

Home and Family Life

Many of those who believed in the existence of an estranged generation between the First and Second World Wars felt that these Jews' family and home lives, especially during their formative years, held the key to understanding their apparently deviant behaviour. As in the contemporary United States—where Wirth's study of Chicago Jewry found many immigrant families struggling with the 'behaviour patterns' of the young and their importation of 'extraneous cultural influences' into the home—many commentators in Britain believed the roots of estrangement lay within the family environment.¹ One speaker at a conference on 'The Problem of the Immigrant' held in February 1923, for instance, noted that while the home was a key institution for maintaining Jewish 'unity', 'unabridgable [*sic*] differences' between immigrant generations were undermining the ability of the home to preserve Jewish 'ideals, thought and language ... [and] harmony and strength'.² Eleven years later, Nettie Adler concluded that whilst many young Jews still showed 'respect and reverence' for their elders, and that many migrant parents were still 'devoted to their children', 'Jewish home life ... [was] undoubtedly less strongly cemented than in the past'.³ There was, as one Jewish social worker in London's East End noted, a seemingly growing 'cleavage' within the migrant family environment and between immigrant generations, a divergence in attitudes, mores and customs that underpinned and explained the second generation's apparently contrasting lifestyles and had potentially grave consequences for the community as a whole.⁴

As in the USA, all this was believed to be a serious threat to Jewishness in a British context.⁵ The importance of the family environment for the perpetuation of ethnic and religious identity among migrant and minority communities is well known.⁶ For Jews, however, the home—that so-called ‘walled garden’ of Jewish culture—is believed to take on an even greater importance in terms of the preservation of identity and culture.⁷ For Jewish communities, ‘centuries of tradition had etched indelibly the pattern of family life’, with the home acting as a setting in which key elements of Jewishness, such as respect for parents, understanding and acceptance of gender roles, a focus on charity and education, and an acknowledgment and appreciation of the significance of religion, language and food, were all instilled.⁸ In times of persecution and hardship, the home environment had acted as a bastion for the protection and continuance of Jewishness, providing ‘rigidity’ and ‘stability’ to Jewish life and identity.⁹

The argument was that if the immigrant family and home could no longer be relied upon to provide a firm cultural and ethnic basis for a Jewish life among British-born and/or raised immigrant children, then there would be significant repercussions, not only for second-generation Jewishness, but for Jewishness in Britain as a whole moving forward.¹⁰ Such concerns had first emerged in the pre-First World War period when the migrants’ home life became the focus of attention for philanthropists and social workers keen to hasten migrant Anglicisation.¹¹ In 1903, for instance, social investigator Harry Lewis claimed that ‘the love of the home and happy family relations, although still characteristic of the Jew, are less universally met with than heretofore’.¹² Despite this, many, including Lewis himself, were quick to point out that Jewish immigrant children generally lived in more ‘stable homes, received better care and were healthier’ than many non-Jewish children in the same areas of ‘devastating poverty’.¹³ In his well-known 1900 survey of *The Jew in London* (co-written with Charles Russell), Lewis noted that the Jewish home and family were ‘much stronger... than in the outside world’ and that ‘undutiful [Jewish] children are quite an exception’.¹⁴

Communal perceptions of the migrant home, however, changed markedly as attention to second-generation estrangement increased. Many observers believed that the apparent breakdown in parent–child relations was both a source and symptom of growing difficulties within the family environment. In 1923, Lily Montagu talked of a ‘chasm’, ‘a hiatus’ and a ‘social fissure’ existing between the migrant generations

both borne from and resulting in ‘diverse outlooks’ on ‘Judaism and things Jewish’.¹⁵ Likewise, according to *The Times* in 1924, first-generation parents were increasingly unable to exert ‘control’ over their British-born and/or raised young and the ability of the home environment to ‘influence’ the inculcation of Jewish identity and culture was therefore being eroded.¹⁶

Some diversity in outlook between generations was welcomed by the established community, no least the younger generation’s apparently changing attitudes and proficiencies as regards Yiddish, the main dialect of the immigrant population. However, the belief was strong that changing behaviours and approaches to family and home life, and the changing location of the family and home more widely for the second generation, was having a deleterious effect. This was not only seen as regards relations between immigrant parents and their British-born and/or raised offspring, but also in terms of second-generation approaches to those aspects of Jewish life and culture embedded in their formative years within the privacy of the Jewish home and family, and, indeed, towards the notions of home and family itself.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANT ELDERS

The root of problems in the home environment was believed to lie in changing relations between immigrant parent and child. It was felt that, as second-generation children became increasingly familiar and comfortable with life in Britain, the Old World customs and mores of their immigrant elders were a growing source of discomfort to them, making young Jews less and less willing to defer to their seniors’ judgements and wishes. In 1914, for instance, the Chief Rabbi noted that ‘an unpleasant spot in our communal life’ was the ‘growing want of reverence on the part of some of the Jewish youth for their parents’, claiming that young Jews born or raised in Britain ‘look contemptuously upon their forebears’ because they believed them to be ‘still wedded to their past’.¹⁷

Youngsters derided their elders’ cultural background and ‘foreign’ ways because it made them seem different, but also because they themselves increasingly understood that their own integration depended on distancing themselves as effectively as possible from immigrant culture.¹⁸ For example, Willy Goldman¹⁹ recalled being frustrated by the timidity of his parents in the face of antisemitism and remembered how his market-trader grandfather would regularly confine himself to his small

bedroom, full of clutter and stock for his stall: 'it must have reminded him of life in ... Russia, where the goats and chickens shared the living space. His room smelled as if they still did.'²⁰ Chaim Lewis viewed his father in similar terms, claiming he was 'born into primitive ways of life in the backwoods of Russia ... [and] remained the backwoodsman for all the years he spent in the world's greatest metropolis'. He claimed his oft-fractionous relationship with his father ('who remained his singularly odd and old self' during his time in England and would have been 'completely at home' if he had returned to Russia) was explained by their differing attitudes and lifestyles.²¹

The determination of some immigrant elders to continue seemingly eccentric and exotic religious and cultural practices in their new land was also a source of much unease among younger Jews.²² Although himself the son of an immigrant rabbi and raised in an Orthodox environment, David Daiches still felt uncomfortable whenever he visited his grandparents' house in Leeds, which felt like entering a 'very different world from that of industrial Yorkshire'. David claimed the abode, with its strict rules and rituals, 'represented for me a picturesque old world in which I was not really at home', whilst the 'mythical strangeness' and foreign ways of his grandfather (also a rabbi) could at times be particularly unsettling.²³ Other young Jews looked on with disdain at the perpetuation of certain customs by their elders.²⁴ The wearing of a *sheitel* (a wig worn by Orthodox married Jewish women in order to conform to requirements to cover their hair), for instance, was one trait seen as 'old-fashioned ... foreign and un-English' by many second-generation children, and, indeed, by the communal establishment.²⁵ Rose Sarnet remarked that her maternal grandmother seemed odd to her because of her insistence on wearing one, whilst one young Mancunian Jew and her siblings would beg their mother to remove hers so as to be 'more modernised' than others in the older generation.²⁶

The strong desire for integration among many young Jews hampered relations with elders, who were felt to be unwilling or unable to change their ways. In these instances, a dismissive attitude to the culture and heritage of immigrant parents and grandparents, and thus their parents and grandparents themselves, could result. Cyril Spector, for instance, felt that his parents' lack of desire to integrate meant they remained 'strangers, not only in this country but to their own children'. Whilst he later regretted not attempting to learn more about his parents' past in Ukraine ('How is it possible to grow up in a family and know so little

about them?’), he put his ignorance as a young man down to his contrasting ambitions and lifestyle.²⁷ One young Mancunian Jew explained his ignorance of his family’s history in simple terms: ‘We wanted to emancipate ourselves and to become more modern and to get rid of all these old things.’²⁸ As was the case in the USA, as young, ambitious second-generation Jews grew more familiar with their new surrounds, many increasingly felt embarrassment, guilt and even shame towards elders stuck in the ways of their old homeland.²⁹

Attitudes, however, could change whenever parents or grandparents cast off vestiges of their immigrant difference and embraced British life and culture. Harold Rosen, for instance, noted that his strong relationship with his grandfather developed because he was fun to be around, but also because of his relative modernity compared to many of his peers, symbolised especially by his ability to speak English: ‘I rejoiced in it ... just as I did in the fact that he didn’t have a straggle beard of wire wool, go around with his head covered all the time, nor spend hours rocking to and fro at his prayers.’³⁰ Where assimilative tendencies were in evidence, second-generation Jews could develop wholly different perspectives as regards their elders. Clara Weingard, for example, was proud to describe her parents as ‘typical’ English, with both being able to speak English fluently and, especially in the case of her father (‘with his “cady” [straw boater hat] ... for best and his bowler hat for ordinary wear’), proudly adopting the dress of their adopted homeland.³¹

It would be wrong though to think that a mutual desire for Anglicisation was a prerequisite for cordial relations between immigrant generations. Despite his devoutness, strange dress, broken English and rudimentary lifestyle, Ralph Finn’s grandfather Zaida (a ‘foreigner’ to the end, according to Ralph) remained a ‘hero’ to his grandchildren until his death aged 80.³² Similarly, not all of the second generation believed that their elders were ‘passive and hapless victims of circumstance’ to be pitied rather than appreciated.³³ Indeed, there were young Jews who saw and understood the immense upheavals that their families had endured in order to set up new lives in Britain, both at the time and on reflection years later. One Jew born and raised in London’s West End claimed the older generation as the ‘greatest in the world’ for coming to a ‘foreign country where you didn’t speak the language and did not have two pence to bless yourself with’.³⁴ Charles Poulsen claimed that whilst many of his peers may have chosen to be ignorant of their elders’ background, he found their travails and sacrifices only intensified his own admiration:

We knew very well the frightening stories of our parents, of what they had suffered in this cause under the Tsar before they came to England and freedom. And those tales of murder, pogrom, harassment and cruelty stoutly borne made us proud of them.³⁵

While a disdainful attitude towards elders often went hand in hand with a desire to reject immigrant culture, a feeling of pride made younger Jews more receptive to the mores and influence of the older generations. It was an important reason why a young William Fishman developed his own ‘basis for moral living’ from the example given him by his immigrant grandfather, a rabbi whose own life was governed by charity, compassion and togetherness with family and community.³⁶ There was, however, a middle way between willing ignorance and obeisant admiration, which many within the second generation followed. A *Jewish Chronicle* article of 1925 alluded to the fact that whilst many immigrant parents and their children were ‘estranged from one another’ in many aspects of their life, young Jews remained ‘affectionate’ towards their elders. A degree of deference meant that many would ‘abstain from wounding their parents’ feelings by a ‘certain measure of conformity to things they do not believe in and which their hearts despise’.³⁷

Indeed, it is notable how many second-generation Jews spoke of adhering to religious, cultural and social rules and routines, not necessarily through a strong will on their own part, but in order to spare the feelings of parents and elders.³⁸ Parents and elders who were otherwise criticised for their apparently strange and/or exotic ways still commanded much respect and reverence from their offspring. This is why Jews like Benny Rothman attended synagogue regularly during childhood despite being sceptical about Judaism and why a young Ralph Finn devoted himself to studying Hebrew even though he longed to spend his leisure hours elsewhere.³⁹ It explains why Jack Cohen tried hard to keep his membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) as a teenager hidden from his parents and why, despite heated and sometimes physical confrontations with his father over his burgeoning boxing career and frequent all-night visits to London’s West End, a young Jack ‘Kid’ Berg resolved to maintain as good a relationship and level of contact as possible with his mother and siblings.⁴⁰

Such deferential behaviour generally ceased—often quite abruptly and sometimes with painful consequences—during these Jews’ late teens.⁴¹ Nonetheless, their conduct and desire to avoid an open break with elders

during their early years evidenced an underlying attachment to family life and respect for the first generation that many communal leaders feared was disappearing. This often temporary acquiescence to the authority and culture of immigrant elders may not have always resulted in a lasting assimilation of their values, yet it still demonstrated that family could be a powerful force for cohesion within the community. While a desire to break away from parental control and culture was perceptible and often became more apparent as the second generation grew older, many still felt that the first generation was to be ‘appreciated and cherished’, and that the Old-World life many of its members still symbolised and valued was not to be completely jettisoned.⁴²

YIDDISH

One such aspect of Old-World life imported to Britain by Jewish immigrants was the speaking of Yiddish, a language prevalent among Ashkenazi Jews of Central and Eastern European origin. For many second-generation Jews, in both Britain and in the contemporary United States, Yiddish was ‘regarded as an object of pathos’.⁴³ Many of those born or raised in Britain viewed Yiddish, the mother tongue of the vast majority of their parents and grandparents, as an aspect of life pre-immigration whose practical value in a new land was minimal and which evoked and vividly demonstrated first-generation Jews’ difference in a British context. Maurice Samuel, for instance, claimed that the language symbolised ‘ignorance, backwardness, poverty [and] superstition’ to the second generation, things they felt their elders should have been leaving behind when migrating away from the Old World.⁴⁴ Ben Ainley claimed that it was a badge of honour (‘a piece of snobbery on my part’) not to understand Yiddish and symbolised his modernity compared to his immigrant elders.⁴⁵

Yiddish was a crucial means of communication and thus maintaining social and cultural solidity within the immigrant community. There were, however, many indications by the interwar period that its use and prevalence was waning. Whereas 160 Yiddish-language publications were in circulation in Britain in the late 1860s, during the 1920s and 1930s only 30 remained active.⁴⁶ The change was seemingly best explained by generational progression within the immigrant population. Speaking of interwar Edinburgh, David Daiches recalled that whilst the ‘older generation’ continued to use the language (and indeed incorporated

Scottish phrases and sayings into a bastardized ‘Scots–Yiddish’), its use among the ‘the younger generation who grew up in the 1920s and 1930s’ was rapidly decreasing.⁴⁷ Likewise, in her survey of Jewish East London, Nettie Adler noted that while Yiddish plays and some newspapers remained popular, ‘the younger generation rarely use the language among themselves’.⁴⁸

Such reports would have heartened many within the established Jewish community, including Adler herself.⁴⁹ In their drive to hasten immigrant Anglicisation, communal leaders had called for Yiddish’s eradication, seeing its perpetuation as a hindrance to integration.⁵⁰ Various labels as a ‘miserable jargon’ or an ‘uncivilised, uneducated’ language in the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle*, opposition to Yiddish among communal leaders and within the Jewish establishment had long been prevalent.⁵¹ Indeed, from the late nineteenth century and right through the interwar period, British Jewish elites believed Yiddish to be ‘dangerous’, feeling that it acted as a powerful reminder of the immigrant community’s origins and, when used publicly, conspicuously marked them out among non-Jewish peers.⁵²

