field was a particularly common destination for

Jewish men of this generation and particularly for the children of Jewish ministers of

religion. One factor, he suggests, in medicine being the 'main professional target'

among Jews, was the fact that 'the Scottish legal profession was perceived as being

difficult to penetrate' for Jews. This would suggest that the type of antisemitism

described by Julius as 'partial exclusion' was at play.[50] The oral testimony of Misha

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[48] David Vincent, 'Shadow and Reality in Occupational History: Britain in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', in *Pathways to Social Class: A Qualitative Approach to Social Mobility*, eds. Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007, first published 1997), for example p.110.

[49] Ralph Glasser, *Growing up in the Gorbals (Omnibus Edition)* (London: Pan, 1987), pp.29-31.

[50] Kenneth Collins, *Go and Learn: the International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp.85, 91.

Louvish, a contemporary of Moss Hoppenstein, bears this out in part at least. Interviewed in 1989 by Ben Braber, Misha Louvish read English literature and language at Glasgow University. He recalled that it would have been normal for him to go into medicine, but, he recalled, 'I finished school too early at the age of seventeen. I had some ideas of Law, but I was told (perhaps not accurately) that it was almost impossible for Jews to be accepted to the Bar. So I went into teaching'.[51]

David Daiches writes about the sons and daughters of the Edinburgh 'trebblers' (an approximation of the Yiddish pronunciation of 'travellers') 'making full use of the city's admirable educational facilities, [growing] up to be doctors and scientists and professors, changing their names from Pinkinsky to Penn, from Finkelstein to Fenton, from Turansky to Torrence'.[52] In the Hoppenstein family, not one grandchild in the third generation inherited the Hoppenstein name. The daughters who married, of course, took their husbands' names and both sons who married changed their name prior to marriage.[53]

Several of the second generation Hoppenstein children were to change their first names as well as their surname. The nine second generation Hoppenstein children were given the names Eva Ettey, Abraham Aaron, Isaac, Solomon, Hannah Beatrice, Liebe Golde, Mordechai, Moses and Esther. Mordechai was known as Marcus from a very early age.[54] The other children kept their given names at school,

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[51] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Mr Misha Louvish, interview by Ben Braber. 1989.

[52] Daiches, *Two Worlds*, p.122.

[53] Some of the descendants of Zvi David's brothers and cousins who emigrated to the USA or South Africa still keep the Hoppenstein name.

[54] Edinburgh City Police, Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein.

but by the time they were adults four of the sons and one daughter had changed their first name. Liebe Golde was known as Lily by the time of her marriage to Manuel Goldberg in 1925. Solomon, while still using his given name at university,[55] had changed his first name to Sydney by the time of the announcement of his marriage.[56] Although Abraham Aaron was listed as Abraham in the 1901 census at the age of fifteen,[57] he was using the name Harry Hoppenstein by the time he emigrated to the USA in 1911[58] and changed his name to Harry Stein later in life.[59] Moses Hoppenstein changed his first name to Moss.[60] Moray Glasser, a contemporary of Moss and brother of Dr Emil Glasser, interviewed by Ben Braber in 1988, also remembered his family's changing their names:

> Names changed, Jaacov became Jack, Abraham became Allan,
> Moshe became Moray. A passport of integration, assimilation.
> When I went to school my name was Moses – Moshe – and when I
> was appointed a Justice of the Peace I was called Moray, but I put in
> my name as Moses Morris, because I wanted to identify myself with
> my people.[61]

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[55] *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 May 1908.

[56] *Jewish Chronicle,* 13 February 1920.

[57] 1901 Census entry, Hoppenstein family.

[58] Manhattan, Ellis Island Foundation. New York Passenger Lists 1820-1957: SS Mauretania, Port of departure Liverpool/Queenstown, Date of Arrival 30 June 1911. 1911.

[59] Glasgow, Private collection, David Stone. Burial Record of Harry Stein, died 31 October. 1957. Flushing NY Block 58, Lot 11, Section 9, Grave 13, range A/B.

[60] See for example London, The National Archives. British Army, WWI Medal Rolls Index Cards, Private Moss Hoppenstein, Highland Light Infantry. 1914-1920. WO 372/10.

[61] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Mr Moray Glasser, interview by Ben Braber. 1988.

Moray Glasser was very clear that his name change had moved him more away from 'his people' and facilitated his 'passing' within the Scottish public sphere. Unusually, he later reclaimed his Jewish name as part of a public statement of his connection with his Jewishness and the Jewish community. Passing, a term which originally applied to people of black heritage but with light skin, which could lead others to believe that they were white, has been explored by scholars such as Elaine Ginsberg and Brooke Kroeger and also Lenore J Weizman in her work on Jewish survivors who passed as gentile in Nazi-occupied Poland.[62]

Other immigrant cultures have faced the issues of changing their first names to integrate with the host culture. Lum, a Chinese American, discusses the choice he and his wife had of whether to give their children a Chinese or an Anglicised name. He concludes that the prevailing ('melting pot') assimilation literature, which assumes that 'immigrants were expected to gradually lose their "foreign" or "alien" cultural traces and eventually blend into the mainstream' is worth challenging, as a 'unidirectional (the majority swallowing up the minority) assimilation model' which has 'gravely ignored the symbiotic nature of intercultural transformation and the dynamic nature of cultural transformation, which recognises the fact that people engaged in communication (or culture) are mutually affected'.[63] Lum and his wife,

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[62] Elaine K. Ginsberg, 'Introduction: The Politics of Passing', in *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*, ed. Elaine K. Ginsberg, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), p.3; Brooke Kroeger, *Passing: When People Can't Be Who They Are* (Jackson: Perseus Books Group, 2004, first published 2003); Lenore J. Weitzman. Living on the Arian Side in Poland. In Ofer, Dalia, and Lenore J. Weitzman, eds. *Women in the Holocaust*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998, pp.187-222.

[63] Casey Man Kong Lum, 'Communicating Chinese Heritage in America: A Study of Bicultural Education Across Generations', in *From Generation to Generation: Maintaining Cultural Identity over Time*, ed. Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc, 2006), p.79.

therefore, chose to give their children names that reflected their cultural heritage. One of the Lum children came home from school and talked to his parents about his desire to adopt an anglicised name 'just to make it easier for his classmates to address him'. This change did not happen in the Lum case, after a spirited intervention by the parents, but it provides one reason why the Hoppenstein children may have wanted to anglicise their first names (leaving aside the possibilities of attracting antisemitism with an obviously Jewish name); and it points to a potential source of conflict between the second generation and their parents.

Of course, whatever the Chinese children's first name, their visibility as Chinese and their inability to 'pass' as Americans of European descent would not be affected. The Jewish second generation immigrants, on the other hand, were not visibly 'different' from the Scottish host community. As Gilman asserts,

> By the latter half of the nineteenth century, Western European Jews
>
> had become indistinguishable from other Western Europeans in
>
> matters of language, dress, occupation, the location of their
>
> dwellings, and the cut of their hair.[64]

That statement would not be true for Zvi David. His grandson Fred Stone remembered him as 'dressed always in a long black frock-coat and a black hat, like a typical rabbinical figure'.[65] This was in marked contrast with Fred's maternal grandfather, who, despite his interest in Jewish learning and Jewish orthodoxy, dressed in a way which was indistinguishable to the local population: 'you contrast

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[64] Gilman, *Multiculturalism and the Jews*, p.21.

[65] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

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this with my maternal grandfather, who was as near a Scottish gentleman as he could manage to be, in his tweeds'.[66]

Goldberg and Krausz suggest that it is the Jewish name, in fact, rather than looks, which serves as the identifying factor:

> a 'Jewish name' may serve to identify one as Jewish or of being of Jewish cultural background, in much the way skin colour identifies a person as 'black' [or indeed Asian]. The analogy extends to 'passing'. One may have difficulty determining that the bearer of a specific name is Jewish … just as one might establishing whether someone of a particular hue is black.[67]

Changing the given name was, then, just the next step in a process of what might have been seen as assimilation, as described by Lum, above or 'passing', as described by Goldberg and Krausz. Marcus Hoppenstein put an advertisement in the *Herald* newspaper in 1918 giving notice that he was changing his name to Marcus H. [for Hope] Stone[68] (see Figure 3.1).

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[66] *Ibid*.

[67] David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz, 'Introduction: The Culture of Identity', in *Jewish Identity*, eds. David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), p.5.

[68] *The Herald,* 12 December 1918.
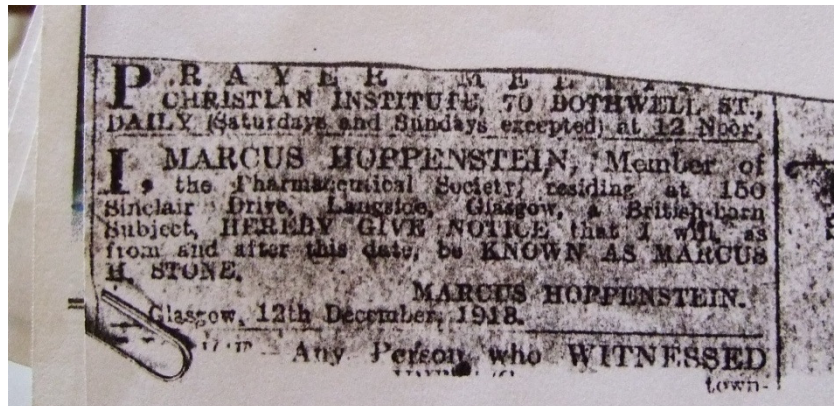
Figure 3.1 Notice of name change: cutting from the *Glasgow Herald*, 12 December 1918

When asked why his father changed his name, Arthur Stone, Marcus's son, refuted the assertion that this was due to antisemitism and similarly disregarded the notion that it was a result of anti-German sentiments. His feeling was that it was purely because of the difficulties of customers at his father's chemist's shop pronouncing the German name:

> Interviewer (Bill Williams): I just want to focus on the name change for the moment. Do you know why they changed the name?
>
> Arthur Stone: Yes. My father had a pharmacy shop, in the East End of Glasgow. Really the broad lower class working people, were not educated, and he felt they wouldn't get round the name Hoppenstein in the particular area of Glasgow so he wanted something that was much easier for them, so he changed it to Stone ….
>
> Bill Williams: You never heard him talk about for example any anti-German feeling that might have made him change the name?

Arthur Stone: No, no. There was nothing like that actually. There

was very very little antisemitism, or anti German feeling like that.[69]

Nonetheless, there is certainly evidence to suggest that other members of the Jewish

community at the time did indeed change their name because of antisemitism and/or

anti-German feeling around the time of the First World War. Marcus's brother

Sidney Hoppenstein changed his name to a hyphenated version of the Hoppenstein

name: Hope-Stone. He too opened a chemist's shop, this time in Liverpool and his

son Harold felt that 'the reason I think they changed the name is entirely for fear of

antisemitism'.[70] Collins, discussing the large percentage of Jewish doctors who

changed their names when going into practice, cited one of his correspondents who

had had many job refusals and found that 'employment prospects were much brighter

with an anglicised surname'. He also found that some doctors feared that 'non-

Jewish patients might be less ready to accept a doctor with an obviously Jewish

surname'.[71]

Moss (Moses) Hoppenstein, who changed his surname to Stone in later

life,[72] talked about antisemitism in relation to people with Jewish names being given

access to housing by Scottish landlords:

Before the First World War it was very, very hard for a Jew to get a

house. One landlord after another 'No Jews!' If your name was

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[69] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[70] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Littlebury Green. 2007. SOHCA0031/003.

[71] Collins, *Go and Learn*, p.94.

[72] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Register of Deaths: entry for Moss Stone (formerly Hoppenstein). 1982. 3697690.

Finkleberg then he'd say 'No'. So you just changed it to Faulkner or

something and if you didn't have a Semitic nose then you might get

it.[73]

This continued to occur; Rodgers also quotes evidence that in 1935 a builder refused

to allocate a house in the Kings Park estate on the grounds that the person 'belonged

to the Jewish race'.[74] Moss recalled two other incidents of what Julius would call

'quotidian antisemitism'. During the war he was sacked from his job, his boss

saying 'I don't want a German Jew!' This may have been as much an anti-German as

an antisemitic statement, mirroring the sentiment in the Second World War when

Italian shops and cafes in Edinburgh were ransacked and looted after the declaration

of war on Britain by Italy on 10 June 1940, as noted by oral historian Wendy

Ugolini. Ugolini also pointed to the devastating consequences of Italy's declaration

of war on Britain for Italian immigrant families living in Scotland and showed how

'notions of who is entitled to be part of a "national" community can shift and evolve

over time'.[75] The second incident occurred when Moss was in the army. He recalled

that a Jewish orderly was dishing out breakfast and 'a big hefty lad just opposite me

turned round and says "you bloody Jews, make sure you get the best!"'[76]

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[73] Murdoch Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', in *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past*, ed. Billy Kay, (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982), p.115.

[74] *Ibid.*, p.119.

[75] Wendy Ugolini, 'The Internal Enemy "Other": Recovering the World War Two Narratives of Italian Scottish Women. *Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. 24 (2004), p.137, and Wendy Ugolini, *Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other': Italian Scottish Experience in World War II,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.2

[76] Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', p.118.

Despite these events, Moss still stated, in words which were echoed years

later by his nephew Arthur Stone, that 'there was no real antisemitism'.[77] Laura

Gurevitz, interviewing Scottish Jews for her Masters dissertation looking at

differences between New York and Glasgow Jewish immigrants, also found that her

informants 'denied [the] very existence' of antisemitism despite her having found

several accounts of its prevalence in the city.[78] She cites writer Chaim Bermant who,

in his book *Troubled Eden*, an overview of British Jewry, 'makes reference to the

number of sports clubs which have never accepted Jews and the fact that some

housing estates preferred not to have Jews in them at all, but then concludes that

these were "minor irritants, if they [were] irritants at all"'.[79] Glaswegian Jack Caplan,

in his memoirs, talks about Scotland as 'a land of peace, a land of beauty with

mountains and lakes and a wonderful people', with 'its tolerance, its compassion, its

humanity and understanding', although his account of his life includes years of

struggle and frequent experiences of brutal antisemitism.[80] Historian Henry Maitles

describes this attitude, which he finds also in the autobiographical works by writers

such as Glasser and Cowan, as 'a hint of nostalgia for a bygone age… a kind of "we

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[77] *Ibid*.

[78] Laura J. Gurevitz, 'Eastern European Jewish Immigrants in the Gorbals, Glasgow and the Lower East Side, New York: A Comparison of their Life Experiences from 1880-1920' (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1994), p.7.

[79] *Ibid*. Citing Chaim Bermant, *Troubled Eden: an Anatomy of British Jewry* (London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co Ltd, 1969), p.55.

[80] Jack Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals* (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1991), p.89. Cited in Cesarani, 'Social Memory', p.24.

were poor but we were happy" that is comforting but irritating at the same time'.[81]

Billy Kenefick, too, finds a kind of confusion about experiences of antisemitism in the oral history collection at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, citing Jack Miller saying, in the same interview: 'I never experienced antisemitism. No – they accepted us. There may have been one or two – you get one or two – but on the whole, I never found much antisemitism' and the contradictory 'there was a lot of antisemitism, it was rife, but it didn't show much'.[82]

Several of the members of the second generation worked on Saturdays. Fred Stone, talking about his father Marcus's chemist's business, recalled, 'being a chemist, he felt he had "rabbinical dispensation" to leave *Shul* early on *Shabbat* and take the tram to his chemist's shop to serve the sick – that's how he interpreted it'.[83] Arthur remembered the contrast with his father working on Saturdays, but himself not being able to participate in sports on *Shabbat*:

> I mean, my family was strict in some respects. I used to play rugby
> at school, for example, and I remember being chosen for a very big
> match on Saturday morning, and I was *not* allowed to go. And that
> was the end of a lot of my rugby career. I had to play midweek. He

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[81] Henry Maitles, 'Attitudes to Jewish Immigration in the West of Scotland to 1905', *Scottish Economic and Social History* Vol 15 (1995), p.44.

[82] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Dr J E (Jack) Miller, interview by Ben Braber. 1990. Cited in William Kenefick, 'Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities in Twentieth Century Scotland', in *Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory*, eds. David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, and Milton Shain, (Edgeware, Middlesex and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), p.57.

[83] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

wouldn't let me play on the Saturday. Some people did. That's just

one little example.[84]

Throughout the second and third generation we find examples of mothers ensuring

that children continued to observe the *Shabbat*, despite the contradictory experience

of their husbands' working on *Shabbat*. Eva Hoppenstein Levy, for example,

intervened when her son Lionel wanted to train as an engineer in a company which

would have made him work on Saturdays. Lionel became a teacher instead, but this

was a lifelong disappointment to him.[85] Fleming, too, found that women acted as the

'*kosher* police': 'women became key players in warding off what were perceived as

the negative effects of assimilation to Scottish norms as Jewish families became

more accommodated within Scottish society'.[86]

Eva, the oldest daughter of Sophia and Zvi David, studied for a short time at

university level,[87] but the other Hoppenstein daughters do not seem to have gone on

to higher education even though Carnegie grants were awarded to women as well as

men. The three younger sisters worked in shops before their marriages, with Beattie

and Esther working as drapery saleswomen and Lily as a jewellery book-keeper.[88]

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[84] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone. (Interviewee's emphasis).

[85] Lionel Levy, 2001. Personal communication with the author.

[86] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.52.

[87] Andrew Connor, 2007. Personal communication with the author (Email, 14 November).

[88] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Marriage certificates: Cowen, Abraham – Hoppenstein, Esther. 29 August 1928. Statutory Marriages 644/240230. Goldberg, Manuel – Hoppenstein, Lily. 24 November 1925. Statutory Marriages 644/090316. Hertz, Julius – Hoppenstein, Beatrice. 27 March 1923. Statutory Marriages 644/120074. Sharon Strom suggests that the number of females working in offices trebled between 1910 and 1920, many working as bookkeepers. (Sharon Hartman Strom, 'Machines Instead of Clerks: Technology and the Feminization of Bookkeeping, 1910-1950', in *Computer Chips and Paper Clips: Technology and Women's Employment, Volume II: Case Studies*

Eva Stone, wife of Marcus Stone, had worked in the family tailoring business as a secretary before her marriage.[89] Upon marriage, they gave up their paid work. When Sydney Hope-Stone died at an early age, leaving his wife Dolly with two young children and a very meagre pension, she began work as a social worker, despite her lack of qualifications and training, as their son Harold recalled in his written memoirs:

> She worked for the local Council's Public Assistance Board …
> making sure that the Council house tenants knew about simple
> hygiene and about using the baths recently installed – not for storing
> the coal, but actually for having a bath! … It was a tiring job… and
> entailed a lot of walking around the estates.[90]

Two other second generation women associated with the Hoppenstein family also took paid employment in difficult circumstances, despite their lack of training. The mother of Hannah Silverman, wife of Harold Levy (the oldest son of the third generation), took over the role of breadwinner when her father was unable to make a living, as Hannah's sister recounted:

> Until 1930 we were quite a comfortable family, my father had his
> own business, the furniture trade. In the thirties crash he lost his
> business, he was out of work for quite a long time. … My mother

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was a hardworking woman, when he lost his business she'd sit at the

machine all day and all night making clothes for children, for shops,

you know.[91]

Bessie Elston, second generation immigrant and mother of Zelda Elston who married

Fred Stone, worked full-time after her husband died. Bessie's own mother had never

learned to write and spoke only Yiddish, as Judy's mother Zelda recounted,[92] but

Bessie herself was an accomplished businesswoman, as her grandson David Stone

recalls:

[David Elston] was a business man and ran something called the

Oxford Army and Navy Stores in Oxford Street in the Gorbals. And

when he died, his widow, Bessie, took over the business. And when

I was growing up, I remember Bessie who was a formidable woman

standing at the cash register in the little office of the Army and Navy

Stores, we were in there a lot as children, and she ran that business, I

think, very successfully.[93]

So, although in the 'old country' women had worked as a matter of course

to support their husbands' scholarly activity,[94] in the early generations in the 'new

country' women from the Hoppenstein family only seem to have taken on paid work

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[91] Rose Krasner, 2009. Personal communication with the author (Telephone conversation, 15 February).

[92] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[93] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2007. SOHCA 031/015.

[94] Susan A Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp.8-30.

in the case of hardship or lack of a male breadwinner. Rickie Burman found similar

stories of women taking on work in cases of hardship in her analysis of 150

interviews with Manchester Jewish women of the same generation, but in fact

Burman found many more cases of women as principal breadwinners or running

shops or other businesses.[95]

In a collection of papers entitled *Pathways to Social Class: a Qualitative*

Approach to Social Mobility and here describing a study of 100 extended families in

England, oral historian Paul Thompson said:

> Life story interviews enable us to trace the transmission of
>
> occupations across a whole family tree, including women as well as
>
> men, and siblings, uncles and aunts as well as grandparents, parents
>
> and children. … in four-fifths of our families there is some
>
> intergenerational transmission, and in more than half the
>
> transmissions run over three or four generations.

In Bourdieu's terms, the Hoppenstein children had inherited a shared cultural capital

in terms of the focus on Jewish learning in the household, which they were able to

translate into embodied cultural capital when they took up the opportunity to study.

There was a medical link in Sophia Hoppenstein's wider family, which the four

Hoppenstein sons were able to draw on.

In the second generation, the Hoppenstein brothers and sisters set off to

make their way in the world. They had gendered messages from their parents; their

mother spent her married life almost entirely in the home with her nine children, their

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[95] Rickie Burman, 'Jewish Women and the Household Economy in Manchester, c.1890-1920', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p.58.

father, after a short time as a hawker/peddler, earned his living within the Jewish community. What was transmitted to them was a sense of their Jewishness, but also a sense of the importance of work and of learning. Their lives were lived far more within the Scottish public sphere than were those of their parents, the women studying or working at least until they married, four of the men going on to higher education and one learning a trade, all of which involved engaging with the host population. Very aware of their Judaism from the home environment, this generation, unlike those which followed, largely ignored messages of antisemitism from the host society, quietly changing their names, keeping their heads down and bypassing possible antisemitic messages by choosing careers and pathways where it was perfectly possible for Jews to progress economically.

The third generation: "are you a Billy or a Dan?"

By the third generation, the memory of the 'old country' had receded somewhat. The grandchildren, despite not sharing the Hoppenstein name, were still connected to their immigrant, 'other-worldly' Hoppenstein grandfather, who wore 'rabbinical garb' and who spoke Yiddish in the home with their grandmother.[96] But there were other influences in their lives. Apart from their Jewish family and the Jewish community, secular schools were a very important third pillar of influence.

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[96] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

This is the first generation of which members have been interviewed directly for this research.[97] Lionel Levy recalled that his Jewish identity was called into question by the schoolchildren at the neighbouring school:

> Interviewer (FF): So what's the first thing that you ever remember learning at school?
>
> Lionel Levy: Being, what's the word, threatened, assaulted, by Roman Catholic children at the accompanying school. They would like to get hold of you and say 'are you a Billy or a Dan?' A Billy, you got off lightly, but a Dan, you were in for a bit of thrashing about. Roman Catholic upbringing. ... I think a Billy was a Protestant and a Dan was a Catholic. It must have been a special day of the year, some kind of Catholic holiday. …
>
> FF: So where did the Jews fit in?
>
> Lionel Levy: They got it from both sides, they were kind of impartial.[98]

Interestingly, despite my question about Lionel's early memories of what he had learned at school, it was this memory of what he had learned outside school that came back to him, his memory of his first day at school being a time when he came into contact with Scottish sectarianism for the very first time. He was, of course, neither a Billy nor a Dan, so probably his identity made no sense to his questioners, who would have lived in a world entirely divided between Catholics and Protestants.

[97] Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry'.

[98] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2000. SOHCA031/001.

Misha Louvish, a contemporary of Lionel Levy, who grew up in Glasgow, recounted similar memories of the Jews' 'neutral' place in the sectarian gang warfare in the Gorbals.[99] Author Jeff Torrington recalls a similar taunt, thirty years later in 'one of Glasgow's tougher districts' on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. When asked for the correct answer, he said 'it's best to start running, that's all'.[100]

Several commentators, including Billy Kenefick and Aubrey Newman, have suggested that this Catholic/Protestant sectarianism is the reason why antisemitism has not played as big a part in the history of Scottish Jewry as it has in English towns and cities.[101] Bill Williams describes incidences of gang fighting between Jewish and non-Jewish groups in Manchester in the 1930s; this was never replicated in Glasgow.[102] Collins and Borowski state: 'there has been historically little antisemitism in Scotland and in particular good relations with the churches'. They feel, however, that this situation has worsened in recent years, with the coming into play of Julius's fourth type of antisemitism, anti-Zionism.[103]

When Lionel Levy left school early on Fridays to get home for *Shabbat*, he recalled the children at his school calling him and the other children 'Jewboys', a

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[99] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Mr Misha Louvish, interview by Ben Braber. 1989.

[100] Marianne Brace, 'Slow and Steady Wins the Race at Last,' *The Independent*, 30 January 1993.

[101] Kenefick, 'Jewish and Irish Communities', pp.65-6. Also see Senay Boztas, 'Why Scotland Has Never Hated Jews ... We Were Too Busy Hating Each Other; Sectarian Division Between Catholics and Protestants Prevented Anti-Semitism,' *The Sunday Herald*, 17 October 2004. And 'Symposium on Jewish Settlement, Development and Identities in Scotland 1879-2004: Conference Programme' (Glasgow, 17 October 2004).

[102] Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester', pp.50-1.

[103] Kenneth Collins and Ephraim Borowski, 'Scotland's Jews: Community and Political Challenges', *Changing Jewish Communities*, no. 55 (2010), http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/index.asp consulted 16 April 2010.

derogatory term. Fred Stone, fifteen years younger than his cousin Lionel,

remembered there were only around four Jewish children in his class at any one time;

at one stage he was the only Jewish child in the class. He felt that his school life had

not included any antisemitism: 'anyhow, I don't remember antisemitic remarks,

anything, I really don't, in the whole of my school life. Which is extraordinary,

when you think about it'.[104] Living and attending school in the West End of

Glasgow, he was far removed, geographically, from the Gorbals of Misha Louvish

and Jeff Torrington.

Fred's brother Arthur, born ten years after Fred in 1931 and therefore at

school during the Second World War, had a different experience. Although he did

not experience any extreme antisemitism directed at him while he was at school, he

has vivid memories of attacks on German Jewish children who had travelled to

Glasgow with the Kindertransport in the late 1930s:[105]

> The first little bit of, sort of, feeling about Judaism and antisemitism,
>
> I found, was when the refugees came into the school, and they came
>
> from Germany on the Kindertransport, in 1938, 39. They were
>
> always getting beaten up, these kids. … I used to box, actually, and
>
> I hammered the living daylights out of one boy, for trying

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[104] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[105] Thea Eden, Irene Reti *et al.*, *A Transported Life: Memories of Kindertransport: the Oral History of Thea Feliks Eden* (Santa Cruz: HerBooks, 1995); Mark Jonathan Harris and Deborah Oppenheimer, *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000); Edith Milton, *The Tiger in the Attic: Memories of the Kindertransport and Growing Up English* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Diane Samuels, *Kindertransport* (London: Nick Hern, 2006).

something, trying to be a bit smart with the refugees. They never

did it again.[106]

Arthur felt that the antagonism directed towards these boys was because of their

German nationality. He defended them because of their shared Jewish identity.

Moving on from school life, in the third generation four out of seven of the

males followed in the family tradition of studying medical-related topics. Fred Stone

talked about a 'parental wish' for him to go into medicine:

> … when I was a little boy, the great treat on school holidays was that
>
> my father would take me to Bridgeton with him and I was allowed to
>
> prepare bottles for medicines and learn how to use the weighing
>
> scales, and so really the notion of going into medicine wasn't just a
>
> parental wish: it was already in my bones.[107]

Harold Hope-Stone completed his secondary education and university

entrance qualifications in Montreal, to where he had been evacuated at the age of 14.

His father had died of cancer when Harold was seven and his mother, too, was to die

of cancer, only six weeks after Harold returned to the UK in 1943. Harold's mother

had been very keen for him to go into medicine 'because, of course, there's a

background in my family on both sides, father and mother, of medicine'.[108] Collins,

in his study of Scottish Jews and medicine, talks about health being, for the Jewish

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[106] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[107] *Chariots of Fire*. IMDb, www.imdb.com/title/tt0082158/plotsummary, consulted 26 April 2010.

[108] Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone.

people, 'not merely an aspiration but an obsession'.[109] As we can see this was the

case for the Hope-Stones; after Harold's mother died, Harold had wanted to go into

the RAF, but his aunt and uncle had other ideas. They said:

> we promised your mother that you would take up medicine when
>
> you came home ... and you're to keep that promise. If you want to
>
> go in the RAF, when you come out, so be it. Or whatever, but you
>
> must do what your mother wanted you to do. The war may end.
>
> You may be killed, and we would have let your mother down.[110]

Harold needed a referee to get into medical school. His aunt asked Sir

Adolphe Abrahams, the Dean of Westminster Hospital Medical School, to intercede

on Harold's behalf. Sir Adolphe was the son of Sophia Hoppenstein's first cousin,

Isaac Abrahams. Harold remembered the interview:

> Sir Adolphe was very good. I mean I was actually overawed
>
> because I'd never met anyone of this calibre, standard. Very kind.
>
> Went through a bit of a CV, you know, what have you learnt and so
>
> on and so forth. Then the usual question that every medical Dean
>
> would ask: 'what games d'you play? Do you play rugger?' This is
>
> the standard question. And I said 'No, Sir, I did at grammar school.
>
> I now play ice hockey and baseball'. And his mouth dropped.
>
> 'Why, why?' I said 'I've just come back from Canada'. 'Oh' he
>
> said, 'that's great, we could do with chaps like you. You may use

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[109] Collins, *Go and Learn*, p.1.

[110] Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone. p.1.

my name as a referee'. Well I was in, wasn't I? You know, one

Dean to another.[111]

Adolphe's 'old school tie' discourse as remembered by Harold Hope-Stone,

intimating that sporting prowess was as important as academic learning, illustrates

how, as a second generation immigrant, Adolphe had created an identity which was

very much part of the English establishment. Adolphe's brother was Harold

Abrahams, the Olympic runner, featured in the film *Chariots of Fire*. One of the

main themes of the film was the antisemitism Harold faced at Cambridge.[112] It is

likely, then, that despite Sir Adolphe's title and espousal of the very English public

school discourse, he too faced antisemitism in his professional life.[113]

All of the men in the third generation took degrees and went on to

professional careers; Harold Levy worked as a teacher in Scotland and then moved to

London, where he was Honorary Warden of Jews College and inspector of Hebrew

education for the Jewish Memorial Council. Lionel Levy and Morrie Hope-Stone

were teachers, Leslie Herts was an optician and Arthur Stone worked in further

education, initially in horticulture teaching and later in management. Lionel, who

taught refugee children during the Second World War in the Scottish countryside,

wrote to his wife about the attitudes of his colleagues to Jews at the time:

had interesting conversation with a colleague. He reported how the

staff was afraid of a Jew coming but had changed their minds in

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[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Hugh Hudson, *Chariots of Fire*, 20th Century Fox, 1981.

[113] *Chariots of Fire*.

three days. … Much like McKay's reactions. They were amazed

when I walked into their room with a cup and saucer and said 'is

there any room here'. They are now glad of the acquisition. So he

said. I told him this was every Jew's experience.[114]

That was a typical example of Lebzelter's 'non-violent social antisemitism'[115] and it

is interesting that Lionel felt the exchange important enough to write about it to his

new wife. Another example of this type of antisemitism arose later in Lionel's life.

He rose to deputy head status in peacetime Glasgow and was passed over for

promotion to head teacher, which he felt was due to antisemitism. Thus, according

to his cousin, 'a fine head teacher was lost'.[116]

There was still a gender difference in terms of access to education among

the third generation Hoppenstein family. Not one of the three Hoppenstein women

in the third generation went on to higher education. Ida Stone trained as a secretary,

but suffered periods of mental illness, as her brother Fred recalled:

She was … in and out of psychiatric units for the rest of her life.

She might have two or three months at home, and then there would

be a crisis, and she had to go back. And I was always being called

by my parents to come and help, things had gone wrong again …

And Ida was very dependent on me.[117]

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[114] Glasgow, SJAC. Lionel Levy, Letter from Lionel Levy to Hannah Frank Levy, from Comrie, Perthshire. 1939. HFLLC 2/1/.

[115] Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England*, p.3.

[116] Dr Izy Levy, 2010. Personal communication with the author (Letter, 22 February).

[117] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

Rita Levy worked as a jeweller before her marriage. She married Alex Samuels, who had left school at twelve years old after the death of his father and had worked his way up to managing director in a furniture and electrical goods shop.[118] Gertie Cowen married Stanley Kallin, a dispensing optician. Gertie had trained as a Hebrew teacher, but apart from teaching Hebrew in Hebrew classes and also for several years at the Liverpool Jewish school, she had various jobs in sales and marketing:

> Before that, I'd done telesales, I was doing, stacking shelves which killed me, you know, because of my arthritis, in a newsagent for five hours at a time, for so long, working in Boots, but they didn't last, because I wouldn't be quick enough.[119]

In this generation, in a reflection of the situation in the second generation, Rita Levy and Gertie Kallin married men without university level qualifications, whereas the third generation Hoppenstein men married women who were graduates or had equivalent qualifications and professional careers. Leslie Herts married a GP who continued to work throughout their marriage. Fred Stone's wife, Zelda, worked in teaching and, later, teacher training. Lionel Levy's wife, Hannah Frank Levy, had given up primary school teaching on her marriage – the marriage bar, introduced in the early twentieth century, was not repealed until 1944[120] – but she continued to

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[118] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/007.

[119] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, Liverpool. 2004. SOHCA 031/006.

[120] June Purvis, *Women's History: Britain 1850-1945: an Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp.74, 124.

work as an artist and sculptor throughout the couple's marriage. So several of the women in the third generation lived public, external lives. The experience of the third generation Hoppenstein women moves us still further, then, from the dominant historical discourse of the 'woman at home'.

The fourth generation: 'I got the belt three times in primary school'

In 1962 the first Jewish primary school, Calderwood Lodge, opened in Glasgow; discussions about the need for such a school had begun as far back as 1897.[121] Arthur Stone brought his family up in Manchester, where there had been a Jewish school in existence since 1869, but chose to send his children to secular schools, feeling that they provided a broader focus:

> I mean, we were always brought up in secular education. It would never have occurred to me to go to a Jewish school. I didn't! ... I think anybody like myself has got a more broader outlook. They're not subjected to it, you see, till they're much older. … I'm not a 100 per cent believer, I have to say that, in this kind of very narrow outlook on things. Because you only see the one thing.[122]

None of the Hoppenstein fourth generation children who were brought up in Glasgow attended Calderwood Lodge, although Zelda Elston, Fred Stone's wife, taught there for a time. The school opened the year that Gertie and Stanley Kallin's

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[121] For a discussion on the debate about the need for a Jewish school, see Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.60-4.

[122] Oral testimony of Arthur Stone.

133

son Ivor was ready to start school. Gertie had wanted to send the children there, but

Stanley was against it. He explained:

> The point was, the way I saw it was, give them the workings of one
>
> religion or the Jewish religion until their *Bar Mitzvah* and after that
>
> time, it's up to them, they can choose what they want to do. … And
>
> I thought that ...   by the time it comes for their *Bar Mitzvah*, they'll
>
> be right into it, they'll not want to go away from it.[123]

Stanley and Gertie admitted that this argument had backfired in the end as the two

boys did not continue the level of religious observance of their parents. The boys

attended secular schools and David Kallin, remembering his primary school, recalled

one occasion when he had been sitting with a girl with Jewish heritage:

> And there was one day when the chap who came to do the Jewish
>
> prayers, he couldn't make it. … And so we had to stay in the main
>
> class. And so the girl looked at me and said 'what do we do' and I
>
> said 'you just look at me, and I'll tell you, for each prayer, whether
>
> we can say it or not'. And I'd scour the words of each one, to see if
>
> it mentioned Jesus or Christ, and if it did, I'd say 'no, we can't do
>
> this one' and if it didn't, then we could. [124]

This commentary shows that being at a Christian school and hearing

Christian prayers, was a very early indicator, for David and other children like him,

that there was a dissonance between the religious and cultural identity that they were

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[123] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

[124] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2004. SOHCA 031/020.

acquiring at home, in the synagogue and in Hebrew classes and that which they were acquiring from the host society. This type of incident served to remind them of their difference, their 'otherness'. David's older brother Ivor recalled a similar occurrence where he felt he needed to mark a difference between his own and the school's cultural practices. David's choice not to sing the hymns went unremarked by his teachers, whereas Ivor's decision angered his teacher, as he recalled:

> I got the belt[125] three times in primary school. And the first one was sheer defiance, because we had a quiz, it was a spelling test, and it was Mrs Simpson, who I think then was about 80 something. And one of the words I had to spell was Bible. And I was probably about six, maybe five. And I thought, well, she's not talking about my Bible, she's talking about her Bible. So I can't spell her Bible with a capital b, 'cos it's not a real Bible. So I spelled it with a small b. So I got the belt for that.[126]

The young Ivor had chosen his own way of marking the difference between his Jewish identity, acquired at home, in the synagogue and in Hebrew classes, where he had come across the Jewish Bible and the Christian identity of the school, the teacher and most of the rest of the children in his class, who used a different bible (one which included the New Testament as well as the Old). Ivor later suggested

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[125] The belt (official term 'tawse') was the only instrument of punishment permitted under the 1968 Code of Practice agreed between the Scottish teachers' unions and the Scottish Education Department and it was used often, before its abolition in 1998. C. Farrell, 'The Cane and the Tawse in Scottish Schools', (2007), http://www.corpun.com/scotland.htm consulted 13 February 2011.

[126] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2003. SOHCA031/019.

that Mrs Simpson had seen his behaviour as 'blasphemous'. Although, looking back,

he said that his behaviour was 'defiant' and that he felt that he was 'showing

disrespect for her Christian values',[127] I would argue that as a young boy he was

making a mark on the world to show that he understood the differences between his

Judaism and his school's Christianity. Mrs Simpson provided Ivor with a very

negative reaction to his statement, one which was likely to make him feel that the

institution of the school itself, personified through the teachers, was not open or

tolerant of difference.[128]

David Stone, Ivor's second cousin, talked about the feeling of difference in

terms of 'alienation', which he feels has changed with the rise of immigration to

Scotland. His uncle, Arthur Stone, felt 'In Scotland, in Glasgow, we always thought

of ourselves as Scots. I mean, we happened to be Jewish, but that was it',[129] David,

however, stated:

> I think the feeling of being an alien was very strong when I was
>
> growing up in Scotland. You couldn't ever really feel part of
>
> mainstream Scottish society as a Jew, when I was a child.   I think
>
> now, because there's so much immigration, there's a big Muslim

---

[127] Ivor Kallin (2010). Personal communication with the author (Email, 9 March).

[128] See, in contrast, a kindly teacher's reaction to Gloria, a London child born between the wars. In her first week of school at the age of four, Gloria told her teacher 'I'm not allowed to say these prayers because I'm Jewish. I'm only allowed to say the *shema*'. The teacher replied 'That's perfectly all right, Gloria, you're allowed to sit down'. Eve Gregory and Ann Williams, *City Literacies: Learning to Read across Generations and Cultures* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p.82.

[129] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

population, there's a big asylum-seeking population, there are a lot of immigrants now, so I think it has changed.[130]

Cultural historian Sander L Gilman and anthropologist Karen Brodkin both consider this issue from the US perspective. Gilman argues that in contemporary multicultural theory, Jews are simply dismissed as 'white' and 'quickly lumped with the forces of patriarchy and oppression by the new voices of multiculturalism'.[131] Brodkin makes a similar point:

> American antisemitism was part of a broader pattern of late nineteenth century racism against all southern and eastern European immigrants. … This picture changed radically after World War Two. Suddenly the same folks who promoted nativism and xenophobia were eager to believe that the Euro-origin people whom they had deported, reviled as members of inferior races, and prevented from immigrating only a few years earlier were now modern middle-class white suburban citizens.[132]

And it certainly seems that in David Stone's experience, the arrival of new immigrants has turned the Jew more 'white' or, in this case, more Scottish, less different from the host society.

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[130] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

[131] Gilman, *Multiculturalism and the Jews*, p.180.

[132] Karen Brodkin Sacks. 'How did Jews Become White Folks'. In *Race*, eds. Steven Gregory and Roger Sanjek. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), p.79. And see also Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folk, and What That Says About Race in America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

Antisemitism in the fourth generation

Several respondents described behaviour by other pupils which could be considered antisemitic. Three respondents in the fourth generation, in Glasgow, Manchester and London, all attending boys' schools, described violence targeted at Jews in their schools. David Stone, like his father before him who had played the piano in school assemblies, accompanied the hymns on Fridays at his school assembly. He recalled:

> So I was playing the violin, accompanying all these very Christian hymns, and hearing the sermon from a very churchy, Church of Scotland minister would stand up on the platform and talk about Jesus and the disciples and occasionally, there would be mention of Jews because the school regularly had outbreaks of antisemitic incidents where Jewish pupils would be attacked. Violently. And beaten up. And sometimes ending up with quite serious injuries. Fractures and things of this kind.[133]

The Rector's naming the issue as antisemitism in front of the whole school and reminding the pupils that antisemitism was contrary to Christian values (and indeed, as he said, that 'Jesus himself was a Jew') shows that this issue was not swept under the carpet or ignored by the school authorities. David himself had been subjected to antisemitic verbal and physical attacks in the school toilet.[134] Hugh Hope-Stone recalled that he was subjected to a certain amount of what he called 'low level bullying' at school in relation to his Jewish heritage and remembered some 'really

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[133] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

[134] *Ibid.*

insidious boys who were really quite unpleasant with their views on race and stuff'.[135] David Stone's cousin Richard and some of his Jewish friends in Manchester also experienced street violence as a result of being Jewish. But Richard had memories of a different type of antisemitism at his Manchester school. These related to a time when a member of the Christian Union invited Richard to a talk by a Jewish convert to Christianity, who gave him a book published by the Church's Ministry Amongst the Jews. This extract from his interview shows his anger:

> And I remember going to the staffroom and confronting the teacher who was in charge of it, and I'd probably never spoken to another teacher in that way but I laid the law, I just went mad with it. I said: 'This is a disgrace. You obviously knew that this woman was going to be bringing this sort of stuff', you know, 'why else did it have the address of the Church's Ministry Amongst the Jews?'[136]

Although Collins, Kaplan, Braber and Kenefick, in their studies of the history of the Scottish Jewish community, all note the prevalence of missionaries in Glasgow in the first decades of the nineteenth century,[137] scholars of English antisemitism do not include missionary activity in their taxonomy of modern antisemitism. The anger expressed by Richard Stone was echoed in the reports of missionaries approaching Jews in earlier generations. One Glasgow Jewish man, born in 1904, remembered

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[135] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Hugh Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, by telephone. 2007. SOHCA 031/010.

[136] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Richard Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Cheadle. 2008. SOHCA 031/018.

[137] Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1990); Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*; Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*; Kenefick, 'Jewish and Irish Communities'.

seeing a Jewish woman throwing a raw fish full in the face of a Jewish convert who

was carrying out missionary work in the Gorbals during the First World War.[138]

Missionary activity is not seen by modern commentators as a substantial threat to

Jewish continuity,[139] but it can be seen as an extreme kind of antisemitism.

Each of the respondents was able to recall instances of antisemitism –

incidents which affirmed them, in the eyes of others, as outsiders and 'different'.

Hugh Hope-Stone, in particular, realised that the actions of the racist boys at his

school led him to develop a Jewish consciousness in a way which might not have

happened had he not been a victim of antisemitic taunts.

Several members of the fourth generation have spent some time in Israel.

Some of these discussed experiencing Julius's 'new configuration of anti-Zionisms

…which treats Zionism and the State of Israel as illegitimate Jewish enterprises'.[140]

Richard Stone did not refer to this as antisemitism, but when confronting this

argument he would always attempt to counter it.[141] David Stone made the point that

often those who want to discuss what they might call 'illegitimacy of the Zionist

project' accuse him and other Jews of stifling any discussion of the issue by 'playing

the antisemitic card'; he, too, saw the problem not as antisemitism but as 'anti-

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[138] Mr J. T., b.1904, interviewed by Linda Fleming. Cited in Linda Fleming, '"Jeannie the Jew". Women in the Story of Glasgow's Jews' (paper presented at the Scottish Catholic Historical Association Seminar Series, Edinburgh, 26 April 2010). Unpublished seminar paper, cited with permission.

[139] Neither Collins nor Sacks, for example, mention conversion as a threat to Jewish continuity: Jonathan Sacks, *Will We Have Jewish Grandchildren? Jewish Continuity And How To Achieve It* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1994); Kenneth Collins, 'Maintaining a Jewish Identity in Scotland', in *Scottish Life and Society, Vol 9; The Individual and Community Life*, eds. John Beech, Owen Hand, and Mark Mulhern, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005).

[140] Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, pp.xxxvi-xxxvii.

[141] Oral Testimony of Richard Stone.

Israelism' and, by analogy, bigotry.[142] Julius suggests that a common response by anti-Zionists is, as in David Stone's example, above, that 'Jews are too quick to cry antisemitism'. Julius accepts that: 'it is true that Jews sometimes find antisemitism where there is none, [but] … only because they tend to be among the first to identify it when it *is* present'.[143]

The fourth generation was the first where some female direct descendants of the Hoppensteins went on to university and professional careers, although gendered differences in educational opportunities remained. Judy Stone's brothers went into medicine, while she became an educational psychologist, possibly seen as a more suitable 'female' career at the time. Neither Doreen Spevack nor Laura Hope-Stone went to university straight after school, although their brothers did. Laura, who later did a psychology degree and ran a cancer ward at the Royal Free Hospital, recalled:

> I started nursing because I was a girl and because that's what girls
>
> did and they certainly didn't go into medicine and I wasn't pushed at
>
> all at school which is why I went to the rubbishy school and my
>
> parents didn't seem to think that having a career as a girl was, you
>
> just didn't do it.[144]

Laura's father was a surgeon and, before her marriage, her mother had been a nurse. This would indicate, then, that across the whole family there was an expectation that it was not as important for girls as it was for boys to further their education.