Unsurprisingly, then, Yiddish was assailed from all angles during the second generation’s school years. Selig Brodetsky, for example, recalled how whenever inspectors in the East End of London visited his school on Hanbury Street they would ask Jewish pupils questions to judge the quality of their English in their answers.⁵³ In Jewish schools, where the pressure for Anglicisation was often at its strongest, the opposition was much more overt.⁵⁴ As one Jewish teacher in interwar Manchester recalled, ‘there was a kind of prejudice against Yiddish ... it was kind of degrading to speak Yiddish to a certain degree’.⁵⁵ Young Jews were beseeched to discard the language and embrace the indigenous dialect. Ruth Adler (who knew only Yiddish until she was nearly eight) remembered that her teacher at Stepney Jewish School in the early 1920s would implore to her class that ‘if you want to learn English, you must speak in English, read in English and dream in English’.⁵⁶ Morris Beckman recalled that ‘we were force-fed punctuation, figures of speech, sentence construction, grammar and parsing and how to knit masses of words into correct, coherent language’.⁵⁷ Schooling provided the means but also the motivation for young Jews to jettison the language in favour of English. Lew Grade and Ian Mikardo recalled that bullying at school and their teachers’ forthrightness, both consequences of their poor English, meant they ‘quickly realised’ that ‘English ... was priority number

one'.⁵⁸ A strong emphasis on learning English was also evident outside of school, such as in Jewish youth clubs and the Jewish Lads' Brigade (formed 1895), and, in addition, in some migrant homes themselves.⁵⁹ Many immigrant parents accepted that the learning of English was a necessity for their children and did a great deal to help their offspring learn the new language as fast as possible.⁶⁰ Growing up in the Gorbals in the 1920s, Jack Caplan remembered his father telling his children 'Keender, I want you to speak der H'English as der teacher she tells you too.'⁶¹ Growing up in Manchester, Netty Michelson recalled that her father would regularly visit a bookstand at Victoria Station to buy her literature on improving written and spoken English.⁶²

All this meant that the English proficiency of many young Jews improved at a rapid pace. Although initially only able to speak Russian and Yiddish, brothers Lew Grade and Bernard Delfont were virtually fluent in English within a matter of months at school in the East End.⁶³ Likewise, although reliant on her cousin to act as translator when she started at Stepney Jewish School, Ruth Adler recalled that after only a few months she could converse in English with ease.⁶⁴ Their stories were repeated across the country during the early twentieth century. Jewish youngsters in both Jewish and non-Jewish schools in Manchester, for example, very quickly picked up English, as did those living north of the border in Scotland.⁶⁵

English instruction in schools, clubs or in the home changed language abilities, but also language attitudes. The emphasis on replacing Yiddish with English present during many young Jews' formative years had a significant effect on the way the second generation conceived of the two different dialects. English was seen as a language of integration, of acceptance, of fitting in with peers and 'getting on' in British society; it had a practical and symbolic relevance to their lives and aspirations. As one young Jew who grew up in London's West End in the 1920s later remarked, English was important for those 'anxious to get into the general society and not isolate themselves'.⁶⁶ Minnie Levy and her siblings, for instance, 'never spoke Yiddish' as they 'were so intent on being English'.⁶⁷

The reverse side of this was that Yiddish was often viewed as a vernacular of difference, of cultural and social separation, or, in the extreme, of 'incurable immigrant backwardness'.⁶⁸ Frequently, the result of this was that those Jews who clung stubbornly to this vestige of Old-World culture were viewed with disapproval, their use of the language deemed

inappropriate in their new homeland.⁶⁹ For instance, Bernard Kops was perplexed as a child as to why a neighbour in Whitechapel who ‘had been in England more than forty years ... still ... could not speak no more than three words of English’.⁷⁰ Similarly, Cyril Spector criticised the ‘narrow world’ many immigrant elders inhabited and whose circumstances were seemingly much hindered by their refusal to embrace English language and culture more fully.⁷¹ Others approached the language with ‘indifference’ and alleged that Yiddish both encouraged and symbolised the ‘introverted’ nature of many first-generation migrants.⁷²

This outlook also exerted a powerful impact on the way second-generation Jews conceived of and related to their parents. Many young Jews looked at their immigrant forebears disparagingly because of their inability and/or unwillingness to embrace more fully the speaking of English.⁷³ In his memoirs, Cyril Spector talks at length about his exasperation that his mother’s command of English was ‘almost non-existent’ and remained so until her death.⁷⁴ Likewise, Maurice Samuel felt his parents’ rejection of English was frustrating and, because they ‘remained ... strangers to the language and ways of their tolerant host country’, insulting to their new surroundings and his own integrative tendencies.⁷⁵ Some second-generation Jews were vocal about the apparent ingratitude of their elders in this respect and were fearful that the perpetuation of Yiddish would mean they would never be able to ‘shake off’ their ‘foreignness’ in their new lands.⁷⁶ Some encouraged their parents to speak English to show a willingness to adapt to their new surroundings (‘after all ... they were in England’), whilst others encouraged elders to try to speak English to their new suburban neighbours so that they didn’t stand out after they had moved away from the largely Jewish inner city.⁷⁷ Others, such as Willy Goldman, refused to converse with their parents in Yiddish so that ‘they had to muster what English they could when desiring verbal communication’.⁷⁸

Language also undermined parent–child relations on a practical level. Differing competencies in Yiddish and English—whether present initially or exacerbated over time in England—were a barrier that effectively made some in the first generation ‘strangers to their own children’.⁷⁹ At worst, meaningful interaction could be virtually non-existent, as was the case with Manchester-born Abraham Goldstone, who noted that ‘I couldn’t have a conversation with my father ... My father couldn’t speak English at all ... I couldn’t the Yiddish ... I understood it but couldn’t speak it’.⁸⁰ Similarly, Benny Segal noted that ‘there was no conversation

with the parents' as he spoke very little Yiddish and they little English.⁸¹ There were many immigrant parents in Liverpool who could not communicate with their children, who, by dint of being British-born and/or raised, never learned Yiddish.⁸² Others recalled strained or strange interactions with their parents.⁸³ Solomon Gadeon, for example, spoke to his parents in English and a smattering of Yiddish phrases, with them responding in Yiddish with odd English words mixed in.⁸⁴ Yiddish, and sometimes Russian, was also spoken by parents who wanted to exclude their young from conversations and be safe in the knowledge that what they said would not be understood.⁸⁵

Even when communication was initially straightforward, things did not necessarily stay that way. Geographic and social mobility could impact significantly on language competencies and have important ramifications for communication down the line.⁸⁶ This was the case with Ralph Glasser, who had a sound understanding of Yiddish during his childhood and adolescence and who had helped his immigrant father learn how to read and speak English. When Ralph went off to attend Oxford University in the mid-1930s, however, he soon found that letters from his father 'carried a special shock' as he had 'difficulty deciphering' the Yiddish. For Ralph, this was evidence that his knowledge of the '*mamaloshen*' (mother tongue) was 'fading fast' and would soon be 'irrecoverable': 'There, indeed, was a reminder, like a wind from the icy mountains, of how far I have fled. I was destroying all signs of the way I had come!'⁸⁷

Differing language aptitudes and attitudes affected the ability of generations to converse with each other, but also undermined the capacity of many in the second generation to learn more about and understand the culture of their forebears. Poor Yiddish capabilities meant many children undervalued their own culture and heritage, leaving them feeling detached and distant both from their immigrant elders and immigrant identity.⁸⁸ Indeed, Ralph Glasser's anguish was driven by an understanding that Yiddish was a way of 'retaining links' both with immigrant elders and 'the more wholesome features of the common past' of the immigrant community.⁸⁹ In many ways, therefore, contrasting language capabilities actively and enduringly undermined cultural and social cohesion of immigrant Jewry.⁹⁰

It is important, however, to resist simplifying the picture as regards to language within the interwar immigrant Jewish population. On one level, it is incorrect to believe that the first generation was

monolingualistic. Some never ‘mastered the simplest parts of English’, nor did a large number actually need to show interest in the language if they inhabited and remained in areas where there were enough fellow Yiddish speakers.⁹¹ Many, though, such as the mothers of Clara Weingard, Jean Austin and Beattie Margo, had had English tuition in their respective homelands; others were able to assimilate a good working knowledge soon after arrival.⁹² Ubby Cowan’s father, a deserter from the Austrian army, learnt to speak English quickly once in Britain, especially after becoming one of the first Jewish collectors for the Liverpool Victoria Friendly Society in the 1920s.⁹³ Likewise, employment as a barber in the City of London helped Jean Austin’s father rapidly learn how to speak the language.⁹⁴

Others worked hard to improve their English in their own time, be it through reading newspapers, books and magazines, or attending evening classes.⁹⁵ Tellingly, one investigation from 1925 claimed that first-generation immigrants who ‘do not speak English at all’ (22% of women, 16.3% of men) or who ‘speak a little English’ (11.5 and 9.7%) were in the clear minority within the community, and that most could either ‘speak but cannot read’ (48.5 and 38.3%) or ‘speak and read’ (18 and 35.7%) the indigenous vernacular.⁹⁶ Although not necessarily the case in the period immediately following immigration, by the interwar years English was just as, if not more, likely to be heard in the immigrant home as Yiddish. Indeed, Clara Weingard, Martin Bobker and Sam Aarons all recalled that the exclusive or main language of their households whilst growing up was English and that Yiddish was only ever heard outside of the home.⁹⁷

Conversely, the ability of the second generation to speak or understand Yiddish should not be underestimated. It may have initially been the main language of a young Jew’s home life, but as exposure to English, for all generations, grew, bilingual capabilities soon developed. As Jack Caplan summarised, ‘we [second-generation Jews] spoke English and understood Yiddish fairly well. Some spoke it better than others.’⁹⁸ In fact, not knowing at least some Yiddish would have marked out a young Jew among his or her contemporaries. In his survey of Leeds Jewry published in 1964, Ernest Krausz noted that most Jews of second-generation immigrant heritage could understand, if not necessarily speak, the language, while in 1923 one school teacher in the East End of London commented to the *Jewish Chronicle* that only one student from a class of twenty-one had no command of the dialect.⁹⁹

As the teacher went on to note, there was ‘considerable value in this bi-lingual capacity’.¹⁰⁰ A command of the language enabled a common means of communication between second-generation Jews and their immigrant elders, yet also proved very useful for young Jews if they found certain forms of employment.¹⁰¹ As Laura Philips recalled, Yiddish came in handy for her peers who worked in the immigrant trades, where they could converse with ‘older-generation’ colleagues and customers in Yiddish and then read and write logs, orders and receipts in both Yiddish and English.¹⁰² As a Board of Guardians investigating officer in the late 1920s, Mark Fineman could understand claimants who could only speak Yiddish, but recalled he would often reply in English so as to discourage them from staying longer than the allotted six minutes for each appointment.¹⁰³ The rise of Morry Davis in the ranks of interwar communal, religious and local politics in the East End of London owed a great deal to his fluency in both English and Yiddish.¹⁰⁴ As has been noted elsewhere, such bilingualism has often proved useful for first- and second-generation immigrants, having many positive ramifications for both inter-communal communications and work prospects.¹⁰⁵

For some, though, Yiddish was cherished for much more than its practical value. Whilst the apparent connection of the language to a foreign, seemingly primitive existence stirred antipathy among particular young Jews, this was not a universal or enduring attitude.¹⁰⁶ Whilst their own Yiddish competency was negligible, some, like Joe Jacobs, still appreciated that hearing the language spoken or seeing it on signs and shop fronts added another level of colour and vibrancy to life in the Jewish East End.¹⁰⁷ Others, like Bernard Homa, delighted in the way that different regional and national variations in the language displayed the heterogeneity of the immigrant community.¹⁰⁸ Yiddish was also positively associated with family life, helping to maintain and highlight innate connections to non-British roots. Emanuel Litvinoff, for example, noted that Yiddish was ‘the language that to this very day speaks to me with the voice of my mother’.¹⁰⁹ Yiddish nursery rhymes (such as those told Zena Marenbon whenever she was ill) and stories (like those passed on to a young Chaim Lewis by his father) were appreciated by the second generation while still in the family bosom, but were treasured even more by these Jews in later years for helping embed an awareness and connection to their family’s life back in the Pale of Settlement, the western part of Imperial Russia in which Jewish people were able to live permanently between 1791 and 1917.¹¹⁰

FOOD

Food, a crucial aspect of any home or family life, was another important ‘signifier of identity’ for the second generation in both Britain and in the United States at this time.¹¹¹ Indeed, what a Jew ate, alongside where and with whom this food was consumed, has been noted by scholars as an important indicator of Jewish identity be it in terms of religious observance (Jewish dietary law—*kashrut*—is laid out in the Torah, while certain foodstuffs are closely connected to certain Jewish festivals), national origins (Polish Jewish diets contrasted Romanian Jewish diets, for example) or attitudes towards home and family life (formal and informal rituals surrounding eating have been said to be at the ‘centre of existence’ for Jewish families).¹¹² As Bermant notes, a ‘great deal of Jewish tradition may be felt on the tongue’, the result being that the way in which Jews followed, or indeed departed from, traditions surrounding food could be an important gauge of their broader attachment to their Jewish culture and heritage.¹¹³

As with other migrant and minority groups, examining what the British Jewish second generation ate and their routines surrounding eating provides a useful insight into their level of integration and the way in which they viewed and expressed their identities.¹¹⁴ In one sense, there is much to show that these young Jews were choosing to eat foods and visit food purveyors closely linked to the mainstream, particularly British working-class, diet of the times. This is vividly shown by the large number of second-generation Jews who fondly recalled eating the foodstuff most closely associated with the British worker—fish and chips.¹¹⁵ This could be consumed at home (Minnie Levy’s mother would cook her ‘big plates of plaice and chips’ during some school lunchtimes) or, like the Caplan boys in the Gorbals in Glasgow, a fish and chips supper could be purchased from a local shop.¹¹⁶ Harry Blacker’s autobiography, where reminiscences of food feature particularly heavily, even dedicates a chapter to describing the glories of a visit to the local ‘chippy’. As he recalled:

Almost every district had its quota of shops that, for a small outlay, dispersed generous helpings of fried fish and chips ... Shops that provided unusually large portions were kept a sworn secret, their whereabouts only revealed to members of the family or the closest of trustworthy friends. For the magnificent sum of fivepence and the necessary ‘know-where’, a patron could enjoy the gastronomic delights of a gourmet.¹¹⁷

Other typically British foods proved popular among the second generation. When Bernard Kops was evacuated from London to the Buckinghamshire countryside in 1939, he was delighted at being introduced to roast beef, Yorkshire pudding and horseradish sauce.¹¹⁸ Others vividly recalled their first encounters with foods like spotted dick and college pudding whilst at elementary school, or their love of traditional British brands such as Bird's custard.¹¹⁹ Whilst Harold Rosen's elders may have dismissed tins of pilchards, peas and condensed milk as 'poverty fare, fit only for the desperately poor and, whisper it, Gentiles', he loved them nonetheless, regarding the latter as 'a gift from the gods, proletarian ambrosia'.¹²⁰

Young Jews were consuming other foodstuffs that would have been frowned upon by elders for other reasons. Sam Clarke, for instance, recalled evenings playing snooker with Jewish friends where the loser would pay for a round of teas and ham (pork is forbidden under *kasbrut*) rolls at a local café.¹²¹ When Bernard Delfont began touring his dance act in the late 1920s and 1930s he would regularly stay in 'theatrical digs' where his board included a hearty breakfast of 'porridge, bacon and eggs, toast and butter with as much tea as you could drink'.¹²² Some Jews accepted their increasing consumption of *trief* (non-kosher) foods as an inevitable outcome of their 'drift away' from their culture and religion.¹²³ Others seemingly had no misgivings about consuming forbidden foods. Solomon Gadeon, for instance, proudly recalled many years later that he would never eat kosher outside of the house.¹²⁴ On visits to his uncle's house in Dalston, Harold Rosen would go to the local butcher to buy ham, which would then be taken back to the house, and the double sin of eating pork and mixing meat with dairy products committed ('I ate the lot. In sandwiches. Yes, ham, bread and lots of butter. *Milchikke* and *fleischikke*. Lovely, they were').¹²⁵

As this demonstrates, not all second-generation Jews were fastidious in terms of consumption of kosher foods, but *trief* foodstuffs—whether through choice or circumstance—were not off the menu for everyone in the first generation either.¹²⁶ Some migrant parents could be, or could become, just as willing as their British-born offspring to acculturate the eating habits of non-Jewish society. Morris Beckman's mother, for instance, would often go with her friends to a Lyons Tea House for 'high tea, pastries, sarnies and jam roll with custard'.¹²⁷ Cyril Spector remembered being jealous of his friend's mother, who would cook recipes from the *Jewish Chronicle* that readily mixed Jewish and

British ingredients, and would welcome visitors like Cyril with ‘a cup of tea and a slice of Lyons swiss roll’.¹²⁸ Jack Berg’s mother would regularly go behind the back of her more Orthodox husband to visit a local café for bacon and eggs, and would also ask her children to bring her jellied eels.¹²⁹ When Jessica Gould’s family moved from the East End to Notting Hill (where there was no kosher butcher at the time), her mother would regularly buy ham to eat in sandwiches.¹³⁰ It was also not unknown for immigrant mothers to follow the advice of contemporary doctors and either consume, or feed children, bacon to build ‘strength’.¹³¹

Indeed, there was a remarkable ‘closeness’ between immigrant Jewry and British food during the interwar period, and not just in terms of the production and sale of foods like fish and chips.¹³² The increasingly mixed palates of Jews during this time were reflected in the mixed menus of many Jewish-owned or run food establishments. Lapidu’s, Maurice Levine’s local shop in 1920s Strangeways, Manchester, catered for changing tastes by offering Jewish staples such as pickled cucumber alongside more traditional ‘chippy’ items.¹³³ Likewise, Jewish restaurants also adjusted their menus to reflect the growing desire evident among all sections of immigrant society for British food. Take the famous Stern’s Hotel and Restaurant, which opened on Mansell Street in London’s East End in 1927 and became one of the best-known Jewish eateries of the time, while also catering for weddings and functions. Menus from the 1930s show Jewish staples like pickled herring, *lokshen* (chicken and noodle soup) and *farfel* (egg noodle pasta) sitting alongside British fare such as starters of grapefruit or sardines and mains of roast beef, roast lamb with mint sauce, and egg and chips (Fig. 2.1).¹³⁴

There was clearly a growing appetite among all sections of the immigrant community, young and old, for British food, but this does not mean that Jews of the time were all abandoning more traditional meals.¹³⁵ Attitudes towards food and diets could, just like the menu at Stern’s, be very complex. As in the USA, many young Jews did not see Jewish and British food as ‘antithetical’ and wanted to have and consume both, sometimes even on the same plate or at the same meal-time.¹³⁶ Morris Beckman, for instance, recalled that his ‘favourite supper’ as a child was ‘boiled viennas [sausages], chips and peas’, whilst Louis Teeman regularly ate meals consisting of black bread and butter accompanied by tea and followed by chopped bananas and custard.¹³⁷ As well as enjoying his mother’s apple strudel, borscht and chopped herrings,

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Egg Mayonnaise	6d.	Veal Chop	1/9
Grape Fruit	6d.	Lamb Chop	1, 1.5, 2, 2.5
Chopped Liver	6d.		
Chopped Herring	6d.	POULTRY.	
Salt or Pickled Herring	6d.	Boiled or Roast Fowl, Leg	2/-
Sardines	6d.	Spring Chicken	2/3
Smoked Salmon	9d.	Roast Duckling	2/3d
		Leg 2/-	Wing 2/3d
SOUPS.		POTAGES.	
Tomato	6d.	Potatoes Boiled, Chops or Grapes	4d.
Mashed	6d.	Roast Sliced Ad Fried Tomatoes	6d.
Rice	6d.	Kasha Ad Saurkraut	4d.
Lockham	6d.	SALADS AND PICKLES.	
Farfel	6d.	Gross Salad	6d.
Barshi (Hot or Cold)	6d.	Cucumber Salad	4d.
Bean	6d.	Pickled Cucumber	4d.
Mozza Kasha	6d.	Olives or Churne	4d.
Kreplach	6d.	Mixed Pickles	4d.
		Pickled Tomatoes	4d.
		DOULETTES.	
		Plain	10d.
		Jam or Savoury	1/3
		Egg and Chips	6d.
		Rice	1d.
		Butter	1d.
		SWEETS.	
		Apple Cobia	6d.
		Fresh Cut Pineapple	6d.
		St. Prunes Apples or Pears	6d.
		BEVERAGES.	
		Russian Tea	4d.
		Black Coffee	4d.
		Citrate, Lemonade, Ginger Beer, Ginger	
		(All Soda or Tonic Water, Grape Fruit	
		Squash or Orangeade, SCHLITZ'S	
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Fig. 2.1 Menu card from Stern's Hotel and Restaurant, c.1930s (image courtesy of Jewish Museum, London)

Alexander Hartog also recalled his pleasure whenever she made her own version of Lancashire hot pot.¹³⁸

Attitudes towards Jewish dietary law were also similarly varied. Some young Jews contravened certain aspects of *kasbrut*, such as mixing dairy products and meat in meals, whilst fastidiously avoiding pork products.¹³⁹ Others noted how they recoiled at what they saw as the cruelty of *shechita* (butchery of animals according to kosher principles), yet recalled that they only consumed kosher meat within the family home.¹⁴⁰ As noted, some Jews readily and happily consumed *treif* foods, yet others felt a deep-seated angst when circumstances dictated they could not keep kosher. Asphodel, for instance, recalled the trepidation she felt when she encountered bacon for the first time in the breakfast room of the girls' hostel she had moved into after leaving home aged 16.¹⁴¹ Similarly, during service with the Merchant Navy in 1940, Morris Beckman recalled

that several days of enforced starvation were broken when a supply of bacon was located and cooked up: 'I felt so guilty. It was ridiculous and I know it, but I was letting everyone down, God, my religion, myself and, above all, my Dad!'¹⁴²

Integration may have been high on the menu of many young Jews at this time, yet there could still remain, even in difficult circumstances, an underlying desire to adhere to dietary law. It has been said that most Jews in the period from the mid-nineteenth century through to the cessation of the Second World War would have kept kosher diets, and the continued proliferation of kosher suppliers and overseers, even in the face of public opposition to *shechita* in the 1930s and 1940s, does little to undermine this supposition.¹⁴³ The reminiscences of the interwar second generation also demonstrate that keeping and eating kosher, especially in the family household, was still widespread. Harry Raven claimed there was 'no such thing as non-Jewish food at home', whilst others, like Beattie Margo, worked extremely hard to ensure that dietary rules and customs were upheld despite living in areas (in her case Greenwich) without kosher food suppliers in easy reach.¹⁴⁴ Keeping kosher could also mean considerable sacrifice. Anne Barclay admitted she 'kept to Jewish friends' as a child because her parents would not allow her to visit Gentile homes, as they were 'very particular about Kosher food'.¹⁴⁵ During Army service in the First World War, Barnett Janner would pass on his bacon rations to fellow soldiers, thus confining himself to porridge every morning for breakfast.¹⁴⁶

Trief foods were also rejected on cultural grounds or due to personal preference. Emanuel Litvinoff still consciously chose to avoid 'unclean meat ... without being religious at all', recalling that how the sight of a 'severed pig's head in the Christians' butcher's shop—a popular delicacy among workers—filled me with disgust'.¹⁴⁷ Maintaining dietary law, at least while still living at home, was also driven in no small part by a strong desire to preserve relations with more observant elders. Solomon Gadeon, for instance, might have 'never bothered with dietary observance outside of the home', but still made sure he graciously attended and ate meals prepared by his mother within it, at least until he moved out.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, Cyril Spector regularly endured a two-mile round trip home from Hackney Downs Grammar School every lunchtime so that he could satisfy his mother that he wasn't eating food 'contaminated by the school's non-Kosher plates'.¹⁴⁹ Others, like Alice Burleigh, brought

up in kosher homes in the inner city, would often become much lax in dietary matters once they married and moved out to suburban areas.¹⁵⁰

In all sorts of ways, food acted as a unifying force within the family unit and played an important role in connecting (and indeed reconnecting) young Jews to their community and heritage. At a time when fears abounded about estrangement from family and community, certain food-stuffs, and traditions and rituals surrounding their consumption, helped remind second-generation Jews of who they were and where they were from. Like nothing else, food could evoke life in the Pale or the *shtetl*, stirring memories among those born outside of Britain of their homelands and providing a means of association to these areas for those born in Britain. The perpetuation of Romanian Jewish dishes such as *holishkes* (chopped meat and rice in cabbage leaves) and *facaluita* (boiled mashed kidney beans covered in burnt onions and sauce) in the Samuel household played an important role in reminding a young Maurice of his and his family's origins.¹⁵¹ Likewise, a diet dominated by fish dishes like pickled herring and carp helped give a young Bill Belmont an insight into his mother's previous life in Russia.¹⁵² 'The food we ate', recalled Whitechapel-born Harry Blacker, 'ensured that life unfolded for me on an Anglo-Russian pattern.' The consumption of weekly staples like bagels, smoked salmon and *smetana* (sour cream), alongside food's domination of family celebrations like weddings, ensured the flavour—in all senses of the word—of life under the Tsar remained strong.¹⁵³ Immigrant bagel sellers and *stiavniks* (sellers of sorrel) who plied their wares in Jewish areas and 'who looked as though they came straight out of a Russian novel' were also a powerful visual reminder of a life left or lost.¹⁵⁴

As well as reminding Jews of their national origins, food linked Jews—even those who seemed otherwise intent on leaving their Jewishness behind—to their ethnicity. As Chaim Lewis remarked, 'culinary symbols of Jewish joy' such as *lokshen* soup and *gefilte* fish (a ground mixture of deboned fish, onions, starch and eggs) retained a special place in the hearts of all young Jews and continued to 'serve the multitude ... indifferent to all religious observance as the sole test and witness of their tenuous Jewish allegiance'.¹⁵⁵ Jews who had become 'exiles' from the community by joining criminal gangs in the East End may have been otherwise able to tolerate their social and cultural isolation, but would still be found frequenting Jewish restaurants and eating Jewish dishes. Shunning, and indeed shunned by, their community and their family,

these Jews sought ways of satisfying a deep-seated craving for their mothers' cooking and a means of easing their homesickness.¹⁵⁶

As well as providing foods that provided nourishment key to a Jewish existence and lifestyle, Jewish cafés, delicatessens and restaurants were frequented by the second generation because they played an important role as social and communal hubs. While Morris Beckman recalled that Maisie's deli on Sandringham Road in Hackney offered 'everything to titillate a Jewish stomach' and was a 'paradise of rich, savoury smells' with 'barrels of pickled herrings, anchovies in brine, roll-mops and smoked mackerel, bucklings and other fish ... new green and sweet and sour pickled cucumbers, garlic *wursts* [sausages], cold meats ... cream cheese, sour cream, Smetana and trays of barley, chick peas, cloves, bay leaves and beans of every sort', he also noted that it offered an important meeting place for all—first- and second-generation Jews—to come together to exchange news and gossip.¹⁵⁷ As was also the case in the interwar USA, these institutions acted as beacons able to draw Jews with decreasing physical or emotional connection to their heritage back into the fold for sustenance and socialising.¹⁵⁸ Establishments like Abrahamson's off Shaftesbury Avenue or Murgraff's on Stoke Newington High Street played a similar role, the latter said to be 'always full' at lunchtime with a 'mix of doctors, accountants, solicitors, estate agents, manufacturers and merchants' (Fig. 2.2).¹⁵⁹

Food's power to bring young Jews closer to their identities, families and community was at its strongest when its consumption tied into Jewish Holy Days and festivals. Indeed, over time, the cycle of Jewish festivals has become intimately connected to specific foods, with certain foodstuffs being used both to represent and help Jews focus on the message and meanings of each commemoration.¹⁶⁰ For many second-generation Jews festivals were memorable as much for the foods consumed as the events they commemorated and the messages and meanings they conveyed. For Lina Salmon, Rosh Hashanah (Jewish New Year) was remembered as much for honey cake as it was for self-reflection, Shavuot (a festival marking the wheat harvest in the Land of Israel and the anniversary of God's giving of the Torah at Mount Sinai) as much for cheese-cake as it was for Torah study.¹⁶¹ For Cyril Spector, festivals were a pause in the routine of the family and community, but also a glorious interruption to an otherwise monotonous weekly meal regime. In particular, Pesach (Hebrew for Passover, the commemoration of Jewish liberation from Egyptian slavery) was looked forward to, as his mother would



Fig. 2.2 Abrahamson's Delicatessen and Restaurant, based on Denman Street, off Shaftesbury Avenue, London, 1931 (image courtesy of Jewish Museum, London)

fry 'dozens of sheets of matzos dipped in eggs ... until crispy ... for all meals from breakfast to supper'.¹⁶² Monty Dobkin recalled that 'culinary delight' (such as the special *challah* [braided bread] eaten on Purim, a festival commemorating the salvation of the Jewish people of ancient Persia) became just as associated with each festival in the minds of young Jews as other activities, such as attending synagogue.¹⁶³

Food also helped bring family units together on a more regular basis too. Young Jews of varying levels of religious adherence would still generally be found in or returning to the home on a Friday evening during the interwar period for the traditional Sabbath meal, regarded as the 'apogee of the week' for many.¹⁶⁴ Religious aspects aside, this meal was cherished as it provided opportunities to spend time in the company of

family and loved ones and to eat foods that, due to a lack of time and/or money, could not be put on the menu during the rest of the week. A 'typical Friday night' for the Beckman children at this time 'started with chopped liver, followed by chicken soup with dumplings, roast chicken with roast potatoes, *tzimmes* [vegetable and dried fruit stew] and *kasha* [buckwheat porridge] and a dessert of chewy *lokshen* [rice noodles] pudding'. As well as the food, however, 'there was banter, good humour, smiles and we felt closer as a family than at any other time'.¹⁶⁵ If work commitments meant that traditional Sabbath routines could not be followed, then alternative arrangements were made to ensure similar celebrations of food and family took place. For Zena Marenbon, whose family owned and ran a shop in Liverpool that opened on Saturdays, Sunday evenings were kept aside for the family meal, whereas for Aubrey Rose, whose father worked in his tailoring workshop for fifteen hours a day five days a week and until midday on Sabbath or Sunday, Sunday afternoons would see dozens of relatives descending on their house in Dempsey Street in London's East End: 'There were no invitations, no formality, no special dress, no presents, just a big, noisy, happy family.'¹⁶⁶ Such was its significance, even for those young British and American Jews otherwise detaching themselves physically and emotionally from their elders and Jewish tradition, that failure to attend a Friday night family meal 'was a signal of serious estrangement'.¹⁶⁷