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[142] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

[143] Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, pp.586-7. Emphasis in the original.

[144] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Laura Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Liverpool. 2007. SOHCA 031/011.

In the next section, I show how the aspirations of the fourth generation are lived out in the educational experiences of the fifth generation, as well as how a new movement towards attendance at Jewish schools crosses several branches of the family, but for very different reasons.

The fifth generation: 'we went to Jewish schools where we were taught the Orthodox way, but we had Dad at home telling us not to listen'

The fifth generation is the first where any of the family attended Jewish schools. In fact, of the nineteen fifth generation children brought up with two Jewish parents (including households where the mother has converted) or with strongly Jewish heritage, fifteen went to Jewish schools, in Glasgow, Manchester and London and only four were *not* sent to Jewish schools. (See colour coded family tree, Figure 3.2.)

Dayan Ezra Hoppenstein

Rabbi Mordechai Hoppenstein

Rabbi Aharon Hoppenstein d 1867 Neustadt m Shulamith (Sulka) Cohen

Abraham Klonnemans (aka Coleman Abrahams) m Hannah Marks

Philip (Feival) Penkinsky Wittenberg m Chaya Mary (Eva) Abrahams/Klonnemans

David Zvi Hoppenstein b 1862 Wladyslawow d 1944 Glasgow m (1882, Neustadt) Sophia (Penkinsky) Wittenberg b 1862 Wladyslawow d 1936 Glasgow

second generation

Eva, ('Opa') b 1883, d 1960 m (1908) Morris Levy

Abraham Aaron (Harry), b 1885. d 1957 USA

Isaac b 1887 d 1953

Solly (Sidney), b 1889 d 1933 m Dolly Cohen d 1943. Changed name to Hope-Stone

Lily (Leabie) b 1895 d 1974 m (1925) Manuel Goldberg (Mannie Gold) b 1898 d 1977.

Mordechai (Marcus) b 1893 d 1961 m (1920) Eva Norris (Niarzynski) b 1894 d 1979. Changed name to H. (Hope) Stone.

Moses (Alose) b 1897 d 1982

Esther (Cootie) b 1899 d 1990 m (1923) Abe Cowan, b 1902 d 1976

third generation, 'first, second cousins

Harold Levy b 1909 d 1987 m Hannah Silverman d 1987

Rita (Henrietta) Levy b 1910 d 1999 m (1931) Alex Samuels b 1917 d 1991

Lionel Levy b 1912 d 2002 m (1931) Hannah Frank b 1908 d 2008

Morris Hope-Stone b 1923 m (1953) Betty (Lizzie) Phillips b 1931

Harold Hope-Stone b 1926 d 2008 m (1954) Sheilagh Gallinson b 1931 d 2008

Leslie b 1926 d 1979 m (1953) Muriel Barrb b 1923 d 2003. Changed name to Harts.

Beatrice (Beatie) b 1891 d 1981 m (1923) Yudel Hartz d 1976

Frederick Hope Stone b 1921 d 2009 m (1946) Zelda Elston b 1923 d 2006

Arthur Harold Hope Stone b 1931 m (1965) Judith Tamara Borin b 1943

Ida Zena Stone b 1925 d 1984

Gertie Cowan b 1930 m Stanley Kallin b 1926 d 2010

fourth generation, second cousins

Doreen b 1949 m Martin Spevack

D (M) m (F) (d 2011)

Lottie b 1954 m (1) Michael Rodrigues (~div)(2) Marc Caplan

Samir b 1996

Rodney b 1957 m Shireen Mehrani

Hirsh b 1960 m Nina Ball

Laura b 1963 m Jeff Hill

Alisa b 1958 m (1) Brooke m (2) Geoff Gamer

Kenneth b 1963 m Shane Davies

Barbara Mary Hope Harts b 1956 m Mike Brennan

David b 1949 m Susan (div)

Justyn m 1952 m (1) Malcolm Adams (2) Craig Gershater

Michael Hope-Stone b 1906 m (div) Ursula Tucker

M (M) m P (F)

Richard Hope Stone b 1969 m Rachel Lightstone

David b 1959 m Jenny Gubbay

Ivor b 1957 m Jenny Finkel

Fifth generation, third cousins

Barbara Spevack b 1977

E (F).

F

F

Amber Caplan b 1988

Tom b 1996

Abigail Elizabeth Hope b 2004

Max b 1993

Jamie b 1996

Geoffrey b 1988

Hannah b 1982 m Matt Painter

Lilliah Grace b 2012

Charlie b 2005

Harry b 2004

Natalie b 1976 m Jeff Israel

Sofia b 2005

Leo b 2010

P b 1978 m C

Neil b 1980

Corneld b 1983

Egn b 1979

Rachel b 1980

Laura Hope b 1988

J (F) b 1991

Mathilda Hope b 2002

Ella b 2005

Nena Ada Hope b 2006

Rafael b 2008

Sophie b 1983 m Stephen Levi

Pippah b 1985

Jacob b 1983

Kailin b 1985

Hannah b 1988

Daniel b 2004

Misha Stanley b 2011

Clara b 2011

Annie b 2000

6th gen

Key: Underlined – interviewed by FF

Underlined italic – took part in Facebook 'electronic discussion

Yellow highlight: converted to Judaism   Blue: not brought up Jewish

Class (in 2nd and 3rd gen): red square; professional/middle-class, Head of Household (HOH): green square; working-class HOH

Schooling: Went to, goes to, or will be sent to Jewish primary/secondary/nursery school. – blue highlight

Figure 3.2: Hoppenstein Family Tree (as at August 2012)

143

Jewish schools in the UK were originally set up, like the Jewish clubs and organisations that I will examine in Chapter Five, as a way for the established Anglo-Jewish community to 'deal with the problem of producing respectable English citizens who would be a credit to the Jewish community'.[145] But as early as 1907 the Jewish establishment was beginning to become concerned about a 'lack of religious spirit, religious apathy, and disintegration amongst Jewish youth'[146] and it was realised that 'what was needed was to Judaise the children, not to Anglicise' them.[147] Nearly a century later, some of the fourth generation Hoppenstein families who chose to send their fifth generation children to Jewish schools also made this choice in order to 'Judaise' their children, although others chose Jewish schools in order to complement the Jewish culture which the children were already exposed to at home and at the synagogue.

Fourth generation brothers David and Ivor Kallin both made the choice to send their fifth generation children to Jewish schools despite not having attended Jewish schools themselves. Ivor Kallin recalled:

> I think at the time, the debate was, we want them to have some sort
> of Jewish identity. If we go to the local primary school, then we're
> going to have to do all the work on the Jewish identity, and that's
> going to mean, either we drag them to *shul*, and I've been through

---

[145] In the early twentieth century the curriculum of the Jews School in Manchester included the celebration of Empire Day, Armistice Day and May Day festivities and English literature, history and geography, as well as Hebrew instruction. Rosalyn Livshin, 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp.82-5.

[146] *Ibid*., p.90.

[147] *Ibid*., p.90.

all that through my childhood and really didn't enjoy it much. Or,

we're going to have [to find] other Jewish people and alternative

Jewish-y things and that could be quite difficult. Or, we send them

to the Jewish school where they'll get all that stuff dealt with, and

we don't have to worry about it, and we'll just have to balance

things up so they have a perspective that the whole of the world *isn't*

Jewish. And I suppose that's what we went with.[148]

Ivor, then, explicitly stated that he felt that giving their children a Jewish

education would contribute to their feeling that they had a Jewish identity and it

would take away the need for the parents to have to ensure that this happened.

Ivor and Jenny's children, Sophie, Phoebe and Hamish, discussed (in the

Facebook discussion group) the effect that going to a Jewish school had on their

outlook. The ambivalent attitude of their father was obvious to the children. Sophie

commented:

We went to Jewish schools where we were taught the Orthodox way,

but we had dad at home telling us not to listen to the religious

teachers there and moaning when we went to *Shul* on festivals.[149]

Sophie's experience was, of course, the exact opposite of Ivor and David's

experience, living in an observant home and attending non-Jewish schools. Ivor and

his brother David had an upbringing where it was 'normal' at home to be religiously

Orthodox and each of them had carried their Jewish identity with them to school,

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[148] Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin. Emphasis in the original.

[149] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Sophie Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/029.

always aware of occasions when it contrasted and clashed with the school's customs and practices. In contrast, Sophie and her siblings lived in a Jewish, but secular, home. When she carried Jewish practices learned at school into the home, she faced criticism from her father.

All three of Ivor and Jenny's children chose to make a break from Jewish life while they were at university. This comment from Sophie was typical and reflected the experience of all three siblings: 'at the time I relished the possibility of making non-Jewish friends and was not interested in the JSoc [Jewish society]'.[150]

But it must be noted that people's way of seeing the world changes through time. As consultant psychiatrist and family systems expert Natasha Burchardt points out, young adults' comments 'help the [researcher] to develop a new insight on the [older] generation' and the age when a person is interviewed points to 'how the capacity for reflection on life experience inevitably shifts and changes over time'.[151] In fact, since these comments were made, Sophie and Phoebe have both settled back in London, each with a Jewish partner. It seems that the time that the sisters spent away from Jewish influence, while at university, served to make them decide that their Jewish identity was important to them, in the same way that the Jewish evacuees mentioned by Kushner, above, were made more starkly aware of being Jewish by attending non-Jewish schools.[152] Sophie confirmed this:

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[150] *Ibid.*

[151] Natasha Burchardt, 'Review of Dan Bar-On: "Fear and Hope: Three Generations Of The Holocaust"', *Oral History* Vol 25, no. 1 (1997).

[152] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice*, p.77.

Jewishness was something that everyone in our school shared, and

so in school was not something that we talked about much. ... It

was only really once I got to university that I realised that there was

quite a bit in common amongst my Jewish friends, and I am still

close to a lot of them now.[153]

While she had been at school, her Jewishness was taken for granted, but when she

was in a secular environment, she began to realise what was important about her

Jewish friendships. Phoebe, too, wrote about a 'welcome familiarity with Jewish

people I knew/met'.[154]

The children of David and Susan Stone also went to a Jewish school. David

Stone and his then wife Susan were keen to give their children a strong Jewish

identity, but unlike the Kallins, they felt that they would do that 'through observing

the traditions in a moderate way',[155] at home. He and his family went to Israel for

some years when his oldest daughter was five years old, which meant that the

children's first school experience was in Israeli schools. His experience points up

the difference between secular and religious Jewish education. He explained:

They all went to Israeli schools and that was great, I mean, these

were non-religious … but they learned the language and they

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[153] Facebook discussion response, Sophie Kallin.

[154] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Phoebe Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/030.

[155] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

learned about the festivals and they learned about reading the *Torah*

and the *Tanakh* and all the rest of it but not in a religious way.[156]

On returning to Scotland, David and Susan decided to send their children to

Calderwood Lodge Jewish Primary School in Glasgow, 'because it was a Jewish

school' and because 'we wanted them to try and keep the language up; we knew they

had Israeli teachers at Calderwood who would teach them Hebrew'. However,

David was not comfortable with the religious aspects of the school, saying 'it's quite

paradoxical really that when they went to school in Glasgow, outwardly, they had to

be more religious than when they went to school in Israel'.[157]

For David and Susan's children, then, like Ivor and Jenny's children, there

was also a contrast between the secular Jewish life of their home and the religious

Jewish life of the school. David expressed relief that 'for all that the boys had to

wear *kippot* and *tzitzit*, neither of them is religious so that's a great relief' and that

'even Natalie … drives on a *Shabbat* and she answers the phone on *Shabbat*'; he

commented that she 'keeps a *kosher* kitchen and that kind of thing but she's not

religious at all, but very Jewish. So I think we've done something right'.[158] Ivor

Kallin expressed the same views about his children:

> I always felt that the children's values have developed partly
>
> through what they hear at school and also through their peers, but
>
> also what they hear at home. And they can balance things up. ...

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[156] *Ibid.*

[157] *Ibid.*

[158] *Ibid.*

And thankfully, our kids have grown up fairly open-minded and very very cynical about the values of the school. And are not at all Zionistic or religious, and question everything. And I'm quite glad about that, because it was a bit scary, that it could have gone the other way.[159]

Ivor Kallin and David Stone, as secular Jews, were concerned that their secular values were not supplanted by the schools' religiosity. As Miller points out, the self-description 'secular' does not denote an absence of ritual; it is used in some cases by 'people who observe a number of common rituals'. Indeed, he suggests:

if secular is construed as doubting the existence of God, or the divinity of the *Torah*, then the majority of British Jews are properly classified as secular, whereas if complete avoidance of ritual and synagogue membership is the criterion, then only a small minority qualifies.[160]

In the Hoppenstein family, then, this statement is borne out. Although David Stone and the Kallins are strongly secular, they all participate in Jewish ritual activity – for instance each of them arranged circumcisions for their sons and participate in Seder nights.

Natalie Stone, David Stone's eldest daughter, who went to a non-Jewish secondary school after her Jewish primary school, did not feel the same need as the

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[159] Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin.

[160] Stephen Miller, 'Changing Patterns of Jewish Identity among British Jews', in *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, eds. Zvi Gitelman, Barry Kosmin, and Andras Kovacs, (Budapest, New York: Central Europe University Press, 2003), p.47.

Kallin siblings to have a time away from what Phoebe Kallin called 'Jewishy things'. She continued her involvement with Judaism at University, saying: 'I studied at Leeds which has a thriving Jewish student community, so it was easy and fun to attend JSoc events and eat lots of bagels'.[161] Post-university, she continues to maintain her involvement with Judaism and Israel. The older Kallin siblings, having experienced a non-Jewish environment at university, willingly returned to a Jewish life in London, so it could be argued that spending time in a non-Jewish environment served to confirm their Jewish identity.

Every member of the fifth generation who is old enough has been to university at the time of writing. Several of both genders have taken or were taking postgraduate qualifications. Although this resonates with the move through the century for more young people to go to university, the proportions of Jewish people with higher level qualifications remain higher than those of the general population. At the time of the 2001 census, compared with the general population, Jews in England and Wales were 40 per cent less likely to be classified as having 'no qualifications' and over 35% of Jews had a first degree compared to under 20% of the general population. In Scotland, 37% of Jews aged between 16 and 74 had a degree or equivalent, compared with 19% of the general population and of younger people, 29% of Jews aged between 16 and 29 had a degree or equivalent, compared with 16% in the general population.[162]

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[161] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Natalie Stone. 2008. SOHCA 031/023.

[162] The Scottish Executive, 'Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census: Summary Report', (2004), http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53573 consulted 14 February 2011; David Graham, Marlena Schmool *et al.*, 'Jews in Britain: a Snapshot from the 2001 Census', (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2007), p.6; Office for National Statistics, '2001 Census

As far as occupations in the fifth generation go, there has been a move away from the family tradition of medicine. Only one of the fifth generation was working in the medical field, following in the footsteps of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. Many of the fifth generation are still in full-time education at the time of writing (February 2012), but those in full time work include, for males, an actuary, a doctor and a journalist and for females a teacher, two management trainees in transport and in banking, an actress and singer, an archivist and a television company website content editor. It can be seen from Figure 3.3 below that although Jewish men are still far more likely to be in management roles than Jewish women, Jews of both genders are much more likely than the general population to be represented in managerial, professional and associate professional level jobs and much less likely to be represented in skilled trades, personal service occupations, sales roles, process occupations and 'elementary' occupations.

Commissioned Table M298 Sex, Age and Highest Qualification by Religion', (n.d.) consulted 14 February 2011.

All people age 16-74 in employment the week before 2001 census	%	All Jews %	Men %	Jewish men %	Women %	Jewish women %
1. Managers and senior officials	15.11	25.11	18.49	31.58	11.12	17.13
2. Professional occupations (including teaching, medical)	11.17	22.85	12.16	25.18	10.01	19.99
3. Associate professional and technical occupations (including media, culture and the arts)	13.78	18.78	13.46	17.84	14.17	19.95
4. Administrative and secretarial occupations	13.33	13.79	5.40	5.73	22.68	23.73
5. Skilled trades occupations	11.64	3.19	19.48	4.79	2.40	1.20
6. Personal service occupations	6.91	4.06	2.02	1.85	12.69	6.78
7. Sales and customer service occupations	7.67	5.63	4.06	4.03	11.93	7.60
8. Process, plant and machine operatives	8.51	3.34	13.07	5.52	3.12	0.65
9. Elementary occupations	11.87	3.25	11.87	3.48	11.88	2.97

Figure 3.2 Occupation by gender and religion[163]

	18-pensionable age	18-29	30-44	45-pension age
Male	60.02%	50.27%	59.38%	72.91%
Female	39.98%	49.73%	40.62%	27.09%

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[163] Taken from: 'Table S154 Sex and Occupation by Religion: All people aged 16 - 74 in employment in the area the week before the Census: Census 2001, National Report for England and Wales – Part 2', http://www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/Product.asp?vlnk=11314&More=Y.

Figure 3.3 Gender breakdown of people with degrees, Scotland, 1991 (ten per cent sample)[164]

Figure 3.3 is based on statistics for England and Wales rather than for Scotland at the time of the 2001 Census, but as only two of the fifth generation Hoppenstein family are now based in Scotland these statistics are relevant to this group. The women in this generation seem to have had more opportunities than the women in the previous generations and this is the first generation where there is no gendered difference in the take-up of higher education by young Jewish men and women. This reflects the situation in the wider community.

Figure 3.4 shows the gender breakdown of the six per cent of the adult population who had degrees or equivalent qualifications in Scotland in 1991. Although 60% of those people with degrees were male and only 40% were female, among 18-29 year olds the proportion of men and women with degrees had evened up to 50.2% men and 49.7% women. In contrast, in the age group from 45 years to pension age, 73% of men and only 27% of women had degrees or equivalent qualifications,[165] graphically demonstrating how much has changed through the last decades of the 20th century in terms of opening up educational opportunities to women.

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[164] '1991 Census Local Base Statistics Table L84 10% sample', (n.d.), https://www.nomisweb.co.uk consulted 14 February 2011.

[165] *Ibid.*

Antisemitism in the fifth generation

Some of the fifth generation respondents reported having experienced some antisemitic incidents, mainly of the Lebzelter 'non-violent social antisemitism' type. Phoebe had been with a group of friends from JFS, the Jewish school and had been made by a bus conductor to get off a bus in Stamford Hill, the Jewish area of London, 'because they were Jewish'.[166] Hamish wrote: 'at university I had one friend who often used to call me "Jew" in mock insults, but it got to the point when he said it so much I had a go at him. We don't really talk any more'.[167] Some comments experienced by the fifth generation young adults were not antisemitic but due to ignorance about Judaism, showing that despite the multi-cultural society we live in, people in the wider community are not always knowledgeable about other cultures. Phoebe said she was bemused at her friends' amazement that her father was both Scottish and Jewish and one person at university asked if she was the only Jew in England.[168] The violent antisemitism experienced during the 1970s and 1980s in the street and playground by some members of the fourth generation does not seem to have continued into the new century and was not reported directly by any members of the fifth generation Hoppensteins. Ivor Kallin, however, reported that his sister-in-law's children and their friends had been attacked by a gang of fifteen or twenty people in a London street, 'only escaping by accepting a lift in the back of a van of a

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[166] Facebook discussion response, Phoebe Kallin.

[167] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Hamish Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/031.

[168] Facebook discussion response, Phoebe Kallin.

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complete stranger who saw what was happening,'[169] which led directly to the family's decision to move to Israel.

Conclusions

As the Hoppenstein family began to function in the public sphere, links with the host society increased through the generations and adherence to careers in the medical profession decreased. In the first generation, links with the host society were strictly limited; Zvi David Hoppenstein earned his living and operated entirely within the Jewish community. By the fifth generation, each young adult has an entirely secular job. Medicine was important as a career for the early men in the family, with more than half – seven out of twelve – of the second and third generation males taking up medical or optical-related professions and in addition, two spouses (one male, one female) entered medical or optical professions. By the fourth generation, only three out of sixteen are in medical or related professions and by the fifth generation, only one of the family is following the medical tradition charted by Collins as having been so important for second generation Scottish Jews.[170]

Gendered participation in economic life and in education has become much more equal in the later generations; the fifth generation is the first where every member, male and female, who is old enough at the time of writing, has been to university. In the first, second and third generation, female direct descendants of the Hoppenstein family have had less educational opportunity and less access to

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[169] Ivor Kallin, 2011. Personal communication with the author (Email, 15 April).

[170] Collins, *Go and Learn*.

economic capital than their siblings and cousins, although the fourth generation sees increasing professionalisation of women, with the fifth generation showing more equality among professions, also reflecting the situation in the wider community.

Despite the increasing secularisation of professions, school choice throughout the generations has become *less* secular, with a high proportion of the fifth generation being sent to a Jewish school for at least part of their schooling. As Pamela Kirk argues, the children of the first immigrant generation were sent to Jewish schools in Manchester in order to anglicise them, whereas more recently their grandchildren have been sent to Jewish schools in order to ensure that they receive the Jewish education they are not getting at home.[171] This was not the reason that all the fifth generation children were sent to Jewish schools. Brothers Richard and Michael Stone, children of Arthur Stone, maintain observant Jewish homes and are sending their children to Jewish nurseries and primary schools to get that ethos reinforced and Natalie Stone, daughter of David Stone, is also very pleased to have her observance reinforced at her children's schools.

It is very apparent that the five generations have had changing experiences of antisemitism through the 120 years represented in this study. Zvi David's fear of being returned to Russia, hence his application for naturalisation, is very different from Arthur Stone's experience of seeing Kindertransport children beaten up at school and different again from Lionel Levy's initially cool reception at the wartime 'emergency school' staffroom. Ivor's punishment at school for his 'defiance' at not

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[171] Pamela Ruth Kirk, 'Comparison of the Aims of Education for Jewish Children in the Manchester Area during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' (Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Salford, 1994).

accepting the Christian Bible as 'his' Bible, Phoebe being put ejected from a bus in the Jewish part of London and Richard being targeted at school for conversion are all different sides of the same thing – of a changing 'non-violent social antisemitism'. The violent antisemitism experienced by Richard, David and Hugh at school in the 1970s seems to have different roots to the violence experienced by Jenny Kallin's sister's children and their friends in London at the end of the twentieth century. I would argue that the incidents at school in the 1970s were related to a far-right ethos allied to Enoch Powell's anti-immigration stance. The 'new anti-Zionism', however, is a different type of experience for Jews which, according to Julius, only emerged in the 1970s, but is set to continue and grow. As Collins and Borowski state: 'Events in the Middle East, often accompanied by popular conflation of Israelis and Jews, have a habit of leading to outbreaks of antisemitic activity. These include antisemitic daubing at synagogues and cemeteries as well as threats and verbal abuse'.[172] It is likely that this type of antisemitism will be increasingly experienced among the younger members of the fifth generation.

Although the 'facebook' generation were asked directly about their experiences of antisemitism, the third and fourth generation respondents raised the issue of antisemitism spontaneously. Hugh Hope-Stone, as we have seen, commented that the antisemitism he experienced at school led to his developing a Jewish consciousness. Following Wendy Ugolini, who suggests that 'the traumatic events of 1940-1945, by reinforcing a sense of difference, actually contributed to a

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[172] Collins and Borowski, 'Scotland's Jews: Community and Political Challenges'.

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heightened sense of Italianness among the children of Italian immigrants',[173] I would suggest that the evidence shows that the sense of difference reinforced by antisemitism contributes towards a heightened sense of Jewishness.

Participating in the secular world and in Jewish or non-Jewish education has given each member of the Hoppenstein family a way in which they can define or re-define themselves, either as Jewish, having Jewish heritage or not being Jewish at all and within the category 'Jewish', as an observant or as a secular Jew. Those who have experienced antisemitism have experienced being categorised by others as Jewish, notwithstanding their own view of themselves.

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[173] Wendy Ugolini, *Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other'* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2011), p.13.

Chapter Four

'What he was most impressed with was the front door; he stayed up a stair': marriage choice, gender and class in the Hoppenstein family

I don't think one of these husbands ever earned a decent living.

Fred Stone (third generation)[1]

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There would not be any Jewish communities, Jewish families or Jewish life, if generations of Jewish families had not ensured that their children had made Jewish partnerships. *Halacha,* Orthodox Jewish law, states that the child of a Jewish mother is Jewish and that if a child has a Jewish father but not a Jewish mother the child is not Jewish.[2] This means that in terms of the most fundamental sense of the transmission of 'Jewishness' to one's children, the issue of marriage and marriage choice through the generations is an important one.

This chapter focuses on the marriage choices of the Hoppenstein family through five generations and draws links across education, class and gender. I start by illustrating, in diagrammatic form, the different marriage choices of the second, third and fourth generations of the Hoppenstein family, in terms of in-marriage (marriage to a Jewish partner), intermarriage (marriage to a non-Jewish partner) or not marrying at all. Using Bourdieu's theories of social, economic and cultural

[1] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/004a.

[2] Among many writings on this topic, see 'Chapter 9: The Matrilineal Principle' in Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties (Hellenistic Culture and Society)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp.263-308.)

capital and the idea of marriage as a 'game', as outlined in Chapter Two, I examine

the marriage choices of the first four generations of the Hoppenstein family and

explore how far constraints and pressures from family and community were involved

in those choices. I analyse the way in which gendered educational opportunities led

to class differences in the early generations and briefly look at what the future of

marriage choice might hold by looking at some partnerships in the fifth generation. I

argue that the choice of who married whom was not only influenced by economic

and class factors, but also had a profound effect on the economic opportunities and

class mobility of the subsequent generations. In addition, I show, through social

network analysis, that outmarriage fundamentally affected communications across

the extended family.

The quotation in the heading, "what he was most impressed with was the

front door; he stayed up a stair", comes from an interview with Hannah Frank, who

married Lionel Levy (third generation) in 1939.[3] Hannah's father had a well-known

camera shop in the city and the family had prospered, moving from the Gorbals after

the First World War to the 'well-heeled Victorian suburb'[4] of Queen's Park, where

they had a maid as well as a 'main-door house',[5] in contrast to Lionel's family's

home, a one-up tenement reached by a staircase. Hannah's father was a successful

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[3] Janet Levin, 'Hannah Frank', *Jewish Renaissance*, Winter 2004.

[4] Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005), p.253.

[5] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2000. SOHCA031/001. These maids were mainly from the Highlands or Ireland: see for example Catherine O'Connor, 'She could be sore': Gender and Generations in an Oral History of Irish Protestant Rural Women 1945-65'. Paper presented at 17th annual conference of the Women's History Network, University of Glasgow, 2008.

trader with his own shop and Lionel's father was a less successful photographer. She and Lionel were very aware that while they shared an equal intelligence and curiosity about the world – both were studying at the University of Glasgow – there was a class difference between their two families, in terms of the difference in the size of their houses. As we will see, this class difference in marriage was replicated across the whole third generation of the Hoppenstein family.

Marriage and the Hoppenstein family

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the marriage patterns in the second, third and fourth generations of the Hoppenstein family, with Figure 4.1 juxtaposing the second and third generations and Figure 4.2 showing the fourth generation. It can be seen that six of the nine siblings of the second generation married Jewish partners and that the only alternative to marriage to a Jewish spouse in that generation was not to marry, a choice made by three of the five brothers. This seems to have been an unusual choice for the time; in the 1921 census, of all Scottish men over 15, well over half (57%) were married, widowed or divorced.[6] Of the ten members of the third generation, six married Jewish partners. One, a woman, did not marry. She suffered from mental health problems and spent much of her life in hospital. But it can be seen from the diagram that in the third generation there was a change in marital patterns. In this generation there was an alternative to marriage to a Jewish spouse or not marrying at all: marriage with a non-Jewish partner, a path taken by three of the

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[6] 'Population, ages, conjugal condition, orphanhood, birthplaces, Gaelic-speaking, housing, Scotland, 1921', *Online Historical Population Reports*, http://histpop.org.uk/ohpr consulted 13 December 2010.

male members of this generation (although as I show, this path was not without

difficulties).
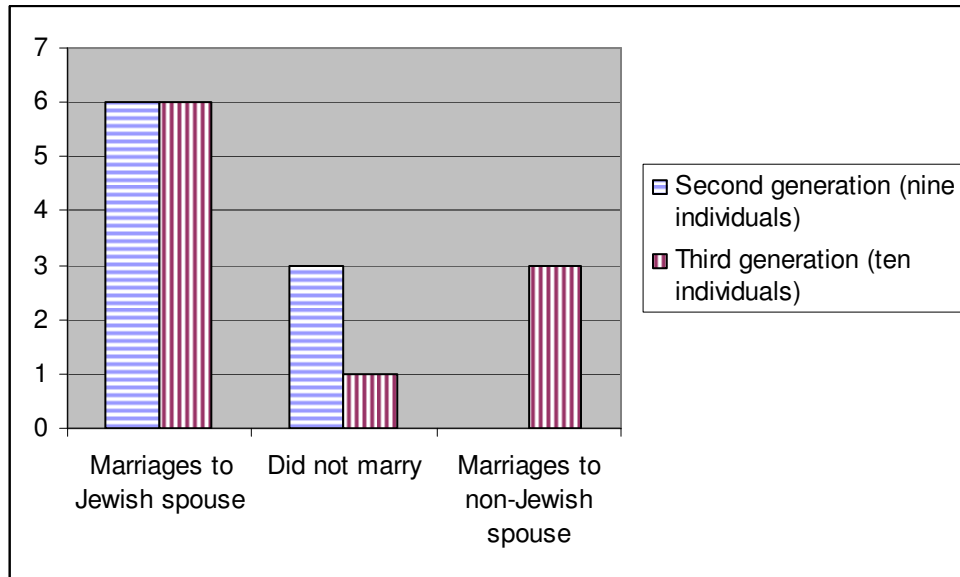
Figure 4.1 Marriage in the second and third generation of the Hoppenstein family

All children of two Jewish parents. Marriages in the second generation between 1908 and 1928. Marriages in the third generation between 1939 and 1965. This diagram does not include the second marriage, to a Jewish man, of Dolly Cohen, widow of Sidney Hope-Stone.
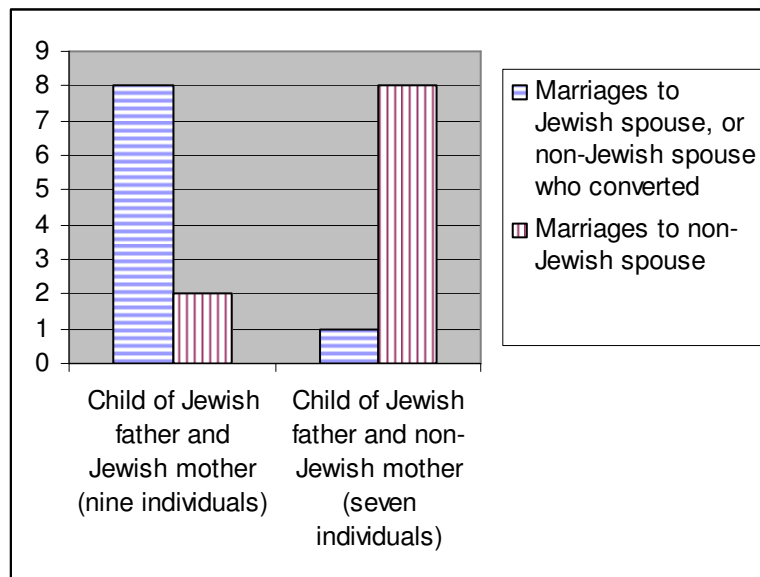
Figure 4.2 Marriage choice among the fourth generation of the Hoppenstein family

The fourth generation marriages include those of two men, children of two Jewish parents, who married non-Jewish women who converted to Judaism through the Orthodox tradition. Also included are three women who married twice. Two of these women, from two different branches of the family, married non-Jewish men on their first marriage and Jewish men on their second marriage. From Figure 4.2, it can be seen that in the fourth generation, where an adult had two Jewish parents and was brought up in a Jewish household, they were much more likely to marry Jewish spouses or to marry non-Jewish women who would subsequently convert to Judaism. Of ten marriages in this group, eight were to Jewish partners or partners who converted to Judaism and only two were 'intermarriages'. Conversely, where an adult had a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother and had not been brought up in a Jewish household or to consider themselves Jewish, they were unlikely to marry a Jewish partner. Out of nine marriages within this group, only one was to a Jewish spouse.

Milton L. Barron cites fellow sociologist Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy who in a seminal article on intermarriage analysed marriage records in New Haven for different groups in 1870, 1900, 1930 and 1940 and found that:

> over each time interval there was found to be an increase in the
> percentage of those intermarrying from most – but not all – groups.
> The proportion of Protestants intermarrying with non-Protestants

and Roman Catholics with non-Catholics, for example, declined

slightly over the last measured decade.[7]

Barron suggested that:

This is more important than it may seem to the casual observer,

largely because it disrupts the armchair, speculative idea that

intermarriage relentlessly increases in the dimension of time in a

smooth, unbroken pattern.[8]

Jewish studies scholar Yaacov Rubel, in a study of Argentinian Jewish families,

showed that children of mixed marriages are much more likely to marry a non-Jew

than are children of endogamous marriages.[9] Figure 4.2 shows that the situation in

the Hoppenstein family is similar. Although intermarriage increased from zero to

three out of ten between the second and the third generation, the rate of intermarriage

decreased between the third and fourth generation, to three out of ten marriages in

the third generation and two out of ten marriages in the third generation (of those

family members with two Jewish parents and/or who were brought up in Jewish

households). Thus the case of the Hoppenstein family's marriage choices through

the generations resonates with Reeves Kennedy's findings and it is clear that in this

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[7] Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, 'Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940', *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol 49, no. 4 (1944). Cited in Milton L. Barron, 'Research on Intermarriage: A Survey of Accomplishments and Prospects', *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol 57, no. 3 (1952), p.251.

[8] Barron, 'Research on Intermarriage', p.251.

[9] Yaacov Rubel, 'Intermarriage: The Argentine Case', in *Jewish Intermarriage Around the World*, eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009). Cited in Shulamit Reinharz, 'Jewish Intermarriage Around the World: An Overview', in *Jewish Intermarriage Around the World*, eds. Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009), p.10.

family assimilation through intermarriage is not 'relentlessly increas[ing]' through the generations. It is true that the fourth generation children of mixed marriages, in all cases but one, married non-Jews, echoing Rubel's findings. However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, 'return in-marriage', as in the case of Lesley Hope-Stone whose second marriage was to a Jewish man, has been noted as a growing phenomenon.[10]

In the rest of this chapter, I examine marriage choices within each generation. I draw on Bourdieu's concepts of social, cultural and economic capital and the 'game' in examining marriage strategies through the generations. I argue that gendered educational opportunities have a disproportionate influence on marriage choice, particularly in the early generations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, men had more opportunity than women to progress to higher education and into the professions, which provided them with different amounts of 'tokens' to bring to the 'marriage gaming' table.[11] I show that the educational opportunities available to the second generation Hoppenstein men led to class differences across the family.

The first generation: an arranged marriage?

Zvi David Hoppenstein came from a long line of learned rabbis and gained his rabbinical qualifications at a young age. His family, then, had high cultural and

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[10] Bruce Phillips, *Re-examining Intermarriage: Trends, Textures, Strategies* (Los Angeles: Susan and David Wilstein Institute of Jewish Policy Studies and the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center of the American Jewish Committee, 1997), p.78.

[11] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1993), p.34.

social capital within the Jewish community and a strong focus on learning but it was

unlikely that there was a high level of economic capital; his father had died when Zvi

David was young and he had been brought up by his uncle. He married Sophia

Penkinsky, the oldest daughter of a merchant, a family with high *economic* status.

Sophia's mother, Chaya Mary Abrahams, came from a family which again had high

cultural as well as economic capital.

Zvi David and Sophia married during their very early twenties, in

Wladiwlasow. The marriage was probably arranged and Sophia's father was likely

to have contributed to his son-in-law's learning, under the *kest* system of providing

board and lodging for a scholar son-in-law. It was usual for the wife to be the

breadwinner while the husband studied, even after she had had children.[12] As Rickie

Burman has suggested, upon emigration there were new expectations on the male to

earn money outside of the home for the family, according to the prevailing pattern of

the host community.[13] As was seen in the last chapter, Zvi David found work and the

couple began their family the year they arrived in Edinburgh. Their nine children

were born between 1883 and 1899. The family moved house many times within

Edinburgh, from tenement to tenement, as tenants and never accumulated any

economic capital in the form of inheritable property.[14] There was never much

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[12] For a discussion of Kest see Edward K. Kaplan and Samuel H. Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Prophetic Witness* (Newhaven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 2007), p.7. And for a discussion of women's work see for example Susan A Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp.8-30.

[13] Rickie Burman, '"She Looketh Well to the Ways of her Household": The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life', in *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*, ed. Gail Malmgreen, (London & Sidney: Croom Helm, 1986).

economic capital from earnings in the family. Fred Stone, Zvi David's grandson, talked about what he had gathered from his father, Marcus, about the economics in the family:

>…it was a poor family. It was hand-to-mouth. All the earnings my
>grandfather made were as a teacher, as a Shohet. … So it was never
>a great deal. Two or three of the boys, at the end, made a
>contribution to the home.[15]

Despite the lack of economic status in the home, there was high cultural status and a high emphasis on learning. Fred Stone remembers the book-lined room in the family's Glasgow house where the family moved just before the First World War:

>The 'good room', which would be the lounge, was very much my
>grandfather's domain, and there he had his considerable Jewish
>Hebrew Library, which no-one was allowed to touch. But every
>now and again a volume would be withdrawn and handed to me, and
>that was for me to learn from. We were never very comfortable in
>that room. Curiously, it had a piano, and it was the eldest son, Isaac,
>the quiet one, the physicist, who played piano.[16]

Fred's overriding memories of books and learning in that house give an indication of the cultural capital which would have been acquired, unconsciously, by

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[14] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Inventory of the Moveable or Personal Estate and Effects of the late Mrs Sophia Wittenberg or Hoppenstein. 1936. NAS02023 SC36-496-00945. Inventory of the Moveable or Personal Estate and Effects of the late David Hoppenstein died 8 September 1944. Book 634 p.145.

[15] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[16] *Ibid*.

the children of the family in their earliest childhood. His comment that it was 'curious' that the room had a piano shows his awareness of the contrast between the lack of economic resources in the house and the incursion of the piano, a marker of middle-class secular culture.

There is no oral testimony from the second generation relating to Zvi David's or Sophia's insistence on their children's marrying Jewish partners, but it can be surmised that intermarriage was not something that would be countenanced in the family. It is certain that Zvi David as a rabbi and Sophia, as his wife, would have shared a hardline attitude to outmarriage and would have passed on the message to their children that this was not an option.

Sociologist Matthijs Kalmijn suggests: 'there are two ways in which third parties prevent exogamy: by group identification and by group sanctions'.[17] The sanctions taken by the Jewish family are particularly stringent and involve treating the marriage as equivalent to a death. Dr Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi from 1967-1991, in a 1967 lecture wrote that 'the danger of intermarriage is at least as great [as the recent war] … and… no one weeps'. He talks about the dishonour which would be faced by the family and the community being, in some cases, enough to act as a deterrent to those marrying out.

> Even if you…may be weak at moments, the … thought of what
>
> others would think of you and the feeling of shame, of revulsion that
>
> would be aroused among members of your family, community, and
>
> wider people, served as a deterrent. If a child knew that in marrying

[17] Matthijs Kalmijn, 'Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends', *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol 24 (1998), p.400.

out of the faith, his father and mother would tear their garments,

would sit *shiva* and weep… then even if his own convictions were

weak this deterrent very often was effective in preventing a leap into

disaster.[18]

Zvi David and Sophia's children would have been aware that if they were

to marry a non-Jewish spouse, their parents would 'sit *shiva*' for them (that is, they

would carry out the ritual seven day mourning period, where they would rend their

garments, sit on low stools in the house and say the mourning prayers for their

children daily). Intermarriage did occur within the Glasgow community during this

period despite this sanction. Linda Fleming, in her study of Jewish women in

Glasgow between 1880 and 1950, interviewed a woman who told her that three of

her siblings married out:

Well, what they done, they sat *Shiva, Shiva*, as you know. Well,

they sat *Shiva* – for that's them dead.[19]

This was an extreme sanction and children who would put their parents through this

ordeal would be aware that it was irreversible. This type of emotive reaction to

intermarriage by parents and others was not restricted to Judaism. A 'funeral,

complete with coffin and everything' was held in a church when a young Christian

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[18] Immanuel Jakobovitz, *The Problem of Intermarriage*, Annual lectures (London: Jewish Marriage Education Council, 1967), p.10.

[19] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.243. For oral testimony confirming the efficacy of the parental (and communal) sanctions see also 'Interviewee J295' in Rosalyn Livshin, 'The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930', in *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, ed. David Cesarani, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p.93.

woman married a Muslim man.[20] 'Honour killings' in the Muslim community take place for the same reasons.[21]

The second generation: gendered educational opportunities and class contrasts

In the second generation, all four of the sisters married, compared with only two out of the five brothers. Four of the five brothers had been to university and their educational qualifications or 'embodied cultural capital', in Bourdieu's terms, meant that they were well placed in the 'game' to find marriage partners, although only two of the five sons married. Like their father before them, Sidney and Marcus both married daughters of successful merchants. Marcus's son Arthur points out very clearly how his father's embodied cultural capital in the shape of his educational qualifications provided something very compelling for his mother Eva.

> My mother and father, they met at something or other, some
> occasion. And my mother was taken very much by a professional
> person. Because there weren't all that many in these days. A lot of
> them were, not manual workers, but ordinary workers in businesses,
> shops, things like that. She fancied somebody who was a

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[20] Muna Hamzeh-Muhaisen, 'When Church Bells Mourn the Bride', *Palestine Report* (1997), http://www.jmcc.org/media/report/97/Aug/1.htm consulted 21 March 2009.

[21] Chris McGreal. 'Murdered in Name of Family Honour'. Guardian.co.uk, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/jun/23/israel, consulted 20 March 2009. This and the article by Muna Hamzeh-Muhaisen were cited in an article on mixed marriages between Muslims and Christians (Heather Al-Yousuf, 'Negotiating Faith and Identity in Muslim-Christian Marriages in Britain', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* Vol 17, no. 3 (2006), p.320.

pharmacist already, and somebody who had studied medicine, that

was a big thing in these days.[22]

Using the concept of the 'game', the 'tokens' Marcus had accumulated meant that he

was able to 'win' in the 'game' and make a successful marriage. His educational

qualifications would have shown Eva and her family that he had the potential for

amassing economic capital, but also provided Eva with something which was in short

supply. Marcus, a professional man, was still from within the Jewish community,

but had much more cultural capital than the other men she would have met at the

time.

Eva Morris, Marcus's wife, was the daughter of a German Jewish family;

her father also had a tailoring business. Fred Stone remembers his mother's family

had cultural as well as economic capital:

They were a somewhat cultured family. A total contrast with the

paternal side. … And he was a tailor, an apprentice tailor, then a

master tailor, and set up his own business, and it became a highly

successful wholesale tailoring concern, which was one of the official

suppliers to M. & S., and so the family were fairly well-off.[23]

There was a class difference, then, between the Morrises and the Hoppensteins, the

parents of Eva and Marcus. The Morrises lived in the West End of Glasgow (the

home of the longer-established, middle-class, Jewish immigrants to Glasgow), had

German roots and were economically successful. The Hoppensteins had moved from

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[22] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank and Bill Williams, Cheadle. 2003. SOHCA031/005a.

[23] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

Edinburgh (via Ayr) to Glasgow by the time Marcus and Eva met. They lived in the South Side (the home of the more Orthodox, newer, largely working-class immigrants), had Eastern European roots and had few economic resources. Both families had substantial cultural capital, the Morris parents' in the areas of art and music, the Hoppenstein parents' in the sphere of religious learning. Marcus had been able to convert his cultural capital to embodied cultural capital through education qualifications and this gave him the potential to acquire future economic capital, therefore making him a very attractive match for the daughter of a wealthy tailoring family.

The other married brother was Sidney, who had changed his name from Solomon. Sidney married Doris Cohen, known as Dolly, in the early 1920s. Dolly, too, was the daughter of a successful tailor and several of her brothers were doctors, showing that her family had already been able to turn economic capital into embodied cultural capital. The family will have seen in Sidney a good marriage partner for Dolly and a source of potential future economic capital.

The children of Sidney and Marcus remember growing up in grand, spacious housing. Harold Hope-Stone, Sidney's son, recalled: 'we had this… it's extraordinary really, a very large terraced house in which we had a living in maid, of course'.[24] Arthur Stone, Marcus's son, described the flat he grew up in, which also served as the premises of his father's Glasgow School of Optics:

> We had two entrances to our huge flat at the bottom. Now, we had
>
> enormous rooms in it. One of the rooms was called the Lecture

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[24] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Littlebury Green. 2007. SOHCA0031/003.

Room, and that was where the students were. Also, in fact, the

students overflowed into our dining room and lounge at certain

periods, as well. ... It had ... five rooms. But they could easily have

been eight, nine rooms.[25]

Early in their marriages Marcus and Sidney's wives' families both provided

financial support in setting them up in business: Sidney with a chemist's shop in

Wallasey and Marcus with his West End 'Glasgow School of Optics' business.[26]

Their children grew up in households which resembled the large houses and middle-

class lifestyle that their mothers knew as children, a long way from the tenements of

their fathers' childhood.