While an indicator of integration, with varied diets and attitudes towards kosher foods both evidencing and broadening a generational divide within some immigrant households, food and family meals could also bring generations closer both physically and emotionally.¹⁶⁸ Eating together had an important cohesive effect on the family unit, but so too did preparing these meals, which could involve a significant family effort. Younger members of the household would be entrusted, for instance, with taking the Sabbath *cholent* (a stew of meat, vegetables and potatoes) to the local baker for it to be placed in the oven for cooking, ready to be collected and eaten for lunch after attending Synagogue on a Saturday morning.¹⁶⁹ In addition, the considerable efforts and sacrifices made by so many immigrant mothers to prepare the special Sabbath meal was also a great source of pride and respect for the British-born generation. Indeed, many memories of female relations are dominated by their efforts as regards the Sabbath meal or their work in the kitchen leading up to important festivals.¹⁷⁰ Jessica Gould, for example, recalled her mother first and foremost as a 'wonderful cook', whilst Monty Dobkin's

abiding memory of his Aunt May was her ability to prepare and cut her own *lokshen*: 'The fingers of the left hand were within a whisker of the knife as she sliced speedily and expertly along the roll [of noodle dough], utterly unaware of the menace to her fingertips.'¹⁷¹ Sam Clarke remembered there being an 'abundance of love' within his childhood home and that his appreciation of his mother owed a great deal to her seemingly never-ending effort in keeping the family fed and clothed ('[she was] always busy, either cooking, washing our clothes or baking bread and cakes').¹⁷² Despite having an often strained relationship with his parents and with kosher cuisine more broadly, Benny Segal still later acknowledged that his mother was a 'remarkable woman', not least because of the several days' worth of labour that went into preparing Sabbath meals.¹⁷³

GENDER ROLES, RELATIONSHIPS, MARRIAGE AND SEX

There were, however, many young Jews who did not feel their female elders' toil in the kitchen was a cause for celebration or a source of pride. Despite many signs of change, within interwar Britain traditional gender roles, including taking the lead role in preparing family meals and acting as the 'angel in the house', remained firmly entrenched.¹⁷⁴ All women of this period lived in an era where male superiority and authority was still very much emphasised and where expectations of women often remained limited to marriage, child-bearing and child-rearing, and looking after the home. There were some women who viewed a life in housewifery in a positive vein, yet many others grudgingly resigned themselves to, or sought ways to rebel against, this fate.¹⁷⁵

Broader patterns in contemporary Western society were also reflected within immigrant Jewish communities of the time. Like their non-Jewish peers, young Jewish girls attended schools where domestic training was the focus for female students nearing the end of compulsory education and living in societies where the broader cultural pressure to marry early, be financially and emotionally dependent on parents and husbands, and then centre their lives on home and family remained strong.¹⁷⁶ Yet they also attended Jewish girls' clubs where, due to a desire to hasten Anglicisation, the established community worked hard to instil notions of middle-class 'domesticity and respectability'.¹⁷⁷ More broadly, Judaism and immigrant tradition also assigned women important roles in terms of maintaining the home environment, all to ensure the

transmission of faith and cohesion of the family unit.¹⁷⁸ In many ways, therefore, second-generation Jewish girls encountered special problems, facing pressures from both wider society and within their own family, community and ethnic group towards early marriage, motherhood and a focus on the domestic sphere.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, it was not unknown for young Jewish girls like Rose Kerrigan to be told directly by immigrant parents that they were ‘different’ from their brothers and to expect, and to acquiesce to, a life in service to men, a strong tradition evident within both Western society and in the Pale.¹⁸⁰ Seeing no other option and unwilling to upset elders or go against parental and communal expectations, many reconciled themselves to the knowledge that they would never be treated in the same way as male siblings and to a fate of motherhood and ‘housewifery’.¹⁸¹

Like many other contemporary young women, though, young Jewish girls were not always willing to accept that this was correct or should be their destiny. Some looked on at their female immigrant elders with a combination of horror and indignation and resented the idea of becoming ‘prematurely old from constant childbirth and continuous, monotonous domestic work’ like so many of their forebears.¹⁸² Some saw immigrant mothers and grandmothers as objects of pity and struggled to understand why they would acquiesce so easily to cultural and communal expectations of them and to male family members. Ena Abrahams, for instance, remembered her grandmother (who had travelled with Ena’s mother to Britain from Russia in the early 1900s) in such a vein: ‘Women of her generation were slaves, there’s no doubt. You know, they were always pregnant.’¹⁸³ Male elders whose actions and attitudes both perpetuated and worsened the position of their wives and daughters were a source of anger and resentment, especially when they, like Asphodel’s father, ‘expected a woman to do everything ... [and] didn’t expect to take responsibility of any kind’.¹⁸⁴ Young second-generation boys were also known to pity their ‘archetypal’ immigrant mothers for being ‘prisoners of [their] time’ and for ‘lacking the strength, time, intelligence and spirit to break out’.¹⁸⁵

Some within the second generation felt sufficiently emboldened to display a nascent feminist streak and openly rebel against expectations placed upon them due to their gender. Customs that went hand in hand with emphasising and symbolising a women’s traditional Jewish role were often first in the firing line, with their open rejection a sign that younger Jews were redefining their lives in the face of religious, cultural

and familiar pressure to conform to tradition.¹⁸⁶ Second-generation women's attitudes towards the wearing of the *sheitel* evidenced this, as did their feelings regarding going to *mikveh* (a bath used for ritual immersion visited by Jewish women after childbirth or menstruation to achieve ritual purity before marital relations may be resumed), both of which were increasingly seen as 'anachronistic and rather distasteful' in a British context by young Jewish girls.¹⁸⁷ This explains N.A.'s unwillingness to follow her mother-in-law's request to go to *mikveh* ('Don't count on me. I won't be dirty but I won't go to the mikveh') and why other young Jewish girls ceased attending once they had married and/or moved out of the family home.¹⁸⁸ As this shows, the wishes of immigrant parents were still often very loudly proclaimed, but this did not always lead to female offspring following the path set out for them. As a young girl, Elsie Janner recalled her anger at being told by her father that she should assume a 'traditional' female Jewish role in the home whilst her brothers were all given jobs working in the family furniture business. She noted that when she finished school she 'rebelled against [her] father's injunction to "Stay at home, help your mother and practise piano!"' and instead decided to devote herself to a life in philanthropy and social work.¹⁸⁹

Despite women's rejection of many traditions, it was often the case that the social, cultural and familial pressure to conform to gender expectations still had a noticeable effect. Rose Kerrigan may have recalled her anger at being told she was 'different' from her brothers 'with no explanation why' from her parents, but recalled that her mother managed to teach her how to keep and cook kosher and the importance of maintaining the home.¹⁹⁰ Likewise, whilst Ena Abrahams may have pitied her grandmother and celebrated her mother as a 'woman of great strength' for going out to work ('I mean, it was a real disgrace! You were looked down upon'), as she got older she did gradually assume a more active and, indeed, traditional role in the home. She admitted that 'there was no compulsion for me to do anything or an expectation [from her mother]. I think it was a responsibility I increasingly took on myself.' By the time she was in her late teens, in the late 1930s, the notion that 'within the Jewish household ... the woman was all-commanding' was 'truly ingrained'.¹⁹¹

Clearly, whilst young Jews of both sexes may have outwardly and vocally expressed opposition to the gendered lifestyles of their immigrant elders, this did not mean that elements of home and family tradition

were not consciously and unconsciously embraced. Though the generations could appear diametrically opposed on certain issues as regards family and home life, with younger Jews seemingly intent on treading new paths and consciously rejecting their parents' wishes, the reality was not always so clear cut. Deeper analysis can sometimes reveal that there could be more overlap, more agreement and more closeness between generations and more willingness on the part of the second generation to adhere to parents' wishes than initially appears the case.

Take, for instance, the choosing of partners. On the surface, the impression was that young Jews had much more appetite and opportunity to meet the opposite sex and make their own independent choices about starting relationships than their immigrant elders. Unlike in the Old World, young Jews in Britain had much more freedom of movement and association and generally went out to work at a young age, and not always in businesses run by family members or within close proximity to home.¹⁹² Attendance at youth, Zionist or Communist clubs, where young Jewish and non-Jewish males and females readily mixed, offered opportunities to make new friends and start relationships.¹⁹³ Even those organisations under the control and guidance of the British Jewish establishment started to liberalise their membership policies during the inter-war years, with more mixed events, socials and dances being held as the period progressed.¹⁹⁴

Acquaintances could also be made on the frequent 'Monkey Parades', where young boys and girls would dress up and promenade in public with friends. Parades were common across the country at this time in Jewish and non-Jewish areas, especially on Sunday evenings when commercial leisure outlets were closed due to observance of the Christian Sabbath and during spring and summer when the weather was more favourable.¹⁹⁵ As Benny Segal recalled, 'the boys used to walk, the girls used to walk, we got talking', and lasting friendships and relationships could often develop.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps unsurprisingly, parading attracted much opposition, as it occurred in a public setting, with young Jews dressed up and openly intent on meeting the opposite sex. As Willy Goldman remembered, the 'Whitechapel Road was regarded as a kind of open-air brothel by some parents and all the municipal busybodies. Going there for a stroll was your first step along the road to perdition.'¹⁹⁷

Yet not all relationships were started through chance meetings in clubs, workplaces or on the parades. Throughout this period many immigrant parents still believed that it was they who should decide on

partners for their offspring—especially daughters—and many still took a very active and lead role in this respect. David Daiches’ father, for instance, regularly invited ‘suitable Jewish young men’ back to his house to meet his daughter, Sylvia, in the hope that she would fall for one of them and a relationship would commence.¹⁹⁸ Likewise, Sam Clarke recalled that his sister Becky met her future husband Harry at one of the regular ‘evenings in’—formal-ish gatherings of unattached offspring organised by immigrant parents that were arranged within his neighbourhood.¹⁹⁹ Harry Blacker remembered that his Aunt Lottie’s house was a regular venue for such ‘matchmaking’ evenings:

It was here that female members of our family were introduced to prospective husbands ... Around eight o’clock the participants would drift in greeted by my aunt or uncle with a hearty handshake and a glass of whiskey or brandy. The ‘young lady’, perhaps a cousin or a daughter of one of my aunt’s *landsleit* [an immigrant compatriot from the same district or town], would arrive with full family entourage, their clothes smelling faintly of mothballs. She would probably be wearing her smart dress with her hair worked into a fashionable bob or shingle.

As Harry noted, ‘most of the marriages that were solemnised in the local synagogue were invariably the end product’ of meetings such as this.²⁰⁰

Even more formalised Jewish matchmaking traditions remained visible in Britain, and indeed USA, during the interwar period.²⁰¹ Cyril Spector, for example, noted that old-style arrangements utilising a *shadchan* (a professional matchmaker) were still common in this period.²⁰² If these meetings led to marriage, then the *shadchan* (an ‘import from the Ghettoes of Russia and Poland’) would be due a small fee for his or her services.²⁰³ Matchmaking of this kind went on right throughout the interwar period, and attitudes towards this process—and towards parental involvement in matchmaking more broadly—were mixed among the second generation. Whilst some, such as Sylvia Daiches (who resented her parents attempts to fix her up with a suitable partner) and Ralph Glasser (who rejected the use of a *shadchan* as an ‘easy way out, where love was immaterial and achievement, adventure [and] the spiritual journey were irrelevant’), staunchly opposed such traditions, others were more supportive.²⁰⁴ Indeed, Lina Salmon admitted that she, and many of her friends, would have been content with being matched with

husbands in this fashion ‘if it was somebody I could take to ... [and] that I thought was suitable’.²⁰⁵

The attitude of young Jews towards sex also combined the modern and traditional. Some memoirs and interviews with second-generation Jews give the impression that liberal attitudes towards sex and sexual experimentation were commonplace.²⁰⁶ Ruth Adler, for instance, openly admitted that she and other Jewish and non-Jewish members of the Communist-inspired Progressive Youth Circle (which she joined aged 16) saw no problem with the principle of ‘free love’, which ‘simply meant that you didn’t need to be officially married to love someone physically’.²⁰⁷ Benny Caplan remembered ‘chasing’ after girls and ‘experimenting’ during his teenage years, whilst Jack Berg remarked that his early success in boxing went hand in hand with an ‘unashamedly casual pursuit of sexual enjoyment’:

I just loved girls and sex. Even when I was in training I would be sleeping with girls whenever I could, taking them out, sometimes every night of the week. I was young, sixteen, seventeen ... sometimes I stayed with one girl for a while, but there were so many.²⁰⁸

Some claimed that a Jewish boy “‘going steady” with a young woman of equally sober inclinations whom he could bring home to meet his family and not frolic about with in dark alleyways of an evening’ was a ‘white sheep’ among his peers.²⁰⁹

Not only were many second-generation Jews experimenting with sex from a young age, but they were also confronted by it in the urban areas in which they lived. Prostitution, for example, was ‘part of the scene of growing up’ for young Jews living in tenements and inner-city areas. Black’s survey of life in the Jewish West End shows that Jews living in and around Soho, in particular, would have encountered prostitution on an almost daily basis such was the visibility of the industry at the time.²¹⁰ Jews living elsewhere in London were also likely, however, to come across members of the oldest profession. Growing up in Broughton Buildings, Ralph Finn commented that you could ‘knock on any door and it was five to four a five-to-four [cockney rhyming slang for whore] would open up to you’.²¹¹ Young Jews were not averse to using prostitutes—Benny Caplan recalled his brother acting as an informal go-between between prostitutes near where they lived in Glasgow and Jewish friends—whilst it also appeared that a young Jewish girls

also moved into the sex industry themselves.²¹² Interwar reports produced by the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women (founded in 1885 by Constance Rothschild to help prevent young Jews from entering so-called ‘white slavery’) regularly expressed concerns over the number of Jewish girls involved in prostitution. Police reports from 1927 also noted increased numbers of Jewish women being reported for ‘immorality’ and ‘frivolity’ in the Piccadilly area.²¹³

As noted elsewhere, however, this is not evidence of the existence of modern attitudes towards sex among the second generation.²¹⁴ Very few Jewish girls would have entered ‘the profession’ and when they did, as is historically the case with prostitution more generally, it could be temporary and driven by economic desperation and/or the trauma of family breakdown.²¹⁵ Likewise, Jewish boys may have seen prostitutes on a regular basis where they lived, but these encounters often went no further. Ralph Glasser recalled that while he knew many of the Gorbals prostitutes by name, but neither he nor his friends would have ever dreamed of using their services and undermining their and their families’ reputations.²¹⁶ Young West End Jews may have befriended local prostitutes, but meetings between them on the street were often purely innocent.²¹⁷

Indeed, whilst there may have been some young men and women open to experimentation, most would have likely remained cautious when it came to sex, and thus fulfilled the parental and communal expectations placed upon them in such matters.²¹⁸ According to one Jew, ‘virgins until marriage were the rule rather than the exception’, and we must also remember that the impression of greater sexual awareness among young Jews can be no doubt at least be partly explained by an adolescent desire to boast for kudos and social acceptance.²¹⁹ For young men, ‘experience’, whether real or claimed, was an almost guaranteed means of gaining recognition among male peers on the street or colleagues at work.²²⁰ It is not inconceivable to think, therefore, that young Jews like Sidney Polsky, who would engage in ‘steamy conversations and conjecture about the sexual propensities of the passing female monkey-paraders’, were actually much more innocent than they appeared, or, indeed, wanted to appear, among friends.²²¹

Whether or not there was any substance in their claims, reports of young Jews bragging about their sexual attitudes and conquests would clearly not have been welcomed by first-generation parents or communal elders. Religious Jews among the immigrant generation looked for their offspring to follow laws of *niddah* (separation) and *taharah* (purity) in

their approach to the opposite sex.²²² Many immigrant parents, such as Ruth Adler's mother, implored 'old-fashioned' Victorian values, warning their young not to stay out late and girls to refrain from kissing boys or '[showing] legs too far up' after they had begun their period.²²³ Indeed, in many immigrant households, sex was taboo, and young Jews often didn't dream of broaching the subject with elders. As Louis Teeman noted, 'we would ... have thought [as much] of discussing sex with our parents as of swimming the Atlantic'.²²⁴

The Jewish establishment was also particularly worried that any deviant sexual behaviour among the second generation could have severe implications for the way the community was viewed in the eyes of the non-Jewish majority.²²⁵ This had been a long-standing communal concern, but became more pressing in the interwar era as reports of second-generation estrangement grew. This explains why many Jewish youth clubs instigated rudimentary sex education, so-called 'social hygiene' classes, during the 1920s and 1930s.²²⁶ The broader desire for an 'atmosphere of sexual restraint and morality' also explains why youth club magazines called on their members to show propriety in public and urged young Jewish girls to strive to act like the 'ideal Jewess'.²²⁷

Often, however, immigrant and communal elders did not need to worry. Communal efforts to urge young Jews to show restraint may have had some impact, but it was more likely the case that an underlying unwillingness to bring shame on themselves, their family and their community explained their actions in this respect. For young Jews, despite all the social and cultural change then seemingly occurring, 'respectable' remained 'an important word'.²²⁸ Most would have been acutely aware of behaving in a manner or engaging in acts that could affect their reputation in the eyes of peers and neighbours. Jewish girls in particular placed a heavy burden on themselves in this respect, alongside facing a pressure for propriety placed upon them by their parents. As Willy Goldman noted,

she [the Jewish girl] is allowed to dress up as her conception of a film actress, she is not allowed to behave as one. True, she may parade the pavement that 'shows her off'. But she cannot do it at all hours. A standard of respectability relatively equal to a nun's is imposed on her.²²⁹

The influence and authority of immigrant parents in regards to relationships and sexual behaviour was, therefore, much stronger than many

would have believed was the case at the time. Yet despite this, the second generation did depart from the general traditions and customs of their immigrant parents in two key areas. Firstly, it has been said that the more traditional pattern of early marriage, prominent in the Pale and brought to Britain by many immigrant Jews, was reversed within one generation, as immigrant children adopted approaches favoured by contemporary British Jews and wider British society.²³⁰ While the first generation generally followed a 'classic Eastern model' of early marriage, the second generation tended to marry later. In 1904, for instance, the average ages of Jewish brides and grooms of Russian and Eastern European descent in Britain were 22.9 and 25.1 years old respectively. By the 1930s, however, a 'generational transition' had seemingly occurred. Statistics from 1934 showed that the average Jewish bride and groom of immigrant descent were 25.6 and 28 years old respectively, figures largely in line with the contemporary average across the whole of Britain for that year (25.6 and 27.5).²³¹

For sure, the recollections of many second-generation Jews evidence that they wanted to be cautious in terms of courtship and not rush too quickly into marriage. Joe Jacobs and his wife Pearl Cohen courted for several years before they married (aged 26 and 24 respectively) on the eve of the Second World War.²³² Although only 23 when she married in 1926, Rose Kerrigan courted her future husband for over two and a half years before her wedding, mainly because she wanted to ensure her own financial independence before committing and avoid a fate of 'service' to menfolk.²³³ Indeed, young Jews like Chaim Lewis commented that they were often 'puzzled' by the 'morbid emphasis on wedlock' evident among the immigrant generation. He recalled his frustration that his parents 'seemed strangely obsessed by marriage' and that his mother often expressed that her one and only wish in life was to see her son get married: 'I felt she was wishing old age upon herself and Father's toils and troubles upon me.'²³⁴

That the second generation understood the financial and emotional implications of following elders' traditions and wishes, and desired to follow their own path as regards major life decisions, is also evident in their attitudes towards starting families. Whereas there was a marked tendency towards larger families in both the pre- and early post-immigration setting, within a generation in Britain it appeared that the pattern within the Jewish community had reverted to the Western model for smaller families.²³⁵ One article in the *British Medical Journal* in 1928

(investigating the ‘alleged high fertility of Jews’) concluded that the birth rate in predominantly Jewish areas of the capital had declined rapidly between the early part of the century and the late 1920s and at a rate significantly quicker than in non-Jewish areas. Comparing the number of births per 1000 people living in Stepney and neighbouring Poplar, the author found that there had been a greater decline (52%) in the former, largely Jewish, area (from 38.1 births per 1000 in 1903 to 18.3 in 1927) compared to the latter (dropping 44% from 35.1 to 19.8 in the same period). The decline in Stepney was also greater than the decline in the birth rate across the whole of London (which saw a 44-per cent drop between 1903 and 1927). This, the author noted, mirrored the situation among Jewish communities in Europe across the same period and contrasted starkly with Jewish birth rates during the period of Russo-Jewish emigration.²³⁶

Undoubtedly, a greater openness, understanding and desire for knowledge regarding sex among the second generation helps explain this stark change. Often young Jews could not rely on their immigrant elders to provide them with this greater sexual education and awareness. Indeed, many young Jewish girls of immigrant parentage noted that little information was given to them by their mothers on sexual development. Ruth Kerrigan, for instance, remembered being frustrated with her mother for not giving her any sex education at all (‘It was silly; nobody told you anything’), whilst Ena Abrahams commented that ‘nobody ever spoke about sex.’ Jewish girls were, therefore, simply left to their own devices, finding out about things like menstruation and periods once they had started, or having to rely on speaking to older siblings and friends to fill in the considerable gaps in their knowledge of sexual development, reproduction and pregnancy.²³⁷

Many young Jews took it upon themselves to learn about sex and contraception. As well as speaking to others, many sought information and assistance through other channels, such as through reading literature by academics such as Marie Stopes or by visiting the various Mothers’ Clinics she founded across the country from 1921 onwards.²³⁸ Importantly, they were then willing and able to put this knowledge to practical use. One 1949 study, for instance, claimed that among women who had married during the interwar period there was a markedly higher instance of contraceptive use among Jews than among any other group.²³⁹ The recollections of male and female second-generation Jews demonstrate a widespread awareness and use of contraceptives

during this period. Although claiming that ‘it was not common for my age group to know about it’, Ruth Adler regularly sought contraceptive advice and assistance both before and during her marriage.²⁴⁰ N.A. remarked that there were many ‘enlightened’ women among the younger generation in the Jewish East End, including her sister, who decided to be fitted with a diaphragm.²⁴¹ Contraception allowed a young Jewish woman like Ruth Kerrigan to plan when she would have children (‘My mother thought this was marvellous for me. She was astounded by that’), whilst Jewish boys like Jack Caplan also demonstrated their knowledge of birth control methods and their desire to avoid unplanned pregnancies by regularly using prophylactics.²⁴²

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

Changes were clearly occurring within the immigrant Jewish home and family during the interwar period, but so too was the location of many homes. The interwar Jewish community of Britain saw largescale geographic mobility during this era, which witnessed the true genesis of a ‘process of suburbanisation and embourgeoisation’—often following patterns and models of settlement set by the established Jewish community in the nineteenth century—that reached its conclusion post-Second World War.²⁴³ By diluting intra-communal and intergenerational cohesion, interwar geographic mobility also brought significant social and cultural ramifications.²⁴⁴

In many ways, contemporary statistics and reports do much to suggest a ‘galloping suburbanisation’ on the part of the immigrant population, many of whom were relocating outwards from the original areas of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century settlement.²⁴⁵ Published in 1934, Nettie Adler’s social survey of Jews in East London, for instance, presented a broad range of statistics that demonstrated the declining centrality of this part of the capital for London Jewry. By 1929, she claimed, 60% of the capital’s Jews lived in the East of the city, down from 90% in 1889. The Jewish population of East London was also much less centred on the ‘Jewish East End’ than it was previously, with only 52% of Jewish families in 1929 still living in Stepney, the remainder split between Hackney (24%), Bethnal Green (11%) and Shoreditch, Poplar and Stoke Newington (13% in total). Adler also claimed that the opening of a number of new synagogues across North, West and South London during the 1920s demonstrated the growing ‘dispersion’ of the community across

Greater London.²⁴⁶ Other reports published at the time contributed to the sense of a shift in communal geography. In 1928 the *Jewish Chronicle* stated that the East End was no more a 'Jewish quarter than any other', whilst, in summarising developments in the community during the rule of George V (1910–1936), the 1937 *Jewish Year Book* concluded that the 'closure of the reign found the basis of Anglo-Jewry much wider, both economically and geographically, than it had been at the beginning'.²⁴⁷

Geographic mobility was seen as a national phenomenon, not one solely centred on the capital. In Manchester, where up to 37,500 Jews resided by 1939, a gradual but perceptible move away from Cheetham and Red Bank to areas north, such as Prestwich and Crumpsall, and south, to Fallowfield and Withington, was also said to be apparent during the interwar years.²⁴⁸ The decline of the sizes of inner-city synagogue congregations (Claff Street Shul in Red Bank shrank from 360 members in 1914 to 100 by 1926) and Jewish Lads' Brigade battalions (the Cheetham-based group's annual report in 1936 claimed attracting new members was increasingly difficult due to out-migration), alongside the opening of new synagogues and kosher butchers in other areas of Greater Manchester, all pointed towards a suburban flight then seemingly gathering pace among Manchester Jewry.²⁴⁹

A similar picture has been painted by historians of other provincial Jewish communities in Britain. Discussing Leeds, which had a Jewish population of approximately 25,000 across the interwar period, Krausz claimed that by the late 1930s the original immigrant quarter in the Leylands 'was almost completely deserted'. Again, a decline in the number of synagogues in that area (from nine in 1917 to two in 1937), and a rise in the number opening in more outlying areas such as Camp Road (two in 1917, eight by 1937) and Chapeltown (one, rising to six), was seen as evidence of the desire of this community to leave the original 'ghetto' and 'move to a better area'.²⁵⁰ In Glasgow, it has been claimed that migration from inner-city Gorbals to suburban areas, such as Govenhill, Crosshill, Kelvinside and Garnethill, began in earnest before the First World War and continued apace in the interwar era. By 1936, it was estimated that up to 10% of the community was now living in 'better off, middle-class suburbs' such as Giffnock and Netherlee, whilst synagogues in the Gorbals were said to have 'faced greater competition from each other for the decreasing number of Jewish residents in the area'.²⁵¹ Similarly, by 1935 more than half of Liverpool's Jewish community had

reportedly moved to secondary areas of settlement, such as Smithdown Road, Wavertree, Sefton Park and Mossley Hill.²⁵²

According to contemporary observers and some historians, one of the main reasons for this change was the desire of the second generation to move away from the original immigrant neighbourhoods. Whereas social and economic conditions had forced many first-generation Jews to live in separate Jewish quarters, their offspring had greater choice and freedom over where to reside.²⁵³ In London, Nettie Adler noted that slum clearance initiatives and the shifting of industry away from the East End were key factors in the apparent geographic mobility of the community, but so too was 'the desire to remove from East London ... increasing' among the 'younger generation ... [who] are naturally most anxious to seek better houses outside overcrowded districts'.²⁵⁴ Indeed, one study of population geography in London published the same year as Adler's survey claimed that by the late 1920s 47% of all those born in Stepney (Jews and non-Jews) had moved to other London boroughs, particularly East and West Ham (26.9%), Poplar (8.4%) and Hackney (5.4%).²⁵⁵

A similar situation was believed to have occurred in the provinces. Whereas much of the original immigrant community in Liverpool remained in city-centre areas such as Islington and Brownlow Hill, by the start of the 1930s it had become evident that it was 'mainly the sons and daughters of the immigrant' who had moved to western suburbs.²⁵⁶ Similarly, in Manchester, the increasing move to northern and southern suburbs was put down to a difference in expectations and tolerance between the immigrant generations in this period. Whereas older Jews saw poor housing, job opportunities and conditions 'as the price of their safety in Britain', many of their children found such circumstances unacceptable and looked, as soon as it was financially viable, to move to better areas with better prospects.²⁵⁷ All this followed and mirrored a similar process said to be occurring in Jewish communities in the interwar USA, with the creation of clusters of Jewish settlement in suburban areas, such as the Bronx and Brooklyn in New York, driven by a second generation aspiring to higher living standards and escape from the seemingly constraining old neighbourhoods.²⁵⁸

Indeed, as Morris Beckman noted, there were many second-generation Jews in interwar Britain who were 'going their own ways like icebergs splitting away from host glaciers'.²⁵⁹ With the offer of comparatively affordable and plentiful housing and improving public transport links, and mirroring a wider general move outwards taking place in

the interwar period, many Jews began to look to suburban ‘commuter’ neighbourhoods when setting up home.²⁶⁰ When Rose Sarner married in the 1930s, she moved with her new husband to a flat in Clapton, whereas William Massil moved to Brent with his wife (also a second-generation Jew born in the East End) later in the decade.²⁶¹ Similarly, Jean Austin moved to a small two-bedroomed flat in Stamford Hill when she married in 1931, whilst Alice Burleigh moved to Finchley in 1934 with her new husband, noting ‘it was like a village, the shopping and all that ... it was lovely’.²⁶² Outside of London, Hannah Frank moved to Netherlee in suburban Glasgow when she married in 1939; upon his engagement in 1931 Louis Teeman put down a deposit on a brand-new semi-detached house (with ‘three bedrooms, separate bathroom and lavatory with gardens at the front and rear, with the stout brick garage’) in suburban Moortown, Leeds.²⁶³

If marriage was often a catalyst for a move out of the inner city, then money was a key facilitator. It was no surprise that the growing suburban Jewish population of this time was also said to be markedly better off in terms of income than those Jews remaining in the inner cities.²⁶⁴ As the second generation witnessed increasing occupational diversification (see Chap. 3) and moved on to sounder financial footings, the prospect of moving out and away became more realistic. For example, as Jack Cohen’s Tesco business began to grow during the late 1920s, he initially moved with his wife Cissie to Clapton (where his income allowed him to employ several domestic aides), eventually moving to a custom-built six-bedroom house in Finchley in 1936.²⁶⁵ Ted ‘Kid’ Lewis’s successes in the boxing ring allowed him to buy houses in Golders Green and Maida Vale during the 1920s, whilst Mark Fineman’s job working for the Board of Guardians meant he could afford to relocate his family to Stoke Newington in the early 1930s, to a ‘nice area, nice house, facing the common’.²⁶⁶ Mark’s siblings made similar moves once they had the means: ‘One moved to Clapton ... Another went to Cricklewood ... but nobody stayed in the Ghetto. The thing about the Ghetto, people got out of it ... as soon as they could (Fig. 2.3).’²⁶⁷