The story of the marriages of the sisters in the second generation contrasts

starkly with those of the two brothers who married. These young women had a

different combination of 'tokens' to put forward in the marriage 'game'. The kind of

economic recompense that their father could bring in from his work as *shohet* and

Hebrew teacher was never going to provide dowries for his daughters. Their high

cultural capital from growing up in a learned Orthodox Jewish family was not

coupled with inherited economic capital which could support a husband in setting up

a business, as was the case with the wives of Marcus and Sidney. The marriages of

the four second generation Hoppenstein women were 'arranged', according to their

nephew Fred Stone.[27] A *shadchen* was sometimes used in these cases:

[25] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[26] Rachel Foster (née Ginsburg), 2007. Personal communication with the author (Telephone
conversation, 8 December).

[27] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

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> There were marriage brokers, *shadchens, …* they brought boy and
>
> girl together, you never hear of it now, you know what I mean, in
>
> those days they were introduced to each other, if you liked them,
>
> well you took them out, if you fancied them well you settled down.[28]

Fleming heard several stories of the *shadchen* in her interviews with Glasgow Jewish

women: a fee was payable but her interviewees confirmed that this was no more than

an introduction service where the two parties had the final say in the matter, rather

than a 'formally negotiated marriage based upon an economic agreement'.[29]

All the second generation daughters married Jewish men, mostly from

families with low economic capital similar to their own family, but without similar

cultural capital. None of the spouses had embodied cultural capital in the form of

educational qualifications. Fred Stone recalled:

> I don't think one of these husbands ever earned a decent living.
>
> That's an awful thing to say, but I really think that's true. Probably
>
> the best living was ... Beatrice's husband, who had the watchmaker's
>
> shop with his brother. He had a reasonable living, but the other
>
> three, hopeless people, from what I heard.[30]

Gertie Kallin, Fred's cousin, confirmed Fred's thoughts by her comments about what

her father, Abe Cowen, did for a living:

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[28] Mr Grossman, interviewed by Murdoch Rodgers. Murdoch Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', in *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past*, ed. Billy Kay, (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982), p.116.

[29] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.246.

[30] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

The family had an optical business, and he helped them with... he

wasn't a professional man. I don't think he was very...he was

probably, I don't know if you'd say retarded, but there was

something wrong with him mentally anyway. He just helped the

family in their business, and got a pittance for it, that sort of thing. I

think he used to do a bit of, um, some kind of collecting, I'm not

sure, a bit of all sorts.[31]

Gertie Kallin's halting delivery in this section of her interview shows her difficulty in

forming an answer to the question of her father's work. Summerfield conceptualises

this type of response as 'discomposure', that is 'personal disequilibrium, manifest in

confusion, anger, self-contradiction, discomfort and difficulties of sustaining a

narrative'.[32]

Although Abe Cowen himself was not successful in business, the Cowen

family seem to have had more cultural and economic capital than the families of the

other spouses of the Hoppenstein sisters. Abe Cowen's maternal grandfather Hillel

Meir Langman was a learned Jewish scholar from Kovno in Lithuania who had set

up a Hebrew printing business in Edinburgh in the late 1800s before moving to

Glasgow and who was to become Educational Convenor of the Glasgow *Talmud

Torah*, a school set up to provide Jewish education after school for the large numbers

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[31] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, Liverpool. 2004. SOHCA 031/006.

[32] Penny Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History* Vol 1 (2004), pp.69-70.

of Jewish children resident in the Gorbals.[33] Abe Cowen's family had an optical business, Morris Levy was a photographer, Yudel Hertz ran a jeweller's and watchmaker's shop in the Gorbals with his brother and Manuel Goldberg was a dealer in gold. Dr Emil Glasser, who was his family doctor, explained:

> I think there was a period when Jews went round houses to buy gold,
> I think he was involved in that kind of thing. There were other
> members of the community who, Goldberg wouldn't have much
> money but there were those who financed, who financed him, and he
> got a cut, I think that's how it worked.[34]

The houses and economic circumstances of the Hoppenstein second generation women were very different from those of the married men. The four girls lived with their husbands in rented tenements on the South Side of Glasgow, in the same neighbourhood and within a short distance of their parents. This was some distance from Marcus, who lived with his family in the West End, a higher class area and, significantly, near the parents of his wife Eva. Sidney, who settled in Liverpool, lived near the parents of his wife Dolly. So in the second generation we can see that there was a matrilocal tradition. Gertie Kallin described the tenement she grew up in:

> You go up a flight of stairs – not wooden stairs, solid concrete…
> you go through a door, and that's you in your flat. …And believe it

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[33] Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1990), pp.76, 213.

[34] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Dr Emil Glasser, Interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2008. SOHCA 031/022.

or not, there wasn't just a tenement flat on each side. There was one

in the middle as well, which meant every room was just in the same

line. You could walk in from one room into another. There was the

kitchen, which my parents also used as a bedroom in those days. A

kitchen, and my bedroom, and the other room they called 'the

room'. A sitting room, so to speak, which was hardly ever used.

And then a toilet. A horrible, old fashioned toilet, with no hot water,

and a horrible old fashioned bath. That was the house. That was it.

Right down the centre, if you know what I mean. Can you imagine

that?[35]

Ailsa Garner, Yudel and Beattie Hertz's granddaughter, who visited her grandparents

in Glasgow in the late 1960s and 1970s, contrasted her grandparents' tenement flat

with the homes of her father's cousins Fred Stone and Rita Samuels:

Well, Fred and Zelda's place was very, almost opulent really.

Because it was, there was art and there was soft furnishings and nice

lighting and carpets and wealth, there was obviously wealth and

academic stuff there. And the same with the Samuels, you know,

very well educated people. Whereas the tenement, as I remember it,

was terribly austere, it was a very austere and very cold place, not

nice. Not a nice place, it was, it was a horrible place, it was a smelly

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[35] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

place but their homes [the Stone's and the Samuels'] were warm and welcoming.[36]

Cultural historian Sander Gilman notes that with the shift from a religious to an ethnic identity comes a shift where 'the "holy" language of art comes to replace the *lashon kodesh,* the Holy Language'. [37] In describing the difference between the Stones' and the Samuels' houses and her grandparents' tenement flat, Ailsa, who was a child of seven when she started visiting her grandparents and her father's cousins in Glasgow, demonstrated her awareness of the specific link between social capital, economic capital and cultural capital, when she described the Stone's house as having 'art, … soft furnishings and nice lighting and carpets' and links that with the fact that there was '*obviously* (my emphasis) wealth and academic stuff'. The coldness and austerity of her grandparents' tenement were not only evidence to her of their lack of economic capital, but also their lack of cultural capital.

One change that impacted on all the second generation families' lives was the fact that they had much smaller families than did their parents, reflecting a wider trend; as the Registrar General for England and Wales remarked in 1927, 'the general decline in the size of families between 1911 and 1921 has been consistently observed in almost every section of the country'.[38] There were nine children in the

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[36] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Ailsa Herts Garner, interview by Fiona Frank, Leicester. 2008. SOHCA 031/013.

[37] Sander L Gilman, *Multiculturalism and the Jews* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), p.14.

[38] 'Census of England and Wales 1921, General Report with Appendices', (London: HMSO, 1927), p.22.

Hoppenstein second generation family and those who married also married spouses from large families. However none of the second generation families had more than three children. Fleming suggests that the move toward smaller families was led by women for economic reasons, arguing that 'family income was less stretched if women did not spend most of their childbearing years being economically inactive' and that 'the desire to limit their families in opposition to Jewish tradition therefore played a major part in enabling greater purchasing power in terms of homes and lifestyles'.[39] The economic imperative may well have been the reason for smaller families among the working-class Hoppenstein households. In the middle-class households, however, Fleming suggests that 'the move to smaller families may … have been a reflection of greater integration with middle-class norms' in the host society.[40]

Although the four Hoppenstein sisters married men without substantial economic capital or cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications, the cultural capital which they brought to their marriages was still passed to their children, albeit along gendered lines. All seven sons in the third generation went to university and took up professional careers. As mentioned in the last chapter, however, there was still a gender divide; none of the third generation daughters attended university despite the availability of gender-blind Carnegie grants.

[39] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.297.

[40] *Ibid.*, p.298.

Alternatives to Marriage

There were three choices around marriage available to the second generation Hoppenstein children: marry a Jewish spouse, marry a non-Jewish spouse or not marry. According to Bourdieu, obeying the 'rules of the game' would mean that intermarriage, marrying a non-Jewish spouse, was not an available option at that time. Yeo defines Jewish communities as 'relentlessly marrying societies' – at least for Jewish women – in contrast, she suggests, to Catholic culture, where more value was attached to single women and where 'nuns [would instil] ambition in the girl pupils, especially for careers in the caring professions of teaching and nursing'.[41] For men, not marrying seems to have been more of an option.

Moss, the youngest Hoppenstein son, was one of the three sons who did not marry. All my informants told me Moss (or Meish) was their favourite uncle, but only Judy Stone, his great-niece, told me the story – a 'family myth' – of why he had not married. This was later confirmed when I asked others in the family, although none of them had mentioned this when they first talked to me about Moss. Judy Stone recalled:

> There were kind of romantic stories about him that were never
>
> talked about exactly, I think it was my grandparents said that he'd
>
> had a love affair with someone who wasn't Jewish but the family

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[41] Eileen Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland in the Irish and Jewish Diasporas, 1850-1930', in *Gender, Migration and the Public Sphere, 1850-2005*, eds. Eileen Yeo and Marlou Schrover, (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.29-30.

disapproved so much that he gave her up and never married.

…Which I thought was terribly sad.[42]

Moss had studied pharmacy at Skerry's College,[43] and therefore possessed embodied cultural capital in the form of educational qualifications. He also had considerable cultural capital in the form of useful cultural knowledge, which he shared freely. As his great-nephew, David Stone, recalled:

> He was a great lover of Glasgow and he used to talk about the
>
> history of Glasgow, and later on, I used to go round, walk around the
>
> city with him ... and he was so knowledgeable that he could stand on
>
> any corner and give you a little lecture.[44]

With this cultural capital Moss would have, presumably, been a good 'catch' for a Glasgow Jewish family looking for a prospective husband for their daughter. He chose however to remain a bachelor after having decided against marrying his non-Jewish sweetheart. The sanctions imposed by the family and the community do seem to have worked at least in the second generation of the Hoppenstein family. As a rabbi, Moss's father could not have taken a lenient view of his son marrying out. It would have been impossible for Moss to remain part of his family and his community if he had chosen to marry a non-Jewish partner.

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[42] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater, interview by Fiona Frank, Cambridge. 2007. SOHCA 031/016.

[43] David Stone, 2009. Personal communication with the author (Email, 12 March).

[44] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2007. SOHCA 031/015.

Isaac, the third son, also did not marry. He became a GP in his forties after an early career as a chemist. Like his father and grandfather he was involved with Jewish scholarship and Jewish organisations and had many links and social relationships across the Jewish community. He was President of the Glasgow University Jewish society and he chaired and lectured at meetings of various Jewish cultural and literary organisations. He thus had considerable cultural capital and while he did not marry himself (he was a 'withdrawn, shy man' according to his nephew Fred Stone)[45] he played a very strong role in supporting the places and institutions where young Jewish people could meet, socialise and find their marriage partners. Interestingly both Moss and Isaac never felt the need to move out of their parents' tenement in a working-class district of Glasgow's South Side.

The path of Harry, the oldest son, was very different to that of his younger brothers. Despite the 'cultural capital' which accrued to him as the eldest son – and grandson – of a rabbi, he became apprenticed to a watchmaker and left Scotland for the USA in 1911.[46] He was the only one of the nine second generation Hoppensteins who chose to leave the UK to emigrate to America. That path was common to other Scottish Jews and in fact his father's cousin Harris Hoppenstein also left Scotland for the USA at around the same time. Harry did not marry and little is known about his life in the USA, although he was buried according to Jewish law in a Hebrew cemetery in New York.[47]

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[45] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[46] Manhattan, Ellis Island. Record of Aliens Held for Special Enquiry, SS Mauretania. 1911.

[47] Glasgow, Private collection, David Stone. Burial Record of Harry Stein, died 31 October. 1957. Flushing NY Block 58, Lot 11, Section 9, Grave 13, range A/B.

So, in the second generation, there is a distinct pattern. The Hoppenstein cousins in the third generation grew up in starkly contrasting circumstances, divided by class and economic lines depending on the gender of their Hoppenstein parent. Those Hoppenstein males with embodied cultural capital which they could convert to economic capital provided middle-class substantial homes for their children. Hoppenstein females had inherited cultural capital but no inherited economic capital. They married men with the same economic status as their parents and lived in working-class tenement homes.

Despite the gendered economic and class differences across the Hoppenstein second generation families, the level of Jewish observance in each of the second generation homes was very similar, as I shall show in more detail in the next chapter. All of the children in the third generation were brought up as fully observant Orthodox Jews, attending synagogue and Hebrew classes.

The third generation: marrying 'in', marrying 'out' and marrying 'across the tracks'

Sociologist Wilfred Uunk suggests that 'when people enter wedlock, they often choose a person with similar social traits. They marry someone with *identical religious affiliation, ...* marry someone who holds *a similar job …* or marry a person who has attained *similar or near-similar educational level'.*[48] Out of the nine

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[48] W. J. G. Uunk, 'Who Marries Whom? The Role of Social Origin, Education and High Culture in Mate Selection of Industrial Societies during the Twentieth Century' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nijmegen, 1996), p.83 (my emphasis). This is a different view from an earlier understanding of marriage, which was seen, at least in the west, as 'the exchange of a man's economic resources for a woman's social and domestic services and the assumption of a male "breadwinner" and a female "wife and mother"'. (Robert Schoen and John Wooldredge, 'Marriage Choices in North Carolina and Virginia, 1969-71 and 1979-81', *Journal of Marriage and the Family* Vol 51 (1989), p.466. Citing Lenore Weitzman, 'Legal Regulation of Marriage: Tradition and Change', *California*

marriages in the third generation, all but one have at least two of the three conditions suggested by Uunk as likely to pertain in marriage.

As a case study of how gendered education opportunities led to marriages along class lines in the third as well as the second generation, it is of interest to examine the marriages of the three oldest siblings in the third generation of the family: Harold, Rita and Lionel Levy.

Harold Levy, the oldest cousin in the third generation, met his wife, Hannah Silverman, through the Jewish network of *Habonim*, a Socialist Zionist youth movement, where they were both working during the Second World War with evacuated Jewish children. This is an example of the 'occasions, places or practices' suggested by Bourdieu as being arranged by communities to bring people together 'seemingly fortuitously'.[49]

Hannah was a brilliant pupil at school, winning a London-wide competition for Russian Studies and a scholarship to London University to study Russian.[50] Unlike the Hoppenstein parents, Hannah Silverman's mother encouraged her daughter's educational aspiration over that of her son. Hannah's sister, Rose Krasner, remembered that their mother took their brother out of school in order for

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Law Review Vol 62 (1974). Weitzman considers the wording and meaning of the US marriage contract and how it contributes to this 'exchange'. The US marriage contract, of course, is different from the Jewish marriage contract, the '*Ketubah*', which, however, still includes the phrase, said by the husband to the wife, that he will 'cherish, honour, support and maintain you' (Translated from the Aramaic by the *Ketubah* artist Karny, http://www.ketubahbykarny.com/ketubah2005/texts/index.htm, consulted 29 September 2008.

[49] Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', p.250.

[50] Rose Krasner, 2009. Personal communication with the author (Telephone conversation, 16 February).

Hannah to go to university and that she was very disappointed when Hannah came home one day from work and said 'Mum, I'm not going to university, I'm staying with *Habonim*'. Rose remarked that she felt sorry for her brother, who 'worked hard [but] could have got much further'.[51]

Although Hannah Silverman's family did not have high economic status at the time of her marriage, Hannah had inherited cultural capital and also a sense of inherited economic capital. Her sister recalled:

> I would say we were a middle-class family… My mother … came from a much more educated family in Jewish affairs, certainly in Jewish affairs, than my father did. My mother was a hardworking woman.[52]

The history of having high economic capital, if not actual inherited economic capital, provided Hannah and her sister with a sense of being middle-class despite the family's reduced circumstances.

Hannah and Harold Levy seem to have had all three of Uunk's conditions present: identical religious affiliation, a similar job and near-similar educational level. As well as working together as Honorary Warden and Matron of Jews College, where they looked after student welfare, from 1951 they organised Jewish

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[51] *Ibid*. For several examples of individuals who were not able to take up the opportunity of higher education, see David Vincent, 'Shadow and Reality in Occupational History: Britain in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', in *Pathways to Social Class: A Qualitative Approach to Social Mobility*, eds. Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007, first published 1997).

[52] *Ibid*.

Youth Study Groups summer camps[53] where, it can be presumed, many more Jewish marriage partnerships were formed.[54]

Rita, Harold's sister and the middle sibling, had a very different, gendered experience, similar to the situation of the women in the second generation of Hoppensteins. She was not encouraged to attend university, but instead worked in a jeweller's until her marriage. She had inherited cultural capital from her mother's religious upbringing, but like her brothers had no inherited economic capital. Rita's husband Alex came from a home with very little economic or cultural capital. His father had died when he was twelve and he worked his way up in a furniture and electrical goods store. Unlike the husbands of the second generation Hoppenstein girls, however, he was successful in business, progressing to company director and providing a comfortable middle-class home in Netherlee for his wife and two children. In the second generation the children in each family had grown up in the same class of household as had their mother. In contrast, Rita and Alex's children grew up in a 'main door' house in Netherlee, very different from the 'one up' tenement in which Rita spent her childhood.[55]

Lionel Levy, Harold's brother, was in a very similar situation to his brother, again demonstrating Uunk's three conditions: marriage to someone with identical religious affiliation, holding a similar job and having similar or near-similar

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[53] The Jewish Youth Study Groups were set up in 1943. Harold Levy took over as organiser in 1951. See letter from Elaine Hass et al, *Jewish Chronicle,* 27 August 1954. See also *Jewish Chronicle,* 20 August 1954, 11 August 1961.

[54] *Jewish Chronicle,* 23 May 1975.

[55] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/007.

educational level. He met his future wife, Hannah Frank, a fellow Glasgow

University student, on a University Jewish Student ramble (another of those

occasions suggested by Bourdieu as being arranged by communities to bring people

together fortuitously).[56] Hannah recalled:

> I remember sitting on a Friday night, and a maid bringing in the
>
> meals, and I think Lionel was quite impressed … I think he was
>
> impressed with a maid bringing in the food. Because he lived in a
>
> one up, and we were swanky. Everything was done proper.[57]

She was certainly aware of the difference in economic capital between her own

family and Lionel's family.

The two oldest Frank children, Hannah and her brother (the author's father)

had been encouraged and supported to attend university by their parents. By the time

it came to the two younger brothers, they were only supported in gaining minimal

qualifications in optics, enough to join the family business (the fact that he did not go

to university was always a disappointment to Arthur Frank, Hannah's youngest

brother).[58] As well as studying at Glasgow University and Jordanhill Teacher

Training College, Hannah also attended evening classes at the Glasgow School of

Art, where she won prizes for her distinctive black and white drawings and her

woodcuts. She gave up teaching on her marriage, but continued to draw, took up

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[56] Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', p.250.

[57] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2004.
HFLLC 7/1.

[58] Private collection, Loughton, Essex. Interview with Arthur Frank. Michael Symonds. 2005.

sculpture and had work exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy, Royal Academy and Royal Glasgow Institute during her artistic career.[59]

In the 'game', despite having little economic capital, Lionel had sufficient 'tokens' to be able to marry Hannah, who had very high cultural status and came from a family with considerable economic capital. He himself had high cultural capital, through his high standard of religious learning, a mathematics degree and the prospect of a teaching career. He had no inherited economic capital but he had future potential economic capital. The couple had planned to buy their marital home with a mortgage, but Hannah's mother bought it for them outright.[60] Fleming discusses the economic part played by women such as Hannah Frank's mother in the movement away from the Jewish quarter in the Gorbals to 'Jewburbia'[61] on the South Side of Glasgow. She suggests that women's input into these moves was 'both a reflection of changes in class and gender relations, and at the same time serv[ing] further to shape such change'.[62] Hannah Frank's mother's economic contribution to her daughter and son-in-law's married life by buying their house was significant in ensuring her daughter's independence.

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[59] Fiona Frank, 'Hannah Frank's Glasgow Jewish Journey: from the Gorbals to the Southside', *Journal of Jewish Culture and History* Vol 11 (2009).

[60] Hannah Frank (date unknown). Personal communication with the author.

[61] A term coined by Clapson to highlight the way that Jewish communities 'willingly adapted themselves to a different style of living that reflected upward mobility'. Mark Clapson, *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the USA* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), p.14. Cited in Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.255.

[62] Chapter Six, 'Jewish Suburban Life', in Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', pp.253-319.

Lionel was very aware of the familial sanctions that would have come into play had he married someone non-Jewish. When I asked him about whether he could have married a non-Jewish woman, he replied:

> Oh, no, that would cause great consternation among the parents, that would cause even sadness. Any observant Jews couldn't accept it at all. They'd regard it as losing a child…. They offered up a mourner's prayer for them.[63]

For Lionel, then, the implications of his marrying out were just as serious as in the previous generations.

Just as in the second generation, then, these three siblings made marriages related to their educational opportunities. Harold and Lionel Levy had degrees and made 'good' marriages to educated women from middle-class backgrounds; their sister Rita did not have a degree and married a man who himself had little cultural or economic capital. In the next generation, Rita's son, but not her daughter, went on to university, perpetuating the gendered educational pattern which had begun with the second generation.

This pattern, of men with degrees from non-professional families 'marrying up', was one which I had discovered in the second generation and was, therefore, looking for in the third generation. As Kathy Charmaz advises:

> Engaging in theoretical sampling prompts you to predict where and how you can find needed data to fill gaps and to saturate categories. ...your predictions arise from your immediate analytic work. They

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[63] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank. 2000. SOHCA031/001.

are not off-hand conjectures. Rather, they emerge from your

grounded comparative analysis of earlier data. Follow hunches

about where to find data that will illuminate these categories and

then go collect these data.[64]

Because Hannah Frank, who had married Lionel Levy, was my aunt, I was very

aware of the Frank family's economic circumstances and I was in regular touch with

Rita Levy's daughter Doreen. Harold Levy and his wife Hannah, née Silverman,

however, had both died many years earlier; I had never met them and none of my

informants knew the circumstances of Hannah Silverman's family. But I had a

hunch that she, too, would be an educated woman from a middle-class family. In a

search for information on Hannah Silverman I looked up family notices in the *Jewish

Chronicle* and traced a nephew, Gerald Krasner, who was happy to talk to me. He

told me that Hannah had had a good education, went to university and became a

teacher, all of which matched my expectations. But, he said, his grandparents 'were

very poor. … In the 1930s they were unemployed during the mass depression. He

worked as a French Polisher, my grandmother took in washing and did cleaning'.[65]

This was not what I was expecting to hear at all. He then put me in touch with his

mother Rose Krasner who corrected this statement, providing information which

matched my hunch. It turned out that family was middle-class and her father had run

his own business until the 1930s crash which altered their economic, but not their

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[64] Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), p.102.

[65] Gerald Krasner, 2009. Personal communication with the author (Telephone conversation, 15 February).

embodied, status. Hannah's decision not to go to university, mentioned by Rose, did not change the fact that the marriage was one between intellectual equals, between a graduate male from a working-class family and a woman from a middle-class family, following the same pattern as the marriages in the second generation.

Like Lionel and Harold, the other third generation family members who married Jewish partners all met their future spouses through Jewish organisations. Gertie Kallin had been introduced to her future husband by her father, who sang in the same Jewish choir. Arthur Stone met his wife, a former teacher with a rabbinical background in her family very like his, through a Jewish graduate student organisation. Fred Stone met his wife Zelda when they were both at Glasgow University, through various Jewish organisations:

> We met partly at the University Jewish society, and then
>
> subsequently at *Habonim*, and then at university dances. I
>
> remember dancing with [her], up in the Queen Margaret Hall, very
>
> clearly![66]

I have already shown some indications of parents' reactions when a child marries a non-Jewish person. Although the reactions were not as extreme, there was still some consternation when a child from a West End (older established, middle-class) family married a child from a South Side (newer immigrant, working-class) family, as was the case with Fred and Zelda. In fact, neither set of parents was very keen on this marriage, as Fred and Zelda recalled. They enforced a three-month ban on the couple seeing each other, partly because they thought they had too much studying to

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[66] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

do and partly because of the difference in the family backgrounds. However,

eventually they did get together:

> Zelda Stone: His parents almost felt that I was really not … I was
>
> the other side of the tracks, really. From the West End…opposites.
>
> Fred Stone: So we obeyed them for three months. But that didn't
>
> make much difference. I still remember the 'coming-together'
>
> occasion (laughs). I still remember it perfectly well. I think we sat
>
> on a tram or a bus the whole – you know these Glasgow trams do a
>
> complete circuit, and we just sat on it, talking, for the whole of the
>
> circuit, and decided that to hell with the parents.[67]

In some cases, there was opposition to liaisons even where both families were from

the South Side. Despite the fact that Gertie Cowen had been introduced to her

husband-to-be Stanley Kallin by her father, both parents felt that their children could

do better.[68] Lionel Levy's mother was concerned that Hannah Frank was four years

older than Lionel and told him 'don't marry her, I'll find you a younger one'.[69] It can

be seen, then, that the choice of partner in the Jewish world, especially in the early

generations, was one about which parents felt they had an important part to play.

Alternatives to Marriage to Jewish Partners in the Third Generation

Three more of the third generation cousins made marriages to Jewish partners, but as

Figure 4.1 shows, not all of the third generation married Jewish partners. Ida, sister

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[67] *Ibid*.

[68] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

[69] Lionel Levy. Personal communication with the author, 19

of Fred and Arthur, never married. Morrie and Harold Hope-Stone and Leslie Herts all married non-Jewish partners.

Morrie and Harold had lost both their parents by the time they were young adults. This meant that there was no threat of the 'ultimate sanction', of the boys' parents' sitting *shiva* for them if they married a non-Jewish woman. Although Morrie had been engaged to his long-term Jewish girlfriend and the only other serious girlfriends he had had before he married were Jewish,[70] he eventually married Betty Phillips, a non-Jewish woman whom he had met while teaching in Luton. He took Betty to meet his aunt Leila, his mother's sister, who was *in loco parentis.* The polyphony in Betty's account of this meeting, where she uses direct speech to report the conversation between her and Leila, shows the importance placed on this meeting for Betty and for the family as a whole. It can be seen from this extract that Leila seemed philosophical about the marriage. Betty recalled:

> [Leila] sat down with me and she said 'I want to have a talk to you,
> you will realise that it's a big thing for Morris to marry out'. And I
> said 'yes, it is'. And she said 'you must realise that also, she said,
> there's a lot of antisemitism in the world and a lot of people will feel
> he shouldn't do it, it's wrong of him'. And I said 'yes'. And she
> said, 'But, if he's chosen you, then he knows what he's doing, and

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[70] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Morrie Hope-Stone and Betty Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Upton-on-Severn. 2007. SOHCA0031/002. And engagement announcement, *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 January 1945.

give us a chance and I'm sure we'll all like you but just give us a

chance'.[71]

Some years later, Morrie's brother Harold also went to see Leila, to have the same

conversation with her about the fact that he too was going to marry a non-Jewish

woman. Leila's reported reaction in his account seems more hard line. This was

perhaps because she felt that she should try harder with her younger nephew, the

nephew who had fulfilled one part of his mother's wishes by becoming a doctor.

Harold Hope-Stone, too, used polyphony in the report of his conversation with his

aunt, so we hear a reconstruction of both sides of an important conversation which

had taken place fifty years earlier:

> I said 'well I'm going to get married to a girl, who I met when she
>
> was a nurse in London… over two years ago now'. 'Is she Jewish?'
>
> I said, 'no she's not Jewish'. 'Well you can't marry out, your
>
> mother would be horrified'. I said, 'well I'm sorry Aunt Leila, I'm
>
> in love with Shelagh, I'm not religious anymore, and I'm afraid I
>
> can't accept anything you say'. She was very upset, but she didn't
>
> overdo the trying to dissuade me.[72]

Both brothers had made a conscious decision that they would not marry a Jewish

woman and for each of them, that the fact that their parents had both died was an

important factor in this decision.

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[71] *Ibid*.

[72] Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone.

Although the Hope-Stones had no parents to say the mourning prayers for them when they married out, Morrie had discussed the possibility of that happening with Betty before his marriage:

> Morrie Hope-Stone: did any of our Scottish relatives come to our wedding, can you remember?
>
> Betty Hope-Stone: No. No. They said the prayers for the dead for you or something.
>
> Interviewer (FF): Did they actually do that?
>
> Morrie Hope-Stone: No.
>
> Betty Hope-Stone: You always said they, you said they would. And I was horrified. That anybody could take it quite so seriously.[73]

I would argue that Morrie was himself acting as the 'custodian of the limits of the group' in the Bourdieusian sense – partly in seeking to expand the group by marrying out and partly by assuming that the family would cut him off. In fact, his cousin Harold Levy and his uncle Moss Hoppenstein continued to visit both Morrie and his brother Harold after their marriages.

Leslie Herts, the third member of the family to marry out, did so while his parents were still alive. Trained as an optician, he married a non-Jewish doctor whom he had met at Glasgow University. The couple had two of Uunk's marriage status markers, in having similar educational levels and a similar job. Rather than go to his parents to ask permission for the marriage, he kept the marriage secret from his parents and moved to Plymouth, hundreds of miles from Glasgow, far out of view.

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[73] Oral Testimony of Morrie and Betty Hope-Stone.

He maintained relations with the family and his uncle Moss visited from time to time, but he never mentioned his wife and family. Leslie was not willing to visibly 'modify the limits of the group' in the Bourdieusian sense or to 'cause great consternation among the parents' in Lionel Levy's words. His unwillingness to do so did not stop him from marrying his non-Jewish wife, but it did stop him from telling his parents that he had done so. Contact with the family was made only after Leslie became ill and his wife contacted his parents through their family doctor. Leslie's father Julius came to meet his son in Leicester where the family was then living and it was in a taxi leaving the railway station that he discovered that he had a daughter-in-law and three grandchildren. After this taxi journey, the two family secrets were, of course, revealed. The first secret, which had been kept from the children, was that Leslie was Jewish. This meant that the children had Jewish heritage (although according to *halacha,* religious Jewish law, in the eyes of the Orthodox synagogue this did not make the children Jewish). The second secret, which had been kept from Beattie and Julius and the rest of the Hoppenstein family, was that Leslie had married out and that there were grandchildren in the family.

The fact that Morrie and Harold Hope-Stone's parents had both died before they got married to their non-Jewish spouses and that Leslie Herts did not tell his parents that he was married, was most significant. As we have seen, parents felt very responsible for ensuring the appropriateness of their children's choice of partner even when that choice was made from within the Jewish community. Those third generation Hoppensteins who chose to marry out did so in the certain knowledge that their parents, had they found out at the time, would have been horrified and would have broken contact with them, possibly sitting *shiva* for them.

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Suddenly Jewish

Sociologist Barbara Kessel has named the relatively frequent phenomenon which happened to the Herts siblings as becoming 'suddenly Jewish'.[74] Kessel interviewed 160 individuals who had been raised as non-Jews and who, at some time in their lives, discovered their Jewish heritage. The reasons behind the secrecy in Kessel's informants' families varied between her informants. It is true that one common reason for secrecy was Holocaust-related. In these cases a parent felt that they had suffered so much for being Jewish that they did not want to impose the possibility of suffering on their child, so they omitted to mention the fact that they were Jewish. But it is notable that several of Kessel's narrators had married out and, like Leslie Herts, did not discuss their Jewish roots with their children.[75]

When Orthodox Jewish parents sit *shiva* for a child, that child then cannot go back to their family. Although not dead in reality as in the case of honour killings, they are just as dead to their parents. Leslie Herts's parents had not sat *shiva* for him, of course, as he did not tell them that he was getting married, but he was well aware that they might well have done so if he had told them. He thus chose to keep silent about his Judaism within his family. Barbara, Leslie and Muriel Herts' oldest daughter, talked about having lots of questions she would have loved to ask about whether her mother knew her father was Jewish and whether there had been any contact with Leslie's parents prior to the 'taxi incident': as she noted, 'it's

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[74] Barbara Kessel, *Suddenly Jewish: Jews Raised Gentiles Discover Their Jewish Roots* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2000), p.6.

[75] Kessel, *Suddenly Jewish*.

terrible not to be able to ask'.[76] When Leslie died, his children found various

artefacts – 'shawls, yeah, prayer shawls, candle, candlestick holders'[77] – which

would have brought the fact of his Jewishness home to the children had they not

already found out.

Many of Kessel's informants actively pursued their Jewish roots after they

found out about their Jewish heritage.[78] This does not seem to have occurred so far in

the Herts family, although Barbara has been very keen to reconnect with the wider

Jewish family at the 'Respondent Validation' events as part of this research. As we

will see, Lesley Hope-Stone, daughter of Morrie Hope-Stone who also married out,

was formally 'welcomed back' to Judaism in a conversion she undertook through the

Liberal Synagogue in South Africa.

The taxi journey, that significant event marking the time 'before' and 'after'

the knowledge of Jewishness in the Herts family, has taken on mythic status within

the family in the sense defined by family psychiatrist John Byng-Hall and oral

historian Paul Thompson:

> Family storytelling is more than chance personal reminiscing … the
>
> main point is that a parent or grandparent wants to pass on that
>
> particular information about the past, feels it important that their
>
> descendants should know about it. Family stories that are repeated

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[76] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Barbara Herts, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2007. SOHCA 031/012.

[77] *Ibid*.

[78] Kessel, *Suddenly Jewish*, pp.9-10.

many times, or passed down over several generations, become

legends, which are closest to myths in the strict sense of the term.[79]

Three different family members from three separate branches of the family, as well

as the older two of the three fourth generation Herts siblings, recounted the story

about the taxi. In the way of a legend, the story differed in the telling. Some

recounters had Julius being accompanied by Leslie's Uncle Moss, sometimes by

Leslie's cousin Fred Stone. Scholars sometimes suggest that there are links between

myths and rites of passage.[80] If the rite of passage marks the passing of time, 'for

example from childhood to adulthood', as Van Gennep suggested,[81] then this myth

certainly marked a point of time at which everything which had been understood in

that family up to that point had changed. As Ailsa Garner, the middle child of the

family said, 'that was the start of knowing we had grandparents on that side'.[82]

Apart from the occupants of the taxi, another point of dispute is whether the

three grandchildren were accepted by the Hoppenstein family. In all the family

members' accounts, Julius seems to have been more positive about the new situation

than was Beatrice, Leslie's mother. Beatrice never left their fourth floor tenement

flat and Leslie was in a wheelchair by then. When the family eventually visited

Glasgow, Leslie was unable to climb the stairs, so mother and son were never

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[79] John Byng-Hall and Paul Thompson (interviewer), 'The Power of Family Myths', in *The Myths We Live By,* eds. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p.216.

[80] For example, Greta L. Ham, 'The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: Male Maturation Rites and the Peloponnesian Wars', in *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society, Volume 43, Issue 1*, ed. Mark William Padilla, (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1999), p.223.

[81] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge, 2004, first published in English 1960, original edition first published 1909).

[82] Oral Testimony of Ailsa Garner.

reunited. The rest of the family visited Beatrice in her apartment and also met

Leslie's cousins and Julius's family – Ailsa and Kenneth remember attending family

weddings and *Bar Mitzvot* on the Hoppenstein side of the family. According to

Gertie Kallin, Leslie's cousin, Beattie 'never accepted it, she never came to terms

with it'.[83] Ailsa, too, one of the grandchildren, felt that they had never really been

accepted as one of the family:

> But there was always that, because we weren't Jewish, that we …
>
> didn't have the feeling of belonging to them, we were just sort of an
>
> outsider looking in and accepted but not as part of the family, more
>
> like a visitor really, a visitor you were pleased to see but a visitor
>
> that, you know, that nevertheless would be gone and that was it.[84]

Fred Stone, Barbara Herts and Doreen Spevack, however, all felt that there had been

a total reconciliation. Doreen said 'Beatrice wasn't going to accept them at first, but

I talked her round';[85] Barbara felt that 'the grandparents were … absolutely delighted

to hear that they'd got grandchildren' and that 'everybody was happy in the end'.[86]

Samuel and Thompson, writing on family myths, models and denials, suggest: 'we

can see how it is precisely where memory diverges most clearly from fact that

imagination, symbolism, desire break in'.[87] If, in fact, we accept Gertie and Ailsa's

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[83] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

[84] Oral Testimony of Ailsa Garner.

[85] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004.
SOHCA 031/007.

[86] Oral Testimony of Barbara Herts.

[87] Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, 'Introduction', in *The Myths We Live By*, eds. Raphael
Samuel and Paul Thompson, (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p.7.

perspective, that the family was not fully accepted by Beatrice, it is quite likely that the desire of Barbara, Fred and Doreen for a 'happy ending' led them to imagine that they had been accepted happily. If we accept Barbara, Fred and Doreen's perspective, that the grandparents were very happy to find they had grandchildren, then we could impose on Gertie's perspective the desire, in Thompson's words, to imagine that Beattie had not accepted them. We have already seen, in Chapter Four, that Gertie would not have gone to the wedding if either of her own children had married a non-Jewish girl.

It is not known whether Leslie's wife's parents opposed her marriage to a Jewish man – or even if they were aware that her husband was Jewish. It is possible that they never knew: Leslie had changed his name from Hertz to Herts by the time of the wedding, which took place in the very un-Jewish setting of Paisley Abbey. Morrie and Harold, in contrast, made no secret of their Jewishness to their spouses and their weddings both took place in registry offices. There was some opposition from the non-Jewish families in both cases as well as potential opposition from the Jewish side of the family. Betty Hope-Stone recalled: 'even to this day, my sister has never totally forgiven me for marrying someone Jewish.[88] Morrie's brother Harold did not think his wife's father had approved, (although, he remembered, 'her mother was wonderful').[89] It can be seen that opposition to intermarriage did not come only from the Jewish side of the match. Very few studies have considered this issue in much detail. In an American survey of intermarried (Jewish and non-Jewish)

[88] Oral Testimony of Morrie and Betty Hope-Stone.

[89] Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone.

families carried out in the early 2000s, nearly half the parents of the non-Jewish partners were not comfortable with their children's marriage choice, although this finding is glossed over in the study which reports that 'a majority reported that both their fathers (58 per cent) and their mothers (56 per cent) were not opposed, and happy that the respondent was happy'.[90] In a more recent volume looking at Jewish intermarriage in ten different countries, none of the published studies seem to have considered the attitudes of the parents of the non-Jewish partner.[91] The evidence in the present study shows that this is a significant element in out-marriage and is worthy of attention.

Intermarriage and family communications

As we saw, the members of the third generation who married non-Jewish partners were very aware of the fact that they might be 'cut off' by their family. Although in none of the three cases did anyone 'sit *shiva*' for a son who had married out, the fact that the outmarriage had taken place had a considerable effect on communications across the extended family. Using social network analyis[92] this phenomenon can be illustrated graphically. Social network analysis theory can be very useful in making

---

[90] Arnold Dashefsky and Zachary I. Heller, 'Intermarriage and Jewish Journeys in the United States. (A purposive sample of intermarried couples who agreed to be interviewed. Reproduced by permission of the author)', (2008), http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Reports/Intermarriage_and_Jewish_Journeys_in_the_United_States.pdf consulted 14 March 2008, p.32.

[91] Shulamit Reinharz and Sergio DellaPergola, Eds., *Jewish Intermarriage Around the World* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

[92] John Scott, *Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London and Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1992); Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Nick Crossley, Christina Prell *et al.*, 'Social Network Analysis: Introduction to Special Edition', *Methodological Innovations Online* Vol 4 (2009).

a visual represention of the relationships between a network of people. Deirdre Kirk, in an article on gender clustering in friendship networks, provides a useful background to social network analysis. She writes:

> Social network analysts believe that individual action is best understood in the social context in which it is embedded and that social context can be found in the social structures of relationships formed by the individuals concerned. Those social structures can be described as social networks, which consist of finite sets of actors and the relationships between those actors.[93]

The diagrams which follow use a social network analysis programme, UCINET,[94] to portray visually the relationships between members of the second, third and fourth generation of the Hoppenstein family. Using the data from the oral testimony, a matrix was drawn up of frequency of communications between all family members in the second and third generations and all family members from the fourth generation who had agreed to be interviewed. The matrix is shown in Appendices Four and Five, the matrix in Appendix Four being representative of the situation before Leslie Herts's wife contacted his parents and the matrix in Appendix Five representing the situation after this contact had been made. When family members had grown up in the same family, their connection is marked with a 3. When they had mentioned frequent contact with someone from their extended family, their

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[93] Deirdre Kirke, 'Gender Clustering in Friendship Networks: Some Sociological Implications', *Methodological Innovations Online* 4 (2009), http://www.pbs.plym.ac.uk/mi/pdf/17-04-09/3.%20Kirk%20paper%2023-36.pdf consulted 13 February 2011, p.24.

[94] Ucinet for Windows, Software for Social Network Analysis, Analytic Technologies, Harvard, MA.

connection is marked with a 2. When they mentioned a one-off or occasional

contact, their connection was marked with a 1. This type of charting can never be an

exact science and I have made some assumptions in the case of some of the earlier

generations. However, using UCINET and given these limitations it is possible to

represent these connections visually on a networking diagram.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 represent the Hoppenstein family network in a way

which demonstrates visibly that some branches of the family are peripheral to the

central family 'core' and other members are very central within the extended family.

These diagrams do not distinguish between the strength of ties but still clearly show

the different levels of connections between the individuals and family groupings. The

first diagram, Figure 4.3, represents the family network after the Herts family had

made contact with Leslie's parents and wider family networks.
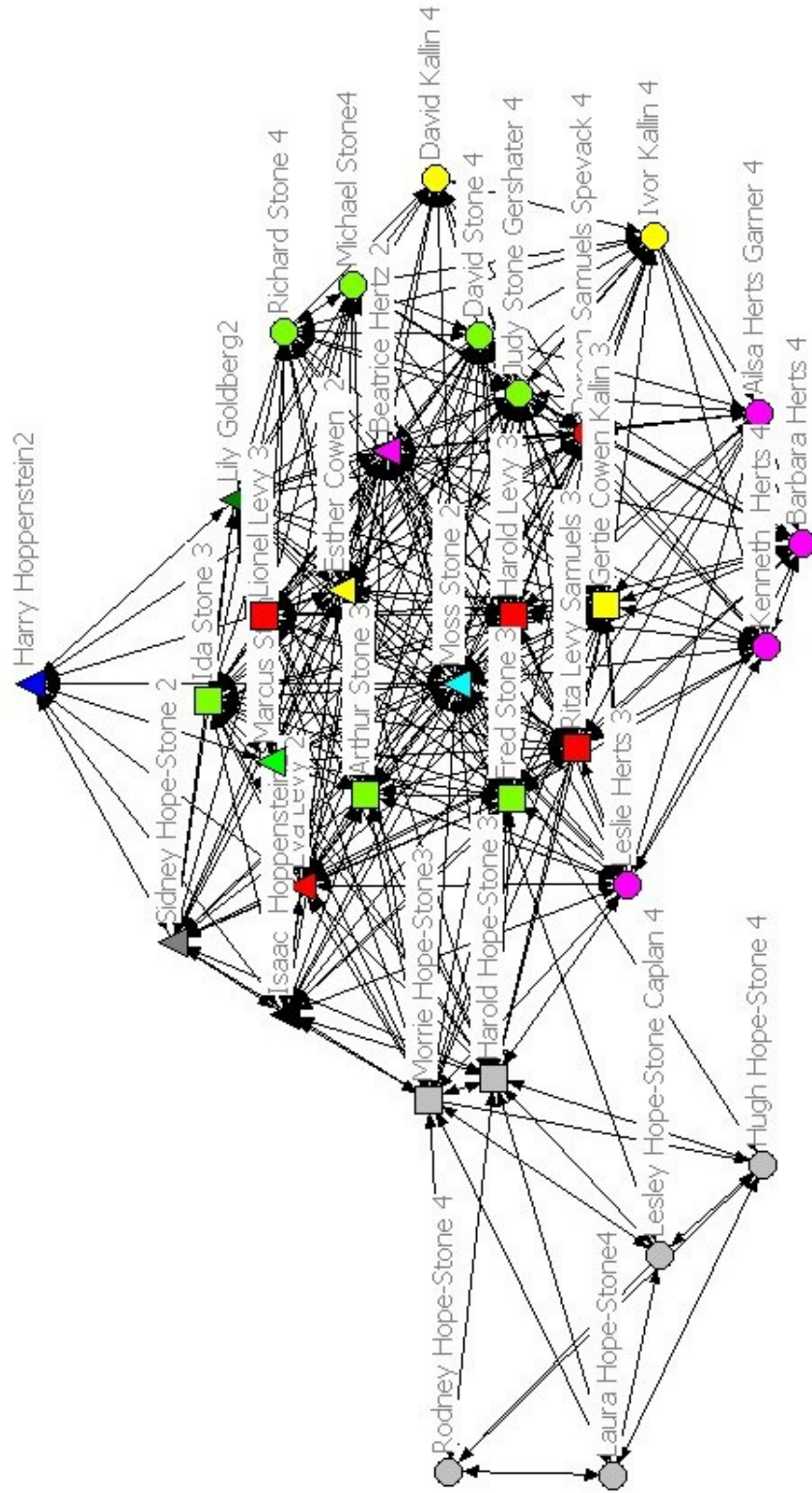
Figure 4.3 Social network analysis diagram showing central and peripheral ties within the family.