Similar trends were evident outside of the capital. In the early 1930s, Evelyn Cowan’s sister’s marriage and success with a drapery business allowed her to move into a small flat in the Shawlands. As Evelyn noted, whereas Glasgow Jewry during her early years was a ‘tight little

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Fig. 2.3 Advert placed in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 February 1931

community' and 'very few of us lived outside that district', by the early 1930s a 'wind of change' was perceptible. As 'the drift began', she noted years later, 'the soul of the old Gorbals was flitting southwards towards suburbia. Small splinter communities sprang up everywhere ... My Jewish people, as they bettered themselves moneywise, did not want to live the narrow life of the Ghetto.'²⁶⁸

Similarly, Monty Dobkin claimed that Manchester Jewry went from being largely confined by the 'invisible walls' of the area encompassing the penny tram ride from the city centre to 'gradual' settlement throughout the 1920s and 1930s into new areas which were 'much less crowded

... The atmosphere was cleaner and the way ahead to higher standards for the rising generation was clear.²⁶⁹

The move that many second-generation Jews undertook at this time in itself evidenced a desire to retreat physically from immigrant elders and culture, while the very experience of out-migration also moved these Jews emotionally and psychologically further away from their immigrant roots.²⁷⁰ As has been noted elsewhere, the move of many younger Jews to neighbourhoods whose ‘ambience and population were markedly less Jewish’ had the effect of undermining their Eastern European Jewish immigrant ethnicity.²⁷¹ These areas not only looked, sounded, smelt and, indeed, *felt* different, but the suburban communities often lacked the social and community patterns, often governed by *shtetl* and *lands-mann* ties, that were so prevalent in the inner-city neighbourhoods.²⁷² They also contained more non-Jews and, thus, non-Jewish lifestyles. As *The Times* remarked in 1924, young Jews moving out to the suburbs at this time were making closer acquaintances with non-Jews and finding out much more about how non-Jews lived than would have been possible if they had remained in the Jewish quarters.²⁷³ They would have also encountered fellow Jews of recent immigrant descent whose Jewishness was markedly less pronounced and visible. Whenever a young Harold Rosen visited Dalston in the 1930s he remarked that ‘over there was a whiff of freedom’ and that local Jews, such as his Uncle Ike, were distinctive compared to those still in the East End. They not only spoke (‘for all I knew he may have been able to speak Yiddish ... but I never heard him doing so’) and dressed differently (‘I couldn’t have imagined him in a prayer shawl or walking round the house with his head covered’), but they also seemed different (‘there was something a touch Gentile about Uncle Ike. Part of it was his English quietness and reserve and self-control’).²⁷⁴

Clearly, geographic mobility could impact significantly on the way that family and community members, now often spread across considerable distances, also conceived of and interacted with each other. By the interwar years many families were now split between the inner cities and the suburbs, with physical separation often contributing to and reflecting cultural disconnections.²⁷⁵ This is alluded to in Simon Blumenfeld’s famous 1935 novel *Jew Boy*, which focuses on Jewish life in interwar London. Its second-generation protagonist Alec mocks those Jews (such as his girlfriend’s sister) who exchange the ‘life and colour ... [and] vitality’ of the inner city for the ‘anaemic, narrow-minded

dreariness of the suburbs'. Conversely, however, the sister would openly mock the 'Vitechapel Jews' she had left behind in the East End.²⁷⁶ It was also the case that 'spatial dispersion reified social differentiation', as movement led not only to socio-economic (as noted above) but also to clear demographic differences between Jews living in old and new areas.²⁷⁷ The number of Jews on the rolls of East End schools showed a marked decline in the interwar period compared to pre-1914, whilst statistics from 1929 to 1930 suggested that the foreign-born population of London, 25% of which was said to be located in Stepney, was an aging one, with 66% over 45 years of age and 29% 55 years or older (compared to 45 and 22% for London-born respectively).²⁷⁸ The creation of new Jewish youth clubs in suburban London (by 1937, nine such clubs had opened in North, North West and West London) was but one indicator of the comparative youthfulness of the newer, outlying Jewish communities.²⁷⁹

It would be wrong, however, to think that geographic mobility created families and a community that was split physically, demographically and culturally. For one, moving to the suburbs was not the exclusive preserve of, nor originated with, the interwar second generation. Many of the areas into which the children of immigrants relocated had either already witnessed the arrival of more successful migrants before the First World War or were continuing to see a first-generation inflow between the wars.²⁸⁰ The 1931 census showed that while 46% of London's Russian- and Polish-born (overwhelmingly Jewish) population (23,102 people) still lived in Stepney, significant immigrant populations were visible in places such as Bethnal Green (7.7%; 3899 people), Hackney (14.2%; 7169), Stoke Newington (3%; 1535), Islington (2.8%; 1394) and Hampstead (2.7%; 1374).²⁸¹ In Leeds, the repositioning of immigrant families from inner-city Leylands to areas like Roundhay and Chapeltown (noted for its cheap rental prices) continued apace in the 1920s and 1930s, but had commenced before 1914.²⁸² As Levy noted, it often took little time for immigrants to develop the aspiration to move to the suburbs, and inner-city 'ghettoes ... started to thin out as soon as the newcomers could afford social and geographical change'.²⁸³

Whereas many second-generation Jews made the conscious move to the suburbs later in their lives for various practical, emotional and financial reasons, many of them had also been brought up in these surroundings in the bosom of immigrant parents whose own success and desires for a better life had facilitated their relocation. Fay Sterling's

father's work, first as a gas lighting fitter and then as a shop owner, meant the family 'gave up' Whitechapel in 1918, when they moved to Brondesbury.²⁸⁴ As a young boy, Cyril Spector's family moved first to Hackney in 1925 and then on to Clapton five years later, while in 1931 the eleven-strong Litvinoff family relocated to Hackney to a small flat behind a tobacconist, noted for having four rooms, electricity and its own front door.²⁸⁵ Before her marriage, Alice Burleigh lived with her parents in Stoke Newington, where they had relocated from Sidney Street in the early 1920s. She later noted the move into a 'large house ... [with] six bedrooms and two and a half reception rooms' was 'quite a big stride' for an immigrant family such as hers.²⁸⁶

Similar moves were occurring outside of London. When his father's carpentry business took off in the 1920s, David Bloomenfield's family moved from Hightown in Manchester to a six-bedroom house in Crumpsall, whilst Zena Marenbon's family went from living in Walton to a much bigger house in Liverpool's Sefton Park area ('where rich people lived', according to a young Zena).²⁸⁷ In 1921, Hannah Frank's father (who ran a successful camera and optical instruments shop) moved his family from the Gorbals to 'a mile south to a "main door" house in Dixon Avenue, Govanhill'.²⁸⁸ Indeed, by the mid- to late 1920s, many first-generation migrants had secured the means to enjoy a more comfortable and cleaner existence away from the inner city immigrant quarter. As Beckman has commented, by this time many immigrants had relocated themselves, and their families, away from

the dockside slums, towards the greener areas ... into tree lined roads and streets, into terraces of large multi-roomed Victorian and Georgian houses. Not only were they blessed with the luxury of front and back gardens, but families no longer had to sleep three, four and even five in a bedroom. It was worth working fingers to the bone for, and this is what they did.²⁸⁹

Significantly, a move to the suburbs was often, therefore, about keeping families together and collectively bettering their lifestyles and living conditions. Relocation also did not necessarily mean that it was difficult to keep up connections with the original areas of settlement either. Whereas improving transport links facilitated out-movement, it also allowed newly suburbanised Jews and Jewish families to keep employment and remain in touch with family in the 'old' areas. Indeed, many first- and second-generation Jewish businessmen in London who made the move outwards

could still very easily run factories in the East End due to train, tram or road links.²⁹⁰ By the 1930s, Jews living in Edgware, like T. Jervis, could take advantage of a ‘worker’s ticket’, allowing them return tube travel to Aldgate for seven pence.²⁹¹ Young Jews who had moved to areas such as Clapton, Stamford Hill and Tottenham Court Road could easily and cheaply go to visit friends and parents back in the East End by jumping on board the various connecting trains, trams and tubes, or by hailing a taxi.²⁹²

Neither did a move to the suburbs indicate or necessarily result in a diminishing sense of Jewishness, even if a Jew was now living in an area much less heavily populated with co-religionists. Clearly, communal leaders who feared for the future of Jewish life in these new areas did not take into account the determination of many socially mobile Jews to preserve and demonstrate elements of traditional Jewish culture and mores.²⁹³ In areas of secondary settlement, key religious, social and cultural amenities were often either already in place (due to previous established or immigrant Jewish movement) or quick to develop. Indeed, as Adler noted in 1934, the spiritual infrastructure was often among the first things to be ‘transplanted to the new centres of Jewish life’ and those moving outwards during the interwar period could be relocating to areas where synagogues had already been established as many as forty or fifty years previously.²⁹⁴ Once suburban communities were sizeable enough, other services, such as kosher butchers and delicatessens and Jewish bakeries, would quickly follow, as happened in the 1920s as the Jewish community of Manchester slowly edged northwards up Bury New Road.²⁹⁵ Alongside newly established Friendly Societies or Zionist groups, these institutions gave Jews a focal point and helped maintain and/or recreate a sense of ethnic togetherness in areas where encounters between Jews were much less frequent than in the inner cities.²⁹⁶

As in the interwar USA, a ‘paradox of concentrated dispersal’ was also apparent within Britain, with Jews leaving areas of original settlement often moving in groups or waves and to increasingly ‘Jewish’ suburban neighbourhoods.²⁹⁷ If real escape from Jewish roots and peers was the aim, then there would have been much more movement to areas where Jews didn’t already reside, or which didn’t have existing Jewish religious, cultural and communal infrastructures. Instead, increasingly well-off Jews often sought to live in better, cleaner areas in which they could live different, but not necessarily non-Jewish, lives.²⁹⁸ New neighbourhoods may have lacked many of the sensory markers—the sounds,

smells, tastes and sights—of immigrant Jewishness, and suburban Jews encountered more non-Jews and non-Jewish lifestyles than they would have done in the inner-city settlements. Yet geographically mobile Jews were still often looking for a ‘Jewish’ existence and likeminded Jews with whom to share this. As in 1920s and 1930s New York City, new kinds of cultures, organisations and lifestyles—different from those in the ‘ghetto’ but still or soon recognisable as ethnically Jewish—arose in these ‘new Jewish “ghettoes”’.²⁹⁹

Of course, many decisions to move outwards were deeply inflected and limited by antisemitism, an important factor in reminding socially and geographically mobile Jews of their continued difference in the eyes of many non-Jews and a reason why so many sought the comfort and safety in numbers that ‘concentrated dispersal’ brought with it.³⁰⁰ For one, where those Jews seeking to move outwards could actually live was severely limited by de jure and de facto housing discrimination. For example, a 1923 London County Council (LCC) ruling giving preference to British citizens for council housing has been cited as one reason for considerable Jewish relocation to North East and North West London (i.e. to areas outside of LCC jurisdiction at that time) during the interwar period.³⁰¹ Elsewhere, stories and anecdotal evidence of discrimination did much to discourage Jewish relocation. For instance, H.B. remembered that in the 1920s it was common to see signs outside houses or block of flats, or adverts in local newspapers like the *Hackney and Kingsland Gazette*, stipulating that ‘no Jews or dogs need apply’.³⁰² In 1936, the *East End News* reported of tenancy agreements barring Jews from accommodation in Bow and printed multiple stories of Jews looking to move much further afield due to discrimination.³⁰³ One young Jew was told by a developer of an estate in Ilford that ‘under no circumstances would they sell to a Hebrew’; another was informed by an estate agent in North London ‘that people buying or renting a house asked to be assured that the estate would be free of Jews’.³⁰⁴ Landlords in some areas of Manchester, recalled Monty Dobkin, would consciously limit Jewish tenants to certain streets, or even sides of streets.³⁰⁵

If discrimination from builders and landlords in new areas of settlement didn’t remind Jews of their Jewishness, then hostility from new neighbours could. When Rose Sarner’s family made the short move out of Stepney into a more mixed area in Shoreditch, they experienced much more antisemitism than previously from neighbours.³⁰⁶ Aspirational

Jews moving to more bourgeois neighbourhoods could find discrimination in terms of employment or when seeking to enter social or sporting clubs.³⁰⁷ Much like the Strongs—the Hackney-based protagonists of Alexander Baron’s novel *With Hope, Farewell*—Jews ‘coming up a little bit in the world’ may have ‘hovered on the margins of Jewish life’, but soon became ‘aware of their origins when their neighbours rub it in’.³⁰⁸

In short, suburban Jews did not always want to forget—nor, because of antisemitism, were they allowed to forget—their Jewish roots and identities. Geographic mobility at this time may have given the impression of a population seeking escape from its physical environs and Jewishness, but many of those young Jews moving outwards were not intent on fleeing their families, their community, their religion and/or their culture. Outwards movement evidently grew apace during the 1920s and 1930s, becoming a key element of interwar communal discourse and contributing to the discussion surrounding estrangement. But it is important not to forget that while many first- and second-generation Jews moved out of the immigrant quarter at this time, a large proportion did not. Most Jews in interwar Britain, be it in London, Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds or Liverpool, did not move away and remained firmly in touch with and, to a certain extent, surrounded by immigrant Jewish culture.³⁰⁹ Whilst Joe Jacobs may have had friends or acquaintances who had moved to Hackney, Stamford Hill, Cricklewood, Brondesbury and Golders Green, he remained in the East End.³¹⁰ Similarly, it was only conscription in 1940 that tore Jack Caplan away from his beloved Gorbals, causing a considerable sense of loss and bereavement: ‘this was my environment, these were my people and soon I would be leaving all this behind’.³¹¹

Whilst there were clearly many considerable changes in the home and family environment for these Jews and the scores of others like them, their lives were not affected by the impact of relocation away from areas which right up to the start of the Second World War remained firmly and distinctly ‘Jewish’ in their eyes and the eyes of wider society.³¹² It wasn’t until the post-1945 period, due to the combined effects of evacuation, destruction caused by German bombing and increasing social mobility, that British Jewry became ‘overwhelmingly suburban’ and commentators began to note that areas like London’s Whitechapel and Commercial Road were increasingly appearing ‘strangely empty’ of Jews.³¹³ Indeed, throughout the interwar period and right up until the eve of the Second

World War, inner-city areas like the Gorbals firmly remained the social, cultural, economic and religious epicentres of the community.³¹⁴

CONCLUSIONS

Whilst there are clear indications of growing social, emotional, cultural and even physical detachment among the second generation from their elders and the family environment in this period, it is also apparent that a much greater connection to the home and Jewish traditions within it, and to parents and grandparents, remained than was thought at the time. Changes were occurring, many of them visible to the wider Jewish and non-Jewish world, which gave a strong impression of a ‘cleavage’ within the home environment.³¹⁵ Observers of the second generation in schools, clubs, workplaces and on the streets did witness a greater use of English, increasing consumption of British foods, and greater freedom in terms of relationships, gender roles and sexual relations, as well as notable geographic mobility. Interpreting this as a wholesale rejection of parental authority and family, the conclusion was made at the time that the home environment—so important for the transmission of ‘Jewish’ values—was no longer able to act as a unifying force, reconciling generations, Jews with their Jewishness, and Jews with other Jews.