Key. Triangles, 2nd generation. Squares, 3rd generation. Circles, 4th generation. Red, Levy branch. Green, (Marcus) Stone branch. Grey, Hope-Stone branch. Purple. Hertz/Herts branch. Yellow. Cowen/Kallin branch. Numbers after names relate to generations

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Figure 4.3 Social network analysis diagram showing central and peripheral ties within the family.

Key. Triangles, 2nd generation. Squares, 3rd generation. Circles, 4th generation. Red, Levy branch. Green, (Marcus) Stone branch. Grey, Hope-Stone branch. Purple. Hertz/Herts branch. Yellow. Cowen/Kallin branch. Numbers after names relate to generations

Figure 4.3 shows how the Hope-Stone branch of the family was peripheral to the central core network, with little contact with the extended family. In the fourth generation, only Hugh mentioned having had contact with the wider family; he had vague memories of his great-uncle Moss visiting the family. Morris and Harold had had limited contact with the rest of the Hoppenstein family when they were growing up, because they were raised in Liverpool. After their father died Harold talked about his feelings of abandonment, that none of the family had supported his mother after she had been widowed. Here again, Moss is conspicuous as having been the only one of Harold's father's family to stay in touch with his mother:

> My mother ... was 35 when her husband died, 42 when she died, and I think that Scots side of the family could have been a little bit more … not financially helpful, though it wouldn't have done any harm, but a little bit more close. Come to see her, apart from Moss, no one ever bothered, and I've never forgiven them for that.[95]

Harold also recounted that none of the family had attended his wedding, which had been in a register office, although he remembered being visited by Moss.

> Moss was wonderful. He was one of these very relaxed…with a delightful sense of humour. And he came to visit us when we got married ... and came and stayed a couple of nights with us when we were living in London.[96]

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[95] Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone.

[96] *Ibid*.

The fact that Harold Hope-Stone and his brother Morrie had both married out seems to have made no difference to Moss, who continued to visit them and corresponded with them and their families. As a single man, he had more freedom to travel and to maintain contacts with the rest of the family. Harold Levy, who held a national position in Jewish education, also kept in touch with the Hope-Stone brothers after they had married out, which seems to confirm that outmarriage may not, in fact, have been as irretractable for the later generations as it had been for Zvi David's generation. The reasons for the isolation of the Hope-Stone family from the wider extended family, then, may be as much on the part of the Hope-Stone brothers as it was on the part of the rest of the extended family. For the Herts fourth generation siblings, there was no contact with their father's family before their mother contacted his parents: 'we didn't actually know, as children, that we had grandparents on his side until we were twelve or thirteen'.[97] For the next ten years or so, until their grandfather died in 1976 and their father died in 1979, they visited their Glasgow family and got to know them.   Figure 4.4 shows clearly the situation of isolation of the Herts siblings from the rest of their Jewish family in the early part of their lives.

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[97] Oral Testimony of Barbara Herts.
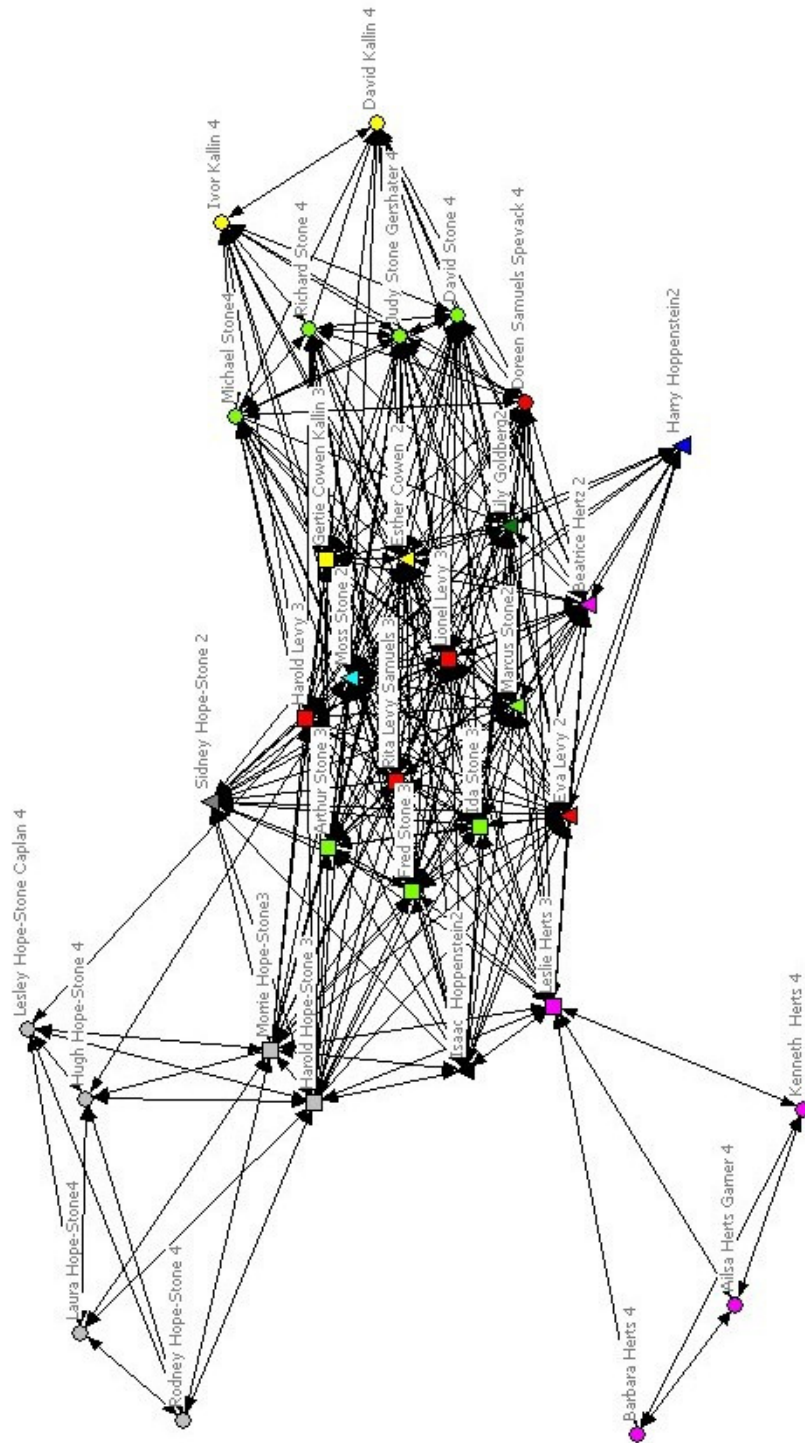
Figure 4.4. Social network analysis diagram showing the situation prior to the Herts siblings meeting their grandparents and wider family (1966)

Key. Triangles, 2nd generation. Squares, 3rd generation. Circles, 4th generation. Red, Levy branch. Green, (Marcus) Stone branch. Grey, Hope-Stone branch. Purple, Hertz/Herts branch. Yellow, Cowen/Kallin branch. Numbers after names relate to generations.

As we saw in Chapter One, Bourdieu reminds us that when a genealogy is drawn up, it represents a series of clear choices rather than just a pictorial representation of some facts.[98] In the same way, a social network analysis diagram is a pictorial representation of a series of choices about communication within an extended family. These choices were made both by the individuals who had chosen to 'outmarry' and the families of those individuals within the extended family. In the case of the Hope-Stone families the death of their parents made continuing communication more difficult than it otherwise would have been, although they were visited by their uncle Moss and their cousin Harold. In the case of the Herts family, it was Leslie Herts who made the decision to stay away; although, again, he was visited by his uncle Moss. In both diagrams Moss is revealed as a key central character, having had social relations with nearly all the other members of the family. If the families who married out saw themselves as 'outsiders' and the rest of the extended Hoppenstein family as 'insiders', with a boundary between them, then Moss acted as a bridge over that boundary, showing that it was, in some cases, defined by those who had put themselves outside it.

The fourth generation: "I had the feeling I could only marry a Jewish person"

In this generation a distinction has to be drawn between those members of the fourth generation who were raised with two Jewish parents and those children of intermarried parents. Of sixteen members of the Hoppenstein fourth generation, nine

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[98] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.36.

children were brought up by two Jewish parents, in Jewish households. Those nine

children attended synagogue, went to Hebrew school and Jewish youth organisations,

the boys had circumcisions and *Bar Mitzvot* and all considered themselves to be

Jewish. Seven of these nine children have been interviewed for this study, two

women and five men.[99]

Seven of the fourth generation were brought up by one Jewish (male) parent

and one non-Jewish (female) parent and all of those seven have been interviewed.

They were all raised either with no religion or as Christians.

All of the members of the fourth generation have married. As can be seen

in Figure 4.2, those with two Jewish parents are very likely to have married a Jewish

spouse or to have married a non-Jewish spouse who subsequently converted, whereas

those with a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother are very likely to have married a

non-Jewish person, with only one marriage of that group being with a Jewish man.

That marriage was Lesley Hope-Stone's second marriage. Lesley decided at the age

of fourteen that she identified strongly with her Jewish heritage: 'I made my decision

when I was fourteen, that if anybody asked me, I wanted to be known as somebody

who related to their Jewish side of the family more than the Christian side'.[100]

The seven children who were not brought up Jewish did not restrict

themselves by religion or community in their choice of partner. Three of them met

their spouses while travelling abroad. At least two out of Uunk's three conditions for

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[99] As I mentioned in Chapter One, the fact that two of this generation declined to be interviewed is data in itself.

[100] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lesley Hope-Stone Caplan, interview by Fiona Frank, by telephone. 2007. SOHCA 031/008.

marriage – identical religious affiliation, a similar job or similar or near-similar educational level – were present with all these marriages, but there was no sense of being a member of a limited group and having to find a partner within that group. Ailsa Herts's second marriage was to a local Leicester man who, like Ailsa, had close links with the family church. Both Hugh and Laura Hope-Stone met their partners while travelling and Kenneth Herts met his wife when they were both in the RAF.

The situation was very different for the fourth generation third cousins in this study who grew up with two Jewish parents. Most of them received strong messages from their parents about marrying a Jewish partner. Gertie Kallin was adamant that she would not have attended the wedding of either of her sons if they had married out (although Stanley was less hard line):

> Stanley Kallin: if my, either my sons had intermarried, Gertie
> wouldn't have been very happy about it. … I wouldn't have been
> very happy but at the same time, I would still have gone to the
> wedding because I felt that the happiness of my son is more
> important than anything else and if he felt that he was going to be
> happy with this girl, then so be it.
>
> Gertie Kallin: I wouldn't have let it part us. But the wedding,
> probably not.[101]

Stanley and Gertie's sons both married Jewish women. Ivor, the older son, when asked about his marriage choice, said: 'I think it was just to please the parents. … To

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[101] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

me it wasn't essential'. But he felt that it would 'save a lot of problems' if he met someone who happened to be Jewish. In contrast, David, the younger brother, said that he 'had no desire to marry a non-Jewish girl'. But he was very aware that as an adult, that requirement had set up a strange situation for him, what he called a 'ridiculous entrapment situation … where even as a free adult, I'm living in South London, meeting no Jews, working in a secular environment and yet I still had the feeling that I could only marry a Jewish person'.[102]

Ivor attended University Jewish society events for the express purpose of meeting a suitable partner. David attended blind dates with Jewish women whom he met through a Jewish magazine, *New Moon*, which was produced for that purpose and eventually met his wife through friends he had met at a group which had formed from an advertisement in that magazine. David and Ivor Kallin were, like Harold and Lionel Levy in the previous generation, sons of a working-class family, who had engaged in higher education, in other words had 'embodied cultural capital' and thus had good potential economic capital. In the same way as had happened in the second and third generation, their wives were both daughters of professional parents. Ivor's wife was a dentist's daughter and David's wife a doctor's daughter, showing that gendered educational opportunities still has some kind of effect on marriage choice.

David Stone met his wife, Susan, who was also studying medicine, through *Poalei Tziyon,* 'the Workers of Zion', a left wing Zionist organisation, while they were at university.[103] The way of their meeting echoed the past in that his parents,

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[102] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2004. SOHCA 031/020.

[103] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

too, had met through a Zionist group, *Habonim*, at university. Doreen Spevack and Richard Stone met their spouses through Jewish friends.

Judy Stone's first husband was not Jewish. Judy's father Fred Stone, when asked whether he tried to dissuade her from marrying out, said: 'we were not happy about it, neither of us. We did not take any active measures to dissuade them, we were just cool. And I often felt if I'd taken a very firm line I doubt if she would have gone ahead with it, but she did'.[104] Judy's mother, Zelda Stone, had earlier said, in reply to a question about whether she would have considered marrying out: 'I suppose I might have. It didn't bother me in the slightest'.[105] So it seems that there are life course changes in place here.[106] As a young person choosing who to marry, Zelda was aware of the strict sanctions which would have applied had she chosen to marry out, but said that she not have minded rebelling against her parents and marry a non-Jewish person. But as a parent, she and her husband were 'not happy about' her daughter's marrying out, although they did not actively try to dissuade her and certainly there was no question of sitting *shiva.* Judy herself reflected on her first marriage to a non-Jewish man:

> A number of people asked me if it was [an issue for me] and I said
>
> 'well, in some ways, I would have preferred to marry someone
>
> Jewish, but as I hadn't met anyone that I want to marry who is, then,

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[104] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2007. SOHCA031/004b.

[105] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[106] Barbara Adam, 'The Timescapes Challenge: Engagement with the Invisible Temporal', *Researching Lives Through Time: Time, Generation and Life Stories. Timescape Working Paper Series No. 1* (2008), www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk consulted 21 March 2009, p.7.

you know, it's not such a big issue that it's going to stop me'. And

Malcolm and I actually shared a lot of beliefs; basically, we were

both atheists although his family were involved with the Methodist

church.[107]

As we saw in the previous chapter, atheism can go hand in hand with a strong Jewish

cultural identity and Judy's atheism does not excludes her from 'Jewishness'.

Michael Stone, Judy's cousin, who was brought up in a more Orthodox

family than Judy and David, married a non-Jewish girl who converted. He said 'I'd

never thought about marrying out' but his non-Jewish girlfriend had always been

interested in Judaism and agreed to go through the lengthy Orthodox conversion

process, which also involved Michael himself studying with a rabbi for four years.

For Michael, there was no option of marrying a non-Jewish woman unless she

converted. Importantly, he felt he needed the permission of his parents to go ahead

with the marriage. His father, Arthur, however, was not as hard line as Gertie or as

members of previous generations. Asked what he would think if his children had

married out without a conversion, he replied:

It's a very difficult one. I would be understanding. I wouldn't be

like some people and, you know, cut them off from the family. I

think there's a lot of advantages of course to marrying within the

frame. For social reasons, other than religious reasons. It's difficult

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[107] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater, interview by
Fiona Frank, Cambridge. 2007. SOHCA 031/016.

enough, marriage, as you know ... without having any extra pressures. [108]

In the fourth generation, among the 'wholly Jewish' families, outmarriages occurred in four cases, but two of the non-Jewish spouses converted to Judaism and in a third case, the marriage ended in divorce and the individual concerned subsequently married a Jewish man. Across all the branches and down the generations, where there are two Jewish parents, the children have usually taken their parents' views into account when making or confirming their marriage choices. It can be seen, then, that although the threat of being 'cut off' by their parents for marrying out was not as extreme in the later generations, parents' wishes were still being taken into account when considering marriage partners.

The fifth generation: 'I feel sure that when we have children we will bring them up to be Jewish'

Contact with members of those of the fifth generation aged over 18 has taken place largely on the Facebook focus group and by email, as well as one face-to-face interview. Four members of the fifth generation had married by 2011. Three of these were raised Jewish with two Jewish parents and one was raised in a Christian family. Of the people who were raised Jewish, two of the three marriages were to Jewish spouses and one was to a Spanish Catholic. Some people in the fifth generation have met Jewish partners through Jdate, a Jewish internet dating site,[109]

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[108] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Cheadle. 2004. SOHCA 031/005b.

[109] www.jdate.com

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the twenty-first century technological version of Bourdieu's establishment by parents and the wider Jewish community of appropriate places to ensure that young people of similar background are able to meet with a view to marriage. This way of meeting partners reflects the situation in the wider community, with a recent American study reporting the internet as the third most likely way of meeting a partner, at 22 per cent.[110]

Although Natalie Stone and Jeff Israel were both at Leeds University together, they actually met on a Greek island. Each was on holiday with Jewish friends and their friends knew each other from an Israel Summer Tour they had all been on five years earlier. They introduced each other and found that they were at the same university and 'the rest is history', as Natalie said.[111] So although they had not met through a communal organisation, the connection between their mutual friends had arisen through just such an organisation.

Ivor Kallin, talking about how he and his wife Jenny would feel if the children married out, echoed his father Stanley's views: 'I think my feeling is that if they're happy, whatever they do, that's fine. I think Jenny feels a bit differently'.[112] Ivor's daughter Sophie, who, as we saw in the last chapter, avoided the Jewish society when at university in a move away from the previous eleven years of Jewish

[110] Michael J Rosenfeld and Reuben Thomas, 'Meeting Online: The Rise of the Internet as a Social Intermediary (Draft Paper, cited with permission)', (2010), www.stanford.edu/tildemrosenfe/Rosenfeld_How_Couples_Meet_Working_Paper.pdf consulted 27 March 2011, p.12.

[111] Natalie Stone, 2009. Personal communication with the author (Facebook inbox message, 7 January).

[112] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2003. SOHCA031/019.

education, eventually married a Jewish man. She commented that there had always been 'pressure on us to marry someone Jewish (although mum and dad liking our partners was probably equally, if not more, important)',[113] and wrote:

> I had some non Jewish boyfriends whilst I was at Uni, and I suppose that the experience of the parents and grandparents not being 100% thrilled contributed to a feeling that it would be easier to meet someone Jewish. … Now I am with Steve it all feels so comfortable and easy. It makes our family relations and plans for the future simple I think. And it is nice to have had a similar upbringing and to share a lot of the same values.[114]

About her marriage, she said 'this Jewish identity ... is no longer so much of a struggle, and is something that we share between us'. She said that she and her husband light *Shabbat* candles 'something we never did with my parents at home' and that they 'keep *kosher* to a higher degree'. She went on to say 'I feel sure that when we have children we will bring them up to be Jewish'.[115] Another fifth generation respondent, Barbara Spevack, granddaughter of Eva Levy, wrote that she had always known that she would 'only ever marry Jewish, specifically Orthodox and Ashkenazi'. She linked this to continuity of religious tradition, saying that:

> From a practical sense, I would need to marry someone who could lead a *Seder* service in the home, and bring up children in the

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[113] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Sophie Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/029.

[114] Sophie Levi-Kallin, 2010. Personal communication with the author (Facebook inbox message, 25 September).

[115] Facebook discussion response: Sophie Kallin.

traditions that I have been brought up with. I would also require

someone to keep a *kosher* kitchen.[116]

The contrast here, between Barbara's wanting to continue the Jewish traditions that she had been brought up with and Sophie's beginning to light *Shabbat* candles after her marriage, shows the different ways in which the religious traditions of Zvi David Hoppenstein are being passed on through the generations.

There are seventeen people in the fifth generation being brought up Jewish and nineteen who would be considered as *halachically* Jewish. Two more children, with one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent, are being raised with some links to Judaism through their Jewish paternal grandparents. Just nine children in the fifth generation have just one Jewish grandparent and no links to Judaism. Barron's idea of the falseness of the 'armchair, speculative idea that intermarriage relentlessly increases in the dimension of time in a smooth, unbroken pattern'[117] resonates within the Hoppenstein family, which has not witnessed a smooth increase in intermarriage.

Conclusions

Reeves Kennedy's study of intermarriage trends in New Haven, USA from 1870-1940 which compared intermarriage of Catholics, Poles, British-Americans, Germans, Scandinavians, Italians and Jewish people, shows that Jews had the lowest frequency of intermarriage, 'almost always choos[ing] Jewish mates'.[118] Jewish

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[116] Barbara Spevack, 2008. Personal communication with the author (Email, 4 April).

[117] Milton L. Barron, 'Research on Intermarriage: A Survey of Accomplishments and Prospects', *The American Journal of Sociology* Vol 57, no. 3 (1952), p.251.

[118] Reeves Kennedy, 'Single or Triple Melting Pot', p.331.

women in the study showed 'a stronger tendency than their male counterparts to marry within the group' (meaning that it was even less likely that a Jewish woman would marry out than a Jewish man.)

It can be seen from the accounts of in- and out-marriage through the five generations of the Hoppenstein family, above, that the situation for one extended family in Scotland is very similar to that mapped out for the Jews in the New Haven district. Of 28 marriages (among 27 people who were brought up in Jewish households), 21 have been to Jewish spouses. Of the other six marriages, one ended in divorce and the original family member subsequently married a Jewish man and in two of the marriages the (female) spouse converted to Judaism. One woman who was brought up in a mixed heritage household also married a Jewish man. Over the five generations under consideration, only one woman who was brought up Jewish with two Jewish parents married out, in comparison to six men. Counting the conversions as full Jewish marriages, there is an 85 per cent in-marriage rate throughout the 100 years under consideration in this study, that is 100 per cent for the first two generations up to 1920 and 75 per cent for the last three generations.

It can be seen that there has been an element of exchange involved in the marriages, in the Bourdieusian sense. Men from the Hoppenstein family in the earlier generations with high embodied cultural capital married women with high inherited economic and cultural capital but low embodied cultural capital. This allows the Hoppenstein men the possibilities of converting this embodied cultural capital to economic capital. The social conditions accruing for the Hoppenstein women's marriages in the early generations have also been satisfied: according to the

'determinate set of economic and social conditions'[119] the women without dowries were able to marry men within the Jewish community but without high economic or social capital.

Through the century, as women gained more access to education and working opportunities, the economic and social conditions meant that instead of the marriages being an exchange of one thing for another, they were working towards egalitarian marriages, where the wife and husband had, as suggested by Uunk, identical religious affiliation, a similar job or similar or near-similar educational level. In the second and third generation, wives did not generally pursue their careers to the same extent as their husbands, although by the fourth generation this situation was changing.

The strategies set up by parents and the wider Jewish community can be clearly seen throughout the later generations. University Jewish societies and other Jewish organisations have played a particularly important role in introducing marriage partners to each other throughout the third and fourth generations. As Bourdieu argues, this type of institution is set up by parents, groups and communities in order to bring individuals together for the purposes of promoting and perpetuating the group.[120] At least six members of the family, through three generations, have chaired or organised University Jewish societies and other such organisations. All of these individuals have played their part in ensuring the continuity of the possibilities of new strategies by facilitating opportunities for young people to meet.

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[119] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, p.36.

[120] Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', p.250.

The ways in which the non-Jewish partners have met each other serves as a contrast to the more restricted ways in which the Jewish partners have met. Interestingly, the mixed pairings in the fourth and fifth generation are all homogeneous pairings, sharing class, educational level and in at least some cases similar job or similar religion. Although their families and communities had not specifically set up institutions and social organisations to allow them to meet their peers, this happened spontaneously through work, the RAF, travelling on similar holidays or chance meetings. As communications become more global, the 'local' can spread wider, while still keeping the boundaries of the group. In terms of Sophia and Zvi David's presumed project in founding a 'Jewish dynasty' in Scotland, parental sanctions coupled with the community's organisation of social and communal events have paid off and the marriage choices made through the generations have led to a fifth generation likely to provide Jewish continuity in terms of intramarriage and the maintenance and transmission of religious or secular Jewish identity.

This chapter has also raised the issue of outmarriage, of 'Sudden Jews' (people who discover as adults or some time during their late childhood that they have Jewish heritage) and of lack of communication across the extended family after outmarriage. Although people who married out in the earlier generations were seen by the Jewish community as just 'disappearing',[121] and it was true that there was far less communication across the family by those who had married out, those branches of the family patently do not simply 'disappear'. Their actions, thoughts and feelings

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[121] See the words of Leslie Naftalin, cited above. Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Dr Leslie Naftalin, interview by Ben Braber. 1989.

are as relevant to a study of Jews and Jewry in the UK as are those who marry other Jews.

In the 2001 census in Scotland nearly half of the 1807 marriages where one partner was Jewish was an outmarriage. Of 234 cohabiting couples where one partner was Jewish, only 8 per cent involved a second Jewish partner. This shows the extent of intermarriage in recent days.[122] The practice of sitting *shiva* for a child who marries out is only found in the most ultra-orthodox of families. There was no question, for example, of fourth generation Judy Gershater Stone being 'cut off' by her parents while she was married to a non-Jewish man; as we will see in the next chapter, her children were always welcomed to their grandparents' Passover suppers.

In the next chapter we will discuss Jewish practices in the domestic sphere and here we will examine how far the marriage choices have led to continuity in respect for Jewish traditions and culture, in a way in which Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein would recognise, even amongst some of those Jews who married non-Jewish partners.

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[122] Harvey Kaplan, 'A Snapshot of Edinburgh Jewry in 1801', *Edinburgh Star*, July 2000; The Scottish Executive, 'Analysis of Religion in the 2001 Census: Summary Report', (2004), http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/02/20757/53573 consulted 14 February 2011; Marlena Schmool, 'Scottish Jewry in the 2001 census', (n.d.), http://www.scojec.org/resources/files/census.pdf consulted 12 February 2011.

Chapter Five

'She would make us lunch and tell us stories': Jewish life in the home

In school one may learn laws and reasons, but in the home one's

emotions and senses are trained to belong to a Jewish sub-culture

Susan Starr Sered[1]

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The above quote from anthropologist Susan Starr Sered suggests that 'Jewishness' is

as much about an inner emotional sense of 'attachment' as it is about ritual practice

and that a Jewish upbringing speaks directly to those feelings. This chapter

examines how practices in the home provide a vehicle for the transmission of an

inner sense of Jewish identity through the generations.   In this chapter I consider

food and festivals, the observance of *Shabbat* in the home and at housekeeping and

cleanliness. I explore how food, festivals and *Shabbat* can be seen to solidify

memory, family and community and to demarcate 'insider/outsider' status. I discuss

the extent to which the private sphere of the home is controlled by women, where

women set the levels of religiosity within the home and for their children,

notwithstanding their husbands' level of observance or practice. I examine how far

life in the home looks the same or how far it changes across the branches and down

the generations of the Hoppenstein family. The life story interview methodology

provides an opportunity to explore changes in practice which occur for individuals

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[1] Susan Starr Sered, 'Food and Holiness: Cooking as a Sacred Act Among Middle-Eastern Jewish Women', *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol 61, no. 3 (1988), p.132.

through the life course, for example in levels of observance of Jewish food laws at different times in a person's life.[2]

Instructional books for the young Jewish wife suggest that the home is an important site for the continuity of Jewish life. Judaism can clearly be seen as a patriarchal religion, with women literally not 'counting' in the Orthodox synagogue – a service can only start when ten Jewish males who have had their bar mitzvah are in attendance. All the 'how to' books about Judaism, however, stress the importance of the woman's role in the home as homemaker, nurturer of children and chief planner and organiser of the festivals which occur in the home.[3]

With the exception of work by Burman, Fleming and Yeo,[4] much of the literature on Jewish life in Britain concentrates on religious, communal, educational and work institutions outside the home, using written sources such as synagogue records, organisational minutes and newspaper accounts. These were very often male accounts. Eileen Yeo suggests that: '…scholars rarely move indoors to the mundane place where people construct their "families", eat their food and take their rest'. Nonetheless, she asserts, 'women had a crucial role to play in preserving the

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[2] See Barbara Adam, 'The Timescapes Challenge: Engagement with the Invisible Temporal', *Researching Lives Through Time: Time, Generation and Life Stories. Timescape Working Paper Series No. 1* (2008), www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk consulted 21 March 2009, p.7.

[3] See for example Blu Greenberg, *How to Run a Traditional Jewish Household* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983); Marina Goodman, *Why Should I Stand Behind the Mechitzah When I Could Be a Prayer Leader?* (Southfield, MI: Targum Press, 2002).

[4] For example, Rickie Burman, '"She Looketh Well to the Ways of her Household": The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life', in *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*, ed. Gail Malmgreen, (London & Sidney: Croom Helm, 1986); Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005); Eileen Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland in the Irish and Jewish Diasporas, 1850-1930', in *Gender, Migration and the Public Sphere, 1850-2005*, eds. Eileen Yeo and Marlou Schrover, (London: Routledge, 2010).

body and the culture of the Jewish people'.[5] It is, therefore, in the home where this

'crucial role' of women can be examined in detail. 'Preserving the body of the

Jewish people' is, in its most literal sense, carried out by production of food to keep

that body alive. The maintenance of cleanliness and order was also the woman's

role.

Oral history provides a different approach from written records. What

emerges in the interviews is usually what is of interest to the informants; what is not

said is also of importance.[6] My data does not come in the form of questions and

answers about Jewish practices in the home. Other surveys give across-the-board

data on whether people smoked on *Shabbat,* ate on *Yom Kippur* and so on.[7] The

members of the Hoppenstein family whom I interviewed talked to me about what

they felt was important in their lives and specifically, their Jewish lives or the Jewish

lives of their parents and/or grandparents, aunts and uncles and/or great-aunts and

great-uncles. Life in the home and in their grandparents' and other family members'

homes came up often in these interviews. Interviewees recalled visual detail: the

piles of newspapers in a grandmother's cellar or watching seminal football matches

on Saturdays at their grandmother's house. David Kallin, for example, recalled:

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[5] Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland', pp.15, 20.

[6] On this point see, for example, Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, first published 1978), p.169; 'Life Stories, History and Social Change', *Researching Lives Through Time: Time, Generation and Life Stories. Timescape Working Paper Series No. 1* (2008), www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk consulted 21 March 2009, p.24.

[7] For example Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier: a Study of Group Survival in the Open Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1967, this edition 1979); Marlena Schmool and Stephen Miller, *Women in the Jewish Community: Survey Report* (London: Women in the Community, 1994); S. Miller, M. Schmool *et al.*, 'Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey', (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1996).

some of my earliest memories of football matches that are now

revered as being 'the defining football matches of the world' takes

me right back to her sitting room, watching them. And it really is,

you know, things like the Gordon Banks save, that is immortal, you

know, I always remember, I watched it in that room, and I never

forget that.[8]

They remembered artefacts: an old-fashioned till, a mezuzah, a candlestick.

They remembered specific foods and specific festivals and they remembered

and remarked on standards of cleanliness, in particular where the houses

deviated from the accepted norms.

Food and festivals as memory, family and community

Susan Starr Sered studied religious practices in the cooking habits of older Middle

Eastern Jewish women and found that food was particularly important in establishing

Jewish identity:

Food makes the individual really *feel* Jewish: the smells, textures,

and tastes of Jewish cooking, perhaps even more than books and

lessons, become inescapably embedded in the individual psyche.[9]

In each interview I carried out with Hoppenstein family members, across all the

branches and down all the generations, the one thing that all the informants

mentioned was food. Special meals or specific items of food prepared by older

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[8] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2004. SOHCA 031/020.

[9] Starr Sered, 'Food and Holiness', p.133. (Emphasis in original)

female relatives were mentioned often. Interviewees recalled meals which formed part of a family or communal event or ordinary weekday meals which were transformed into special occasions in that they had been prepared specifically for the recipient. Even those interviewees whose parents had married out and who were not raised with Jewish traditions in the home mentioned Jewish food. Some remarked on the 'differentness' of the food eaten by their Jewish relatives or that a parent brought up in a household with Jewish traditions no longer observed Jewish food laws. Hugh Hope-Stone, son of Harold Hope-Stone who married out, remarked: 'you know, my dad is an avid eater of bacon, pork, ham, salami, you know, it was almost kind of like, almost a reaction to not having it'.[10] Ailsa Garner, daughter of Leslie Herts, who had no idea that her father was Jewish until she was around ten years old, recalled that food he ate gave her no indication of his Jewishness: 'Dad didn't eat anything that we didn't eat and he ate bacon and ham and things like that so we had no reason to think that there was anything different'.[11] Ailsa's sister Barbara Herts, discussing visits to her Glasgow relatives once the family had made contact with the Jewish side of her family, recalled: 'It was quite dark and we always ate Jewish food which we thought was quite exotic because we'd never had it before. …. Well, you had matzos. Ham, no, not ham, [laughter], but something that looked like ham'.[12]

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[10] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Hugh Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, by telephone. 2007. SOHCA 031/010.

[11] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Ailsa Herts Garner, interview by Fiona Frank, Leicester. 2008. SOHCA 031/013.

[12] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Barbara Herts, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2007. SOHCA 031/012.

Starr Sered found that older women's food preparation rituals connected them with their mothers and grandmothers far more than with the local rabbis who occasionally tried to teach them the laws of *Kashrut*. She suggested that 'by providing traditional foods, they ensure that their children and grandchildren are part of a network that includes all Jews, past, present and future'.[13] A similar sentiment seems to have applied to the Hoppenstein women in the early generations. Fred Stone's memories of his grandmother, Sophia Hoppenstein, for example, were very closely tied to food. He recalled:

> … I never remember her, except in her own home. I never
>
> remember seeing her outside of the home. Except maybe at a
>
> function. And I saw her hovering round the kitchen table while I sat
>
> down and was fed by her. That was compulsory. There was no
>
> discussion. If we came to visit, it didn't matter what time of day it
>
> was, she would produce an omelette or what she called a *pankuchen,*
>
> a kind of eastern European equivalent of an omelette, and I sat there
>
> in my solitary glory while she hovered around and my mother sat
>
> and chatted to her.[14]

For Fred Stone, his paternal grandmother seems to have had an existence entirely associated with food and the home. He would not have expected to see his grandmother at any event not associated with family or the Jewish community and his experience of her was that her life was entirely devoted to the 'private sphere' of

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[13] Starr Sered, 'Food and Holiness', p.133.

[14] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/004a.

the home and family. The food he associates with her, a *pankuchen*, has a particular

association, for Fred, with the 'old country'. This *pankuchen* was forever associated

with his grandmother and, through her, to the generations of great-grandmothers

before her who would have made this dish in Eastern Europe. Morrie Hope-Stone,

too, when thinking of his grandmother, only remembered food: 'she used to make

some rather nice sweets out of orange, I seem to remember. I can't remember much

more than that'.[15]

Similarly, David Kallin (fourth generation) remembers his maternal

grandmother *in relation* to a particular item of typically Jewish food from Eastern

Europe:

> But I do still have fond memories of visiting as a child, going round
>
> and eating what's called *kreploch*, which was carroty sweet cakes,
>
> and playing with a toy drum, and things like that. I do have some
>
> affectionate fond memories of visiting there.[16]

Esther, Sophia Hoppenstein's youngest daughter, had continued to cook the type of

cake that her mother would have made. She made her own associations with those

myriad great-grandmothers before her and passed down those tastes and memories to

her own grandsons in a way which let them associate the taste of 'Jewish food' with

their grandmother and hence, in Starr Sered's words, with the whole family of Jews,

in the 'past, present and future'.[17]

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[15] *Ibid*.

[16] Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin

[17] Starr Sered, 'Food and Holiness', p.133.

Judy Stone, Fred Stone's daughter, talked about visiting her maternal grandmother, with her brother Martin, after singing in Garnethill synagogue choir on a Saturday lunchtime. Judy associated lunch at her grandmother's house with listening to stories around the table: 'She would make us lunch and tell us stories about the family which I enjoyed, and I don't even remember the details, particularly, but she would always make them very romantic.'[18] The recounting of family stories by women is an age-old custom. African-American writer Alex Haley's account of discovering his roots begins with an account of his earliest memories of summers spent sitting on the front porch in his grandmother's house, listening to his grandmothers and his aunts telling 'bits and pieces and patches of ... a long narrative history of the family which had been passed down literally across generations'.[19] Furthermore, as Karen Fog Olwig reflected when listening to stories told to her by her informants in the networks of Caribbean families she interviewed:

> It was quite apparent that individuals did not just tell stories about
>
> themselves, and other family members, when a visiting
>
> anthropologist did a life-story interview. The maintaining and
>
> reshaping of family ways occurred, to a great extent, as individuals
>
> related stories – or gossiped – within the family network, whether by
>
> phone, letter or e-mail or face to face when visiting.[20]

[18] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater, interview by Fiona Frank, Cambridge. 2007. SOHCA 031/016.

[19] Alex Haley, 'Black History, Oral History and Genealogy', in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, (London: Routledge, 1998), p.9.

[20] Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.19.

Judy's memories of her grandmothers, like Fred's of his grandmothers, are linked to

food as well as stories. It seems that Judy's and Fred's grandmothers were able to

reach out to their grandchildren with food made from recipes passed down to them

by their own female relatives, thereby linking their grandchildren to an age-old

Jewish network of memories of food. At least three members of the fifth generation

sought out beigels[21] and other Jewish food while they were away at university, either

through the university Jewish societies or in the local shops. For all of the

respondents, Jewish food was an important part of their life story; it was inextricably

linked with their memory of family and of community.

As well as memory, food relates to feasting and festivals. Anglo-Jewish

historian Ann Kershen, in her book on food and migration, includes the concept of

feasting, the celebration of festivals, to the idea of food as linked to the concept of

religion, suggesting that:

> Food and religion are inextricably linked. Feasting and fasting are
>
> not only essential elements of religious practice; they are in addition
>
> a means of protecting not only belief but the nexus of family and
>
> community. The *most irreligious* gather for Christmas lunch, the
>
> Passover dinner and the meal taken at *Eid u Fitr*, the end of
>
> *Ramadan*.[22]

I would add to Kershen's analysis that food is inextricably linked with memory,

family and community, as well as with religion. As well as actual meals and food

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[21] So spelled by the Scottish respondents; the English spelling tends to be *bagels.*

[22] Anne Kershen, 'Introduction: Food in the Migrant Experience', in *Food in the Migrant Experience*, ed. Anne Kershen, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002), p.10. (My emphasis).

items, many of the interviewees remember Friday night and festivals, particularly the

Seder table at *Pesach,*[23] as being a place where people were welcome, family visited

regularly and Jewish acquaintances and friends were invited.

Harold Hope-Stone, whose parents both died when he was young and who

married out and did not keep up ties with Judaism as an adult, still remembered

Passover with nostalgic fondness:

> And then we had the best time of all, the *Pesach*. ... We'd all sit
>
> down, there'd be the ceremony, and we'd all help, the house was
>
> cleaned and washed and all dishes changed … and it was a great
>
> thing, ... the children were allowed to drink a little wine and we had
>
> the famous hard boiled eggs in salt water and then the *gefilte* fish …
>
> it was a great feast … I think we'd do it for two nights, in my
>
> recollection and it was a great occasion. Probably, I think as a
>
> family religious gathering it was the most important.[24]

Although Harold no longer gathered with his family for Passover as an adult, his

repetition of the superlatives 'great occasion', 'great feast', 'great thing' and the use

of the emphatic 'famous' and 'the best time of all' shows his heightened feelings

when he looked back at those family occasions. His use of the phrase 'you probably

know all this, or you should do' shows that he was very aware of my place in the

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[23] *Pesach,* the Hebrew word for the Passover festival is, as Yeo notes, the most elaborate festival 'because of the total change of cooking utensils, the preparation of banquets as well as the ritual *Seder* [service] which reenacted Moses leading the Jews out of bondage in Egypt to liberation in Israel, with food marking each step of the way'. Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland', p.20.

[24] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Harold Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Littlebury Green. 2007. SOHCA0031/003.

conversation. His account of the *Seder* table was almost identical to the account in his memoirs, which he had variously hand written or recorded and then had typed up by his secretary, some six years earlier:

> At Passover, known as Pesach, the whole house was cleaned, all the dishes changed, and the whole family met either at my Aunt Lela's, my Aunt Letty's home or my own, all of which were within walking distance of each other. The following two evenings we celebrated the Sada [sic], which commemorates Moses leading the Jews out of Egypt. We read from the Old Testament, both in English and Hebrew. This was followed by a magnificent feast, which started with cold boiled eggs in salt water, which I had been allowed to help prepare.[25]

The above extract suggests that Harold assumed that his readers would have no knowledge of Jewish customs and consequently, he needed to educate and inform them.[26] When he talked to me he realised that he probably did not need to provide the background information. Lynn Abrams has called the way Harold was speaking 'performance mode'. In this mode, she argues, people may declaim 'practised tales': 'ultimately ... performance is implicit in every oral history interview ... an intrinsic part of any oral narrative'.[27]

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[25] Harold Hope-Stone, *No Stone Unturned: An Autobiography* (Littlebury Green: Dr H. F. Hope-Stone, 2001), p.7.

[26] It was also clear that his secretary was not familiar with the English spelling of the Hebrew word *Seder*.

[27] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp.147-51.

Gertie Kallin and Fred Stone both remember going to big Passover suppers in their grandparents' houses. This was not the Hoppenstein grandparents' house, which would not have been big enough to house all their grandchildren, but in the case of Gertie Kallin, her paternal (Cowen) grandparents and in the case of Fred Stone, his maternal (Morris/Marzinsky) grandparents. Fred Stone recalled:

> And on festivals, we would gather, the huge family of children and grandchildren, and grandparents, we'd all gather round this enormous dining-room table, where you might have over 20 people sitting down to dinner. My grandmother was a wonderful cook.[28]

Fred and Gertie both differentiated between what Fred called the 'fanatical orthodoxy' of their Hoppenstein grandparents and the 'traditional' Judaism of their other grandparents. Fred remarked about his other grandparents: 'the Morrises – they were traditional, but I don't think it ever went terribly deep'. Gertie commented on the Cowens: 'they weren't *frum* [Orthodox]; everybody does a *Seder*. I mean Ivor does a *Seder*'.[29] Ivor, Gertie's son, was mentioned as the most secular Jew that Gertie could think of and by her emphasis it can be seen that the Passover supper, the *Seder*, is something which seems to be performed by all Jews, notwithstanding their levels of observance.

Theologian Jacob Neusner discusses the extent to which secular Jews continue to observe the Passover *Seder*, (along with the Jewish marriage ceremony,

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[28] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[29] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, Liverpool. 2004. SOHCA 031/006.

circumcision and burial rites).[30] Folklorist Sharon Sherman suggests that 'each year, Passover is celebrated by Jews with varying levels of religious observance and, more than any other holiday, is enjoyed by both religious and secular Jews'.[31] In her study of the Passover *Seder*, Sherman points out that 'by their level of participation in the family *Seder*, participants define their relationships within the family' and 'as children of each new generation are born, the mothers also become grandmothers in their role as transmitters for a family tradition'.[32] From the first to the fifth generation of the Hoppenstein 'dynasty', the narrators have given examples of both secular and religious families visiting parents or grandparents for *Seder* or doing their own and including extended family. Ben Adams (fifth generation) enjoyed visiting his grandparents for the *Seder* but saw it as a family rather than religious event:

> Almost annually we visited my grandparents in Glasgow for Pesach,
> particularly when I was very young. I always enjoyed these events.
> I think it was a combination of the traditions followed at *Seder*,
> which were so different from day-to-day meals that it all seemed
> quite fun, and the fact that it was a big event for the family and the
> consequent feeling of togetherness, since it was often the one time of
> year that we got together with our cousins that made it feel special.

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[30] Jacob Neusner, *The Enchantments of Judaism: Rites of Transformation From Birth to Death* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), pp.ix-xiii.

[31] Sharon R Sherman, 'The Passover Seder: Ritual Dynamics, Foodways, and Family Folklore', in *'We Gather Together': Food and Festival in American Life*, eds. Theodore C. Humphrey and Lin T. Humphrey, (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1988), p.41.

[32] *Ibid*., pp.27,34.

However, for me at least there wasn't a big religious significance to these events, I just saw them as family events.[33]

In contrast Hamish Kallin (also fifth generation) sees the *Seder* as a very 'Jewish' event: '*Seder* nights always feel like the biggest Jewishy event of the year, and I used to (and still do) look forward to them a lot'.[34]

The annual festival of Passover carries its own burden for Jewish women. Along with the complete change of dishes, the whole house needs to be fully cleaned prior to the festival to ensure that there is no *chametz* anywhere in the house.[35] The women carry out the cleaning tasks but a ritual just before the beginning of Passover involves the male head of the household searching for the last traces of *chametz* in the house with a candle and a feather. In her analysis of the *Seder* Sherman focused on the preparation of the event and on the woman's role.[36] It is the mothers and grandmothers who make the preparations for the Passover and prepare the festive meal, while the fathers and grandfathers preside over the dinner and lead the service. David Stone and his sister, Judy Gershater (fourth generation), have gendered perspectives on the *Seder*. David's memories of big family *Seders* had focused on the presiding role of his grandfather, rather than the cooking role of the women in the family:

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[33] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Ben Adams. 2008. SOHCA 031/028.

[34] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Hamish Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/031. The Kallins were the only family interviewed who used the adjective 'Jewishy'. Ivor, Phoebe and Hamish all used the word.

[35] For a detailed, twelve page, commentary on how to clean and prepare an Orthodox Jewish home for Passover, see Greenberg, *How to Run a Traditional Jewish Household*, pp.403-15.

[36] Sharon R. Sherman. 'The Passover Seder'.

I think my most abiding memories in the Jewish sense, was the

Seder night at *Pesach* [Passover], which was a big affair. I mean,

there were loads of people came to that. And my grandfather, that's

my father's father, would often preside over it. And that was, and

we enjoyed that tremendously.[37]

When I asked David if he did a *Seder*, he focused on the role of the male: 'yes, oh

yes, I'll lead a *Seder*, I'm perfectly happy to do that, because I like, I like *Seder*'.[38] It

was that presiding role which he saw would be his own over future generations.

Judy, in contrast, stressed the extent of the 'burden' of the festivals on her mother:

'[my grandparents] would come to us…usually, for *Seder* and *Pesach*. And

sometimes at Hanukah they would come over'. Her maternal grandmother would

also come over for Passover: '*poor* Mum … always had everyone at our house'.[39]

The oral testimony, then, shows clear evidence of Passover as another site

where the gendered nature of transmission of Jewish identity is reflected.

Women's control of the levels of Kashrut in the home

In Chapter Three we saw that many of the men in the second and third generation

worked on Saturdays, while the women maintained the tradition of *Shabbat*.[40] The

fact that women were in control of the 'private sphere' of the home and had total

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[37]Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2007. SOHCA 031/015.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Oral Testimony of Judy Gershater, my emphasis.

[40] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/007.

dominion over the shopping for, preparation and serving of food, meant that they were in control of the level of observance of Jewishness within the home, at least as far as *Kashrut* was concerned. Women also had substantial control over the religious observance of the family inside the home, particularly at *Shabbat* and festival times. The female family members maintained levels of religious observance within the household in line with previous generations, even when married to less observant men.

Paula Hyman, using the example of Sigmund Freud who forbade his wife to light the *Shabbat* candles (she started again, on the first *Shabbat* after his death), suggests that there is a 'widespread gendered difference in attitudes towards religious tradition'.[41] All the Hoppenstein women in the second and third generation who had children married men who were not as religious as they were and who worked on Saturdays. Nonetheless, they all maintained a *kosher* home, demanded high standards for their children when it came to *Shabbat* observance and modelled an environment that was very different from the 'outside world'. Lionel Levy and Gertie Kallin (third generation) both recalled the contrasts between their mothers' and their fathers' observance. Lionel Levy recalled:

> But the Friday night, the house got busy with all our preparations,
> special food, that was the answer to my mother's place. My father
> was different. He couldn't care less. My mother used to say of him,

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[41] Paula Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: the Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1995), p.22. For an account of the candle lighting dispute see Peter Gay, *Freud: a Life for Our Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p.54.

he was the last to get to the synagogue on the Friday night, and the

first to come out. He had no time for it.[42]

Gertie Kallin elaborates: 'No, my mother wouldn't have, I don't think, had the radio

on on *Shabbat* … my mother wouldn't shop or anything like that on *Shabbat*. My

father didn't bother about anything'.[43]

The gendered practice of women holding onto Orthodox practices while

men would become less observant was not only true for the Hoppenstein family.

Indeed, historian Marion Kaplan's study of middle-class assimilated Jews in

Germany shows the same pattern occurring, where 'the same men who absented

themselves from the synagogue … lived in families where their wives continued to

take cognizance of the Jewish calendar and its rituals'.[44] Callum Brown, in his book

on changes in Christianity over the last two centuries sees the same gender split in

terms of religiosity in Christianity:

> After 1800, the religiosity of women was paramount to the
>
> evangelical scheme for moral revolution. They were regarded as
>
> having special qualities which placed them at the fulcrum of family
>
> sanctity. In addition the very same qualities which made them

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[42] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2000. SOHCA031/001.

[43] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

[44] Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.69-84. Cited in Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, p.22.

special in the home rendered them extra special in the wider reformation of communities and the nation as a whole.[45]

Israel and Pauline Kallin, maternal grandparents of Ivor Kallin, were typical in this regard. The couple were both immigrants themselves and had arrived in the UK about twenty years later than Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein.

> My grandfather; I think he was quite an interesting character. My dad always said that he was … a communist, and a tailor. He had his own tailor's shop just off Victoria Road in Glasgow. And just, always used to invite people back to the house. It felt something a wee bit incongruous. I would never have considered my granny to have been someone with communist sympathy. She seemed a very, someone with almost upper-class pretensions. But my grandfather, he would go to *Shul*, and he would just bring back anyone visiting, back to his house for a meal.[46]

The way in which Ivor's grandfather brought visitors back to the Friday evening meal after the synagogue service links the private sphere, associated with women, with the public sphere, the men's domain. While preserving the woman's status as the maintainer of levels of observance, it widens the role of the *Shabbat* meal from a familial to a community occasion. The observance of *Shabbat* acts as a marker of Jewish and non-Jewish or 'insider' and 'outsider' status. Ivor's

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[45] Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularism 1800-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p.59.

[46] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2003. SOHCA031/019.

grandfather's action reinforced the 'insider'-marker function of the *Shabbat* dinner by including Jewish guests at the table, people who would have been present at the weekly Friday night synagogue service. In Ann Kershen's words, the Kallins were 'protecting' and reinforcing the 'nexus of family and community'.[47] Pauline Kallin, by preparing a *kosher* Friday night meal in the home, was continuing a family and communal tradition. Her husband was making links between the family and the community, between the public synagogue service and a private family occasion.

The dichotomy between Ivor's upper middle-class paternal grandmother preparing a traditional Friday night meal and her husband, the communist tailor, being heavily involved with the Workers' Circle, perhaps confirms the role of the women of the early immigrant generations as the *eyshet chayil*, the helpmeet of the husband. Israel Kallin fully expected that there would be a *kosher* meal on the table on his return from the synagogue. Although as a communist Israel was not religious, the synagogue for him would have had a social element, as a place for him to meet with other members of the community and to demonstrate his status within that community. While during the week he was a not particularly successful tailor, on *Shabbat* he would become a successful host, able to invite strangers back to the *Shabbat* table presided over by his wife. Although her grandsons do not remember Pauline Kallin maintaining a particularly Jewish home, especially in comparison with their Hoppenstein grandmother, Pauline's husband would have been confident that the Friday night meal would conform to the expectations of any Jewish visitor: a

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[47] Kershen, 'Introduction: Food', p.10.

white tablecloth, candlesticks, a meat meal, wine and *challah* covered with a clean cloth.

Yeo discusses women who 'kept *kosher* homes and observed the dietary laws about clean and unclean foods…whether they were believers or not and regardless of their politics'.[48] She suggests that:

> Whether migrant men remained religious, became Zionist, converted
>
> to Socialism ... whether they assimilated more to American or
>
> British ways, on the whole they encouraged their wives to continue
>
> as full Jewish housekeepers, almost as though they were taking out
>
> insurance policies to cover their own religious and cultural lapses.[49]

In Israel's generation, it was a normal state of affairs that the woman would be at home preparing the *Shabbat* meal, while the man might return from the synagogue with any number of visitors.[50] Callum Brown makes the point that within Christian households, church attendance was affected by the intersection of gender and class. A Christian Sunday lunch held the same symbolic importance as the Friday night meal in the Jewish household. But attendance at church on a Sunday morning was possible only for middle-class women who had female domestic servants to help them prepare and serve lunch, whereas working-class women had to take care of all the lunch preparations themselves on the Sunday morning. In fact,

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[48] Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland', p.20.

[49] *Ibid*., p.19.

[50] For a similar story among Manchester interviewees, where most of the women did not attend synagogue except on high holy days, see for example Burman, '"She Looketh Well to the Ways of her Household" ', p.242.

special afternoon services were held in many Scottish churches to allow working-class women to attend.[51]

Housekeeping and cleanliness in the Jewish household

In the *Shtetls* it was likely that women worked while their husbands 'engaged in more spiritual pursuits'.[52] In the first generation, Zvi David Hoppenstein might have expected to study full-time if he had stayed in the Pale of Settlement (compulsory conscription notwithstanding) and his wife and father-in-law might have been willing to support him. However, according to Burman, once they arrived in Britain, the message from the existing Anglo-Jewish community, learned from the host/receiving community, was that the men's and the women's separate spheres were clearly demarcated. This was very different to their previous experiences. In Britain, immigrant Jewish men were expected to be the breadwinners,[53] and the woman was seen as a 'spiritual helpmeet'. This perception was exemplified by the obituary of Sophia Hoppenstein:

> As long as Sarah lived there was Light and Purity in the tent[54] …
>
> With hands of the *Eyshet Chayil*[55] she tended the lamp of
>
> domesticity, so even a tent was Home, with her heart as the holy

---

[51] Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp.134,159-61.

[52] Burman, '"She Looketh Well to the Ways of her Household"', p.236.

[53] As we have seen, Zvi David Hoppenstein first earned his living as a peddler until he could find work teaching Hebrew and as a *Shohet.*

[54] Tent is a Biblical word for any dwelling-place.

[55] This was written in Hebrew in the original article.

flame, from which her husband and her children kindled their

consecration and reconsecration to serve God and man.[56]

There was a widely held perception that 'the women's role was basically in the

home'.[57] This perception hid a multitude of exceptions, including women who

worked in cases of hardship or widowhood, the rare cases where women qualified in

professional jobs or the occasional instances when men took charge in the home.

After the death of his parents and older brother, Moss Hoppenstein, Beattie's brother,

lived on his own and looked after his own needs. Doreen commented on her great-

uncle Moss's living arrangements:

> His house was extraordinary. There was one table, one chair, and
>
> one gas ring heater. In the house. I think he'd a bed, his walls were
>
> fantastic, even in his eighties he was painting his walls himself.
>
> Hadn't another stick of furniture in his house.[58]

Doreen commented on the lack of furniture and on how he did his own decorating,

which suggests that she did not expect her uncle to know how to maintain a home.

Human geographer Andrew Gorman-Murray suggests in his paper on masculinity

and the home, 'the 'bachelor', a man living alone, is one of the most evocative

figures of domestic masculinity, his very identity defined in relation to his housing

and homemaking practices. The bachelor subverts both normative domestic

---

[56] Rev M. S. Simmons, 'Obituary of Sarah [Sophia] Hoppenstein', *Jewish Echo*, 14 February 1936.

[57] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Mr Woolfe Egdoll, interview by Ben Braber. 1988. Mr Egdoll, considering his statement through the perspective of 20 years of feminism, went on to say, 'it was accepted. That's not to say they were cowed down or anything…'

[58] Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack.

imaginaries and hegemonic models of domestic masculinity'.[59] Gorman-Murray

cites Katherine Snyder, who argues in her study of bachelors in nineteenth-century

novels:

> bachelors were thought to be the antithesis of domesticity to the
>
> extent that bourgeois domestic ideology was defined by
>
> companionate marriage and familial intimacy within a single-family
>
> dwelling. The single man living alone refused not only such
>
> normative domestic imaginaries but also hegemonic models of
>
> domestic masculinity based on marriage, fatherhood and spiritual
>
> leadership of a family.[60]

The social network analysis diagrams in the previous chapter show that Moss was a

central figure in the family. Instead of being seen as involved in 'leadership of a

family', Moss developed a warm relationship with all his nieces, nephews, great-

nieces and great-nephews, visiting them regularly in Glasgow, travelling to see those

further afield and corresponding with them. Every one of my narrators had

something positive to say about Moss. Fred Stone recalled:

> [My father's] younger brother, whom everybody called Moish, who
>
> was one of my favourite uncles, who never married, and who was

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[59] Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Masculinity and the Home: a Critical Review and Conceptual Framework', *Australian Geographer* Vol 39, no. 3 (2008), p.372.

[60] *Ibid*. Citing Katherine V. Snyder, *Bachelors, Manhood, and the Novel, 1850-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.19.

terrific with young people, took me to cricket matches, and football matches. A wonderful uncle.[61]

Gertie Kallin remembered sitting on his knee on the day that the war broke out: 'he was always … one of my fondest uncles, and that link stayed till he died'.[62] He visited all the family regularly. Doreen Spevack recalled: 'and then Uncle Moish, of course … I used to see him at least once a week, he lived in Sinclair Drive, in the same street as my parents'.[63] He attended Passover suppers at the Kallin house each year. David Kallin recounted:

> My uncle Moish, who was Cootie's brother, we used to see a lot of him, and he was an immense character. I remember him, a) because he always used to come to us for *Seder*, but also, my particular fondness for him, was that I was in hospital when I was about 14, I was in there for about ten weeks, and he used to come and visit me a lot, and he taught me the rules of cricket, and chess, as well, he taught me chess.[64]

Represented mathematically, the sum of Moss's links on the social network analysis matrix (see Appendix Four) is the highest of the whole family, showing that although he was not the head of a family, he maintained contact with the entire extended family. Some people I interviewed still had copies of his long, detailed letters.

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[61] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[62] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

[63] Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack.

[64] Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin.

Whilst it is true that, as a single man, he had more time and freedom to travel and to maintain contact with family members who lived outside of Glasgow than did the married men and women with children, his behaviour also subverts the normative model that it is women who maintain links across extended families. Moss seems to have kept in touch with the whole family in a way that is normally expected of women.[65]

In contrast to the austerity of Moss's home, several informants remarked on the untidiness of Beattie's home. Doreen Spevack recalled: 'her house was the biggest muddle imaginable'.[66] Dr Emil Glasser, the couple's family doctor, said: '…it was a shambles'.[67] Gertie Kallin contrasted Beattie's and her own mother's housekeeping standards with their sisters Lily and Eva, also using the word 'shambles': 'I think it was a bit of a family trait. Because Beattie's place was a shambles. ... Lily, Leaby, as we called her, she took a pride. I think Eva wasn't too bad. But Beattie's was a disgrace'.[68] Neither of the women who talked about Beattie's housekeeping suggested that her husband should have contributed to the domestic work: they both saw the situation as Beattie's deficiency. In contrast, the family doctor, Emil Glasser, who was called in on occasion to visit Beattie who was pretty much bedridden in her later years, pointed out that her husband could have

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[65] Hannah Frank (third generation spouse) phoned Doreen Spevack (fourth generation) frequently in the later stages of her life and Doreen Spevack spoke regularly to Gertie Kallin (third generation) and her husband Stanley. (Doreen Spevack, 2011. Personal communication with the author, 10 April).

[66] Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack.

[67] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Dr Emil Glasser, Interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2008. SOHCA 031/022.

[68] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

taken more of a responsibility in the house: 'He was a decent man … he gave her her food but the thought of making the room tidy … never dawned on him'.[69]

The provision of a clean and ordered house was written into the Jewish week and the annual festival year for the Orthodox home. The requirement of a clean white tablecloth and freshly baked bread on the *Shabbat* table every Friday evening and the prohibition on household work from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday meant that all meals for *Shabbat* had to be organised and prepared prior to sundown on Friday. Fleming asserts that, 'the good Jewish housewife would make sure that the home was cleaned thoroughly as an act of reverence to welcome *Shabbos'.[70]* She suggests that with upward mobility, the amount of work this involved increased. Once the immigrant generation could afford a weekly festive meal in a holiday atmosphere, she argues: 'a laden table, a scrupulously clean home, and the attendance of guests, of course made more work for women. Thus the domestic role of women increased in tandem with the success of immigrants'.[71]

Many contemporary accounts from the turn of the century express concern over the unhygienic conditions found on visits to immigrant households, including Jewish ones. The Special Sanitary Commission set up by the Lancet, for example, reported on 'dirty, ill-clad children, filthy bedding, and an absence of decent sanitation'.[72] Discussing cleanliness in the Jewish home, Eileen Yeo cites Mary

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[69] Oral Testimony of Emil Glasser.

[70] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.178.

[71] *Ibid.*, pp.178,181.

[72] 'Report of the Lancet Special Sanitary Commission on the Sweating System in Edinburgh', *Lancet* (1888), pp.141-2. Cited in Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1990), pp.57-8.

Douglas, who sees dirt 'not as a self-evident substance, but as culturally designated matter out of place which signifies disorder'.[73] In the same way that, suggests Yeo, Irish peasant custom encourages women to sweep the kitchen well at night because 'a well-swept kitchen was a signal of welcome for fairies and pookies who might drop in during the night and could turn malevolent',[74] the Orthodox religious concept of clean versus unclean was a matter of Biblical injunction[75] and was unrelated to the concerns of health professionals or visiting commissioners.

Of course the task of cleaning the house for Passover and the preparation of *Shabbat* meals was made much easier for those middle-class Jewish women who could afford domestic help. The Hope-Stones in Liverpool and the Stones in Glasgow had a maid and so did the family of Hannah Frank, who married Lionel Levy. Harold Hope-Stone (third generation) writes of his childhood: 'on Saturdays, my mother did not cook, but I think she cheated a bit, because the maid was allowed to boil chicken soup and heat up the chicken which had been prepared the night before'.[76] Similarly, Hannah Frank remembered her childhood Friday night meals being served by a maid, who slept behind curtains in the kitchen.[77]

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[73] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 1966), pp.40-1. Cited in Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland', p.28.

[74] Yeo, 'Gender and Homeland', p.28.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] Hope-Stone, *No Stone Unturned: An Autobiography*, p.14.

[77] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2004. HFLLC 7/1.

All of the Hoppenstein second generation sisters lived in tenements on the South Side of Glasgow. None had domestic help. Their sisters-in-law, Eva Stone (Marcus's wife) and Dolly Hope-Stone (Sidney's wife) lived middle-class lives with maids to help them with the domestic work. No comments were made on Eva's or Dolly's housekeeping, which suggests that a clean house was expected and therefore deemed unremarkable, but an unkempt house and poor housewifely standards merited a mention in the life story interviews of the Hoppensteins.

High expectations of housekeeping standards are not only found in Jewish households. Ann Oakley's study of forty housewives in 1969 includes an interview with 'Juliet Warren', who remembers her mother being a 'terrible housewife. Very muddly, very disorganised', in contrast to herself: 'I'm not like her. I'm the opposite. I like things in neat compartments'.[78] Anthropologist Mary Douglas pointed out that the definition of dirt as being related to hygiene is a contemporary concept, separated relatively recently from religious ordinances. She argues that the concept of cleanliness is relative. She cited Harper who observed that Havik peoples in Mysore used cow dung as a ritual purifier, despite the fact that it is normally seen as intrinsically impure.[79] She also comments that in Judaism, food which is not *kosher* is known as *treif*, literally 'unclean'. However, she states, this cleanliness is related to ritual purification rather than the absence of dirt.[80]

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[78] Ann Oakley, *Housewife* (London: Allen Lane, 1974), p.123.

[79] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, pp.viii,11. Citing Ed B Harper, 'Ritual Pollution as an Integrator of Casteland Religion', *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol XXIII (1964).

[80] Douglas, *Purity and Danger,* pp.41-57.

Shabbat and *Kashrut* as markers of insider and outsider status

Several writers have commented on how the practice of *Kashrut* and the observance of festivals and *Shabbat* mark insider/outsider boundaries. Fischler argues that while the 'application of the rules of the *Kashrut* has probably been one of the cohesive factors in Judaism', it has probably also been 'a protection against acculturation or even outside contacts'. He asserts that while 'human beings mark their membership of a culture or a group by asserting the specificity of what they eat', this amounts to the same thing as 'defining the otherness, the difference, of others'.[81] Russell extends Fischler's ideas by showing how food practices have an effect on memory and history:

> Shared cultural memories are also transmitted through food practices
> and therefore play a part in establishing and maintaining boundaries
> or ethnic or religious inclusion and exclusion as well as maintaining
> the historical content of group identity.[82]

In Bourdieu's terms, the 'mutual knowledge and recognition'[83] among Jews of *Kashrut* and of the 'institutional rites' of *Shabbat* and of the Jewish festivals serve as markers of a very clear boundary. This boundary divides religious Jews from secular Jews – both of whom know the 'rules', but of whom only the religious Jews respect

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[81] Claude Fischler, 'Food, Self and Identity', *Social Science Information* (1988), p.280.

[82] Polly Russell, 'Manufacturing Memories: Commercial, Team And Individual Narratives in Poultry Production', *Oral History* Vol 36, no. 1 (2008), pp.84-5.

[83] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1986), p.250.

them. It divides both groups from 'outsiders' who eat and who behave in different

ways to the *Shabbat*-respecting, *Kashrut*-observing religious Jew.

Arthur Stone remembers his grandfather Zvi David Hoppenstein's extreme

observance when it came to food. He did not only distinguish between Jews and

non-Jews: he distinguished between Jews who were fully observant and Jews who

were not. When Zvi David visited Arthur's family home, he did not sufficiently trust

his daughter-in-law's level of observance of *Kashrut* to eat a proper meal. Arthur

recalled:

> The old man, he used to always come up to my father, who was the
>
> leader of the whole family, and my mother, he wouldn't eat, of
>
> course, he would have a boiled egg ... although we were, in those
>
> days, fairly strict.[84]

Arthur's memory of his grandfather's refusing all food except a boiled egg

at his daughter-in-law's house, shows that different 'levels' of *Kashrut* were already

being 'performed' within the homes of the second generation Hoppenstein children.

The remark 'he wouldn't eat, *of course,* only a boiled egg' demonstrates Arthur's

belief that it was entirely expected that Zvi David would assume that even in the

home of his favourite and most observant son, he could not expect the level of

Kashrut to accord with his high standards. Given that he could not even allow

himself to eat in Marcus's home, he was unlikely to have eaten in his daughters'

houses either and would certainly never have eaten in a non-Jewish household or

restaurant.

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[84] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank and Bill Williams, Cheadle. 2003. SOHCA031/005a.

Hertz, the former Chief Rabbi, in his commentary on Leviticus – first published in 1937 but still found in most UK Orthodox synagogues and Jewish homes today – remarked that Jewish dietary laws have 'proved an important factor in the preservation of the Jewish race in the past, and are…an irreplaceable agency for maintaining Jewish identity in the present'. He quoted W. M. Haffkine, 'an illustrious Jewish scientist' who wrote:

> the Jew who keeps *Kashrus* has to think of his religious and communal allegiance on the occasion of every meal, and, on every such occasion, the observance of those laws constitutes a renewal of acquiescence in the fact that he is a Jew, and a deliberate acknowledgment of that fact.[85]

Of course Judaism is not the only religion or culture which has a particular association with food and specific dietary requirements. Douglas mentions Adrian Mayer's study of the complicated links between types of food and social categories in a village in central India:

> Middle range castes are extraordinarily restrictive, both as to whom they will accept food from and what they will eat. Invited to family ceremonies … they puritanically insist on being given their share of the food raw and retire to cook it themselves in their own homes.[86]

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[85] J. H. Hertz, *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs: Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary* (Brooklyn: The Soncino Press, 1937), p.448.

[86] Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: the Caste System and its Implications* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), pp.86-9. Cited in Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', in *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology*, ed. Mary Douglas, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p.254.

The rabbi's withdrawal from eating in other houses would have been 'normal' or at least not unexpected behaviour by people in Zvi David Hoppenstein's position. Singer, in his novel *The Estate*, describes a similar situation among rabbis living in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century; they also refused to eat in homes where they could not be certain of the levels of *Kashrut*: 'although Shaindel kept a *kosher* kitchen, Reb Menachem Mendel and Tirza Perl had no faith in it. They announced in advance that they would eat nothing in Ezriel's house'.[87]

The way in which Zvi David Hoppenstein – and the rabbis in Singer's novel – kept *Kashrut* involved a 'puritanical insistence' on separateness, not too dissimilar to Mayer's central Indian example. It can be seen clearly that Haffkine's premise – that each meal involves a 'renewal of acquiescence in the fact that he is a Jew, and a deliberate acknowledgment of that fact' – holds true. It can also be seen that each meal acts as a clear boundary marker of insider/outsider status.[88]

Marcus did everything he could to keep his own children from eating non-*kosher* food and particularly to stop them from eating with non-Jews. His sons Arthur and Fred Stone both discussed restrictions their parents and especially their father put on their eating non-*kosher* food. Fred Stone recalled: 'The home was absolutely *Kashrut*: but on the other hand so was everybody's in these days. When I

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[87] Isaac Bashevis Singer, *The Estate* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975, first published 1969), p.23.

[88] In the early twenty-first century, both Richard Stone (Arthur's son) and Jenny Kallin (Arthur's cousin Gertie Kallin's daughter-in-law) mentioned having had very Orthodox visitors, a Rabbi in one case. They both bought *kosher* food for them and left the food in its boxes with its labels on so that the visitors could confirm its 'authenticity'. Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin; Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Richard Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Cheadle. 2008. SOHCA 031/018.

was a child, I mean, we weren't allowed to eat out. Unheard of'.[89] Although Arthur, Fred's younger brother, remembers that the family did eat out, his memory was that their father was stricter than the others in the family and would only eat an egg when he ate out, while the others in the family would eat fish.[90] Eating out in a restaurant with the family was one thing, but eating with non-Jewish people was considered a very different matter in the Stone household. Arthur Stone recalled: 'He put the fear of death into me about mixing with non-Jewish people. He was so afraid, in case I was invited to their house and I ate something that I shouldn't eat'.[91] Arthur Stone associated the proscription on mixing with non-Jewish people with eating non-*kosher* food. Marcus himself, of course, through his work as a pharmacist and his children, by their attendance at Scottish schools, all mixed with non-Jewish people constantly. But it was their children's going out of their way to meet with non-Jewish people outside of the normal routine and, specifically, eating with them, which caused him concern. The question then arises of which was of most concern to Marcus: his children mixing with non-Jewish people or their eating proscribed foods at the table of those non-Jewish people. Going back to Bourdieu, who points out that it is possible that each member of a group could modify the limits of the group through 'some form of misalliance',[92] it would seem that Marcus, who we will see in the next chapter was heavily involved in Jewish communal affairs, had an 'anti-

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[89] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[90] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[91] *Ibid*.

[92] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1986) p.250.

assimilationist' project for his children. In areas where Marcus could control his

sons' associations, including forbidding their participation in sports and other clubs

on Friday nights and Saturdays, he did so. Bourdieu, when talking about

'misalliance', referred to extending the boundaries of marriage choice to include

people from outside the group. Marcus, by prohibiting casual contacts with non-

Jews wherever he could, was, he is likely to have felt, reducing the 'risk' that his

children would go on to form marriage partnerships with a non-Jew.

The extent of Marcus's prohibition on eating with others meant that Fred

distinctly recalled two incidents in his childhood when he was allowed to associate

and eat with non-Jews. On one occasion, a Jewish scout leader had asked his parents

for permission for Fred to join a local, non-Jewish scout troop (Fred's piano-playing

talents were much in demand). He remembered that at camp:

> ... while the lads were all sitting down to ham and eggs for breakfast,
>
> Mr. Levy and I had a *kosher* breakfast all to ourselves, which was
>
> very nice of him to do like that. ... And of course my parents were
>
> thrilled about this.[93]

Fred's other memory of being allowed to eat with non-Jews involved his

schoolfriend Jim:

> Anyhow, Jim said that his parents would like me to come for High
>
> Tea. So I asked my mum, and she said 'Oh, I don't know about
>
> that'. And I said 'well, I've been in their house, and I've met Mr
>
> Browning' – who is a part-time church organist, as well as his

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[93] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

business, whatever it was, I can't remember. And Mrs Browning

says that she knows about restrictions of diet and she'd like to phone

my mother to get permission. So she and my mother had a long

chat, and apparently got on famously, and there was no trouble. And

High Tea was High Tea. And it was perfectly all right. There was

no meat, you see. So that was OK.

Fred's memories of these two occasions stood out for him as rare occasions

in his childhood where his parents had allowed him to associate with non-Jews in

situations where meals would be shared. What was common to the two events was

that his parents had mediated for him with the adults involved and one of their

priorities in the 'anti-assimilationist' project, of their son's continuing to respect

Kashrut while mixing with non-Jews, had been maintained.[94]

Insider and outsider status, of course, can be imposed and observed from

both inside and outside a boundary. The Brownings were well aware that Fred was

'different' and needed to be treated differently in terms of catering for him. When

Fred's cousin Lionel recalled leaving school early on a Friday to get home in time for

Shabbat, it is very clear from the reported language of his gentile classmates that the

use of the word 'Jewboys' was derogatory and was a way in which those classmates

gave Lionel and his Jewish classmates outsider status. However, it is also clear that

participating in the *Shabbat* gave Lionel the feeling of 'insider' status within the

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[94] Fred also recounted that his association with Jim Browning had, in fact, also led to 'misalliances' (walking in the park with non-Jewish girls) which had led to strong censure, in this case from his mother. This was the first occasion when the boys' mother rather than their father was mentioned as being the prime opponent of her sons' behaviour: it may have been that Eva Stone had more of an eye on the longer-term possibilities of outmarriage and was more concerned about that, while Marcus Stone was focused on the observation of *Kashrut* as an end in itself.

family, marking him out as different from his non-Jewish classmates, at least for the duration of the *Shabbat*.[95] He recalled:

> When it came to Friday afternoon, the Jewboys, as we were called, went home early, because we had to attend synagogue. So we all got up and walked out at half past three instead of four or whenever it was. In those days in a household which had been brought up on traditional Judaism, Jewish Fridays, the actual time that the Sabbath started was very important, after that time it was forbidden to do anything in the shape of work, such things as putting on the fire ... when the Sabbath started at, say, four twenty. So you'd have to get any jobs like that done before four twenty. After that you enter a different world, you'd put on some Sabbath clothes, to look more respectful. You'd have ceremonial things on the table, special Sabbath loaf, and there more than anywhere else you realised that you belonged to a different race. This was a life, that the other, the poor little Protestant chaps didn't get the chance of enjoying that. We were different. We were, well, chosen by the Lord, as His people, and it was right to observe all His customs.[96]

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[95] For the Orthodox Jewish way of observing *Shabbat*, the time between sunset on Friday and sunset on Saturday, see, for example, Greenberg, *How to Run a Traditional Jewish Household*, pp.25-94. It includes the background to and history of *Shabbat*, including the list of 39 activities which the ancient Rabbis proscribed as being connected to 'building the sanctuary in the desert' and therefore being 'work', for example 'grinding, sifting, kneading, winnowing, tying or untying knots, writing, erasing, cutting, kindling or extinguishing a fire'.

[96] Oral Testimony of Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank Levy.

Lionel referred to his classmates as 'poor little Protestant chaps' which stands in direct opposition to the derogatory term 'Jewboys'. During the rest of the week the religious differences of the Protestant and Jewish classmates might have been less salient. However, when the Jewish boys had the privilege of leaving the classroom early on a Friday, their Christian schoolmates marked them as 'outsiders'. Conversely, the very different nature of the activities that took place in the Jewish household on *Shabbat* worked to remind the participants in those activities of the 'outsider' status of those people who did not participate. Lionel very clearly saw himself and other religious Jewish families as 'insiders'. He talks about being a member of the 'chosen people', part of a 'different race', having something special, marked by special food, clothes and activities. Interestingly, all of the special food, clothes and activities were within his mother's domain; maintenance of this aspect of the family's Jewish identity was entirely gendered and produced by the woman of the family, at least in the second generation.

It can be seen, then, that throughout the second generation, food and the observance of *Shabbat*, provided clear markers of insider and outsider status – markers which were clear to those on both sides of the boundary.

Changes through the generations

In Susan Starr Sered's interviews with older Arab Jewish women, there was a sense among her interviewees that *Kashrut* was diminishing down the generations. One woman told her: 'In my parents' house, we really knew how to observe *Kashrut*' and there was an unspoken feeling among the women that she spoke to that they did not

want to know how their daughters were cooking. The less they knew the more comfortable they would be eating in their daughters' houses.[97]

Linda Fleming, discussing the preservation of *Kashrut* among Glasgow Jewish families, found that: 'beyond the first generation, and to some extent within it, a slackening off of …strictness developed' and that 'within the home standards of preparation and the food consumed conformed to *kosher* rules, but outside of the home less strict adherence prevailed'.[98]

Social anthropologist Marilyn Strathern argues that there will always be change in future generations: 'increased variation and differentiation invariably lay ahead, a fragmented future as compared with the communal past. To be new is to be different'.[99] If this were true, that would mean that assimilating and abandoning the practice of *Kashrut* would be normal practice. However, in the Hoppenstein family, we find the second generation and several branches of the third and fourth generations strictly maintaining *Kashrut*, modelling the ways of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein who were the highest upholders of Jewish law. According to Zvi David's obituary, in their household: 'Nowhere was *Shabbat* welcomed with greater pleasure, *Succah* decorated with greater love, *Seder* celebrated with more joy, or a house "*Koshered*" for *Pesach* with more intense ruthlessness'.[100] Of course, the

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[97] Starr Sered, 'Food and Holiness', p.133.

[98] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.186.

[99] M. Strathern, *After Nature. English Kinship in the Late Twentieth Century.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.21. Cited in Jenny Hockey, 'Life Course and Intergenerational Research', *Researching Lives Through Time: Time, Generation and Life Stories. Timescape Working Paper Series No. 1* (2008), www.timescapes.leeds.ac.uk consulted 21 March 2009.

[100] 'Obituary, Rabbi H.D. Hoppenstein, *Jewish Echo*, 15 September 1944.

majority of Glasgow Jewish families do not have parents and grandparents who are rabbis and thus did not have such a strict example to follow. Nevertheless, rather than the level of *Kashrut* diminishing down the generations, the level of observance in a household changed according to life events. On marriage, for example or on the birth of a child, a new accommodation would be struck as to the level of *Kashrut* which would be maintained in the household and even that might change over time.

The third generation provides a compelling case study of the level of religiosity being set by the woman in each family. Taking the three Levy siblings as an example, Hannah Silverman and Harold Levy worked together as warden and matron of Jews College London and maintained a strictly Orthodox home. Although Harold's brother Lionel studied Hebrew and Aramaic at the University of Glasgow along with Mathematics, had won several medals and prizes for Hebrew studies and, as we saw above, had had a very observant upbringing, his wife Hannah Frank's family had been traditional, rather than Orthodox. The couple had no children and when they were married neither of them paid much attention to Jewish ritual life in the home. They were however strongly associated with secular Zionist Judaism, visiting Israel and becoming founder members of the Glasgow Friends of the Hebrew University. In contrast, Harold's sister Rita Levy passed a strong level of observance to her children. Her daughter Doreen remembered her father being surprised that she maintained her observance after she got married. But, she explained, 'it was just habit for me, to carry on'.[101]

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[101] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/007.

In the case of Arthur Stone, from a different branch of the family, we can see another example of changing observance over time. Sociologist Barbara Adam argues that it is important to look at lives throughout the life course, during 'biographical time' rather than looking at a life as a fixed point in time. She suggests:

> Time is not just conceived as a linear linking of past to future but a complex, multidimensional phenomenon that involves biographical time, which covers that lifespan from birth to death, generational time, which provides links and attachments across generations of kinship relations, and historical time, which locates individual and family lives in the wider frames of external events, environments and political landscapes.[102]

Arthur had lapsed in his level of observance of *Kashrut* after leaving home, but returned to a high level of observance when he married. He recalled:

> Well, actually, I found it very difficult, and I did try to keep a certain amount, but nothing like as much as I had kept in the very insular environment back home, quite frankly. And having been in the army of course, for two years, I had given up a lot. I went through a period where really I didn't keep very much, to be quite honest. And that didn't come till later on, when I came back into adhering more strictly to Jewish laws, if you like.[103]

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[102] Adam, 'The Timescapes Challenge', p.7.

[103] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

In contrast to Arthur, who gave up some of his adherence to *Kashrut* while he was

catering for himself, Arthur's son Richard actually became more observant while he

was away at college. He recalled:

> When I was at law school living in Chester, I lived there for a year
>
> and at the time I was completely *Shomer Shabbat* and I wouldn't eat
>
> out anywhere, and I lived in a house with five other people. Four or
>
> five other people, non-Jewish. And had my own plates and cutlery
>
> because I wouldn't eat off a non-*kosher* plate. And, you know,
>
> made it completely hard for myself but ... looking back on it now, I
>
> think why? I mean, now ... I will only eat fish or vegetarian out but
>
> you know, I'll still eat off a plate in a restaurant which is, you know,
>
> okay, I shouldn't do but that's just, that's the compromise you make
>
> in your life.[104]

Arthur and Richard's accounts of their changing attitudes to *Kashrut* over time

differed in the description of their behaviour prior to marriage. Arthur became far

more observant later in life, in contrast to Richard whose observance was higher

prior to marriage. While differing in behaviour, the accounts concur in that they

demonstrate that, as Haffkine and Fischler suggest, food was, for them, a site where

they made decisions about their 'Jewishness' and their 'otherness' in relation to non-

Jews. Richard had made the decision to differentiate himself from his flatmates on a

daily basis; thirty years earlier, Arthur had made the decision not to differentiate

himself from his army associates. However when Arthur married, he was happy to

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[104] Oral Testimony of Richard Stone.

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return to the high level of observance of *Kashrut* he had known as a child; when Richard married, he became less 'hard on himself' while still maintaining a home where people of all levels of Jewish observance would be comfortable eating. This is a clear demonstration of levels of *Kashrut* changing, not from generation to generation, but within the lifecourse and depending on outside events such as marriage, membership of the army and the birth of children.

Gertie Kallin, Arthur Stone's cousin, also had a strict Orthodox upbringing and initially set a very high level of religiosity within the house for herself, her husband and her young sons. However, following pressure from her sons as they grew older, she 'gave in, and they would just watch television on *Shabbat*, use a phone and everything'. After her sons left home and her mother died she 'stopped it all again, and that's the way it's been ever since'.[105] That is, although Gertie found it impossible to transmit her desired level of religiosity to her sons, she recovered this level of observance once they had left home. Moreover, Gertie's granddaughter Sophie Levi-Kallin has taken on a new religious identity on her marriage and setting her own level of religiosity. This is influenced by her husband and by her own view of herself as a 'Jewish wife' rather than by the level of observance she experienced in her own family while growing up.

We have already seen that Morrie Hope-Stone (one of the third generation who married out) rejected what he called 'religious nonsense' at a young age.[106] However Betty, his non-Jewish wife, slowly became aware after their marriage that

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[105] Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin.

[106] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Morrie Hope-Stone and Betty Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Upton-on-Severn. 2007. SOHCA0031/002.

he preferred her not to go out on a Friday night. Thus, although Morrie married out and was not interested in Jewish observance, he still wished to observe *Shabbat* in some way. Betty recalled:

> He never said a word about me going out anywhere but I just knew, if I went out on a Friday night, somehow, it wasn't popular and it took me a little while for something to click, and I said 'you don't like me going out on a Friday, do you?' he said, 'no, you know, … it doesn't really matter, sort of thing'. I said, 'it is, you think I should be at home on Friday because Friday's night's important'. … it's just, you know, a piece of habitual conditioning that the family should be home on Friday night. And that sort of thing, it's not religious conviction but it's the way you were brought up that makes you behave.[107]

David Kallin (a strongly secular member of the fourth generation) had a strong objection to the religious parts of the Jewish orthodoxy at home. Despite being very well-informed in Hebrew learning, David hated the Friday night prayers and, unlike other informants, does not have a positive memory of the *Seder* involving nostalgia, family and community. He said:

> I'm not really sure why I felt so resentful about the religious side of it. But I think that probably, deep within all that, lies the answer to a lot of my concerns, that I was doing things that I actually didn't believe in or objected to or wanted to rebel against. But I still feel

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[107] *Ibid.*

that now. My worst night of the year was the *Seder* night, in

Pesach. I hate it, with a passion. And I've got a real problem now

about what to do with my son, now. But anything to do with

religious prayers, religious observance, I've got a real mental block

about.[108]

Despite not observing religious practices at home, David and his equally secular wife

Jenny still had their son circumcised, send him to a Jewish school and plan that he

will have a *Bar Mitzvah*.[109] In this way their son's Jewishness will be confirmed for

him in the three domains of the private (home) sphere, the public (secular) sphere of

education and the public (religious) sphere of the synagogue where his *Bar Mitzvah*

will take place.

Life course changes, influences from the family home, the extended family and

people in the vicinity would have their effect on levels of observance; observed

levels of *Kashrut* might differ over time. Those informants who had been brought up

in a highly observant home but who rebelled against it and either married out or

married another Jewish person with the same views still had their own strong

memory of family, community and connections with their Jewish childhood home.

Conclusions

The fourth and fifth generations of the Hoppenstein family appear to have

assimilated, at least visibly, within their communities, since they were not

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[108] Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin.

[109] *Ibid*.

conspicuous as looking different from members of the indigenous Scottish or English communities where they live. Nonetheless, there is observable continuity of much of Jewish Orthodox tradition in the home across all the branches of the family where out-marriage has not occurred.

Where an adult in the household considers themselves 'secular' (for example David and Ivor Kallin, David Stone and Judy Stone Gershater) rather than 'religious' (Arthur Stone, Richard Stone, Michael Stone, Barbara Spevack) some aspects and levels of observance change, but certain elements of Jewish life remain constant across all branches and down all the generations. The *Seder* table at Pesach is universal throughout the 'Jewish' Hoppenstein families. David Kallin, who 'hates it with a passion', still attends *Seders* at other people's homes.[110] Zvi David Hoppenstein's house may well have been *koshered* for *Pesach* more ruthlessly than anywhere else, but in all the other Jewish households some kind of *koshering* for *Pesach* ritual still takes place. The aspects of family and memory bound up with the Passover supper transcends the barrier between 'religious' and 'secular'.

Following social anthropologist Jenny Hockey's observations on the nature of time,[111] it seems that it is not possible to look at someone and say 'they are Orthodox' or 'they are no longer Jewish'. Each individual will have a complex relationship with *Kashrut* and with observance, depending on their place in the life course, their own family relationships, their experience of *Kashrut* when growing up and the experiences of others in the household. The nature of the life story

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[110] *Ibid.*

[111] Jenny Hockey, 'Life Course and Intergenerational Research'.

interviews within this family has provided much rich data on the shifting nature of observance in the home, of links to past generations and how relationships affect observance.

We have seen that women control the levels of *Kashrut* in the house to a large extent, particularly in the early immigrant generations, that housekeeping and cleanliness is a gendered construct and that gendering is built into the Jewish ritual calendar, that food is linked to memory and community and that memories of older women relatives are often tied visually and emotionally to food. I have argued that the observance of *Shabbat* and *Kashrut* provided a way in which 'insider' and 'outsider' status was marked, from both sides of the marked boundary. I have suggested that levels of religiosity vary through the life course, with life events such as marriage and the birth of children being key points where families make new choices on levels of observance. Finally, I made the point that pressure from some members of the early immigrant generation was an anti-assimilationist one, linked to issues about fears of outmarriage.

After considering the lives of the Hoppenstein generations in the secular sphere and their Jewish life in the home, the next chapter moves on to consider the family's Jewish life outside the home.

Chapter Six

'He was a real leader of Glasgow Jewry, my father': Jewish life in the public sphere through the century

> My father was one of the leaders ... he was past chairman of the Glasgow JNF committee, he was a founder member of the Glasgow B'nei Brith, which runs Hillel, he's a Committee member of the Glasgow *Talmud Torah*, and also of the Friends of the Hebrew University. And in Synagogue life, he was the Junior, and the Senior Warden ... he was the President of Garnethill when he died. So he was a real leader of Glasgow Jewry, my father.[1]
>
> Arthur Stone (third generation)

Of the twenty-one lines in the *Eyshet Chayil,* an extract from *Proverbs* chapter 31 sung each week as part of the Friday evening *Shabbat* ceremony, twenty lines deal with the role of the woman. While the woman works with her hands, cooks, spins, gives charity, speaks kindly words and does her husband good 'all the days of her life', one line alone marks out the man's role: 'her husband is known at the gates,

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[1] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank and Bill Williams, Cheadle. 2003. SOHCA031/005a. For an account of the origins and work of the Glasgow *Talmud Torah*, see Kenneth E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 1990), pp.75-6. On B'nei Brith see Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), p.159. The JNF, Jewish National Fund, is a charity which was set up in 1901 to buy and develop land in what was then Palestine, for Jewish settlement. 'Jewish National Fund'. http://www.jnf.co.uk/, consulted 11 February 2011. Hillel is a Jewish campus organisation which supports Jewish students with accommodation and a network of regional centres, campus foundations and Hillel student organisation. http://www.hillel.org/about/default consulted 11 February 2011.

when he sitteth among the elders of the land'. There are, then, markedly different expectations between the genders.

In this chapter I will focus on Jewish life outside the home, in the public sphere, in what was, particularly in the early immigrant generations, seen as the 'male domain'. Examining the roles that the different members of the Hoppenstein family played in Jewish life in the public sphere through the generations, I will consider how Jewish identity was transmitted not just through the synagogue and Hebrew classes, but also through the collective activities of Jewish welfare societies, friendly societies, youth groups, cultural and leisure activities and Zionist organisations. I will explore how the meaning of the 'public sphere' changes through the generations in terms of where this 'public' Judaism takes place and how participation in the 'public sphere' is recorded. I will also consider how it is gendered. After examining the background to the different types of religious, educational, welfare, secular and cultural Jewish organisations through a lens of gender and class, I turn to a generational overview, looking at the part that the Hoppenstein family played in the development of those organisations, as well as the role of these organisations in the development of the family's Jewish identity throughout the twentieth century.

Religious and secular organisations in Glasgow and Edinburgh

In the early immigrant generations Jewish life outside the home took place largely in Hebrew classes and at the synagogue, in organised, institutional religious life, where overt 'transmission of Jewish culture' took place through the yearly cycle of religious services and sermons and the teaching of Hebrew, Jewish traditions and

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Jewish learning. In the orthodox synagogue, only men counted in the *minyan*, the ten

congregants required for certain obligations within the religious service. Only boys

were required to attend Hebrew classes and read a portion of the Law during their

Bar Mitzvah, although many girls did attend these classes. In 1919, for example, the

Glasgow *Talmud Torah* Hebrew school had seven classes for boys and six for girls.[2]

At the turn of the twentieth century various welfare organisations were

formed to help the new arrivals cope with life. At the same time friendly societies –

mutual aid organisations – were set up by and for the later wave of immigrants. As

the century progressed, cultural and leisure organisations such as the Jewish Literary

Societies and the Jewish Student Societies began to replace the synagogue as the

place where young middle-class Jews would meet and socialise.[3] Around the time of

the first Zionist Congress in 1897[4] many Zionist groups – youth groups, debating

societies, student groups and fundraising groups – were also founded and attracted

membership across Scottish Jewry.

With the growth in the number of synagogues and other communal

organisations, umbrella organisations such as the Glasgow Jewish Representative

Council were formed with the aim of coordinating their activities. As Braber

suggests, the range of societies and organisations offered the new immigrants across

the class divide the opportunity to take office and the Representative Council gave its

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[2] Max Friedlander, 'History of the *Talmud Torah*', in *Talmud Torah Jubilee Edition*, (Glasgow: 1949). Cited in Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.53.

[3] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.200.

[4] Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2003, first published 1972).

officiants standing within their own group and within wider society.[5] Members of

the Hoppenstein family were involved in all these developments as scholars,

congregants and participants, but also, at different times through the century, as

officiants, teachers, leaders and committee members.

Just as there was a geographical split within Glasgow Jewry along class

lines, with middle-class earlier arrivals settling in the West End while the working-

class, newer immigrants settled in the Gorbals and the South Side of Glasgow,

Jewish public life was also split along class lines. As Todd Endelman points out in an

overview of new writings on British Jewish immigration, class distinctions were not

included in Jewish historiography in the early writings on Jewish immigration

history. Bill Williams was one of the first historians of British Jewry to offer a

'portrait in which social divisions figured as prominently as shared ethnicity and

religion'.[6] Prior to this, Endelman suggests,

> the field had been dominated by amateur historians, themselves
>
> usually active in communal affairs, who tended to approach their
>
> subject in a spirit of uncritical admiration. Their work focused on the
>
> establishment of synagogues and charities, the founding of
>
> provincial communities, the rise of great merchant and banking

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[5] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.96, 188.

[6] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985, first published 1976), chapters 6-10. Cited in T. M. Endelman, 'English Jewish History', *Modern Judaism*, no. 2 (1991), p.2.

dynasties, the triumph of toleration, and the 'contributions' of

individual Jews to the larger society'.[7]

Class distinctions can clearly be seen in the case of the welfare organisations,

which middle-class West End Jews set up to provide for the 'deserving poor'[8]

who very soon began to set up their own Friendly Societies for the same

purpose. The committee members on many of these welfare organisations

were the daughters of the well-connected senior families in the 'Anglo-Jewish'

community connected to Garnethill Synagogue in the West End of Glasgow,

rather than the wives of the newer immigrants, who may well have found

themselves on the receiving end of such charity. For example, the President

and Treasurer of the Clothing Guild was Miss Frankenburg, daughter of Julian

Frankenburg, President of Garnethill Synagogue and the secretary was Miss

Simons, daughter of Michael Simons, Executive Secretary of Garnethill

Synagogue, Councillor of Glasgow Corporation, a Magistrate, Deputy

Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace.[9] Collins cites Albert Benjamin, a

contemporary of Hannah Frank and Lionel Levy (third generation

Hoppenstein), who described the receipt of relief as a 'brutalising experience':

'the humiliating atmosphere in which items of clothing were dispensed was

quite Dickensian … having to declare one's poverty to a panel of austere

[7] Endelman, 'English Jewish History', p.91.

[8] The Glasgow Hebrew Benevolent Loan Society, for example, was set up 'to grant loans without interest to the deserving poor': I. Harris, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5665* (London: Jewish Chronicle Publications, 1904/5 5665), p.159.

[9] Stephen Massil, Ed., *The Jewish Year Book: An Annual Record of Matters Jewish: 5657 (1896/1897). A Centenary Facsimile* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996). Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.21.

patronising individuals'.[10] In addition the experience of the Hoppenstein

family through the second and third generations shows class and gender

distinctions at work within cultural and leisure organisations. As we shall see,

both Marcus and Isaac, who had been to university and subsequently gained

professional status in their careers, were involved as office-bearers and

organisers in several of the Glasgow cultural societies and student societies.

The *Jewish Chronicle* mentioned the middle-class Eva Morris, who was to

marry Marcus Stone, as giving a paper at the Queen's Park Jewish Literary

Society.[11] There is, however, no evidence that any of the second generation

Hoppenstein sisters who, as we saw in Chapter Four, did not become

'upwardly mobile' like their educated brothers, were involved in any of those

organisations.

The activities of all the Jewish congregations and communal organisations

were minuted, but they were also written about in the public domain, with the

accounts of their activities and the names of their officers included in the *Jewish*

Chronicle and, later, the Glasgow *Jewish Echo* (founded in 1928) and also in the

Jewish Year Books which have been produced annually since 1896.[12] An example

of the 'official reports' of public activity were the accounts of High Holy Day

synagogue services from all over the UK, published by the *Jewish Chronicle* in its

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[10] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p.157. Citing Albert Benjamin, 'The Old Concept of Welfare,' *Jewish Echo*, 27 May 1988.

[11] *Jewish Chronicle,* 6 November 1917.

[12] See, for example, Solomon Levy and Michael Wallach, Eds., *Jewish Year Book 5663* (London: Jewish Chronicle Publications, 1913);, *Jewish Year Book 5667* (London: Jewish Chronicle Publications, 1926); Massil, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5657 (1896/1897).*

regular 'provincial' section. The detail was substantial and included names of

officiants, as in the example cited below, where it was noted that Zvi David was the

President of the synagogue and was acting as assistant to the Reverend Cohen:

> The services at the Dalry synagogue were conducted by the Rev M.
>
> M. Cohen, assisted by Mr L. Radin and Mr D. Hoppenstein
>
> (President), who also acted as *Baal Tokas*. … In the afternoon the
>
> Rabbi J. Gerber delivered a discourse, taking his text from Isaiah lv.
>
> 6. On the second day Mr D. Hoppenstein delivered a lecture from
>
> the text, Isaiah lviii. 1, 2.[13]

The intention of these community newspaper reports was to provide readers with an

overview of what was going on in their community. Anderson, discussing 'imagined

communities' in his seminal work on nationalism, shows how a newspaper can create

an 'imagined community' as much as can the name of a nation or a language. He

likens the regular reading of a newspaper to the act of taking part in a religious

ceremony:

> The significance of this mass ceremony – Hegel observed that
>
> newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers –
>
> is paradoxical. It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the
>
> skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he
>
> performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or

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[13] *Jewish Chronicle,* 5 October 1894. Although Zvi David had rabbinical qualifications, he was referred to in the press as Mr or Rev rather than Rabbi.

millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose

identity he has not the slightest notion.[14]

The individual readers of the Glasgow-based *Jewish Echo and* even the London-based *Jewish Chronicle* would, in fact, have a very clear notion of the identity of many of the readers of the newspaper. The inclusion of so many names of community members would give an additional indicator of its desired readership.

The majority of these names, particularly in the early generations, were male. In the Glasgow societies list in the edition of 2 January 1914 of the *Jewish Chronicle*, almost all the office-bearers were men. Women's names were mentioned mainly as providing musical entertainment or, in one case, contributing to Hebrew teaching. There were some women-only organisations set up by middle-class Jewish women to assist the new arrivals: the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society (founded in 1879) and a Clothing Guild, run by women (established in 1893).[15] But the first female committee member of Garnethill Synagogue was not nominated to that position until 1925,[16] although in 1916 there were two women on the first committee of the Queen's Park Jewish Literary Society.[17] Among working-class organisations, Misha Louvish, one of Hannah and Lionel Levy's contemporaries, remembers his mother representing the *Poalei Tzion,* a Socialist Zionist Jewish group, on the

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[14] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p.35.

[15] Massil, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5657 (1896/1897).*

[16] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.157.

[17] *Jewish Chronicle,* 2 November 1916.

Glasgow Jewish Representative Council.[18] The Women's Section of the Glasgow

Worker's Circle was launched in 1932[19] and reports of the meetings of the Ladies'

Sections of the various Glasgow Jewish Friendly Societies appeared in the *Jewish*

Echo from the 1930s.[20] This was a significant change to the all-male committees of

the synagogue associations on which Zvi David Hoppenstein had sat and to the

account of a Hebrew class outing in Ayrshire where the role of the only two women

mentioned was that of giving out sweets.[21]   But the relative paucity of inclusion of

women's names as committee members of the various mixed organisations in the

reports of Jewish activity in the public sphere in the early generations reaffirmed the

gendered nature of the public domain.

As Paula Hyman pointed out, in the American context, 'it was appropriate

… in accordance with prevailing social norms and the dictates of nature, that men

serve in positions of Jewish communal leadership. The Jew who was visible in the

larger society was male'.[22] But Hyman's 'larger society' was still the Jewish 'larger

society'. There was a difference between visibility as a Jew in the Jewish

community and visibility as a Jew in the wider community. Gilman (in a discussion

initially commenting on the lack of public drunkenness among Jews in the early part

of the twentieth century) cites Kant, stating that Jews could 'not afford to be visible

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[18] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Mr Misha Louvish, interview by Ben Braber. 1989.

[19] *Jewish Echo,* 8 April 1932.

[20] See *Jewish Echo,* 13 April 1932 and 11 November 1932

[21] *Jewish Chronicle,* 13 December 1913.

[22] Paula Hyman, 'Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identities', *Jewish Social Studies* Vol 8, no. 2/3 (2002), p.156.

in the public sphere as Jews'.[23] Social geographer Irina Kudenko suggests that a

particular formula of Jewish identity, 'private Jewishness and public Englishness' (or

in the case of the Hoppenstein family, public Scottishness), was followed in the early

generations and that this was challenged by multicultural citizenship in the second

half of the twentieth century:

> While many older people still prefer to confine Jewishness to private
>
> spaces, younger people no longer feel that they have to conceal or
>
> 'tone down' their Jewishness, either as individuals or as a collective.
>
> The multiculturalist ethos of recent decades has given them the
>
> confidence to display their multiple identities as British Jews, and
>
> their multiple allegiances.[24]

Israeli historian Leora Mandelson, who interviewed two groups of elderly Scottish

Jews – one group which had emigrated to Israel and the other which had remained in

Glasgow – found that 'the group investigated in Glasgow continue to separate

between the public and the private area, thus clearly defining themselves as Jews in

private but Scots and British in public'.[25] Mandelson's interviewees would have

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[23] Sander L Gilman, *Multiculturalism and the Jews* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), p.35. Citing Kant: Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht, Ed Wilhelm Weischedel, in Kant: *Werke in Zehn Bande, Schriften zu Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politk und Padagogik,* 1798 (Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975).

[24] Irina Kudenko and Deborah Phillips, 'The Model of Integration? Social and Spatial Transformations in the Leeds Jewish Community', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol 35, no. 9 (1999), p.1546; Irina Kudenko, 'Negotiating Jewishness: Identity and Citizenship in the Leeds Jewish Community' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2007), p.i.

[25] Leora Mandelson, 'Constructing Identity and Life-Course as Historical Narrative: the Story of Glasgow's Jewish Community between 1920-1950' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Tel-Aviv University, 2009). In contrast to the Jewish people interviewed in Glasgow, the elderly Scottish Jews interviewed by Mandelson who had emigrated to Israel, she found, 'chose to stress the Scottish component of their individual identity, considering themselves as Scots in Israel' in contrast to being Jewish in Scotland. David Stone (fourth generation) found that when he was in Israel, the Israelis were very interested in

been equivalent to the third generation of the Hoppenstein family. As we examine Jewish life in the public sphere through the Hoppenstein generations, however, we see that 'private Jewishness and public Scottishness' becomes much less of a rule as the century progresses, with members of the later generations of the Hoppenstein family responding to the increasing interest in multiculturalism by becoming much less private. By the early twenty-first century, members of the family are presenting Klezmer music on mainstream music channels and at mainstream music festivals as well as giving talks about Judaism to various non-Jewish groups.

At the time of the Hoppensteins' arrival in Edinburgh in 1882 there were around 250 Jewish families in the city,[26] worshipping in a synagogue in Park Place. A new building was erected in Graham Street in 1898 and further small congregations in Dalry and Richmond Street were set up to accommodate new immigrants arriving in the city.[27] Each new synagogue involved a committee to run and finance it, as well as people to look after the religious needs of the community and organise and lead the services. Associated with each of the synagogues were classes where young people could learn Hebrew and where boys could prepare for their *Bar Mitzvot.* As Braber explains:

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his Scottishness. Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of David Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2007. SOHCA 031/015.

[26] Massil, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5657 (1896/1897).*

[27] Kenneth Collins, Ed., *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow: Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, 1987), p.42. See also *Jewish Year Books*, produced annually since 1896, for example Harris, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5665 (1904-1905)*; Levy and Wallach, Eds., *Jewish Year Book 5663 (1812/1813)*;, *Jewish Year Book 5667 (1825/1826)*; Massil, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5657 (1896/1897).*

the preservation and development of Jewish identity require

institutions where children are taught subjects such as Hebrew.

Boys, for example, have to learn a portion of the *Torah* to be read

aloud in public during their coming of age (*Bar Mitzvah*) ceremony

at the age of 13. This education can take place in the home … but

usually Hebrew classes or *chedarim* are set up for this purpose.[28]

In Glasgow, where the Hoppensteins moved before the First World War, there was a similar situation, with a larger community (6500 strong) with four synagogues in 1904 and two Hebrew schools, one attached to Garnethill Synagogue in the West End and the *Talmud Torah* in the Gorbals to cater for the more recent arrivals. As the community moved south from the Gorbals in the years leading up to the First World War and in the inter-war years to the boroughs of Battlefield, Crosshill, Mount Florida, Langside, Queen's Park and Pollokshields, new synagogues and new Hebrew classes were set up. The *Jewish Chronicle* of 2 January 1914 reported that new Hebrew classes had just been established by Zvi David Hoppenstein in the Langside area of Glasgow, about two miles south of the city centre. The writer of the article added that 'although the bulk of the community still resides near the town, there is a growing tendency to remove to the nearer suburbs'.[29]

Among the welfare organisations that had been created at the end of the nineteenth century by middle-class Jews to provide relief for the more recent immigrants were the Bread, Meat and Coal Society, the Benevolent Loan Society

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[28] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.47.

[29] *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 January 1914.

and the Ladies' Lying-In Society (object: 'to assist poor lying-in women'), all of which were in Edinburgh.[30] In Glasgow, similar organizations included the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, the purpose of which was to 'relieve the sick and unemployed with food, clothing and coals', the Glasgow Hebrew Benevolent Loan Society, set up 'to grant loans without interest to the deserving poor', the Strangers Aid Society, to 'supply food and lodgings to poor strangers' and the Jewish Board of Guardians, which had been set up to 'relieve and assist the poor' and which had worked with 226 cases in 1903.[31] The Jewish Hospital Fund and Sick Visiting Association had been founded in 1899.[32] This charity had been set up by Rabbi Abraham Shyne and his son Bernard Glasser. Although it was a benevolent society in the same vein as the others mentioned, it had been set up as a direct response to the activity of missionaries who were aiming to convert the Jews at the time.[33] As Dr Emil Glasser, Bernard Glasser's son, recalled:

> Just picture [this], immigrants are coming every other day. Many of
> them are sick. They were taken to … hospital … Now they became
> victims of missionaries, and I'm sorry to say they were Jewish
> missionaries, … and what they were doing was going and sick-
> visiting in that hospital, promising these poor people goodies,
> housing, clothing, all that they needed to have, and money. My

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[30] Harris, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5665 (1904-1905)*, p.159-60.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] Kenneth E. Collins, *Scotland's Jews: A Guide to the History and Community of the Jews in Scotland* (Glasgow: SCOJEC, 2008), p.18.

[33] See for example Harvey Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow: SJAC, 2006) p.20.

grandfather used to visit them, and he said to my father, 'This is no

good, something must be done about this'. So, he and my father got

together and got the up and coming leaders of the community, …

and imbued them with the idea that this leak must be stopped. And

what they did was every day, my father would have twenty of these

young men, give them instructions how to talk to the immigrants,

take them some clothing, give them money, and that's when the

sick-visiting society was formed.[34]

All these benevolent organisations held fundraising events reaching the whole

of Glasgow Jewry. For example the *Jewish Chronicle* of 2 January 1914 reported an

Annual Charity Concert in aid of the Jewish Hospital Society and the Boot and

Clothing Guild and in the same edition the Jewish Shelter appealed for volunteers.[35]

As charted in considerable detail by Braber, Collins and Englander,[36]

Friendly Societies became very popular in Scotland in the years before the First

World War. Membership provided financial security for those who paid a weekly

fee in return for a guaranteed weekly payment when they were unable to work

through sickness. The Lord Rothschild Lodge No 18 was the largest Jewish friendly

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[34] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Dr Emil Glasser, Interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2008.
SOHCA 031/022.

[35] *Ibid*.

[36] Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp.43,160-1; David Englander, Ed., *A Documentary History of Jewish
Immigrants in Britain, 1840-1920.* (Leicester, London and New York: Leicester University Press,
1994), pp.76-8; Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.95-8.

society, with a ladies' branch, the Lady Rothschild Lodge No 67, opening in 1913.[37]

Some of the lodges provided dances and other functions. The Workers' Circle

Friendly Society opened in 1912 and in addition to providing sickness benefit and

mutual aid in return for a weekly subscription also organised political debate and

activities.[38] As we saw in Chapter Four, Israel Kallin, whose son Stanley married

Gertie Cowen, third generation Hoppenstein, was an office-bearer in the Worker's

Circle.[39] The Glasgow Jewish Tailors' Union, the Jewish Master Tailors and the

Jewish Workers' Union all sent representatives to the Glasgow District Trade

Boards, according to the *Jewish Chronicle*,[40] and these organisations also provided

sickness benefits to their members.

There was no shortage of cultural and leisure organisations in the Scottish

Jewish community. Listed under 'Literary and Friendly Societies' for Edinburgh in

the *Jewish Year Book* of 5665 (1904-5) was the Edinburgh Jewish Literary Society,

established in 1888 and still in existence today. For Glasgow, a Literary and Social

Society and a Choral Society were listed.[41] The Glasgow Jewish Lads' Brigade was

formed in 1903, largely based on the Boys Brigade, to provide training in 'discipline,

obedience and moral character'. The aim of the Jewish Lads' Brigade, as laid out in

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[37] Collins, *Second City Jewry*; Harvey Kaplan, 'The Glasgow Jewish Community in 1903', in *"From Strength to Strength": 100 Years of Service 1903-2003: Celebrating the Centenary of the Glasgow Jewish Lads' Brigade*, ed. Harvey M. Livingston, (Glasgow: JLGB, 2004), p.2.

[38] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.96.

[39] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2003. SOHCA031/019.

[40] *Jewish Chronicle,* 10 January 1913, cited in Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p.161.

[41] Harris, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5665 (1904-1905)*, pp.160, 162.

its 1895 constitution, was to 'instill into the rising generation, from earliest youth, habits of orderliness, cleanliness and honour, so that in learning to respect themselves they will do credit to their Community'.[42] The Jewish Institute, offering a place to socialise, was opened in 1912. Two years later, in 1914, reports were included in the *Jewish Chronicle* from no less than nine Jewish organisations involved in social activities. Despite their social aim, nearly all of these secular organisations had a religious link. Ninety boys from the Jewish Lads' Brigade had been on parade at the previous week's *Chanukah* service at Garnethill Synagogue. The Young Men's Institute had held an evening dance, but a religious service had preceded the entertainment. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Literary Society had held a debate on the topic 'is persecution necessary for the preservation of the Jewish race?' The Jewish Choral Society had sung at the Garnethill service as well as having a musical evening with a talk on Mendelssohn. The University Jewish Society had debated whether the 'Jewish Student is an important factor in the development of Judaism'. The Young Men's Debating Society was unusual in not debating a Jewish topic, choosing instead to discuss the topic 'Is Hypocrisy Declining?[43]

Like the welfare organisations and Friendly Societies, which reflected those existing in Scottish mainstream society, the cultural and leisure activities of

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[42] Sharman Kadish, '"Ironing Out the Ghetto Bend": The Impact of the Jewish Lad's Brigade on the Jewish Immigrant in England, 1895-1914', in *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*, ed. Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil (University College London: JHSE and Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996), p.53-4; Harvey M. Livingston, *"From Strength to Strength": 100 Years of Service 1903-2003: Celebrating the Centenary of the Glasgow Jewish Lads' Brigade* (Glasgow: JLGB, 2004).

[43] *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 January 1914.

Glasgow's young middle-class Jews reflected those of the non-Jewish population, with debating societies and choral societies being popular activities. The Orpheus Choir, for example, was set up in 1901 as a sideline of Toynbee Men's Social Club. Writing in 1963, its founding conductor Hugh Roberton recalled: 'purpose of choir, recreation. No test. Come one, come all. Rough and ready singing. Enthusiasm.'[44]

As well as taking part in organised activities, another type of Jewish life in the public sphere involved groups of Jewish young people participating in mainstream leisure activities such as visiting the cinema and the theatre, charted in detail in the diaries of Hannah Frank, who married third generation Hoppenstein Lionel Levy.

Braber gives a very clear overview of the course of Zionism in Glasgow, which began as a religious movement in 1891 and was at first dominated by the older settlers.[45] Early Zionist societies in Edinburgh and Glasgow included the Edinburgh Zionist Association, Edinburgh *B'Noth Zion* (Daughters of Zion), Glasgow *B'Nei Zion* (Sons of Zion), Glasgow Young Zionists, Glasgow *Dorshei Zion* (Seekers of Zion) and Glasgow Daughters of Zion.[46] The Balfour Declaration in 1917 favouring the 'establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people',[47] coupled with news of increasing antisemitism in Europe, spurred on the foundation of many

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[44] Hugh Roberton. 'Glasgow Phoenix Choir: The Orpheus Years, 1901-1951: extracts from Orpheus With His Lute, A Glasgow Orpheus Choir Anthology'. http://www.phoenixchoir.org/Orpheus.shtml, consulted 12 August 2011.

[45] See Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp.121-5.

[46] Harris, Ed., *Jewish Year Book 5665 (1904-1905)*, p.126.

[47] Sol M. Linowitz, 'Analysis of a Tinderbox: The Legal Basis for the State of Israel', *American Bar Association Journal* Vol 43 (1957), p.522.

new Zionist fundraising and cultural groups, particularly new youth organisations, in Glasgow as much as in other centres of Jewish settlement in Britain like London, Leeds and Manchester. From the time of the Balfour Declaration, the movement was mainly run by the newer immigrants and their descendents. It developed a more secular character, with cultural and social groups such as the Zionist Cycling and Athletic Club and the Glasgow Zionist Literary Circle and the socialist Zionist youth group *Habonim* again reflecting mainstream activity in secular Scottish society, but bringing together people who were committed to supporting the formation of a new State of Israel. The Glasgow Zionist Literary Circle Winter Syllabus season 1929-30, with a cover designed by Hannah Frank, is remarkably similar in format and purpose (although of course not in the content of the weekly sessions) to the Queen's Park United Reformed Church Literary Society syllabus, Session 1908-1909 (see figures 6.1 to 6.3).

The meetings of the Society are held every Tuesday evening, at Eight o'clock, in one of the Side Rooms of the Church, and are open to all, whether members or visitors.

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Anyone desiring to join the Society's membership can do so on payment of the annual subscription of One Shilling.

QUEEN'S PARK (WEST) U.F. CHURCH

LITERARY SOCIETY.

SESSION 1908-1909.

Hon. President.
REV. J. L. CRAIG, M.A.

President.
WILLIAM MACKAY.

Vice-Presidents.
JAMES R. DARGE.
JAMES KERR.

Secretary.
GILBERT T. LUCAS,
39 Fotheringay Road, Maxwell Park.

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MISS HUNTER.
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ROBT. JOHNSTONE.	,, BARR.
ALLISTER MURDOCH,	,, L. GRANT.
G. A. POLLOCK, M.A.	,, PAULESEN.
GEO. K. ROBB.	,, M. POLLOCK.
GEO. C. WYLIE.	,, J. B. RAMSAY.

SYLLABUS, - - - - 1908-1909.

1908.			
Oct.	6	Opening Meeting—Conversazione.	
,,	13	Essay—"The Age of Chivalry in Fact and Fiction,"	JAS. R. DARGE.
,,	20	Lecture—"Church and Stage,"	JAS. SCRYMGEOUR, M.A., B.L.
,,	27	Public Lecture—"From Liverpool to the Rocky Mountains" (with Lime-Light Illustrations),	Rev. W. M. MacKay (Sherbrooke U.F. Church).
			CANDIDATES—
Nov.	3	Municipal Election,	WM. MACKAY and T. BLAIR.
,,	10	Essay—"An Aspect of Early Scottish Life and Customs,"	J. A. A. LOVE, B.L.
,,	17	Symposium—"The Hypocrite in English Fiction,"	MEMBERS.
,,	24	Essay—"Cervantes and 'Don Quixote',"	WM. MACKAY.
Dec.	1	Public Lecture—"The Treatment of the Criminal,"	JAS. DEVON, M.D.
,,	8	Essay—"Jean Jacques Rousseau,"	W. R. DICK, Junr.
,,	15	Essay—"George Borrow,"	ROBT. JOHNSTONE.
,,	22	Debate—"Is Man a Free Agent?"	{ Aff. JAS. KERR, B.L. Neg. J. A. A. LOVE, B.L. }
,,	29	} No Meetings.	
1909.			
Jan.	5		
,,	12	"A Night wi' Burns."	
,,	19	Magazine Night (I.),	MEMBERS.
,,	26	Essay "Neil Munro—a Study,"	GEO. K. ROBB.
Feb.	2	Symposium—"Besant's 'All Sorts and Conditions of Men,'"	MEMBERS.
,,	9	Essay—"The Essence of Poetry,"	GEO. C. WYLIE.
,,	16	Essay—"Sleep and Dreams,"	MISS E. P. MACFARLANE.
,,	23	Debate—"Is an Armed Peace Justifiable?"	{ Aff. THOS. BLAIR. Neg. GEO. POLLOCK, M.A. }
Mar.	2	Essay—"The Nation's Treasure House,"	JOHN BORTHWICK.
,,	9	Essay—"The Novels of Thomas Hardy,"	GILBERT T. LUCAS.
,,	16	Magazine Night (II.),	MEMBERS.
,,	23	Essay—"Signs of the Times,"	JAS. KERR, B.L.
,,	30	Essay—"A Criticism of Socialism,"	ALLISTER MURDOCH.
Apr.	6	Annual Business Meeting.	

Figure 6.1 Queen's Park United Reformed Church Literary Society syllabus, 1908-1909. (From the collection of Robert Pool, reproduced with permission)

Figure 6.2 Glasgow Zionist Literary Circle Winter Syllabus 1929 – cover

3rd November.

Congress Night.
Speakers for Dr. WEITZMAN's Party—Mizrachi—Hechalutz
—Revisionist.

10th November.

Mr. WILLIAM POWER, Late Editor of the
Scots Observer.
Subject: "Are Nations Necessary?"

13th November, (Wednesday).

Inter-Debate—Elgin Men's Debating Society
Subject: "That the Work of George Bernard Shaw is
Worthless."   Aff.—Elgin Debaters.   Neg.—G.Z.L.C.

17th November.

Parliamentary Evening.
Motion: "Amendment of Aliens Bill."

21st November, (Thursday).

Bailie Mrs. BELL, C.B.E., J.P.
Subject: "Public Work and Citizenship."

24th November.

Address by Lady Margaret Sackville, noted
Authoress.

1st December.

Inter-Debate—Edinburgh Jewish Literary
Society.
Subject: "That Judaism is Declining."
Aff.—Glasgow Z.L.C.   Neg.—Edinburgh J.L.S.

8th December.

Dramatic Recital.
Plays and Sketches by the Maccabbee Dramatic Club.

15th December

Rabbi Dr. Salis Daiches, M.A., Ph.D.
Subject: "The Cultural Aspect of Judaism."

22nd December

Inter-Debate.   Glasgow   Zionist   Literary
Circle—Junior Section.

29th December.

Social Evening.

5th January, 1930

Mr. Herbert de B. Mesquita, Chairman of
Union of Young Israel Societies.
Subject: "Jewish Youth and Peace."

12th January.

Parliamentary Evening
General Foreign Policy Discussion.

19th January

Mr. J. M. Samuels.
Subject: ":Perplexities of the Pentateuch."

26th January.

Mr. N. MORRIS, M.A.
Subject : "The Spirit of Youth in Jewish History."

Figure 6.3 Glasgow Zionist Literary Circle Winter Syllabus 1929 – programme

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Misha Louvish, who attended university with Hannah and Lionel Levy who later emigrated to Israel becoming a writer and translator, recalled:

> There was a very intense cultural life. I would get up on a Monday morning and find that practically every night was occupied with a Zionist meeting of some kind or the Jewish National Fund or the Glasgow Zionist Organisation. One of the reasons I came to Israel was to escape Zionism.[48]

The popularity of the Zionist organisations can be illustrated by the fact that some of the organisers of the welfare organisations expressed concern that fundraising efforts for the Zionist cause were detracting from charitable collections. In 1910 Michael Simons complained:

> the efforts put forward by the Zionists in the furtherance of their movement might be partly concentrated on the relief of the Jewish poor. A reasonable share of the relief of the poor was not borne by every Jew in Glasgow.[49]

As we saw in Chapter Four, as well as providing discussion forums and educational events, the gatherings organised by the various Jewish organisations provided opportunities for young people of the opposite sex to meet, occasions which Bourdieu would describe as being arranged entirely for the purpose of promoting

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[48] Oral Testimony of Misha Louvish.

[49] *Jewish Chronicle,* 21 January 1910.

endogamous marriage (marriage within the group).[50] Misha Louvish, discussing the

University Zionist Jewish Students Society, illustrated this phenomenon:

> They used to hold their conferences every year in a different centre.
> The year in which they held their conference in Glasgow, I was the
> chairman of the Glasgow University Jewish society and that was
> where I met my wife; of course one of the main objectives of the
> exercise was to bring Jewish boys and girls together.[51]

Members of the Hoppenstein family, too, consistently met partners at such Jewish

gatherings, showing that whether these strategies were conscious or unconscious,

they certainly had an effect.

It can be seen from this overview of Jewish organisations that the class and

gender divisions existing in Scottish Jewish society were, unsuprisingly, also present

in the organisations set up by its members – and that the organisations, in the main,

reproduced those which existed in Scottish secular society. I now turn to a

generation by generation study of the Hoppenstein family's involvement within the

Jewish public sphere.

The first generation: making a living in the Jewish public sphere

Zvi David Hoppenstein's public Jewish life was solely within the religious, rather

than the secular parameter; he was involved in synagogue life, rather than secular

Jewish life, although as we will see he served as officer of one of the early Edinburgh

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[50] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson, (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1986).

[51] Oral Testimony of Misha Louvish.

Zionist groups. His youngest son Moss, interviewed by Murdoch Rodgers in 1980,

paints a picture in a few words of a man whose life was totally engaged with the

transmission of Jewish culture to others and the maintenance of Jewish life:

> My father was fortunate in being able to teach, he was able to teach
>
> children, teaching them Hebrew, and he taught the young boys who
>
> must learn to read the *Torah* when they were 13 years of age when
>
> they got called up for the *Bar Mitzvah* ritual, and then he became
>
> what we call a *shohet,* he slaughtered animals according to the
>
> Jewish ritual, very Orthodox and kept me restrained. Non-*kosher*
>
> food was not tolerated under any circumstances in the house.
>
> Saturdays of course the old man took us to synagogue where as an
>
> unpaid official he would officiate.[52]

This short account shows a wide overview of the different domains in which Zvi

David Hoppenstein's 'public Jewish life' operated, as well as giving an impression of

an autocratic and unbending authority. As well as teaching children, officiating at

synagogue services and occasionally giving sermons, Zvi David also slaughtered

animals, which helped local Jewish people to ensure that they were living according

to the laws of *Kashrut.* But even this is not a full picture of the range of Zvi David's

Jewish activity in the public domain. Moss states that his father was 'fortunate' in

being able to teach. Although when he first arrived in Edinburgh Zvi David worked

as a peddler, by the time his fourth son was born he was working as a teacher of

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[52] Murdoch Rodgers, *Glasgow Jewry*, BBC Radio Scotland, 24 March 1982.

Hebrew.[53] Moss may have meant that his father was 'fortunate' in having obtained

this work, as it was more comfortable and secure than peddling. He had received

Smicha at an early age before emigrating to the UK,[54] but only once, for a very short

time, in Ayr, was he to get a job as a rabbi in a congregation. He had earlier

unsuccessfully tried for a post of rabbi in Dundee.[55] His grandson Fred gave his own

view as to why this was:

> Although he had received *Smicha*, so he was finally recognised as a
>
> *Rav*, [rabbi] he never once as far as I know was employed by a
>
> congregation. I think he was probably too difficult a personality.
>
> He always ran his own *yomtov* [high holy day] services in hired
>
> halls, both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in different times.[56]

Another reason for this may have been a linguistic issue. Zvi David was

always more comfortable speaking in Yiddish. In 1905, for example, when he was

awarded a 'massive and ornamented silver loving-cup, bearing a suitable inscription,

in recognition of his untiring zeal and his valuable services to the congregation', he

'replied in English, and afterwards delivered a Talmudic discourse in Yiddish'.[57] As

Morrie Hope-Stone recalled, when Zvi David attended his *Bar Mitzvah* in Liverpool

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[53] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Birth Certificate, Abraham Aaron Hoppenstein. 1885. Statutory Births 685/1/1885/0963 (father, David Hoppenstein, hawker of pictures). Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Birth Certificate, Solomon Hoppenstein. 1889. Statutory Births 685/1/1889/625 (father, David Hoppenstein, teacher of Hebrew).

[54] 'Retirement of Rev. D. Hoppenstein,' *Jewish Echo* n.d.

[55] *Jewish Chronicle*, May 26 1911.

[56] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/004a.

[57] *Jewish Chronicle,* January 6th 1905.

in 1936, 'he preached, at least he gave a sermon in *Shul*, but he gave it in Yiddish'.[58]

Ben Braber points out that the previously settled Jewish community 'despised Yiddish'[59] so Zvi David's lack of proficiency in English would have been one reason why he was not successful in getting a rabbinical post in a community. Chaim Bermant writes about his father, a learned rabbi who arrived in Glasgow from Latvia in 1936 with an offer of a job as a *shohet* and whose experience, thirty years later, reflected Zvi David's. Bermant's father never mastered English and he was not able to get a rabbinical post until towards the end of his life, when he 'became rabbi of an almost defunct congregation in the Gorbals'. Bermant wrote that his father 'was soon to discover that a rabbi in the Glasgow Jewish Community had rather less standing than a bankrupt haberdasher'. His father's rabbinical diploma, with 'recommendations from some of the greatest sages in Eastern Europe' did not change his status as a poor *shohet*.[60]

Discussing a time 50 years later, in a collection of papers on class mobility, sociologist Brian Elliot talks about Glaswegian emigrant to Canada 'Mrs Angus', who could not obtain clerical posts in Canada equivalent to the status of employment she had had in Scotland, due to her strong Glasgow accent. Elliot used Bourdieu's concepts to argue that 'part of the embodied cultural capital Mrs Angus carried served to structure her occupational opportunities, to demote her in terms of class

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[58] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Morrie Hope-Stone and Betty Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Upton-on-Severn. 2007. SOHCA0031/002.

[59] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.53.

[60] Chaim Bermant, *Coming Home* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976), pp.40-1.

and status'.[61] Zvi David's situation was identical to Mrs Angus's; his lack of good

spoken English superseded his rabbinical qualifications, which would have opened

the door to a respected occupation in his country of origin.

Zvi David's rabbinical qualifications meant that he was able to teach

Hebrew and Jewish studies as well as officiate in the synagogue. Teaching Hebrew

to children was truly in the Jewish 'public sphere'. As mentioned above, every

Jewish boy had to study for his *Bar Mitzvah* and Jewish girls attended Hebrew

classes as well. This was a very visible position in the Jewish community and was

commented on in the *Jewish Chronicle*. In 1912, for example, when Zvi David had a

paid position as Minister of Ayr synagogue, the paper reported: 'the Rev D

Hoppenstein was complimented on the progress the children had made in the short

time he had taught them'.[62] It was not only Jewish children who learned Hebrew in

Scotland. Divinity students and Christian theologians were interested in learning

Hebrew, and Zvi David taught Hebrew to these groups for a time,[63] although he

preferred to teach Jewish pupils.[64]

Moss's account of his father's activities in the Jewish public sphere

continues: 'on Saturdays of course the old man took us to synagogue where as an

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[61] Brian Elliott, 'Migration, Mobility and Social Process: Scottish Migrants in Canada', in *Pathways to Social Class: A Qualitative Approach to Social Mobility*, eds. Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007, first published 1997), p.223.

[62] *Jewish Chronicle,* 13 December 1913. For an alternative take on Zvi David's teaching, Alex Frutin, born in 1903 in Glasgow, recalled the Rev Hoppenstein's teaching in less than complementary terms: 'Oh yes, old Hoppenstein, my teacher, used to take great nips out of you'. Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Alex Frutin, interview by Ben Braber. 1989.

[63] Manchester, Private Collection, Arthur Stone. Arthur Stone, The Hoppenstein Line. c.2002. Unpublished Memoirs.

64 Fred Stone, 2009. Personal communication with the author.

unpaid official he would officiate'.[65] This activity, publicly carried out within the

Jewish community, is recounted in the provincial reports in the *Jewish Chronicle*,

therefore bringing Zvi David Hoppenstein's name and the names of others involved

in this activity into the public sphere. In 1894, for example, as was mentioned above,

he was reported in the provincial Jewry accounts for Edinburgh as having assisted in

the High Holy Days services at Dalry Synagogue and having delivered a lecture in

the synagogue. He is also listed as President of the synagogue committee. By 1905

he receives the silver loving-cup mentioned above for his 'services to the

congregation', this time at the Central Synagogue, where he has acted as 'honorary

Minister and Reader for the last two years and a half'.[66] The presentation at Dalry

was a very public occasion, where six members of the congregation spoke. The

importance to the community of the public listing of names at such events is clear;

the following week, the newspaper apologised to Lazarus Lipetz; he had also spoken

but his name was omitted from the original report.[67]

Moss's radio interview omitted one aspect of Zvi David's contribution to

the community which is documented in the *Jewish Chronicle*: his activity in Jewish

communal organisations. Zvi David was active in setting up some such

organisations, participated in others related to Jewish learning and the Zionist cause

and collected money for other Jewish charities. As minister at the Ayr congregation

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[65] Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry'.

[66] *Jewish Chronicle,* 5 October 1894 and 6 January 1905.

[67] *Jewish Chronicle,* 13 January 1905. Lazarus Lipetz was the cousin of Hannah Frank's mother.

he set up a *Chevrah Torah* (an association for the study of *Torah*).[68] He served as Honorary Secretary of the Edinburgh branch of *Chovevi Zion* in 1893 and 1894.[69] This was the precursor to many other Zionist organisations which were to be set up in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the first half of the twentieth century and which were joined by various members of future Hoppenstein generations.

Contributions to charity made by members of the Jewish community were often in the public domain. In 1911 Zvi David Hoppenstein was elected president of a group set up to increase subscriptions to the rabbis' Fund, in Edinburgh.[70] In 1916 at a Glasgow Jewish Choral Society concert he is reported to have contributed ten shillings and sixpence to the 'Fund for the Relief of the Jewish Victims of the War in Russia'.[71] Apart from attending this concert, we do not have any evidence that he took part in the activities of any other of the cultural, secular and charitable Jewish societies whose activities were reported in the *Jewish Chronicle* or the *Jewish Yearbook*. And there is certainly no evidence that Sophia Hoppenstein ever took part in any such activity. Apart from her obituary, Sophia does not feature in the *Jewish Chronicle* or the *Jewish Echo*. She is not mentioned, although her husband is, in synagogue minutes, naturalisation papers or valuation rolls. As Joyce Antler argues:

> While women have always been actors and agents in history, they
>
> have been left out of most of the annals of recorded History. Yet

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[68] *Jewish Chronicle,* 31 January 1913.

[69] *Jewish Chronicle,* 23 June 1893 and see 'Hovevei Tziyon – Definition'. Zionism and Israel Information Centre, www.zionism-israel.com/dic/hovevei_tzion.htm, consulted 26 February 2010.

[70] *Jewish Chronicle,* 21 April 1911.

[71] *Jewish Chronicle,* 12 May 1916.

they have not only participated in sharing the world and its work

with men, they have had unique experiences and have developed

their own oral traditions by which these experiences were

preserved.[72]

However, Sophia did find a way in which her experience and her work were

presented in the public sphere.   The Rev Simmons included the following note in her

obituary:

When I asked Rev Hoppenstein 'What did your beloved wife do

besides bringing up your family and helping you in your

ministrations' he said simply "she embroidered the Prayer for the

Royal Family on [sic] one of the many Synagogues I served as

Honorary Minister'.[73]

Sophia, then, had embroidered a hanging or a cover for one of the synagogues in

Edinburgh, Ayr or Glasgow where her husband had officiated. Those synagogues

have closed and the embroidered Prayer for the Royal Family is not likely to have

survived. But it is likely that her work was on public display for many years; the

Prayer for the Royal Family is said at the end of every Saturday morning service and

embroidered hangings and covers are frequently seen in synagogue public areas. We

know Sophia was an accomplished seamstress and embroiderer: she embroidered a

mourning poem written by her husband in memory of his late father, which was

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[72] Joyce Antler, 'Introduction', in *In Our Own Voices: A Guide to Conducting Life History Interviews with American Jewish Women*, ed. Jayne K. Guberman, (Brookline, MA: Jewish Women's Archive, 2005), p.7.

[73] Rev M. S. Simmons, 'Obituary of Sarah Hoppenstein,' *Jewish Echo*, 14 February 1936.

framed and was on show in the home of Harold Levy, her eldest grandson, for many years (see figure 6.4 below) and is now in the possession of Arthur Stone.[74] English scholars Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass argue that 'even as a woman bent over her sewing appeared to be fulfilling the requirement of obedient domesticity, she could be materialising a counter-memory for herself, registering her links to other women and to the larger world of culture and politics'.[75] Sophia's embroidering a prayer hanging for her husband's synagogue was a way in which she was able to link herself to other women whose embroidery was also visible in the larger, public world.

Figure 6.4 Harold and Hannah Levy with Sophia Hoppenstein's embroidery in the background

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[74] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Cheadle. 2004. SOHCA 031/005b.

[75] A. R. Jones and P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.134.

The second generation: debating societies and University Jewish societies

The nine children of the second generation all attended synagogue and Hebrew classes and there is evidence that at least two of the boys became actively involved in secular organisations. From the 1900s to the 1940s, when the second generation was growing up, secular and Zionist Jewish organisations were beginning to play a fuller part in Glasgow Jewish life. As Braber notes in his book about Jews in Glasgow, 'in 1879 religion was the essence of Jewish life',[76] but in the early twentieth century 'dozens of [secular] Jewish groups [were] set up' in the city.[77] Art historian Jeffrey Abt links this increase in secular organisations, in the North American context, to modernity and 'its secularizing ethos'. By the time the second generation of immigrants was becoming established, he states, 'religious observance, and the visible trappings of religious affiliation, had ceased to become preconditions to identifying, or possessing the identity of, a member of the American Jewish community'.[78] In Scotland, however, these secular organisations still included an element of religious observance, as we shall see.

The boys in the second generation of the Hoppenstein family were brought up by their father with a deep knowledge of Hebrew, biblical teachings and Jewish law. As we have seen from Moss's radio interview, their father ensured that they attended synagogue regularly as children: 'Saturdays of course the old man took us

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[76] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.349.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp.162-3.

[78] Jeffrey Abt, 'Identity and Abstraction: the case of the Jewish Museum of New York' (paper presented at the Jewish Museum of London Round Table, Ben Uri Gallery, London, 13 September 2009).

to synagogue'.[79] Later in the same interview, Moss talked about finding a Hebrew translation of the Burns collection 'in that wonderful Mitchell Library we've got here in Glasgow – it's a veritable paradise' and said 'it really gave me a great thrill to see "Auld Lang Syne" printed in Hebrew', showing his ongoing interest in the Hebrew language.[80] Fred Stone said of his father Marcus's Jewish knowledge: 'He had had a terrific Jewish education from his rabbinical father, and a lot of the people that he was mixing with in *Shul* had no idea of that depth of knowledge'.[81]

With the four sons who stayed in the UK having professions in chemistry, optics and medicine, none was to follow their father into earning a living through activities in the Jewish public domain. Marcus was the only one who followed his father into participation on synagogue and other religious committees. He played a major role in the organisation of Garnethill Synagogue and was also active on the committees of other religious organisations, as his son Arthur Stone recalled, in the quote opening this chapter.

These few lines from Arthur Stone about his father are very different from the few lines from Moss Stone about *his* father quoted above. Moss recalled a man who was very active in the Jewish community, who earned his living during the week teaching Jewish children and preparing *kosher* meat for the community and acted as an unpaid official at the synagogue on Saturdays. His office-bearing in the communal organisations did not merit a mention in this account and therefore was,

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[79] Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry'.

[80] Murdoch Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', in *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past*, ed. Billy Kay, (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982), p.121.

[81] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

presumably, not seen by his son as an important a part of his life. Arthur, in contrast, saw his father's participation in 'Jewish life in the public sphere' as very significant, and referred to a newspaper article to confirm his father's respected place as a 'leader of Glasgow Jewry'.[82]

In addition to Marcus's involvement in religious organisations, he and his brother Isaac played a full part in several of those Jewish cultural organisations which were set up with a view to harnessing the increased secularisation of Glasgow's young Jewish population and ensuring that their leisure activities took place in a fully Jewish context. In the 'teens and early 1920s Marcus and Isaac both spoke at Queen's Park Literary Society events and Isaac addressed the Jewish Study Circle.[83] In 1924 Isaac, who had returned to university to study medicine some years after qualifying as a chemist, was elected President of the Glasgow University Jewish society,[84] a society which would engage several future Hoppensteins. It is apparent that Isaac's and Marcus's roles in these societies helped to provide continuity of Jewish culture and community for the young members of Glasgow Jewry no less than had their father's role as teacher and *shohet*.

Fleming discusses the way in which leisure in the Jewish community had originally been conceptualised as masculine and only slowly demonstrated a shift to include women.[85] It was not until the 1930s, she states, that: 'young women had

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[82] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[83] *Jewish Chronicle,* 26 January 1917, 1 February 1918, 13 February 1925.

[84] *Jewish Chronicle,* 15 December 1924.

[85] Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005), p.346.

begun to question the unwritten rule that men had ownership of public forms of culture, while Jewish women's culture and society was firmly domestic'.[86] In 1917 a 23-year-old Eva Morris, (who was to marry Marcus Stone three years later) read a paper, presided over by a 24-year-old Marcus, on 'Ceremony and its Place in Judaism' at a meeting of the Queen's Park Literary Society. [87]   Although there are reports of other women joining in the literary society debates and being on the committees in the 1920s, none of the Hoppenstein second generation women feature in these public accounts. It took another generation before any of the women in the direct Hoppenstein line became involved in visible Jewish activities in the public sphere. Eva Stone, née Morris, came from a financially secure, middle-class family. She was likely to have had more opportunity than the Hoppenstein sisters to take part in this type of activity. For the Hoppenstein second generation sisters, their Jewish activity in the public domain may well have been constrained to *Shul*-going and attendance at family functions.

Eva Stone had a greater public life than the Hoppenstein sisters. She was involved in the Ladies' Guild at the synagogue, an organisation which would have helped with the catering and domestic issues at the synagogue and would also have had a charitable function, organising fundraising events and supporting good causes. Her son Arthur, significantly, felt that his mother's activity in the public domain was

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[86] *Ibid.*, p.349.

[87] *Jewish Chronicle,* 6 November 1917.

much less significant than his father's. He recalled: 'she did a little, worked with the synagogue, with the ladies guild, but nothing like my father did'.[88]

Eva Stone, unlike her Hoppenstein sisters-in-law, had a maid to help with the housework, which allowed her time to take part in this kind of charitable work outside of the home. As well as writing about leisure activities, Linda Fleming reports on women in the early generations getting involved in 'good works to help the less fortunate'.[89] Paula Hyman suggests that:

> the bourgeois prescriptions of appropriate female behaviour which
> were designed to limit women's public roles, ironically enabled
> Jewish women, like other middle-class women, to assert the
> legitimacy of their participation in political activity through their
> social welfare work. The emergence of women into the public space
> of Jewish life was strongly linked to gendered differences in Jewish
> identity.[90]

It is interesting to note that the 'public' nature of this work, however, is more hidden than that of men's public involvement. Eva Stone's membership of the Ladies' Guild and her later involvement with translation services for refugees does not seem to have been deemed worthy of reporting in the *Jewish Chronicle*. The work of the Ladies' Guild is not mentioned in the Garnethill Hebrew Congregation Financial

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[88] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[89] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.357.

[90] Hyman, 'Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identities', p.157.

Statement and Reports at the end of the 1920s.[91] The engagements, marriages and deaths of these women were included in the *Jewish Chronicle* in notices paid for by their families. But it is very apparent that the women members of the family were to have to wait another generation before the role that they played in Jewish public life would be reported in the Jewish communal press.

The third generation: Zionism and Jewish Student Societies

The third generation lived out their young adulthood from the late 1920s through to the 1940s and went on to raise families in the 1950s and 1960s. All the third generation cousins went to synagogue and Hebrew classes and all participated to some extent in the burgeoning number of Jewish cultural organisations throughout this period, with some taking on a leading role in those organisations. Some of these cousins also taught Hebrew and religious studies and participated on synagogue committees. In this generation, women like Gertie Kallin were becoming more involved in the activities that men had engaged in in previous generations. They were more often becoming committee members and Hebrew teachers. They took part in Jewish activities in the public domain and they were included in reports of these activities in the Jewish community newspapers.

Harold Levy, the first-born in this generation, was an example of someone who linked a move towards Zionism with a focus on Jewish religious education. He taught in the Glasgow *Talmud Torah* and also played an active role in *Habonim.* He went on to play a key role in Jewish education nationally, working for nearly forty

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[91] Glasgow, SJAC. Garnethill Hebrew Congregation Financial Statement and Reports 1928-1929. 1929.

years as Inspector for the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education, travelling the country inspecting Hebrew classes and advising on teaching methods.[92] He was also the organiser of Jewish Youth Study Groups summer camps which had a distinctly Zionist nature[93] and he and his wife Hannah (née Silverman) were honorary warden and matron of Jews College, a rabbinical college in London. Arthur Stone recounted that Harold was very close to his grandfather Zvi David Hoppenstein and that he had himself wanted to become a rabbi:

> [Harold] should have been a rabbi, he wanted to be… my father took
>
> him to the interview, he was very close to him, but the
>
> Establishment didn't really like the fact that he smoked and he had a
>
> slight lisp, Harold, so they didn't think he could give sermons.[94]

Harold had been set to follow in the footsteps of his grandfather as a rabbi, although his ambition was thwarted by what Arthur called the 'Jewish Establishment', the English rabbinical authorities. This was a very important 'myth' within the family, representing as it did not only Harold's unfulfilled ambition but also the breaking of the many generations of rabbis within the Hoppenstein family.[95]

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[92] Harold Levy prepared detailed, courteous and helpful reports on his visits, made recommendations to the Head Teachers of the various classes and sent copies to the local Jewish education committee and to the honorary officers of the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education. Southampton, University of Southampton Special Collections. Harold Levy, Papers of Harold Levy. 1951-1976. MS179.

[93] For a report on the Jewish Youth Study Groups, which Harold Levy had been organising for 25 years at that time, see Gerry Smith, 'A School for Searchers,' *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 August 1967.

[94] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

[95] The author's aunt Hannah Frank was married to Harold Levy's brother Harold. This was a much rehearsed family story although I have no idea when I first heard it.

After a generation where the boys of the family had all had secular trades or professions, the fact of Harold working for the Central Council (part of the same Jewish Establishment which had refused his entry to the rabbinate) saw a return in the third generation to members of the Hoppenstein family earning their living within the Jewish public domain as had their grandfather Zvi David Hoppenstein and previous generations of the Hoppenstein line. Gertie Kallin, the youngest cousin, also became a Hebrew teacher, teaching withdrawal classes,[96] private lessons and *cheder* classes in Glasgow and later, after she moved to Liverpool, teaching Hebrew Studies at the Jewish school there. They can be seen to have played their own role in perpetuating Jewish culture and knowledge to young people in the next generation. Fred Stone learned Hebrew from Harold for many years and particularly remembered Harold's influence on him and his wife Zelda in getting them to join and help run Glasgow's *Habonim*.[97] Harold's involvement in both Hebrew teaching and also Jewish cultural and Zionist youth groups shows the link that existed between synagogue attendance, Hebrew classes and Jewish cultural secular organisations and, furthermore, how Jewish identity and learning was actively transmitted through all of these contexts.

All those interviewed in this generation talked about their attendance at synagogue and at regular *cheder* classes as children. Morrie Hope-Stone remembered his Liverpool childhood: 'we were fairly Orthodox, you know, we went to *Shul* every

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[96] Withdrawal classes were minority religion classes taught during the time when pupils were able to 'withdraw' from the mainstream religious classes taught in the schools, as enshrined in the Education Act for Scotland. Alexander Craig Sellar, *Manual of the Education Act for Scotland.* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1872), p.40. See Chapter Three.

[97] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

Saturday, went to all the festivals, had the pick of three *Shuls*, depending where we felt like going'.[98] Lionel Levy, Harold's younger brother, went to classes at the Queen's Park Hebrew School after school every evening from Monday to Thursday and again on Sunday morning. He described the classes:

> the children, when they were getting their Hebrew education, there
>
> at the age of maybe seven or eight, you started translating the bible,
>
> and nobody thought that that was ridiculous for a youngster who had
>
> not studied any languages, you just went ahead, you did each bit
>
> three times over, you had to know that section of the bible by heart,
>
> you read out the Hebrew word and then go on to the English word.
>
> *Bereshit,* in the beginning, *Bara elohim,* God created, and so on,
>
> until you got the story.[99]

Lionel recalled a hard regime where the teacher would hit pupils for alleged misbehaviour. He mistranslated a passage and remembered that 'the teacher got a ruler and broke it over my head, for being so naughty'.[100] Despite these teaching methods, Lionel continued in his Hebrew studies as a young man, at Glasgow Hebrew College, a college set up in 1921 for the education of older Jewish children. At Glasgow University, Lionel studied Hebrew alongside English, Mathematics and

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[98] Oral Testimony of Morrie and Betty Hope-Stone.

[99] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2000. SOHCA031/001.

[100] *Ibid*. For another pupil's memory of the Hebrew classes of the time, see 'Reminiscences of an Old Pupil', *Glasgow Hebrew College Magazine 1* (March 1925) cited in Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.54. 'Many were the sorrows and pains I suffered at the hands of the stern masters of the old regime. Our lessons then were indeed monotonous. For three hours, day after day, we assembled to mournfully chant portions of the Prayer Book, to the regular rhythm of the pointer beating upon the floor'.

Natural Philosophy and won prizes throughout. The books and medals he had won in his Hebrew classes were in his possession until his death in 2003.

Hebrew classes for the third generation were not just about learning Hebrew, but also functioned as a place to create community. Gertie Cowen was originally taught Hebrew by her paternal great-grandfather, who published a beginners' Hebrew book for children[101] and ran a class for Gertie and her cousins in the attic of his South Side home for several years. After his death Gertie attended the Hebrew classes at the *Talmud Torah*. She loved the classes and recalled: 'that's where I met my hardcore Jewish lady girlfriends. And that has stuck throughout our lives, all of us, those who are still living'.[102] Fred Stone remembered that his mother hoped that he would meet and connect with one of the girls from a Garnethill (West End, prosperous, well-established, anglicised) Jewish family, rather than from the South Side (more recent arrivals, more 'old-fashioned Jewish', poorer) community, at his Hebrew classes. He recalled: 'Oh yes, [the classes were] mixed. Oh yes. I think my mother was very keen that I would marry one of these nice Garnethill girls. And I married a South Side girl. Would you believe it?'[103] So, although one aim of these classes was to teach Hebrew language, Biblical knowledge and discuss Jewish learning, in fact there was a 'subtext' for the classes, which was to help to build an ongoing community among Jewish boys and girls of the same age, social class and

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[101] H. M. Langman, *Hebrew Primer of Hebrew Reading and Writing with Bible Stories and Short Prayers for Jewish Children* (Glasgow, 1931).

[102] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin, interview by Fiona Frank, Liverpool. 2004. SOHCA 031/006.

[103] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

geographical proximity. This, again, was an example of Bourdieu's idea of the

fortuitous bringing together of homogeneous individuals.[104]

Unlike the experience of the Hoppenstein third generation, Zelda Stone, the

'South Side girl' who Fred married, had had no special encouragement from

religious grandparents or older cousins to learn Hebrew and had no reason to

persevere with her Hebrew studies.[105] Fred was very aware that Zelda had strong

feelings about the gendered nature of the Hebrew teaching she received:

> Zelda can tell you about her Hebrew lessons, where the boys were
>
> treated very nastily, and the girls with contempt. She never got over
>
> that, to this day. The contemptuous attitude to them. They were for
>
> reproducing and cooking. ... And it left her very anti-*Shul*.[106]

Fred went on to suggest that: 'had she been a bit more assertive, or lived in a

different time, she would have become a Women's Lib pursuer, both in and out of

the Jewish context, which happened of course much later'.[107]   Their daughter Judy

confirms this, saying: 'oh, that's something else my mother talked about quite often

was the fact that Judaism is all, all about men and really, women don't have much

say in it and that she felt it's a very anti-female religion'.[108] There is little attention

paid in the literature to early Jewish feminist thinking. Linda Fleming bemoans 'the

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[104] Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', p.250.

[105] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[106] *Ibid*.

[107] *Ibid*.

[108] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater, interview by Fiona Frank, Cambridge. 2007. SOHCA 031/016.

apparent lack of feminist consciousness amongst middle-class suburban women in the post-war years' as 'a conundrum of twentieth century feminist history'[109] and Judith Plaskow situates Jewish feminist thought as not emerging until the 1970s 'as an attempt to describe and protest the subordination of women within the Jewish tradition'.[110]

Fred recalled that Zelda would go to High Holy Day services for his sake and that, later, she joined the Zionist youth groups and went to Israel for his sake, too. As Fred recalled: 'she realised that to get close to me she had to be close to *Habonim*, there was no other way. She became an enthusiastic member and when we went to camp, I was the medical student and she was the cook for several camps'.[111] The drive to make *Aliyah,* ritual emigration to Israel, seems to have been gendered, too. Fred recalled: 'I was quite fanatical, both Zionistically and in terms of this profession, and poor Zelda hadn't got much choice in the matter'.[112] Fred's son David also made the decision to emigrate to Israel and persuaded his wife and children to accompany him. And outside this family, Misha Louvish, a contemporary of Lionel Levy, recalled: 'when I proposed to my wife, I said "you know, I want to go to Palestine". She said, "yes, I know, I understand". And we did in 1937'.[113]

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[109] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow'.

[110] Judith Plaskow, 'Jewish Feminist Thought', in *History of Jewish Philosophy*, eds. Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman, (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), p.885.

[111] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2007. SOHCA031/004b.

[112] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[113] Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Mr Misha Louvish, interview by Ben Braber. 1989.

The Stone family emigrated to Israel in 1951, only three years after the founding of the State of Israel. Fred wanted to study child psychiatry and Israel was one of three places where it was possible to study this new subject. Many Jewish Glaswegians of Fred and Zelda's generation emigrated to Israel in the early days of the State.[114]   Fred and Zelda returned to Scotland, however, after a few years. Conditions were very harsh and the couple found it hard to raise a young family on a single medical trainee's salary. They both became ill[115] and when Fred was offered the opportunity to set up a psychiatric unit in Glasgow's Sick Children's Hospital, they had 'definitely decided enough was enough' and jumped at the chance.[116] Fred was always ambivalent about leaving, however. Discussing a radio interview he had participated in on his experiences in Israel, he recalled: 'she said to me "what did it feel like to leave Israel" and I said to her "it was a dreadful experience, I left a bit of myself behind"'.[117] Looking back, he considered that Israel 'has played a huge part in my life. I don't think I've lost anything, I think I've gained a great deal'.[118] He remained committed to Zionism and what he called 'the experiment', however, despite his awareness that the public attitude to Zionism and to Israel had changed over the years. He spoke about his feelings for Israel and Zionism:

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[114] Israeli historian Leora Mandelson interviewed elderly Scots who had emigrated to Israel: Mandelson, 'Constructing Identity'. [Mainly in Hebrew]. The writer Chaim Bermant, too, emigrated to Israel in 1950 but returned after two years. Bermant, *Coming Home*.

[115] Anna Magnusson, *The Promised Land*, BBC Radio Scotland, 1998.

[116] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone.

[117] Oral Testimony of Fred Stone.

[118] *Ibid*.

Zionism, I just took to it. It seemed to me so logical, so

unanswerable as a way of making good some terrible wrongs. ... I

have a strong attachment to Israel. ... I suffer because of its failures.

I'm very critical of some of their political activities, but I'm not

blind to the kind of intolerable problems that they face of which I

don't see any easy solutions. I don't mind people describing me as a

Zionist, and this is a word of abuse nowadays. [119]

Fred and Zelda's return to Scotland had a powerful effect on Fred's younger brother

Arthur, who had decided he too wanted to emigrate to Israel. He had studied

horticulture in order to be of use to the new State.[120] He recalled:

And, in 1948, I was ready to go to Israel ... It didn't work out for

Fred. ... He was working in Jerusalem and Zelda, his wife, took very

ill, and ... they weren't being paid or anything and he came back,

and he looked like something out of Belsen. I was an idealist like so

many were, the real *kibbutzim* movement, socialism, ... but ... when

Fred came back, and I saw what he was like and what he told me

was going on there and how hard it was, it put me right off, I'm

afraid. But that was why I took my first degree in horticulture.[121]

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[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Fred himself had commented that one bone of contention he had had with Habonim was that they discouraged academic prowess in law or medicine in the 1930s and 40s: 'If you were going to end up in Israel you had to work with soil or lay the bricks or do the basics which a new state needed.' *Ibid*.

[121] Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone.

Arthur had not always had a smooth relationship with his father and felt his brother Fred was 'like a father' to him. His interest in the Zionist ideal was very much linked to the idea of being in Israel with his brother: 'Fred had gone out. And I thought, wonderful, you know, he'd be there'.[122] Arthur's disappointment at not going to Israel was an important part of his life narrative and his career in further education had come about entirely because of choices he had made related to his idea of emigrating to Israel.

Born nearly twenty years earlier than Fred Stone, Hannah Frank, who was to marry Lionel Levy in 1939, also declared herself a Zionist. Her detailed diaries, which she kept daily while a schoolgirl and as a young adult, include regular attendance at events held by a wide range of Jewish organisations. In 1928 she joined the Zionist Section of the University Jewish society, the main object of which was the 'study of Zionist problems and the reading of Hebrew literature'.[123] In 1931 she wrote: 'Lewisohn's *Israel*[124] has turned me enthusiastically towards Zionism, and since Mr. F.[125] maintains to be a Zionist you must speak Hebrew, I have determined to learn Hebrew'.[126] Subsequent diary entries chart her regular Hebrew classes at the *Talmud Torah*.[127] Although Hannah's maternal grandfather was a very

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[122] *Ibid*.

[123] *Jewish Echo*, 4 April 1928.

[124] Ludwig Lewisohn, *Israel* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925).

[125] Max Friedlander, head teacher of the *Talmud Torah*

[126] Glasgow, SJAC. Hannah Frank, Diary: Volume 15, 8 October 1931 to 11 March 1933. 1933. HFLLC 1/15. Entry for 27 December 1931.

[127] She was not alone. A diary entry in 1932, when she was 24, lists seven others of her contemporaries in the class. *Ibid*. Entry for 4 March 1932.

learned, Orthodox scholar, her father did not keep Shabbat and Hannah had not taken much notice of her Hebrew classes as a child. She learned Hebrew as a young adult, but entirely because of her interest in Zionism. Although Hannah was not interested in religion, she was interested in Jewishness.

The *Jewish Echo*'s very first edition, in 1928, bemoaned the lack of young people in the synagogues.[128] It is clear that those members of the Glasgow Jewish 'establishment', including Harold Levy, who were teaching adult Hebrew classes, delivering lectures and organising debates, camps and classes, were developing deliberate strategies for maintaining a strong community within the cultural and Zionist organisations, even if the synagogue was no longer attracting the city's young Jewish people.   Cultural gerontologist Christie Kiefer reports a similar situation among Japanese-American immigrants. Writing in 1974, she noted that:

> Until recently, according to one respondent, there were many intercommunity church socials which served the purpose [of providing opportunities for small friendship groups to mingle with other groups]. Now, however, the participation of teenage *sansei* [third generation Japanese immigrants] in church groups has greatly declined, and young people go to Japanese American college dances and public bazaars instead.[129]

The *Jewish Echo*'s report on the opening of the Jewish Athletics Club tennis courts in 1932, attended by the young Hannah Frank, hints at what was behind the desire by

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[128] *Jewish Echo,* 6 January 1928.

[129] Christie W Kiefer, *Changing Cultures, Changing Lives: An Ethnographic Study of Three Generations of Japanese Americans* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974), p.47.

the older members of the community to ensure that the younger generations remained a solid community:

> There was a good attendance of members and friends at the opening of the Tennis Courts of the Jewish Athletic Club on Sunday afternoon. Mr Fred Nettler, President of the Club, presided, and, in opening the courts, emphasised that while the Athletic Club primarily served to bring together Jewish tennis enthusiasts from all parts of the community, it must not be forgotten that there was something beyond actual tennis which it was the duty of every Jew and Jewess to help to attain. The present was a very trying time, necessitating an even greater unity among units of the community.[130]

Mr Nettler went on to say 'it was difficult to see what might lie ahead of the community owing to the world unrest' and appealed to people to support the Club, on the grounds that 'it formed one more link in the community, helping to strengthen them and hold them together'. At this stage, then, Glasgow Jewry was very much aware of the danger of antisemitism and felt that it was important to stand firm as a united community against it. Although another example of Bourdieu's idea of bringing together homogeneous individuals by chance, the tennis club was, in addition to matchmaking, also a way of keeping a community together in the face of possible extreme antisemitism.

Mr Fred Nettler's expressed sentiments showed that he felt that it was unimportant whether the communal feeling came from synagogue congregations or

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[130] *Jewish Echo*, 15 April 1932.

tennis matches. This resonated with Harold Levy's interest in persuading Fred and Zelda Stone and other members of the family and of the wider Glasgow Jewish community to become involved in Zionist summer camps; there was a place for all these activities.

Hannah Frank's diary entries, recording her life as a young woman and student at Glasgow School of Art and Glasgow University, record not only her memories of events such as the opening of the Jewish Athletic Club, but also record the rambles she went on and the debates she attended organised by the University Jewish society. For example, she wrote that she thoroughly enjoyed a debate on the subject 'Is Religion Detrimental to Progress?' in which 'the University Students standing for the affirmative were beaten by the Zionist Literary Circle, for the negative'.[131] She attended a two week Glasgow Jewish Student Society camp in Wemyss Bay in 1932, and wrote about the cruises they went on and other activities at the camp: 'I achieved the reputation with Misha Louvish of being the best dancer in the camp'.[132] She wrote at length about participating with groups of Jewish young people in mainstream leisure activities such as visiting the cinema and the theatre.

In the third generation, then, Zionism was becoming a strong and active movement and increasing secular activity, mirroring local Scottish society but with a Jewish flavour, was engaging Glasgow Jewry. It can therefore be seen that an integration process was beginning, but with the Jewish community keeping its own identity.

[131] Glasgow, SJAC 1/10. Hannah Frank, Diary: Book 7, 29 December 1925 to 9 May 1926. 1926. HFLLC1/10. Entry for 7 February 1926.

[132] Frank, Diary, Vol. 15. See entries for 17-31 July 1932.

The fourth generation: secular and religious Jewish life in a multi-cultural world

The fourth generation of Hoppensteins, sixteen second cousins born between 1949 and 1969, grew up in a different world to that of their parents. The State of Israel had come into being a year before the first member of this generation was born. Nazi antisemitism was receding in people's memories. This generation was to grow up in a new post-war affluence, where new generations of Jamaican and New Commonwealth immigrants changed the face of British society.

The lives described by the fourth generation are very different to those of their parents. Although all the individuals who were brought up in Jewish households continued with Hebrew classes, and all the boys had *Bar Mitzvah* ceremonies, as we will see many aspects of 'Jewish life in the public sphere' begin to face outwards to the wider UK society in a way which would not have been imagined by Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein.

None of the girls in the fourth generation had *Bat Mitzvot*. Although the first *Bat Mitzvah* had taken place in the USA in 1922,[133] the ceremony was not widespread in Glasgow in the 1960s, as Judy Gershater and Doreen Spevack both recalled:

> Interviewer (FF): And did girls have *Bat Mitzvahs* then?
>
> Doreen Spevack: No. It was pretty rare. I never had one and my
> girls didn't have one. … *Bat Mitzvahs* were really only coming to

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[133] Paula Hyman, 'The Introduction of Bat Mitzvah in Conservative Judaism in Postwar America', *YIVO Annual* Vol XIX (1990).

the fore particularly in London, it was quite a rare occasion for

anyone to have one in Glasgow. I wasn't interested anyway.

Judy said that she would not have wanted to have a *Bat Mitzvah:*

> [my brothers] both had *Bar Mitzvahs*. I was jealous of the presents
>
> but I wouldn't actually have wanted to go and read a portion of the
>
> law, I don't think, myself, I mean, it wasn't discussed even… No, it
>
> wasn't really done until a bit later, to have *Bat Mitzvahs*.[134]

The first *Bat Mitzvot* in the Hoppenstein family took place in the fifth generation

when David Stone's children Natalie and Carmela held what David called 'very

secular *Bat Mitzvot*: Natalie had hers in a Chinese restaurant in Israel and Carmela

had hers in a *Shul* hall but there was no religious dimension to it'.[135] So although in

the later generation girls did participate in the *Bat Mitzvah* tradition, the reason

seems to have been more in order to be involved in a rite of passage equal to the

boys' tradition, than any reason to do with the religious ceremony itself.

Judy Stone had made a deal with her father: she did not want to continue

with her Hebrew classes so she and her brother took up singing in the synagogue

choir instead. She recalled: 'in fact, my first boyfriend, I think, was through the

choir'.[136] This was another case of a communal activity, ostensibly about religion,

providing links to other members of the Jewish community for potential future

marriage partnerships. Judy's cousins Richard and Michael Stone remember

[134] Oral Testimony of Judy Gershater.

[135] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

[136] Oral Testimony of Judy Gershater.

attending Hebrew classes three times a week. Like his father and grandfather before him, Richard became a member of the synagogue committee and was, at the time of his interview, the warden of his local *Shul*.[137]

Like Fred and Arthur Stone and Gertie Kallin in the third generation, several of the fourth generation who were brought up Jewish attended Jewish camps: *Habonim*, for example, or the Jewish Lads' Brigade.[138] David Kallin, who had attended a school with very few Jews, recalled that the Jewish Lads' Brigade was where he made his Jewish friends:

> Glasgow around that time had quite a variety of different youth
> groups, ranging from *Maccabi* to *Habonim*, *B'nei Akiva*, and JLB.
> My parents put us in JLB. Although I've got conflicting personal
> viewpoints … on the concept of military-type ethos, it actually was a
> very good social arena, and, you know, we met a lot of Jewish
> people … it was actually a very good time, and every summer we
> would go on camp, down in Kent, with similar JLBs from all over
> the country.[139]

David and Ivor's father, Stanley, was Second Lieutenant of the Clarkston branch of the Jewish Lads' Brigade in Glasgow, another way in which adults within the Jewish community helped to provide situations where young people could meet and

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[137] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Richard Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Cheadle. 2008. SOHCA 031/018.

[138] Sharman Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman: the Jewish Lads' & Girls' Brigade 1895-1995* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1995); Livingston, *From Strength to Strength*.

[139] Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin.

socialise.[140] David remembers the camps as a time where 'you could do boy things, you could do girl things, you could do adult things – it was a very good learning experience, it was fun'.[141] He also had a very clear memory that his 'Jewish side', the life he led with the Jewish Lads' Brigade, was split from his 'non-Jewish side', his life at school.

Although the Jewish Lads' Brigade had been set up by Colonel Albert Goldsmid, a committed Zionist, to mirror the Boys Brigade, it was not a primarily Zionist youth group as were two of the other organisations mentioned by David Kallin, *Habonim* and *Bnei Akiva*. Significantly, although Fred and Arthur Stone had both talked about their membership of *Habonim* giving them a growing awareness of and sympathy with Zionism, David's memory of the Jewish Lad's Brigade was entirely of a friendship group, not concerned with persuading its members to make *Aliyah* as were *Habonim* and *Bnei Akiva*. Despite this, David's first move after university was to Israel; he worked in two *kibbutzim*, went back home, then spent a further year in Israel as a volunteer.[142]

As the members of this generation became young adults, most went to university where they joined the university Jewish societies, another place where several were to find partners, as we saw in Chapter Four. For the older members of this generation, the Six Day War in 1967 brought Israel and Jewish societies substantial popularity among non-Jews throughout the UK. Hugh Hope-Stone,

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[140] Livingston, *From Strength to Strength*, p.77.

[141] Oral Testimony of David Kallin with Jenny Kallin.

[142] *Ibid.*

brought up in a non-Jewish household, but with a sense of being 'half Jewish',

remembers 'being incredibly proud of Israel winning the 1967 war and the *Yom*

Kippur war, I do remember, you know, a real sense of pride there'.[143] David Stone

recalled that it was the Six Day War which 'led me ultimately to become a

committed Zionist and to feel that I was really wasting my time in this country and I

had to go and live there. Which I eventually did'.[144] He remembers this as a time

when non-Jewish students were very much in support of Israel:

> And in fact, I think, this could be a figment of my imagination, but
>
> Israel was so popular at the time, I think that when the war broke out
>
> and the reports started coming in of Israel's victory, I think there
>
> was spontaneous applause amongst the students. Non-Jewish
>
> students were watching this. Because there was this feeling that
>
> Israel had pulled off a tremendous victory against all the odds.[145]

Later in the century, however, a different type of antisemitism – criticism of UK

Jews through criticism of Israel – began to be heard and dealt with by this

generation, particularly on university campuses. The activities of these university

Jewish societies still included an 'inward-facing' element such as was experienced

by Isaac Hoppenstein and Hannah Frank, with Friday night meals, regional weekend

gatherings and in Edinburgh, the annual 'Rabbi Burns supper'.[146] But student campus

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[143] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Hugh Hope-Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, by telephone. 2007. SOHCA 031/010.

[144] Oral Testimony of David Stone.

[145] *Ibid*.

[146] Glasgow, SJAC. Edinburgh University Jewish society: Rabbi Burns Supper. GB1220/COM.EDI0010 28 January 1995.

activity, especially for this generation's younger members, increasingly meant facing outwards and dealing with criticism of Israel directed to members of the Jewish society by other students.

Several members of this generation joined secular, cultural or political Jewish societies and Zionist organizations, becoming more involved with cultural than religious Judaism, an example of Kudensky's idea of 'Jewishness' rather than Judaism'. David Stone was a 'card-carrying member of *Poalei Tziyon*, The Workers of Zion' as, he said, it was 'very much left wing Zionism, that was what interested me'.[147] He met the woman whom he was to marry around that time at a Jewish weekend school, another event which seems to have brought people together by chance in the Bourdieusian sense. Ivor Kallin was a member of the Jewish Socialists in London. After her divorce from her first husband Judy Stone Gershater started attending Jewish cultural groups in Cambridge such as the Jewish Book Group and joined welfare organisations including *Mogan Dovid Adom* (the Jewish Red Cross) and the Jewish welfare committee which visited people in hospital.

Jewish life in the public domain for the fourth generation, then, was, as in the third generation, a mix of religious, secular and Zionist activity. One of the tenets of Judaism is *Tzedeka*, or giving to charity. Zvi David Hoppenstein's public Jewish activity had involved maintaining and perpetuating religious ritual and *Kashrut,* delivering education of religious ritual and Hebrew language, being a member of communal committees and supporting the Jewish community through charitable giving. One of his great-granddaughters, Judy, supported other members

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[147] *Ibid.*

of the Jewish community through charitable work. One of his great-grandsons is very involved with his local synagogue. Most of the members of this generation who had been brought up Jewish had studied Hebrew language and religious ritual and many won prizes for their learning. They had attended synagogue services. But new activities had been added to this list, building on the activities of the first, second and third generations. Membership of political, cultural, social and Zionist Jewish groups was a key part of this change from the first generation and there was a visible move away from Judaism as an entirely religious activity.   However not all of the fourth generation had positive feelings about Israel and Zionism. Discussing what he disliked about the Jews of Giffnock and Newton Mearns, Ivor Kallin asserted that he felt 'they were all materialist and Zionist and I didn't want to have anything to do with that'.[148]

One activity in the public sphere which was unknown in previous generations is giving talks about Judaism for non-Jewish groups. It is a product of an increasing consciousness in the non-Jewish world of 'Jewishness' as an ethnicity. Ivor Kallin, working in early years education, became conscious that when he was educating his teachers and pupils about different ethnicities, his own ethnicity had become invisible: something which he decided to put right.

> But I suppose when I started to work in early years places, and we
>
> were always talking about Equal Opportunities, and positive
>
> identity, and stuff, and I thought 'wait a minute, you know, I'm
>
> doing all this stuff for everybody else, it's about time, I need to think

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[148] Oral Testimony of Ivor Kallin.

about myself'. So a watershed was, we had a big celebration of
Jewish culture, held at the place where I work, and there was quite a
lot of press and publicity about it.[149]

Richard Stone, too, has given a talk about Judaism at a local school, a school with a

high Muslim population. Gertie and Stanley Kallin, members of the third generation,

gave regular talks to women's institutes and other groups in Liverpool over the last

twenty years. By choosing to give these talks, these members of the family have

made a conscious effort to reclaim, in a positive light, the public 'differentness' of

Judaism within the context of multi-culturalism. Jewishness in the public domain

can be seen to be moving outside of the Jewish community in this generation.

The fifth generation: music, food, security and religion

The members of the fifth generation have different takes on Jewish life in the public

sphere, not only from the previous generations but also from each other. One of the

fifth generation respondents, Barbara Spevack, attended a Lubavitch-run[150] *cheder* in

Glasgow as a child, which led her to take up Orthodox Jewry as a way of life.

Although her mother Doreen chose these Hebrew classes for Barbara and her sister

because they ran once a week rather than four times a week like the classes that she

had attended as a young girl, she regretted that she had chosen the Lubavitch classes.

As she recalled: 'Instead of sending them to normal *cheder,* we sent them to the

Lubavitch which was the biggest mistake of our life. … The Lubavitch were such

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[149] *Ibid*.

[150] The Lubavitch are an ultra-orthodox group of Jews who follow the teachings of the dynasty of
Lubavitcher rabbis, running Jewish educational programmes around the world.

fanaticals that I'm afraid it's …like a cult and it's just ingrained in them now, it's

actually quite frightening'.[151] This resonates with the words of a mother who took

part in the 1960s survey in 'Lakeville', USA, conducted by sociologists Marshall

Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, who complained: 'we sent our daughters to Sunday

school, but often they take the words of religious education too seriously and demand

too much'.[152] Barbara and Doreen's experience contrasts starkly with the children of

David Stone and Ivor Kallin who, as we saw in Chapter Three, were sent to Jewish

schools for their mainstream education, but (to their parents' relief) did not take on

the religious observance too seriously outside school. Barbara wrote:

> I spent some time in Seminary [women's *Yeshivah*] in Jerusalem.
>
> When I lived in London, I was very involved in the local *Shul*,
>
> which was designed for people my age, and I attended *shiurim* on a
>
> regular basis. I was also involved in the community on *Shabbos*.[153]

Barbara Spevack was the only respondent of this generation who talked about the

importance of religion in her life in terms of observance of *Shabbat* and Jewish

learning, although others of this generation were very strongly culturally Jewish.

Barbara also mentioned that she had been a member of the Jewish security

organisation, the Community Security Trust,[154] while at Glasgow University. This

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[151] Her mother Doreen felt that she had made a mistake in sending the children to such a religious Sunday school. Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/007.

[152] Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier: a Study of Group Survival in the Open Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1967, this edition 1979), p.78.

[153] Barbara Spevack, 2008. Personal communication with the author (Email, 4 April).

[154] 'CST, Protecting the Jewish Community'. http://www.thecst.org.uk/, consulted 21 December 2009.

organisation is very different to the other types of secular Jewish organisation that have drawn in members of the previous four generations of Hoppensteins. Rather than promoting Jewish learning and culture, its mission is to protect members of other organizations which may themselves be promoting Jewish learning and culture. Its existence indicates the insecurity felt by the Jewish community in response to anti-Semitic incidents. In previous generations one response of the Jewish establishment to anti-Semitic incidents was not to react to it. The setting up of the 'Community Security Trust' demonstrates a changing attitude within the community: that it is a community which has the right to be in the UK and has the right to protect itself.

In Chapter Three we saw one set of siblings, the fifth-generation Kallins, saying that they avoided Jewish activities at university partly as a reaction to what might be seen as the 'overkill' of Jewish input at their school. In contrast, Natalie Stone, whose early schooling was in Israel and upon her return had attended a Jewish primary school (but not a Jewish secondary school), was very positive about her Jewish connections and sought out Jewish students at university. 'I studied at Leeds which has a thriving Jewish student community, so it was easy and fun to attend JSoc events and eat lots of bagels'.[155] Hamish Kallin, like his sisters, had negative feelings about attending synagogue and the university Jewish society, but feels an affinity with other Jewish people:

> I have been to Synagogue once here, and did not enjoy it. JSoc
>
> likewise. That said, I feel a strange affinity with the three Jewish

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[155] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Natalie Stone. 2008. SOHCA 031/023.

people I know here, though they are by no means my closest friends.

I listen to Jewish music (Klezmer) frequently, much to the

bemusement of my flatmates, and I do not think this is necessarily

just for musical purposes, but it feels a part of me and thus is

comforting to listen to.[156]

As well as listening to Jewish music, Hamish's 'public expression of Jewishness'

came in the fact that he would sometimes play Klezmer music on the radio

programme he jointly hosted on Fresh Air, Edinburgh University's online radio

station.[157] He also wrote about his fondness for buying bagels. Like Phoebe, his

sense of Jewishness is not associated with synagogues or even Jewish cultural

organisations; in his case it comes from food and music and from an affinity with

people who were brought up Jewish. He had no drive to seek out a public Jewish

identity in terms of being part of a community of Jewish people while at university,

nor in terms of being part of a synagogue congregation, but was very aware of his

Jewish identity and the fact that the music he listened to was associated with that

identity. He was also concerned not to be perceived as being pro-Israeli; unlike the

Stone family, he was, like his father, opposed to Zionism.

Sophie Kallin, their sister, was at the time of the Facebook discussion about

to marry a Klezmer musician who had a 'wide network of Jewish friends, and

interest in Jewish things'.[158] Her fiancé, now her husband, Steven Levi-Kallin (the

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[156] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Hamish Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/031.

[157] http://www.freshair.org.uk/.

[158] Glasgow, SOHCA. Facebook discussion response, Sophie Kallin. 2008. SOHCA 031/029.

couple took each others' name on marriage), is a member of a well-known Klezmer band, Oi Va Voi. Steven, the clarinetist in the band, has a visible Jewish identity which is very much in the public domain. Playing mainly Jewish music, as part of a visibly Jewish band, at concert venues around the UK and internationally, he is part of a growing movement which is taking Jewish culture out to a largely non-Jewish audience.

In the Pale of Settlement and the early days of immigration to Western Europe and the USA, Klezmer music was played entirely within closed Jewish communities, for occasions such as weddings and *Bar Mitzvot.*[159] In an increasingly multicultural world, where 'world music' is a recognised and popular genre, 'Jewish' is becoming an ethnicity as much as it is a religion and Klezmer music is becoming just one aspect of 'world music', a public expression of Jewish ethnicity that might not even be recognised by its audience as having a Jewish connection.

Conclusions

Jewishness in the public domain changes greatly through the generations and through the century. Zvi David Hoppenstein and his sons and grandchildren practised their Judaism in the public domain. But the 'public domain' of the early generations was very much a 'closed' public domain, taking place purely within the Jewish community, with religious services, cultural activities and Hebrew teaching aimed entirely at that community. While the activities were reported in the public domain, this was solely in the Jewish press, in newspapers written for members of the Jewish

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[159] Carl Dimow, 'A Brief History of Klezmer Music', http://cascobaytummlers.com/history.html consulted 21 December 2009.

community. By the end of the 20th century, however, Ivor and Richard in the fourth

generation and even Ivor's parents Gertie and Stanley in the third generation were

positioning themselves as members of the Jewish community who were able to look

outward and share aspects of their Jewish identity with members of other ethnic

groups, by giving talks to different non-Jewish groups about Judaism. By the fifth

generation, Hamish Kallin's playing Klezmer music on his radio show and Sophie

Kallin's husband Steven Levi-Kallin fronting a Klezmer band playing nationally had

shifted the meaning and the audiences of the 'public domain' even further. These

activities, too, are reported in the press. But in this case the press is the UK national

press,[160] with no question that the music or the people making it are inward-facing.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Kudenko suggests that an early

formula of Jewish identity, 'private Jewishness and public Englishness', (or in the

case of the Hoppenstein family, public Scottishness) was challenged by multicultural

citizenship in the second half of the twentieth century. This can certainly be seen in

the changing nature of Jewish activity in the public domain in the latter Hoppenstein

generations.[161] Kudenko refers to 'Jewishness' instead of 'Judaism' developing into

an 'alternative identity differentiator' as part of the reform, liberal and progressive

Judaism movement which began in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century.

She cites Silverstein who charts a move from Jewish religious festivals, synagogues

and *Kashrut*, suggesting that 'to be Jewish now meant to identify with Jewish people

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[160] Charlie Gillett, 'Rock Review: Oi Va Voi, Travelling the Face of the Globe,' *The Guardian*, 17 May 2009.

[161] Kudenko, 'Negotiating Jewishness', p.i.

and its cultural heritage'.[162] It is certainly 'Jewishness' rather than 'Judaism' which

is performed on stage by Oi Va Voi. It is 'Jewishness' rather than Judaism which is

demonstrated by Ivor, Richard, Gertie and Stanley when they go out to talk to

different non-Jewish groups, although they are actually talking about Judaism. The

practice of Judaism still occurs: at least one fifth generation respondent is fully

observant and several younger members of this family who were not interviewed for

this study are being brought up religiously observant, attending synagogue with their

parents every week and keeping *Shabbat* in a way which would be familiar to Zvi

David and Sophia Hoppenstein. But 'Jewishness', a secular acknowledgment of

Judaism as an ethnic identity, is something very new that has emerged during the

second half of the twentieth century, as part of a wider change in the

acknowledgment of Judaism as ethnicity as well as religion. The cultural and secular

organisations set up by the community in the first half of the twentieth century were

precursors of this new secular 'Jewishness'.

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[162] *Ibid.*, p.48. Kudenko quotes L. J. Silberstein, *The Postzionism Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.2.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions: five generations of Scottish Jewish identity

> I'd like to bring my children up Jewish if I ever have children, I'd
>
> like to carry it on. But not in a strict sense, I mean, … just so you
>
> have some form of idea about, I don't know, who you are or, it does
>
> give you an identity so you do have to know otherwise you just get
>
> lost.
>
> Amber Caplan (fifth generation)[1]

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I set out in this thesis to look at whether, and if so how and where, a sense of Jewish

identity was handed down through the generations. My aim was to explore the

changing nature of this sense of Jewish identity as it moved through the generations,

how it was received by subsequent generations and how they in their turn made the

decision whether to accept and continue what was being handed to them. The nature

of oral history, in which respondents are encouraged to talk about what is important

to them, led to additional themes arising in the course of the research. In this

concluding chapter, I first provide an overview of the preceding chapters, which are

organised to reflect the themes which arose from the data. I then review how the

ideas of insider and outsider status arose within the oral testimony. The Hoppenstein

family has provided a clear context in which it can be seen how group boundaries

can alternate between being rigid and being fluid and that members of a group can

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[1] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Amber Caplan, interview by Fiona Frank, Cape Town. 2009. SOHCA 031/021.

alternatively place themselves or be placed by others as 'insiders' or 'outsiders' in relation to that boundary. Next, the overall arguments are restated and I reflect on how my findings have contributed to knowledge. The next section returns to the ideas of Bourdieu, showing how this thesis has provided a new context in which to consider and to extend his ideas of economic and cultural capital and of group membership. Finally, I offer suggestions for further research.

Overview

In Chapter One I set the scene and discussed the reasons behind my choices of the methodology and context of the thesis. I explored the concepts of 'positionality' and 'insider-outsider status' and how they relate to a sense of Jewish identity. Bourdieu's theories of economic and cultural capital were briefly introduced and I showed how Bourdieu's ideas had been criticised by feminist scholars such as Terry Lovell.[2] I discussed oral history methodology and feminist theories and raised the issue of how my own positionality affected my relationship with the interviewees.

Chapter Two explored some of the relevant literature including studies on Jewish immigration to Scotland and to the UK and provided some background on Scottish Jewry. I examined the debate on 'who is a Jew?' and looked at the differing ways in which scholars and those concerned with the maintenance of the Jewish community have investigated issues about Jewish identity both through quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. One important distinction is between Judaism as a religion and Judaism as an ethnicity and I discussed how that distinction relates to

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[2] Terry Lovell, 'Thinking Feminism With and Against Bourdieu'. *Feminist Theory* Vol. 1 no. 1 (2000).

the correlation between individuals' levels of 'religiosity' and 'mental ethnicity', in other words the correlation between 'feeling Jewish inside' and adherence to religious ritual, accompanied or not by belief in God.

Chapter Three focused on the lived experience of the Hoppenstein family in the secular world, in particular their school education and their higher education where relevant and their working lives. I argued that secular schools and places where Jews are in a minority provide an unexpected site for the acquisition of Jewish identity and I suggested that antisemitism and noticing 'difference' is as much a factor in the acquisition of a Jewish identity as is overt Jewish learning as provided in the home, the Hebrew school or the synagogue. As anthropologist Anthony Cohen argues: 'we are not aware of the distinctiveness and the circumscription of our own behaviour until we meet its normative boundaries in the shape of alternative forms'.[3]

Chapter Four investigated marriage choice through the generations. I argued that gendered educational opportunities had had an effect on marriage choice and on class mobility within the family, an effect which lasted through three generations and suggested that outmarriage involved some trauma. This was shown by the way that, for example, one member of the third generation who married out kept the information from his parents for many years. I noted the effects of marrying 'in' or 'out' on the Jewish identity of the children of the marriage and discussed the phenomena of becoming 'suddenly Jewish' and of 'return in-marriage'. I argued that

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[3] Anthony P. Cohen, 'Belonging: the Experience of Culture', in *Belonging: Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*, ed. Anthony P. Cohen, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p.4.

the many studies of Jewish identity which ignore Jews who marry out are missing a key element in the examination of what it means to be Jewish.

Jewish life in the home was examined in Chapter Five and I argued that food was very closely associated with memory, gender and Judaism. In addition, I argued that as well as being related to memory, food and in particular the observance of *Kashrut* provided a way in which 'insider' and 'outsider' status was marked, as did the observance of *Shabbat*. I suggested that levels of religiosity varied through the life course, with life events such as marriage and the birth of children being key points where families made new choices on levels of observance. I argued that in the early generations especially, women controlled the levels of observance in the home, that housekeeping and cleanliness was a gendered construct and that gendering was built into the ritual calendar.

In Chapter Six I focused on Jewish life in the synagogue and in Hebrew classes as well as in secular Jewish organisations such as literary societies and youth groups. I explored the changing relationship with Zionism through the generations and also argued that Judaism and Jewishness has become much more public and outward facing for the later generations.

Insider and outsider status as experienced through the generations

Within the different contexts discussed in the four empirical chapters, several respondents raised the issue of their own outsider status. Ivor Kallin, whose quotation about marginality and his sense of outsider status gives the title to this thesis, felt the intersectionality of his identity in three places. He felt 'marginal to Scottish culture, being Jewish'. He felt 'marginal to Jewish culture', living outside

the main Jewish area and because 'they were all materialist and Zionist' so he felt

apart from them. And, living in London and being Scottish *and* Jewish, he said,

'makes you feel different'.   His Scottishness and Jewishness was ascribed to him in

London by English people who were not Jewish, his Jewishness was ascribed to him

in Scotland by Scottish people who were not Jewish, but it was his own feelings of

difference from the Jewish people in the 'main Jewish areas' which led to his

'otherness' in that domain. Judy Stone, Ivor's second cousin, also talked about

feeling apart from the Jewish community in Giffnock;

> But I always … felt a bit of an outsider because I didn't live in
>
> Giffnock. I didn't feel completely at home really. … In Giffnock, I
>
> always felt on the edge of things and not really part of it, it was like
>
> they all had their own way of doing things that I wasn't part of.[4]

Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis argue that 'different criteria or

signifiers of inclusion may be used by those on the inside and those on the outside'.[5]

This is illustrated not only in the case of Ivor and Judy, above, but is even more

marked in the case of the children of the 'mixed' marriages where the

'insider/outsider' dichotomy becomes even more marked and where 'outsiders' were

sometimes involved in the classifying. The three members of the third generation

who married out were not seeking to 'redefine the limits of the group' in Bourdieu's

sense. In contrast, each of them seems to have been aware that they were making a

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[4] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater, interview by Fiona Frank, Cambridge. 2007. SOHCA 031/016.

[5] Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.5.

decision to leave the group, putting themselves on the other side of the group boundary. Their children did not classify themselves as Jewish, not having been brought up with Jewish traditions, nor being *halachically* Jewish. However, others often identified them as such. Anthias suggests that many visible outsiders, 'visible either through skin colour, language, accent or name' [or in this case, size of nose] are often asked 'where are you really from?' and 'where do you really belong?'[6]

As we saw in Chapter Three, Hugh Hope-Stone was subjected to bullying at school in relation to his Jewish heritage. He felt this behaviour led directly to his developing a 'Jewish consciousness'. Hugh's sister Laura, in contrast, when asked if *she* was Jewish, would always answer that she was not. She felt that the question was unfair: not only was she not *halachically* Jewish, but also, she felt, the size of her nose came from the non-Jewish side of the family. Questions about Hugh's and Laura's noses were definitely cases of 'outsiders' seeking to ascribe membership to the group; and was usually unwelcome attention. Lesley Hope-Stone, like her first cousins Hugh and Laura, was brought up without any religion and felt that she had been singled out in the school as 'different' or an 'outsider' in relation to the Christian children at the school. Her parents had withdrawn her from religious education and assembly. Lesley recalled: 'I didn't have anything positive to say what I was, I was just different. I couldn't say I'm different because I'm following this line of practice. So, I wanted to be something not nothing. And I felt that I was

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[6] Floya Anthias, 'Thinking Through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: an Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging', *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* Vol 4, no. 1 (2009), pp.7&8.

a nothing'.[7] So, at the age of fourteen, Lesley made the decision to take on a Jewish identity, buying a Star of David as a visible indicator of her Jewish heritage. She saw moving towards 'Jewishness' as a way of leaving her 'outsider' status at school as a 'nothing' and becoming 'part of something'. In Anthias's terms, she was wondering where she really belonged. Lesley's declaration of her own Jewishness was very different to Laura's experience of having Jewishness assigned to her by others because of her looks. The Star of David was, for Lesley, a public, visible, self-declared proclamation of her Jewish 'insider status' to anyone who looked at her and helped her to feel that she belonged somewhere.

Anthias's discussion, mentioned in Chapter Two, of the 'constructed, rather than essential or fixed nature of the boundaries' is important to note.[8] The conversions which took place within the family illustrate how far the boundary of Judaism is a constructed one, rather than an essential or a fixed one: each different insider 'gatekeeper' designs its own rules, seeing its role as maintaining some kind of boundary between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Conversion might be thought to be a very clear site where 'outsiders' become 'insiders'. However, the realm of conversion is not the only place where an 'insider/outsider' boundary is imposed and it is not only rabbis conducting conversion processes who define who is an 'insider' and who is an 'outsider' when it comes to Jewishness.

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[7] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Lesley Hope-Stone Caplan, interview by Fiona Frank, by telephone. 2007. SOHCA 031/008.

[8] Anthias, 'Translocational Positionality', p.9.

Contributions to knowledge

This section reviews the primary contributions to knowledge made in this thesis, namely, the significance of the time dimension as a factor in Jewish identity, the identification of gender as a factor in intergenerational class shift in the second and third generations, a challenge to the received understanding of integration and assimilation in the story of British Jewry and the importance of considering the voices of descendents of Jewish people who have married out when considering the story of Jewish immigration in the 20th and 21st centuries. In addition to these contributions to knowledge, this study has established an innovative method of using social network platforms to reach younger people, which has potential application in other research situations. Taken together, these findings support the argument of Thompson, who, as quoted in Chapter One, called for further work to be done on the intergenerational family dimension, saying that this work would show us whether there are 'clusters of different kinds of family traditions, what they are, how they relate to class and place, and how they shape their members' lives'.[9]

Time as a factor in Jewish identity

The first area where this thesis has made a contribution to knowledge is in the importance of taking note of time as a factor in Jewish identity. As we have seen, some studies have attempted to categorise people's sense of their own identity within Judaism through written surveys and questionnaires.[10] Those scholars who have

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[9] Paul Thompson, 'Review of Mary Chamberlain, "Narratives of Exile and Return"', *Reviews in History* (1998), http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/46 consulted 28 October 2010.

[10] See for example Marlena Schmool and Stephen Miller, *Women in the Jewish Community: Survey Report* (London: Women in the Community, 1994); S. Miller, M. Schmool *et al.*, 'Social and Political

challenged the legitimacy of such surveys do so both by suggesting that respondents might not understand the researchers' questions correctly[11] and by arguing that the tracking of behaviours and actions only tells a part of the story when trying to chart people's self-perceptions of their Jewish identity.[12] Despite their criticisms, none of these commentators take a dynamic view of the sense of people's Jewish identity. The data available from the Scottish census of 2001, for example, imposes a time element by asking what religion a person was 'brought up in' as well as what religion they 'belonged to' at the time of completing the census. However, those who have used this data in academic papers and articles on Scottish Jewish identity[13] have paid little or no attention to the potential stories of the 1785 people who were brought up Jewish and either indicated that they had no religion (774 people), another religion (620 people) or did not answer the current religion question (391 people) and who

Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey', (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, 1996); Stephen Miller, 'Changing Patterns of Jewish Identity among British Jews', in *New Jewish Identities: Contemporary Europe and Beyond*, eds. Zvi Gitelman, Barry Kosmin, and Andras Kovacs, (Budapest, New York: Central Europe University Press, 2003); Egon Mayer, Barry Kosmin *et al.*, 'American Jewish Identity Survey 2001: An Exploration in the Demography and Outlook of a People', (2003, first published 2001), http://www.simpletoremember.com/vitals/ajisbook.pdf consulted 12 February 2011.

[11] Bethamie Horowitz, 'Connections and Journeys: A New Vocabulary for Understanding American Jewish Identity', in *The Ultimate Jewish Teacher's Handbook*, ed. Nachama Skolnik Moskowitz, (Springfield NJ: Behrman House, Inc, 2003); Harriet Hartman and Debra Kaufman, 'Decentering the Study of Jewish Identity: Opening the Dialogue With Other Religious Groups', *Sociology of Religion* Vol 67, no. 4 (2006).

[12] Scholars have challenged the legitimacy of questionnaires on identity in different contexts, not just in those focusing on Jewishness. Considering notions of belonging among Highland Scots, anthropologist Kimberley Masson reflected: 'I try to imagine these individuals responding to a survey about identity, how difficult they would find the articulation of belonging, and how challenging it would be for the researcher who tried to account for it.' Kimberley Masson, 'Fluid Boundaries of Belonging: "Locals" and "Incomers" in the Scottish Highlands', *Scottish Affairs*, no. 59 (2007), p.37.

[13] Marlena Schmool, 'Jews in Scotland: The 2001 Census', in *Scotland's Jews*, ed. Kenneth Collins, (Glasgow: SCOJEC, 2008); Kenneth Collins and Ephraim Borowski, 'Scotland's Jews: Community and Political Challenges', *Changing Jewish Communities*, no. 55 (2010), http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/index.asp consulted 16 April 2010; Marlena Schmool, 'Scottish Jewry in the 2001 census', (n.d.), http://www.scojec.org/resources/files/census.pdf consulted 12 February 2011.

have, therefore, made significant changes to their sense of their own Jewish identity through their life course. It has been shown in this thesis that taking a long view of an individual's Jewish identity, encompassing not only that person's life but also looking at the life of their parents, grandparents and children and their marriage choices and educational journey, makes it very clear that a person's sense of their Jewish identity can change over the life course and cannot be seen as static. Writing about a different context, in a study of notions of belonging among Highland Scots, anthropologist Kimberley Masson encapsulates this idea neatly, saying that it is important to remember that an individual has both '"roots" and "routes"'.[14]

Thus, for example, Gertie Kallin (third generation) was brought up in a highly orthodox home, reduced her level of observance slightly when she got married (while at the same time her husband raised his own level of observance), reduced it further when her children were at home and returned to a stricter orthodoxy when they had left home. Arthur Stone, Gertie's cousin, was raised strictly orthodox, lived a less observant life when he was a student, in the army and in his early days as a young college lecturer and returned to a high level of Jewish practice on his marriage to a woman who also came from a rabbinical family. Arthur's sons Richard and Michael, however, maintained a very high level of observance when they lived away from home. Gertie's sons David and Ivor were born into a reasonably strict level of orthodoxy but chose to live more secular lives after they left home; Ivor's daughter Sophie Levi-Kallin has become more observant since getting married. Morrie Hope-Stone gave up his Jewish observance for good when he left home

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[14] Masson, 'Fluid Boundaries', p.43.

(although he and his wife enjoyed their relationships with Jewish friends and always sought out Jewish historical areas when travelling), whereas his daughter Lesley, raised in a non-Jewish home, became Jewish (although non-practising) as an adult.

Figure 7.1 is an attempt to show the importance of time in the study of individuals' sense of their Jewish identity. Sophie, Richard and Lesley still have children at home, hence their lines in the diagram are shorter than the others. It is difficult to put a figure on people's observance, so the diagram is more an illustration of the phenomenon rather than an exact science and some of the trajectories show peaks and troughs related to the individual concerned rather than relative to others mentioned in the graph. Given those limitations, the presentation of Jewish identity in this form, with the inclusion of a time dimension, challenges existing ways of charting Jewish identity.
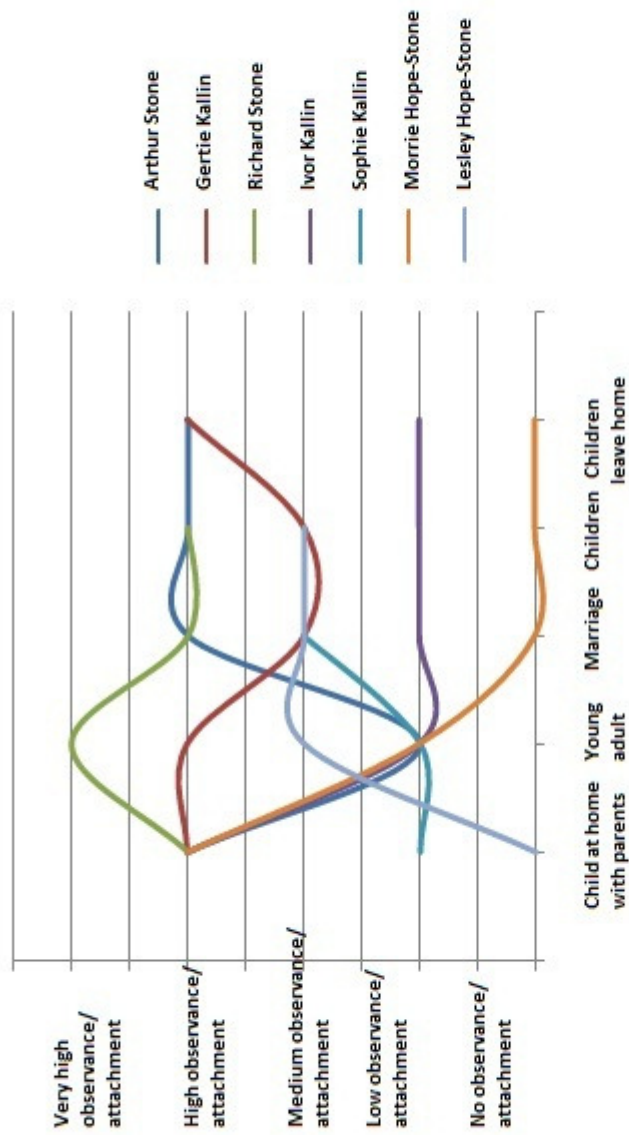
Figure 7.1 Changing observance and attachment over time

Social Mobility

A second contribution to knowledge made by this thesis is in the area of social mobility. For first generation immigrant Jews in Glasgow, such as the parents of Hannah Frank who married into the Hoppenstein family, one stage of social mobility meant a move from the Gorbals to the West End or the areas to the south of Glasgow such as Battlefield, Crosshill, Mount Florida, Langside, Queen's Park and Pollokshields. Braber, Collins, Fleming and Kenefick all discuss the Jewish population's movement to the southern suburbs. Fleming, for example, notes that: 'those who were most successful at making a living began to move away from the Gorbals to suburbs further south of Glasgow city centre in the years after World War One'.[15] Kenefick asserts 'it was clear … that when a family improved their position they moved out [of the Gorbals]'.[16] Collins distinguishes between the different southern suburbs, remarking that 'even this move from the Gorbals to such areas as Pollokshields must be kept in perspective, as most of those in Pollokshields were living in tenement property on the fringes of that area, rather than in the large villas in the district's centre'.[17] Zvi David and Sophia, of course, had never lived in the Gorbals; they moved in 1912 from Edinburgh, via Ayr, to a tenement in a working-class area of Langside.

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[15] Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005), p.133.

[16] William Kenefick, 'Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities in Twentieth Century Scotland', in *Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory*, eds. David Cesarani, Tony Kushner, and Milton Shain, (Edgeware, Middlesex and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), p.64.

[17] Kenneth Collins, *Go and Learn: the International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), p.90; Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007).

Another stage in upward social mobility was a move from tenement to 'main door' housing, to those large villas mentioned by Collins. With upward social mobility came an accompanying upward class shift, with families having greater disposable income. But there is a gendered difference in intergenerational class mobility which has not been noted by other commentators.

Although some families moved south from the Gorbals to middle-class areas and even crossed the divide from the South Side to the West End, other relatives such as siblings and cousins were left behind. Each of the Hoppenstein men in the second and third generations went to university, providing them with embodied cultural capital, the 'tokens' in Bourdieu's marriage 'game'[18] which they were able to use to marry the daughters of successful middle-class merchant families. The families into which the male second generation Hoppensteins married had economic capital which was used to provide financial support for the young couples' relocation away from the tenements to larger houses in middle-class areas. In the case of the female second generation Hoppensteins, however, the move to better housing and greater prosperity was to take one more generation. It was not until their sons went to university, gained professional qualifications and married the children of middle-class families, that they were able to move to better housing. It is clear that the social mobility of the men of the family was linked both to their higher education and their 'successful' marriages, made possible through their education. Although a very small number of Jewish women of the time went to university and

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[18] Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1993), p.34.

took up professional careers,[19] the second generation Hoppenstein women did not get the chance to gain qualifications at university. Each of the women in the second generation of the Hoppenstein family married men working as traders or in unskilled roles and their children grew up in tenement housing. Zvi David, for all his cultural capital, had no economic capital with which to support his daughters and their families to move to better areas. While upward mobility is of course a well rehearsed area, the phenomenon of intergenerational class shift based on gendered educational opportunities has not previously been noted by scholars and would repay further attention.

Integration and Assimilation

A third area where this thesis breaks new ground is in challenging conventional wisdom on the process of integration and in the idea of other cultures gradually assimilating to the host community through the generations. As we saw in Chapter Two, Braber, for example, charts a gradual integration over time, saying that there was 'assimilation and acculturation in terms of daily habits, religious practices, language, politics and occupations, but there was also an opportunity to maintain and develop distinct Jewish identities'.[20] Through the lives of the Hoppenstein family, it has been possible to chart some of those 'distinct Jewish identities' and by doing so show that in many cases there was no such assimilation in terms of daily habits and religious practices. Indeed some individuals (such as Barbara Spevack, as shown in

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[19] Collins, *Go and Learn*, p.86. The mother-in-law of Jack Levy, a cousin of Lionel Levy through his father, had been a doctor.

[20] Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p.204.

the quote at the beginning of the chapter) became *more* religious as the generations went on, however others (like Amber Caplan, also shown in the quote at the beginning of the chapter) were, of course, far more assimilated.

Linked to the expected gradual attrition of Jewish practice is the fact that it might be expected that through the generations that Jewish children would be increasingly integrated within secular schools. As we saw in Chapter Three, however, although none of the children of the second, third or fourth generations attended Jewish primary or secondary day schools,[21] of the 18 children in the fifth and sixth generation born to two Jewish parents, all but two of them have attended, are attending or will attend Jewish schools. This phenomenon is not restricted to the Hoppenstein family. A recent research report on the future of Jewish Schools, published by the Jewish Leadership Council, stated that 'Jewish schools have never been more popular' and set out the key facts as follows:

> There are now more than 26000 Jewish pupils attending Jewish
>
> schools compared to less than 13000 some 30 years ago.
>
> Over the last decade, enrolments overall have increased by 50 per
>
> cent and in the mainstream community by 30 per cent.
>
> Today, some 60 per cent of Jewish children of school age attend
>
> Jewish schools compared to around 25 per cent 30 years ago.[22]

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[21] Calderwood Lodge Jewish Primary School only opened in Glasgow in 1962, so came too late for Doreen Spevack and David, Judy and Martin Stone, but it was open in time for Ivor and David to attend. But there were Jewish schools in Manchester, where Arthur Stone and his family lived and his children could have been sent to those schools.

[22] The Commission on Jewish Schools, 'The Future of Jewish Schools', (London: Jewish Leadership Council, 2008), p.7.

Although half of these children come from the *Haredi* or ultra-orthodox community, where the demand for Jewish schooling is 100 per cent, the other half come from mainstream Jewish families, who are increasingly choosing Jewish education for their children. Jewish educationalist Helena Miller, in a 2001 article on Jewish schooling in the UK, comments on the rise in attendance at Jewish schools. Concurring with *Jewish Chronicle* journalist Simon Rocker,[23] she suggests that the reasons for the resurgence of interest in full-time Jewish education are:

> to counteract the prevailing trend of assimilation;
>
> to provide a strong foundation of Jewish learning;
>
> to counteract the perceived influences of wider society;
>
> to provide an academically excellent education in preference to other local options.[24]

A *Jewish Chronicle* article, published at around the same time as Miller's piece, makes similar assumptions as to the reasons for Jewish parents choosing Jewish day schools for their children. To these findings I would add that some parents choose day schools in order to provide an identity and a Jewish learning opportunity for their children while choosing themselves not to join a synagogue and provide a model of Jewish learning at home.

The 2009 ruling in the English High Court affecting eligibility at Jewish schools is likely to have an effect on this latter reason for choosing Jewish education for one's children. The ruling was a result of a challenge by a parent to the

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[23] Simon Rocker, 'Jewish Schools on an Unstoppable Roll', *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 December 2000.

[24] Helena Miller, 'Meeting the Challenge: The Jewish Schooling Phenomenon in the UK', *Oxford Review of Education* Vol 27, no. 4 (2001), p.506.

admissions policy of the JFS (formerly the Jews' Free School, the school attended by

Sophie, Phoebe and Hamish Kallin). At the time the policy of the school when it

was over-subscribed was only to accept children recognised as *halachically* Jewish

by the United (Orthodox) Synagogue, in other words children of mothers who were

themselves children of Jewish mothers or who had had converted through the United

Synagogue (rather than through other bodies such as Reform and Liberal Judaism).[25]

The successfully upheld challenge, which was strongly contested by the JFS and the

United Synagogue, has meant that Jewish schools cannot currently use the

matrilineal descent rule in decision-making about eligibility for admission but,

instead, have to ensure that a prospective pupil can show 'outward manifestations of

religious practice'.[26] To this end, Jewish schools are now asking for applicants to

complete a 'Certificate of Religious Practice', the criteria of which include

attendance by the child (or the parents, in the case of eligibility for nursery or

primary schools) at synagogue, Jewish educational activities and/or Jewish

communal, charitable or welfare activities.[27] The court ruling, then, has removed the

possibility of parents like Ivor and David Kallin, for example, who are uninvolved in

Jewish communal or religious life, sending their children to a Jewish school. This is

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[25] 'Judgment: R (on the application of E) (Respondent) v Governing Body of JFS and the Admissions Appeal Panel of JFS (Appellants) and others', (2009), http://www.supremecourt.gov.uk/decided-cases/docs/UKSC_2009_0136_Judgment.pdf consulted 31 July 2011; Afua Hirsch and Riazat Butt, 'Faith School's Admission's Policy Discriminatory, Says Appeal Court', *The Guardian*, 25 June 2009.

[26] 'Judgment: R v JFS', p.89.

[27] 'The United Synagogue Schools Admissions Code'. United Synagogue, http://www.theus.org.uk/jewish_living/schools_and_nurseries/application_process/, consulted 31st July 2011.

a new development and further research is needed on how the effect of the court ruling changes behaviour in the future.

The role of those who leave

A fourth – and possibly the most important – contribution to learning that this thesis makes is the recognition that when writing the story of Jewish families and Jewish immigration, an essential part of the story is missing if the story of Jews who marry non-Jewish partners is not taken into consideration. As we saw in Chapter Two, although some American studies both by researchers and by Jewish policy organisations have begun to examine mixed marriages, writers on Jewish immigration to and Jewish life in Britain, with the exception of Chaim Bermant's *The Cousinhood,*[28] have tended to ignore people who marry out, treating them as completely out of the picture, lost to the community, no longer part of their narrative.[29] Hence Collins, in his study of Jews and medicine, notes:

> For some Jews entry into medicine was the opportunity to escape from the community and shake off their Jewish origins. Leaving home marked the first steps away from the protection of family and community life. Some married out of the faith and, moving to smaller urban or to rural practices, they dropped out of organised Jewish life.[30]

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[28] Chaim Bermant, *The Cousinhood* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1971).

[29] Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow', p.9. Glasgow, SJAC. Oral Testimony of Dr Leslie Naftalin, interview by Ben Braber. 1989. Cited in Kenefick, 'Jewish and Irish Communities', p.65.

[30] Collins, *Go and Learn*, p.94.

It can be seen from the social networking diagrams in Chapter Four that the families of men in the Hoppenstein family who married out in the third generation do seem to have been lost to the rest of the family; there was little communication between the extended Hoppenstein family and the children of the Hope-Stone and the Herts families, compared with the ongoing communication between those cousins who had made endogamous marriages. Those men who had married out may indeed, in Collins' words, have wanted to 'shake off their Jewish origins'.[31] But the three families we have seen where a father has married out have provided contrasting and rich examples of how a sense of Jewish identity continues through the generations. To ignore these families is to ignore a large part of Jewish heritage.

Although it may be thought that Jewish families closed ranks and turned away when one of their number married out in earlier generations – and the social network diagrams indeed illustrate a marked difference in communications patterns between the families who married out and those who did not – that does not seem to have been the whole story within the Hoppenstein family. We know that the three third generation men who married out were visited by their uncle Moss Stone and their cousin Harold Levy. We know that other family members 'left behind', that is, those who have not sought to shake off their Jewish origins, do not stop talking about those parts of the family who are 'lost' to them through outmarriage. In his seminal retelling of his discovery of his roots, Alex Haley recalls the conversations on the front porch between his grandmother and her sisters and cousins who would sit on the cane-bottomed rocking chairs and who would always talk about 'the self same

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[31] *Ibid.*

thing. … bits and pieces and patches of what I later would learn was a long narrative history of the family which had been passed down literally across generations.'[32] As we saw in Chapter Five, Karen Fog Olwig argued that 'the maintaining and reshaping of family ways occurred, to a great extent, as individuals related stories – or gossiped – within the family network'.[33]

This situation was no different in the Hoppenstein family. We saw in Chapter Four that family members from three different branches of the wider family, without prompting, recounted the 'myth' of the incident in the taxi, where Leslie's father met the woman who had introduced herself to him on the phone as his son's doctor. In this taxi the family secret of Leslie Herts's marriage and children was finally exposed to his parents and at the same time, the family secret of his Jewishness was finally exposed to his children. Leslie's Jewishness was quite likely to have been known in some innate way by the children. Psychoanalyst Paul Goldreich, cited in *Suddenly Jewish* by Barbara Kessel, suggests that 'parents who deny their Jewishness nevertheless inevitably send out signals. They leave clues that their children pick up on, although neither side – parent or child – may be consciously aware of what is happening'.[34] Robert Krell, here discussing children hidden during the Holocaust and never told of their Jewish roots, suggests that 'when [Jewish children are] the recipients of a deathbed confession … that they're Jewish,

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[32] Alex Haley, 'Black History, Oral History and Genealogy', in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson, (London: Routledge, 1998), p.9.

[33] Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.19.

[34] Barbara Kessel, *Suddenly Jewish: Jews Raised Gentiles Discover Their Jewish Roots* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2000), p.117.

they immediately feel comfortable because they always knew they were different'.[35] Barbara Herts, for example, reflected that 'I suppose, what I find so strange is that my father looked really Jewish. … you would have thought somebody might have … noticed or something'.[36]

As we have seen, Lesley Hope-Stone, the only child of a father who married out in the third generation, was brought up without any Jewish tradition in the home. But she chose to 'return' to Judaism at the age of fourteen and later undertook the conversion process through the Reform synagogue in South Africa, with the support of her Jewish second husband's family. Lesley's daughter Amber went to a Jewish primary school, has Jewish as well as non-Jewish friends in Cape Town and as we saw in the quotation which opens this chapter, considers herself to have a Jewish identity which she wants to pass on to her children.

The narratives from these families illustrate the importance both for scholars with an interest in Jewish identity and for Jewish communal institutions seeking to foster Jewish continuity ('ethnic retentionists' in Gans's terms[37]) of paying attention to the stories of those people who might on the surface seem to be lost to Judaism. Furthermore, they underline the importance of taking a long view, rather than a snapshot, of the Jewish identity of an individual and of a family.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p.118.

[36] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Barbara Herts, interview by Fiona Frank, London. 2007. SOHCA 031/012.

[37] Herbert J. Gans, 'Toward a Reconciliation of "Assimilation" and "Pluralism": The Interplay of Acculturation and Ethnic Retention', *International Migration Review* Vol 31, no. 4 (1997), p.875-6.

The use of Facebook as a research tool

A fifth contribution is in the innovative use of Facebook 'electronic virtual focus groups', discussions with the younger generation of interviewees used to supplement the oral testimony interviews carried out with the older respondents. The oral history interviews allowed reflection by respondents on their identity and their life story and allowed them to foreground what they thought was important in their stories, but the responses were given 'on the spot'. The Facebook discussions, in contrast, allowed the respondents to answer the different sections of the 'interview' in their own time. They reviewed their responses before sending them electronically. Thus the responses did not have the spontaneity and freshness of the oral testimony, but the respondents were able to put more consideration and thought into their replies. There was a certain lack of privacy in the responses; they were closed to the wider Facebook community, but open to the other Facebook respondents in the group, in this case, their siblings, cousins or third cousins. Some respondents expressed an interest in being able to see the other responses. Being textually mediated, the data shared some of the same limitations as those which Joanna Bornat suggests pertain to using interviews carried out by others: 'not being there reduces the interview to the text alone and changes the way that the text can be analysed'.[38] But the benefits of the method outweighed these limitations, allowing access to the thinking of younger respondents who otherwise would not have been included in the research, using a medium with which they felt comfortable and, in particular, opening up a channel by

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[38] Joanna Bornat, 'Recycling the Evidence: Different Approaches to the Reanalysis of Gerontological Data', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung* Vol 6, no. 1 (2005), p.5.

which it was possible to return to the informants throughout the research process with follow-up questions. This was something to which the group was very responsive.

Having shown the contributions that this thesis makes to knowledge, I now turn to the ideas of Bourdieu and how far they were helpful in providing a framework for the analysis of the data gathered.

Bourdieu and marriage choice in the context of the Hoppenstein family through the twentieth century

The ideas of Bourdieu on the links between social, economic and cultural capital and his suggestion that marriage choice is 'the product of strategies … oriented towards the satisfaction of material and symbolic interests and organised by reference to a determinate set of economic and social conditions'[39] provided a clear framework for a class-based analysis of marriage choice and social mobility within this thesis. It was easy to analyse the marriage decisions made across classes and between families of different economic status but similar cultural status entirely through the lens of Bourdieu's idea of 'The Game'. Indeed the more patterns I found repeating through the generations, the more compelling it was to search for more representations of decision-making as a function of well qualified but economically constrained men searching for wealthier women to marry. However, as I discussed in the introduction, Bourdieu's ideas have been challenged by feminist scholars who suggest that his theories commodify women and that he rarely considers women as subjects with

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[39] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.36.

strategies of their own.[40] In the current study, although Bourdieu's theory of cultural and economic capital highlighted a gendered pattern in inter-generational class mobility which has not been explored before, the oral testimony methodology has foregrounded the agency of the women involved in the marriage choices as well as the men, at least in the third and subsequent generations. Thus, I have been able to show that human relations were at the heart of marriage partnerships, however far the patterns of marriage may show that they satisfied 'material and symbolic interests'.[41]

Suggestions for further research

The data collected for this thesis offers many opportunities for further research, both of itself and through using it to make links with other work. Issues around occupational mobility and occupational choice would repay further investigation. Following Vincent, who analysed a large dataset of oral history interviews for mentions of trades and occupations that the respondents would have liked to have undertaken during their lifetimes,[42] a fascinating area of study would be 'shadow trades', looking at the disappointments and 'what if's' around occupational choice. The interview data includes several examples of thwarted ambition among men in the first, second and third generations in the Hoppenstein family and the aspirations of women, too, in the second and third generations could be further investigated.

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[40] Terry Lovell, 'Thinking Feminism', pp.21-2.

[41] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* p.36.

[42] David Vincent, 'Shadow and Reality in Occupational History: Britain in the First Half of the Twentieth Century', in *Pathways to Social Class: A Qualitative Approach to Social Mobility*, eds. Daniel Bertaux and Paul Thompson, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 2007, first published 1997).

More links could be made between the Hoppenstein family and studies of immigration of other groups to Scotland. Although several studies of immigration of different groups to Scotland informed my research, for example popular publications such as *Who Belongs to Glasgow* by Mary Edward and Billy Kay's *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Past,* academic studies such as Hanley's *The Irish in Scotland*, Watson's *The English in Scotland* and several papers by Peter Hopkins on young Scottish Pakistanis,[43] further attention could be drawn to links between the Hoppenstein family through the generations and the ways in which these different communities maintained their identities in Scotland.

The family myths and scripts would repay further attention, perhaps linking them to other studies of myths and family legend such as Levi-Strauss's concept of the 'mytheme'.[44] It would be interesting to investigate further the role of God and of atheism in the family's understanding of religion. The use of language within the interviews in a wider sense could form the focus of analysis.

More work could be carried out on the early immigration story: I was not able to find shipping passage information for Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein arriving in Britain and although I tracked Harry Hoppenstein to the USA on a ship which left Edinburgh in 1911, a month after the 1911 census showed him living in

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[43] James Edmund Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork and Oxford: Cork University Press and B. H. Blackwell, Ltd., 1947); Billy Kay, Ed., *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland's Recent Past* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1982); Murray Watson, *Being English in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003); Mary Edward, *Who Belongs to Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2008). Publications by Hopkins include: Peter Hopkins, 'Young Muslim Men in Scotland: Inclusions and Exclusions', *Children's Geographies* Vol 2 (2004); '"Blue Squares", "Proper" Muslims and Transnational Networks: Narratives of National and Religious Identities amongst Young Muslim Men living in Scotland', *Ethnicities* Vol 7, no. 1 (2007).

[44] Levi-Strauss, Claude. *Structural Anthropology*. (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p.211.

his family home[45] I was not able to find any information about Harry in the USA

apart from his burial record.[46] Attention could be paid to the artefacts, photographs

and papers kept by different members of the family. Given resources to carry out

further interviews, an ongoing study could be carried out by tracking the younger

members of the fifth generation and returning to the fourth and fifth generation on an

ongoing basis to engage with their changing affiliation, religiosity, social mobility

and marriage/partner choices. Simon Rocker made a suggestion in a *Jewish

Chronicle* article in 2000 that:

> One could interview a sample group of eleven year olds entering a
>
> Jewish secondary school about what, in Jewish terms, they hope to
>
> get out of it, research their experience seven years later at 18, and
>
> follow up when they are 25 and see what has become of them. By
>
> comparing the findings with a group who hadn't attended a Jewish
>
> school, we would know a lot more about the real impact of Jewish
>
> education.[47]

The present thesis could be used to provide a comparator for such a research project.

A complementary study of another Scottish Jewish family without a rabbinical

background would show what happened to generations of Scottish Jews who had less

attachment to orthodoxy.

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[45] Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland. Census Entry for the Hoppenstein family. 1911.
1911685/06001/00002.

[46] Glasgow, Private collection, David Stone. Burial Record of Harry Stein, died 31 October. 1957.
Flushing NY Block 58, Lot 11, Section 9, Grave 13, range A/B.

[47] Rocker, 'Jewish Schools on an Unstoppable Roll.'

In conclusion

This thesis has shown how an oral history study of an extended family with a theme of transmission of Jewish identity can shed light on its main topic while also bringing new insights into wider issues of class, gender and group membership. It is hoped that, in answering the call by Bertaux and Thompson for studies of the social trajectories within intergenerational family histories[48] and for new ways of writing about these families,[49] I have provided a fitting example of such a study and that others will be encouraged by my efforts to take on a similar task within different families, different contexts and different ethnic groups.

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[48] Daniel Bertaux, 'From Methodological Monopoly to Pluralism in the Sociology of Social Mobility', in *Life and Work History Analyses*, ed. S. Dex, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.87-8, and Thompson, 'Review of Mary Chamberlain'.

[49] Paul Thompson, 'Review of Mary Chamberlain, "Narratives of Exile and Return"', *Reviews in History* (1998), http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/46 consulted 28 October 2010.

Appendix One: Locating the interviewees

Some branches of the family were much easier to locate than others. This, of course, relates to communications and contact within the family and is research data in itself. The family tree which Arthur Stone had prepared did not include the spouses and children of his three cousins who had married out, despite Uncle Moss being in touch with these cousins and their families up to his death in 1981. It was very obvious to me that the branches of the family who had married out were isolated from the rest of the family.   Members of the 'fully Jewish' branches of the family, the Stones, Cowens/Kallins and Levy/Samuels/Spevacks, knew Leslie Herts's children's names – they had met them when they were in their early teens – but they were no longer in touch with them and none of the rest of the family had met Harold and Morrie Hope-Stone's children.   The image that stayed with me during the whole of the project was of a wall, a boundary between the 'Jewish' family and the 'non-Jewish' family.

I chanced on Hugh Hope-Stone through an internet search and a carefully-worded email which, he said, he had nearly deleted (the heading, 'Contact' and my alliterative name, Fiona Frank, having made him think it could be an example of 'spam', an unsolicited advertising email or an attempt to infect a computer with a virus). Having read the email, however and having checked with his father that he was indeed a member of the 'Hoppenstein' family and that his great-grandfather was Zvi David Hoppenstein, he was interested enough in my research to agree to an interview. By the time I conducted the interview, which was carried out by telephone, he had arranged for me to interview his father Harold, brother Rod and

sister Laura.   His father Harold then provided the link to his brother Morrie, which led to Morrie's daughter Lesley and her daughter Amber.

The Hope-Stones being found, this still left a whole branch of the family which had not been contacted, the Herts family. Fred Stone had mentioned that he had occasional contact with Barbara Herts professionally:

> one of these [Hertz grandchildren] keeps in touch with me fairly regularly, about once or twice a year, and has gone into social work with children, very close to my own interests, and we (laughs) hear about each other through colleagues, is the funniest thing.[1]

I was aware that Barbara Herts held a public position as chief executive of a national mental health children's charity, but I did not feel comfortable about contacting her without an introduction: I wanted to be sure that she would agree to be interviewed. Eventually, Fred contacted me to say that he had been in touch with Barbara and she was very interested in my research. This led to my interviews with the three Herts siblings, Barbara, Ailsa and Ken, the last to be interviewed.

As well as having heard differing versions of and perspectives on the story from the Herts siblings and from their cousins, a serendipitous accident – a chance remark I made to the Chair of the Ben Uri London Jewish Museum of Art who asked me how my research was going – meant that I ended up interviewing his 98-year-old father, Dr Emil Glasser, who turned out to be the former family doctor of the Hertz grandparents. James E. McClellan III has written about the role which serendipity, accident and luck plays in historical research. He embarked on research which led to

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[1] Glasgow, SOHCA. Oral Testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow. 2004. SOHCA 031/004a.

an important discovery, purely because of a chance question asked at a seminar by the historian Daniel Roche at a Paris seminar. He suggests that 'clearly, graduate students would be well serviced by at least some acknowledgement that accident plays a real role in historical research'[2] and I can certainly attest to this. Accident and coincidence had also put Rod Hope-Stone back in touch with his cousin, Mark Ginsburg. Rod introduced me to Mark, who put me in contact with his aunt Rachel Foster, Morrie and Harold Hope-Stone's cousin. Finally, I located Harold Levy's wife's sister, Rose Krasner, through adroit use of the *Jewish Chronicle*'s Personal Notices; she and her son Gerald were mentioned in various notices in the newspaper relating to the Levy family. I then found Gerald through his very public involvement with Bournemouth Football Club and he put me in touch with his mother.

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[2] James E. McClellan III, 'Accident, Luck and Serendipity in Historical Research', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol 149, no. 1 (2005), p.15.

Appendix Two: Oral History Interviews conducted for this thesis

All archived at the Scottish Oral History Centre, University of Strathclyde, unless

stated. All interviews by the author except where noted.

Hoppenstein family, third generation

Lionel Levy and Hannah Frank. Glasgow, 25 October 2000. SOHCA031/001.
Morrie Hope-Stone and Betty Hope-Stone. Upton-on-Severn, 17 August 2007.
    SOHCA0031/002.
Harold Hope-Stone. Littlebury Green, 22 June 2007. SOHCA0031/003.
Fred Stone with Zelda Stone. Glasgow, 19 October 2004. SOHCA 031/004a.
Fred Stone. Glasgow, 24 January 2007. SOHCA031/004b.
Arthur Stone, interviewed by Fiona Frank and Bill Williams. Manchester, 3 June
    2003. SOHCA031/005a.
Arthur Stone. Manchester, 25 February 2004. SOHCA 031/005b.
Gertie Kallin with Stanley Kallin. Liverpool, 23 April and 6 May 2004. SOHCA
    031/006.

Hoppenstein family, fourth generation

Doreen Spevack. Glasgow, April 2004. SOHCA 031/007.
Lesley Hope-Stone Caplan. By telephone, 29 August 2007. SOHCA 031/008.
Rod Hope-Stone. By telephone, 13 October 2007. SOHCA 031/009.
Hugh Hope-Stone. By telephone, 17 May 2007. SOHCA 031/010.
Laura Hope-Stone. Liverpool, 11 September 2007. SOHCA 031/011.
Barbara Herts. London, 24 October 2007. SOHCA 031/012.
Ailsa Herts Garner. Leicester, 3 May 2008. SOHCA 031/013.
Kenneth Herts. Leeds, 19 June 2008. SOHCA 031/014.
David Stone. Glasgow, 10 May 2007. SOHCA 031/015.
Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater. Cambridge, 19 October 2007. SOHCA
    031/016.
Michael Stone. London, 28 February 2008. SOHCA 031/017.
Richard Stone. Manchester, 19 February 2008. SOHCA 031/018.
Ivor Kallin. London, 16 November 2003. SOHCA031/019.
David Kallin with Jenny Kallin. London, 27 November 2004. SOHCA 031/020.

Hoppenstein family, fifth generation

Amber Caplan. Cape Town, 8 January 2009. SOHCA 031/021.

Other interviews and transcripts of respondent validation events

Oral Testimony of Dr Emil Glasser. London, 13 June 2008. SOHCA 031/022.
Hoppenstein Family Gathering. Glasgow: Glasgow University, 24 August 2008.
    SOHCA 031/032.

Hoppenstein Family Gathering. London, 29 November 2009. SOHCA 031/033.

Appendix Three: Facebook discussion: topics and names of respondents with dates

Topics

1. Growing up, did you have Jewish friends? And do you now?

2. How (if at all) has Judaism figured in your lives?

3. Away from home, would you seek out Jewish things?

4. When you were growing up, did you take part in Jewish activities?

5. What does it feel like writing about this stuff with other cousins likely to read it at some point?

6. Do you have any other relevant thoughts that you'd like to share?

Respondents (all fifth generation)

Natalie Stone. February 2008. SOHCA 031/023.
Ben Adams. March 2008. SOHCA 031/028.
Rachel Adams. March 2008. SOHCA 031/032
Sophie Kallin. January 2008. SOHCA 031/029.
Phoebe Kallin. January 2008. SOHCA 031/030.
Hamish Kallin. January 2008. SOHCA 031/031.
Carmela Stone. March 2008. SOHCA 031/033.
Laura Hope Stone. March 2008. SOHCA 031/034.
Neil Stone.   March 2008. SOHCA 031/035.

Appendix Four: Social network analysis matrix prior to Herts family re-contact

Names*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1	X	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
2	3	X	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	3	3	x	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	3	3	3	X	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	3	3	3	3	x	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	3	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
6	3	3	3	3	3	x	3	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	3	3	3	3	3	3	x	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0
8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2
9	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	x	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2
10	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	x	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	x	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
12	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	x	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	0	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	X	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	0	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	3	x	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	2	0	2	0	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	x	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	2	0	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	x	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	2	2	0	0
17	2	0	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	3	x	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
18	2	0	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	x	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	0	0
19	2	0	2	0	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	1	x	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	3	3
20	3	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	x	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	x	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	x	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	x	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	x	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	3	2	2	1	1
29	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	x	2	2	1	1
30	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	x	3	1	1
31	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	x	1	1
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	x	3
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	x

See Figure 4.4 . Key: 0 no contact 1 limited contact 2 regular contact 3 sibling/parent/child relationship (*see Appendix Six below for key to names)

Appendix Five: Social network analysis matrix after the Herts family re-contact

Names*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1	x	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
2	3	X	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	3	3	X	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	3	3	3	x	3	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	3	3	3	3	x	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	3	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
6	3	3	3	3	3	X	3	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	3	3	3	3	3	3	x	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	0
8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	x	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
9	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	x	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2
10	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	x	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
11	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	x	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
12	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	x	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
13	1	0	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	X	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	0	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	3	x	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	2	0	2	0	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	x	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	2	0	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	x	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	0	0
17	2	0	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	3	x	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
18	2	0	2	1	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	3	x	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	0	0
19	2	0	2	0	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	0	0	2	2	2	1	x	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
20	3	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	x	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	x	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	x	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	x	3	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
26	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	x	3	1	1	0	0	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	\	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	3	x	1	1	0	0	0	0
28	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	x	3	2	2	1	1
29	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	x	2	2	1	1
30	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	x	3	1	1
31	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	x	1	1
32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	x	3
33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	x

See Figure 4.3. Key: 0 no contact 1 limited contact 2 regular contact 3 sibling/parent/child relationship (*see Appendix Six below for key to names)

Appendix Six:

Key to social network analysis matrices, Appendices Four and Five

See Figures 4.3 and 4.4. The first column in the grid in Appendices Four and Five relates to the names, below.

Second generation	*Third generation*	
1 Eva Levy	10 Harold Levy	20 Doreen Samuels Spevack
2 Harry Hoppenstein	11 Rita Levy Samuels	21 Lesley Hope-Stone Caplan
3 Isaac Hoppenstein	12 Lionel Levy	22 Rodney Hope-Stone
4 Sidney Hope-Stone	13 Morrie Hope-Stone	23 Hugh Hope-Stone
5 Beatrice Hertz	14 Harold Hope-Stone	24 Laura Hope-Stone
6 Lily Goldberg	15 Leslie Herts	25 Ailsa Herts Garner
7 Marcus Stone	16 Fred Stone	26 Kenneth Herts
8 Moss Stone	17 Ida Stone	27 Barbara Herts
9 Esther Cowen	18 Arthur Stone	28 David Stone
	19 Gertie Cowen Kallin	29 Judy Stone Gershater
		30 Michael Stone
		31 Richard Stone
		32 Ivor Kallin
		33 David Kallin

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Glasgow: University of Strathclyde Scottish Oral History Centre Archive (SOHCA)

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Oral Testimony of Barbara Herts. London, 24 October 2007. SOHCA 031/012.
Oral Testimony of Ailsa Herts Garner. Leicester, 3 May 2008. SOHCA 031/013.
Oral Testimony of Kenneth Herts. Leeds, 19 June 2008. SOHCA 031/014.
Oral Testimony of David Stone. Glasgow, 10 May 2007. SOHCA 031/015.

Oral Testimony of Judy Stone Gershater with Craig Gershater. Cambridge, 19 October 2007. SOHCA 031/016.

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