What newspaper articles, organisational reports and minutes, and social surveys couldn’t reveal, though, was what was happening within the privacy of the family unit. Here, a much greater, though by no means universal nor unstinting, commitment to maintaining and cherishing rituals and customs was apparent than was widely believed. Despite some, often painful, cultural clashes, a significant degree of cohesion was maintained between parent and child and between British-born or raised children and immigrant tradition. Generations largely still respected each other, still conversed with each other (if not always in the same language), still ate together and consumed similar (and often mostly kosher) foodstuffs, still often followed the same path in terms of gender roles and relationships, and were not as emotionally or physically separated by suburbanisation as was feared. Rather than pushing young Jews away from their Jewishness, life at home and with family often heightened these Jews’ ‘sense of identity’.³¹⁶

Young Jews were breaking out and slowly assimilating the cultures of non-Jewish society in these areas, a natural consequence of spending their formative years, or a large part of them at least, in a culture and

environment different from that of their forebears. When they felt the authority, wishes and traditions of elders lacked practical use or relevance to their lives, they willingly rejected them, sometimes with consequences that had a lasting effect on their lifestyle and on inter-generational relations. Yet the second generation wasn't replacing Jewish home or family culture in toto, nor was it seeking to detach itself entirely from parents and grandparents. Changes were occurring, sometimes in the public eye or in very public settings. Yet, despite this, younger Jews were not rejecting, nor desiring a total rejection of, the traditions and values imbued by Jewish family and home life.

NOTES

1. Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (London, 2nd edition, 1956), 253–254. Dash Moore concluded many years later that the US Jewish second generation had 'rejected' many aspects of traditional home life and parental authority and culture at this time. Deborah Dash Moore, 'Defining American Jewish Ethnicity', *Prospects* 6 (1981), 387.
2. *Jewish Chronicle* (hereafter *JC*), 2 February 1923.
3. Henrietta Adler, 'Jewish Life and Labour in East London', in Hubert Llewellyn Smith (ed.), *New Survey of London Life and Labour: Volume VI—Survey of Social Conditions (2) The Western Area (Text)*, (London, 1934), 282.
4. *JC*, 15 March 1929.
5. Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York, 2nd edition, 2005), 172, 177–181.
6. Whilst life and experiences outside of the home often see the strongest pressures towards assimilation, the 'private sphere' has a 'special role ... in preserving ethnicity' and 'instilling ethnic identity in children'. Richard Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America* (London, 1990), 166, 185.
7. Chaim Bermant, *The Walled Garden: The Saga of Jewish Family Life and Tradition* (London, 1974), 9.
8. Morris Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible* (London, 1996), xiii; Lloyd Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (London, 3rd edition, 2001), 166; Susan Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants in London, 1880–1939* (London, 2014), 10.
9. Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 172.
10. Nikos Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion: Tradition and Change in Liverpool Jewry* (Washington, 1982), 165.

11. David Feldman, 'Englishmen, Jews and Immigrants in London, 1865–1914: Modernization, Social Control and the Paths to Englishness', in Ronald Dotterer et al. (eds), *Jewish Settlement and Community in the Modern Western World* (London, 1991), 99.
12. *JC*, 20 February 1903.
13. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants*, 9.
14. Charles Russell and Harry Lewis, *The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions* (London, 1901), 181–182, 184.
15. *JC*, 9 February 1923.
16. *The Times*, 28 November 1924; *JC*, 9 February 1923.
17. *JC*, 27 February 1914.
18. Rosalyn Livshin, 'Acculturation of Immigrant Jewish Children, 1890–1930', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford, 1990), 88.
19. For short biographical sketches of the second-generation Jews cited, please see 'Biographical Sketches' section, below.
20. Willy Goldman, *East End My Cradle* (London, 1988), 13, 18–20, 214.
21. Chaim Lewis, *A Soho Address* (London, 1965), 20–22.
22. For a discussion of religion and religious observance among the first generation, see Chap. 4.
23. David Daiches, *Two Worlds* (Edinburgh, 1997), 92–93.
24. Rickie Burman, 'Women in Jewish Religious Life, Manchester: 1880–1930', in Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper and Raphael Samuel (eds), *Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy* (London, 1989), 46–47.
25. Livshin, 'Acculturation', 90. See *JC*, 22 February 1924; 7 March 1924.
26. Jewish Museum, London (hereafter JML), 482, interview with Rose Sarner; Quoted in Livshin, 'Acculturation', 90.
27. Cyril Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy* (London, 1988), 3–5, 30–32.
28. Quoted in Livshin, 'Acculturation', 88.
29. Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 181, 262.
30. Harold Rosen, *Are You Still Circumcised? East End Memories* (Nottingham, 1999), 146–147.
31. Rickie Burman, 'Growing Up in Manchester Jewry: The Story of Clara Weingard', *Oral History* 12 (1984), 57.
32. Ralph Finn, *No Tears in Aldgate* (Bath, 1963), 50–56.
33. David Cesarani, 'Introduction', in Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, vii.
34. Gerry Black, *Living Up West: Jewish Life in London's West End* (London, 1994), 7.
35. Charles Poulsen, *Scenes from a Stepney Youth* (London, 1988), 16.
36. William Fishman, 'From the Streets of East London', in Venetia Murray (ed.), *Echoes of the East End* (London, 1989), 187–188.

37. *JC*, 3 July 1925.
38. Burman, 'Women in Jewish Religious Life', 49.
39. Manchester Jewish Museum (hereafter MJM), J289, Benny Rothman; Finn, *No Tears*, 55.
40. MJM, J63, Jack Cohen; John Harding with Jack Berg, *Jack 'Kid' Berg: The Whitechapel Windmill* (London, 1987), 32.
41. Benny stopped attending synagogue when he got his first job aged 14. MJM, J289, Benny Rothman. Ralph didn't continue his Hebrew studies beyond his Bar Mitzvah. Finn, *No Tears*, 54. Jack said he still wanted to 'rebel' from his family and 'break out of this Jewish thing' from an early age. MJM, J63, Jack Cohen. Jack continued his boxing career and West End visits behind the backs of his family. Harding, *Jack 'Kid' Berg*, 32–43. Indeed, whilst many of the younger generation were willing to 'abide by ... parents' wishes' until that age, they were then much more willing to make their own choices. Black, *Living Up West*, 37.
42. Harding, *Jack 'Kid' Berg*, 33; Dash Moore, 'Defining American Jewish Ethnicity', 387–388.
43. David Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs: Social Change in Anglo-Jewry between the Wars, 1914–1945', *Jewish Culture and History* 1, 1 (1998), 13. Feingold notes that 'for some the complete demise of Yiddish and the "foreign" culture it generated could not come soon enough'. Henry Feingold, *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920–1945* (London, 1992), 88.
44. Maurice Samuel, *Little Did I Know: Recollections and Reflections* (New York, 1963), 133.
45. MJM, J5, Ben Ainley.
46. V.D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (London, 1990), 222. A similar decline was seen in the USA. See Feingold, *A Time for Searching*, 75.
47. Daiches, *Two Worlds*, 123.
48. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 291–292.
49. In 1923, Adler claimed that 'Yiddish ... was not educational' in a debate about using it for religious education among younger Jews. *JC*, 8 June 1923.
50. Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656–2000* (London, 2002), 174–175.
51. *JC*, 7 July 1905; 23 May 1917. Scottish Jewish communal leaders were equally derogatory over Yiddish. See Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow, 1879–1939: Immigration and Integration* (London, 2007), 163.
52. *JC*, 8 June 1923; Livshin, 'Acculturation', 81.
53. Selig Brodetsky, *From Ghetto to Israel* (London, 1960), 27.

54. See Gerry Black, *JFS: The History of the Jew's Free School, London, since 1732* (London, 1998), 122–123.
55. Quoted in Livshin, 'Acculturation', 81.
56. Jewish Women in London Group (hereafter JWILG), *Generations of Memories: Voices of Jewish Women* (London, 1989), 31.
57. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 38.
58. Ian Mikardo, *Back-Bencher* (London, 1988), 24–25; Lew Grade, *Still Dancing* (Glasgow, 1988), 24.
59. Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford, 1992), 141.
60. Livshin, 'Acculturation', 87.
61. Jack Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals* (Edinburgh, 1991), 96.
62. Netty Michelson, 'My Salford Days', <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story208/story208.htm?identifier=stories/story208/story208.htm&ProjectNo=11> (accessed 3 August 2015).
63. Bernard Delfont, *East End, West End* (London, 1990), 5.
64. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 31.
65. Livshin, 'Acculturation', 86; Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 65.
66. Black, *Living Up West*, 44.
67. JML, 278, Minnie Levy.
68. Rosen, *Are You Still Circumcised?*, 62; Elaine Smith, 'Class, Ethnicity and Politics in the Jewish East End, 1918–1939', *Jewish Historical Studies* 32 (1990–1992), 357.
69. Dash Moore, 'Defining American Jewish Ethnicity', 387.
70. Bernard Kops, *The World is a Wedding: From East End to Soho* (Nottingham, 2008), 26. For a similar account, see Finn, *No Tears*, 92.
71. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 2.
72. Livshin, 'Acculturation', 87; Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, xiii.
73. MJM, J214, Benny Segal.
74. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 2.
75. Samuel, *Little Did I Know*, 61, 88–89.
76. JML, 319, Max Minkoff.
77. JML, 425, H.B. and L.C.; JML, 278, Minnie Levy
78. Goldman, *East End My Cradle*, 12.
79. Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing', 13.
80. MJM, J100, Abraham Goldstone.
81. MJM, J214, Benny Segal.
82. Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion*, 123.
83. John Cooper, 'Two East End Jewish Families: The Bloomsteins and the Isenbergs', in Aubrey Newman (ed.), *The Jewish East End, 1840–1939* (London, 1981), 64.
84. MJM, J88, Solomon Gadeon.

85. JML, 427, F.M.; Delfont, *East End, West End*, 5; Bill Williams, *Sidney Hamburger and Manchester Jewry: Religion, City and Community* (London, 1999), 18.
86. In his 1964 survey into Jews in Leeds, Ernest Krausz claimed that the 'further removed' a Jew was physically from the original area of settlement 'the fewer Yiddish words he is likely to possess'. Ernest Krausz, *Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure* (Cambridge, 1964), 123.
87. Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals* (Edinburgh, 2006), 20–22, 285.
88. Livshin, 'Acculturation', 87–88.
89. Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, 20.
90. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants*, 71.
91. Finn, *No Tears*, 92; Black, *Living Up West*, 43.
92. Burman, 'Growing Up in Manchester Jewry', 57; JML, 378, Jean Austin; 459, Beattie Margo.
93. JML, 382, Ubbby Cowan.
94. JML, 378, Jean Austin.
95. JML, 2001.37, Aubrey Rose, 'A Memoir of the Old East End' (1990); JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 54. In 1934, Nettie Adler reported that English language sessions held in the East End and paid for by LCC were well attended by 'immigrant fathers and mothers'. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 292. See also Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant*, 239–240.
96. Karl Pearson and Margaret Moul, 'The Problem of Alien Immigration into Great Britain, Illustrated by an Examination of Russian and Polish Jewish Children', *Annals of Eugenics* 1, 1 (1925), 10.
97. Burman, 'Growing Up in Manchester Jewry', 57; MJM, J43, Martin Bobker; MJM, J1, Sam Aarons.
98. Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 65.
99. Krausz, *Leeds Jewry*, 123; JC, 2 February 1923.
100. JC, 2 February 1923.
101. Harry Blacker, *Just Like It Was: Memoirs of the Mittel East* (London, 1974), 148.
102. JML, 306, Laura Philips.
103. JML, 426, M.F. (Mark Fineman).
104. For Davis, see Chaps. 3 and 4, and Geoffrey Alderman, 'M.H. Davis: The Rise and Fall of a Communal Upstart', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 16 (1988–1990).
105. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (London, 2005), 219.
106. When Maurice Samuels moved to the USA in his teens, he found Yiddish helped him maintain a connection to his immigrant past. His initial 'high-principled disapproval of what Yiddish stood for' gave way

- to him seeing the language as a 'gateway into Jewish life' and a way of reconnecting to his people and immigrant culture. Samuel, *Little Did I Know*, 134–136. As an adult, Ena Abrahams began to regret that she and her family had lost the ability to speak and understand Yiddish. She felt it 'sad' that it had been assailed in school and Jewish clubs and that Jews living in secondary areas of settlement had little proficiency. She claimed 'If you're made to feel that your language is second-rate, it does something to your self-image' and took pride in later making her own children aware of their heritage. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 87.
107. Joe Jacobs, *Out of the Ghetto: My Youth in the East End, Communism and Fascism, 1913–1939* (London, 1978), 61.
 108. Bernard Homa, *Footprints in the Sands of Time* (London, 1990), 25.
 109. Emanuel Litvinoff, *Journey Through a Small Planet* (London, 1993), 29.
 110. Zena Marenbon, *Don't Blow Out the Candle: A Liverpool Childhood of the Twenties* (London, 1973), 98; Lewis, *A Soho Address*, 98.
 111. Panikos Panayi, 'The Anglicisation of East European Food in Britain', *Immigrants and Minorities* 30, 2/3 (2012), 293; Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (London, 2001), 185.
 112. David Kraemer, *Jewish Eating and Identity Through The Ages* (London, 2008), 2; John Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied: A Social History of Jewish Food* (Northvale NJ, 1993); Panikos Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of Food* (London, 2010), 55; Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 171.
 113. Bermant, *The Walled Garden*, 165.
 114. In recent times, much scholarly attention has been paid to examining the historic link between food and ethnicity in a variety of different national contexts and time periods. See, for example, Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell (eds), *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville TN, 1985); Donna Gabbacia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (London, 1998); Diner, *Hungering for America*; Anne Kershen (ed.), *Food in the Migrant Experience* (Farnham, 2002); Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain*.
 115. See, for instance, John Walton, *Fish and Chips and the British Working Class: 1870–1940* (London, 1994). Importantly, the 'Britishness' of this most British a dish has long been debated, with one scholar recently arguing that its origins lay in French *frites* and Sephardic Jewish traditions of cooking fish in batter to preserve it to eat cold at a later point. Enterprising first-generation Jewish migrants in the mid-nineteenth century are said to have been the pioneers of serving the two together. Panikos Panayi, *Fish and Chips: A History* (London, 2014).

116. Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 33; JML, 278, Minnie Levy.
117. Blacker, *Just Like It Was*, 177–180. Blacker's autobiography's first two chapters relate to food memories, as does the chapter entitled 'Frying Tonight' later in the volume.
118. Kops, *The World*, 53.
119. Alexander Hartog, *Born to Sing* (London, 1978), 17; Louis Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand* (Leeds, 1986), 26.
120. Rosen, *Are You Still Circumcised?* 139.
121. Sam Clarke, *Sam: An East End Cabinet Maker* (London, 1982), 13.
122. Delfont, *East End, West End*, 35.
123. Maurice Levine, *From Cheetham to Cordova: A Manchester Man of the Thirties* (Manchester, 1984), 16.
124. MJM, J88, Solomon Gadeon.
125. Rosen, *Are You Still Circumcised?* 140–141.
126. Kokosalakis notes that a lack of kosher food outlets or basic hunger and poverty often meant many first-generation migrants in Liverpool ate *trief* foods. Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion*, 129.
127. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 62.
128. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 30.
129. Harding, *Jack 'Kid' Berg*, 32.
130. Quoted in Panayi, 'The Anglicisation of East European Food', 300.
131. Benjamin Lammers, 'The Birth of the East Ender: Neighbourhood and Local Identity in Interwar East London', *Journal of Social History* 39, 2 (2005), 335.
132. In 1923 it was estimated that 20% of London's chip shops were Jewish-run. Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain*, 78.
133. Levine, *From Cheetham to Cordova*, 14.
134. JML, 1986.136.4, Menu from Stern's Hotel and Kosher Restaurant, 1930–1939.
135. Joseph Green, *A Social History of the Jewish East End in London, 1914–1939: A Study of Life, Labour and Liturgy* (London, 1992), Chap. 17, 'Below the Belt' demonstrates the continued significance of 'Jewish' foods to the diet of Jews in interwar East London.
136. Diner, *Hungering for America*, 185.
137. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 22; Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 26.
138. Hartog, *Born to Sing*, 9.
139. Arnold Goodman, *Tell Them I'm On My Way* (London, 1993), 3.
140. MJM, J214, Benny Segal.
141. She wondered whether her dietary digression would be noticed by God and waited for a sign (such as a rumble of thunder) to indicate his displeasure. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 197.
142. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 56.

143. Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain*, 55. If anything, the kosher infrastructure grew in the interwar period, with new regulatory bodies such as the Kashrus Commission (founded in 1920) and trade unions, such as the London Jewish Butcher Workers Trade Union, either growing or created at this time. Panayi, 'The Anglicisation of East European Food', 297. For opposition to *shechita*, see Tony Kushner, 'Stunning Intolerance: A Century of Opposition to Religious Slaughter', *Jewish Quarterly* 36, 1 (1989), 16–20.
144. JML, 114, Harry Raven; JML, 459, Beattie Margo. See also Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 26.
145. Anne Barclay, 'If I Can Hear Music', <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story201/story201.htm?identifier=stories/story201/story201.htm&ProjectNo=11> (accessed 3 August 2015).
146. Elsie Janner, *Barnett Janner: A Personal Portrait* (London, 1984), 14.
147. Litvinoff, *Journey Through a Small Planet*, 144.
148. MJM, J88, Solomon Gadeon.
149. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 44.
150. JML, 189, Alice Burleigh. Alice noted that, initially, she would serve kosher food to more Orthodox guests, but became less 'particular' over time and stopped buying kosher food within a few years.
151. Samuel, *Little Did I Know*, 57.
152. Bill Belmont, 'As I Recall', in Murray, *Echoes of the East End*, 170.
153. Blacker, *Just Like It Was*, 15–19, 132–138. Blacker's description of a family wedding, in a chapter entitled 'Please God By Your Children', is dominated by the description of the various foods and drinks consumed.
154. Poulsen, *Scenes from a Stepney Youth*, 10.
155. Lewis, *A Soho Address*, 40.
156. Goldman, *East End My Cradle*, 150.
157. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 22–23.
158. Diner, *Hungering for America*, 202.
159. Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain*, 70; Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 46–47.
160. See, for example, Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 68–75, 112–120, 190–197.
161. JML, 16, Lina Salmon.
162. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 21, 29–30. Louis Teeman's recollections of Pesach were similarly dominated by the foods—matzos, Palestine wine, *Eingemachtes* (a sweet mixture of beetroot, sugar, nuts and lemon juice)—associated with the festival. Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 351–357.
163. Monty Dobkin, *Tales of Manchester Jewry and Manchester in the Thirties* (Manchester, 1986), 27.

164. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 43; For the USA, see Diner, *Hungering for America*, 194–196.
165. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 43.
166. Marenbon, *Don't Blow Out the Candle*, 60; JML, 2001.37, Rose, 'A Memoir'.
167. Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 171.
168. Diner, *Hungering for America*, 216.
169. JML, 114, Harry Raven; Blacker, *Just Like It Was*, 19. See, also, Cooper, *Eat and Be Satisfied*, 185–186.
170. See, for example, Hartog, *Born to Sing*, 9–10.
171. Panayi, 'The Anglicisation of East European Food', 300; Dobkin, *Tales of Manchester Jewry*, 26.
172. Clarke, *Sam*, 13.
173. MJM, J214, Benny Segal.
174. Shani Cruze, 'Women and the Family', in June Purvis (ed.), *Women's History: Britain, 1850–1945* (London, 1995), 77.
175. Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain: 1890–1960* (London, 2003), 64.
176. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants*, 10.
177. Lara Marks, 'Carers and Servers of the Jewish Community: The Marginalised Heritage of Jewish Women in Britain', in Tony Kushner (ed.), *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness* (London, 1992), 118.
178. Feingold, *A Time for Searching*, 42.
179. Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 265.
180. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 56.
181. See, for example, Jack Berg's younger sister Becky. Harding, *Jack 'Kid' Berg*, 32.
182. Evelyn Cowan, *Spring Remembered: A Scottish Jewish Childhood* (London, 1990), 18.
183. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 81.
184. Ibid., 190.
185. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 31.
186. Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 271.
187. JML, 482, Sarnier; Rickie Burman, "'She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household': The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life, c1880–1930", in Gail Malmgreen (ed.), *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760–1930* (London, 1986), 246–247.
188. JML, 424, N.A.; Burman, "'She Looketh Well'", 247. Burman notes that such was the decline in *mikveh* attendance that many ritual baths closed down during the interwar years.
189. Janner, *Barnett Janner*, 23.

190. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 56.
191. Ibid., 83–85, 95.
192. Sally Smith, 'Sex, Leisure and Jewish Youth Clubs in Interwar London', *Jewish Culture and History* 9, 1 (2007), 4. For a discussion of intermarriage and the second generation, see Chap. 4.
193. Morris Beckman noted that it was when he starting attending his local, mixed, Zionist club that 'boys first became aware girls offered delights other than those found on the playing field'. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 148. Ruth Adler met Jewish and non-Jewish boys when attending Progressive Youth Circle meetings in the late 1920s. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 33–34.
194. Sidney Bunt, *Jewish Youth Work in Britain: Past, Present and Future* (London, 1975), 68–70.
195. Martin Pugh, 'We Danced All Night': *A Social History of Britain between the Wars* (London, 2008), 205. In his famous *English Journey* (London, 1934), J.B. Priestley made special mention of the 'popularity' of 'prom-enading' among youngsters in his native Bradford.
196. MJM, J214, Benny Segal; MJM, J102, Jack Goldstone. A.B. Levy noted that the parade was 'a stroll rich with opportunities for exchanging glances that could lead to the wedding canopy'. A.B. Levy, *East End Story* (London, 1951), 52.
197. Goldman, *East End My Cradle*, 66. It is significant though that Goldman himself went on to remark that 'parading' was a good way to meet 'tarts' who might agree to a 'rendezvous ... round the back' of houses or in dark doorways. Ibid., 66.
198. Daiches, *Two Worlds*, 119.
199. Clarke, *Sam*, 24.
200. Blacker, *Just Like It Was*, 53.
201. Green, *A Social History*, 401; Feingold, *A Time for Searching*, 40. Matchmaking in Britain followed traditions from the *shtetl*. See Norman Marsden, *A Jewish Life Under the Tsars: The Autobiography of Chaim Aronson, 1825–1888* (New Jersey, 1983), 28.
202. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 41.
203. Blacker, *Just Like It Was*, 54; Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 368. Whilst 'romantic love was not unknown' in the *shtetl*, matchmaking was extremely prevalent. See Nathan Hurvitz, 'Courtship and Arranged Marriages among Eastern European Jews prior to World War One as Depicted in *Briefenshteller*', *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 37, 2 (1975), 422.
204. Daiches, *Two Worlds*, 119; Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, 230.
205. JML, 16, Lina Salmon.

206. See, for example, Maurice Levinson, *The Woman from Bessarabia* (London, 1964), 103.
207. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 33–34.
208. Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 5; Harding, *Jack 'Kid' Berg*, 73, 77.
209. Goldman, *East End My Cradle*, 13.
210. Black, *Living Up West*, 52–53.
211. Ralph Finn, *Grief Forgotten* (London, 1985), 56.
212. Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 27. Ralph Finn noted that whilst Jewish prostitutes were uncommon, he knew of several second- and third-generation Jewish immigrant girls who had turned to the industry, 'but they were as Jewish in thought, look and action as Hitler's mother-in-law'. Finn, *Grief Forgotten*, 56. See also Black, *Living Up West*, 52–53.
213. Marks, 'Carers and Servers', 111–112; Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants*, 143–145.
214. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure', 4.
215. Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants*, 145.
216. See Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, Chap. 18, 'Nether World'.
217. Black's survey of the West End includes an interview with 'Louis', who recalled regularly chatting to 'Gifty' (so-called because she would hand out sweets to young Jewish children) on his way to synagogue. She would move him on quickly if a 'customer' came by. Black, *Living Up West*, 52.
218. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure', 4.
219. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 150.
220. Goldman, *East End My Cradle*, 67.
221. JML, 2/78, 'Going Up West: The Memoirs of John Lester (aka Sidney Polsky)' (1998).
222. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure', 10.
223. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 34.
224. Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 15.
225. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure', 10–11; Marks, 'Carers and Servers', 111–112.
226. Black, *Living Up West*, 201.
227. An article in the magazine of the West Central Jewish Girls' Club from 1938 states that an 'ideal Jewess ... never discusses in a high voice on the bus or in the tram coming to work what kind of time she had last night with the attractive looking young man she met at the dance ... she never uses such terms as "quite wizard" or "too perfectly marvelous" ... when she speaks it is in order to help maintain a conversation and not for the sole purpose of monopolising everyone else's attention'. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure', 10. See also, Basil Henriques, *The Indiscretions of a Warden* (London, 1937), 86.
228. Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, 51.

229. Goldman, *East End My Cradle*, 92.
230. Lipman, *A History*, 206. Indeed, the Talmud encouraged early marriage, ideally by 20 years old. Green, *A Social History*, 399.
231. Barry Kosmin, 'Nuptiality and Fertility Patterns of British Jewry, 1850–1980', in D.A. Coleman (ed.), *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom* (London, 1982), 252–255.
232. Jacobs, *Out of the Ghetto*, 304.
233. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 57–62.
234. Lewis, *A Soho Address*, 81.
235. Lipman, *A History*, 206.
236. M. Sourasky, 'The Alleged High Fertility of Jews', *British Medical Journal* 2 (1928), 469.
237. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 60, 93.
238. For Stopes and the clinics, see Deborah Cohen, 'Private Lives in Public Spaces: Marie Stopes, the Mothers' Clinics and the Practice of Contraception', *History Workshop Journal* 35, 1 (1993), 95–116.
239. The report alleged that 83% of Jewish women who married between 1920 and 1929 had used birth control methods, compared to 62% among other groups. In the following decade, a similar disparity was found to exist, with 67% of Jewish women, compared to 58% of non-Jews, using contraception. Hannah Neustatter, 'Demographic and Other Statistical Aspects of Anglo-Jewry', in Maurice Freedman (ed.), *A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community* (London, 1955), 85.
240. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 34.
241. JML, 424, N.A. also noted that many young Jewish girls used the services of local clinics for (at that time illegal) abortions.
242. JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 57; Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 73. Jack noted that, by his late teens, he was regularly using condoms in sexual encounters.
243. William Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World: Great Britain* (London, 1996), 225.
244. Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing', 6.
245. David Cesarani, *The 'Jewish Chronicle' and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991* (Cambridge, 1996), 144.
246. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 271, 274. For religion in the suburbs, see Chap. 4.
247. JC, 17 August 1928; Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England* (London, 1982), 194.
248. Rubinstein, *A History*, 225; Bill Williams, *Manchester Jewry: A Pictorial History, 1788–1988* (Manchester, 1988), 81.
249. Bill Williams, *Jewish Manchester: An Illustrated History* (Derby, 2008), 138; University of Southampton Anglo-Jewish Archives (hereafter

- UoSAJA), MS223, 4/14, *Annual Report of the Manchester Jewish Lads' Brigade* (Manchester, 1937), 4.
250. Krausz, *Leeds Jewry*, 23, 25–26.
 251. Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, 10–11; Kenneth Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790–1919* (Glasgow, 1990), 209–212.
 252. Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion*, 156–157.
 253. *Ibid.*, 162.
 254. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 273. See, also, Green, *A Social History*, ch. 11, 'Into the Maelstrom'.
 255. A.E.C Hare and I.M. Michaels, 'Migration of Population', in Smith (ed.), *New Survey of London Life*, 242.
 256. Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion*, 118–124, 156–157.
 257. Phil Piratin, *Our Flag Stays Red* (London, 2006), 12; Williams, *Jewish Manchester*, 130, 138.
 258. Deborah Dash Moore, *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (New York, 1983), 24; Wirth, *The Ghetto*, 257; Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, 613–614.
 259. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, 188.
 260. Lipman, *A History*, 208. One second-generation Jew living in London noted that 'houses were proportionately ... considerably lower' in cost at that time (a detached three-bedroom house in outer London could be bought for between £500 and £1000) and there were 'fairly cheap' tube, tram and bus links back to the city readily available. JML, 118, T. Jervis. Williams notes that 'speculative building' in the Manchester suburbs in the 1920s 'produced a sea of small semi-detached properties within the financial reach of those with moderate means'. Williams, *Sidney Hamburger*, 21. See Hare and Michaels, *Migration of Population*.
 261. JML, 482, Rose Sarner; JML, 26, William Massil.
 262. JML, 378, Jean Austin; JML, 189, Alice Burleigh.
 263. Fiona Frank, 'Hannah Frank's Glasgow Journey: From Gorbals to the Southside', in James Jordan et al. (eds), *Jewish Journeys: From Philo to Hip Hop* (London, 2010), 226; Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 534.
 264. Indeed, Lipman, using statistics from the 1929 *New Survey of Life and Labour*, claimed that most (almost two thirds of) Jews in Hackney and Stoke Newington in the late 1920s were 'middle-class' (i.e. with a family income of over £250 per annum). V.D. Lipman, 'The Booth and New London Surveys as Source Material for East London Jewry, 1880–1930', in Newman, *The Jewish East End*, 47.
 265. Maurice Corina, *Pile It High, Sell It Cheap: The Authorised Biography of Sir John Cohen* (London, 1971), 61, 91.

266. JML, 50, Mark Fineman; Morton Lewis, *Ted 'Kid' Lewis: His Life and Times* (London, 1990), 200.
267. JML, 426, M.F. (Mark Fineman)
268. Cowan, *Spring Remembered*, 97, 150.
269. Dobkin, *Tales of Manchester Jewry*, 21–22.
270. Williams, *Sidney Hamburger*, 21, 22.
271. Todd Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945* (Indiana, 1990), 182.
272. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 16–17.
273. *The Times*, 8 December 1924.
274. Rosen, *Are You Still Circumcised?* 136.
275. Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing', 9.
276. Simon Blumenfeld, *Jew Boy* (London, 1935), 131–139, 143.
277. Cesarani, 'A Funny Thing', 10.
278. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 270; Hare and Michaels, 'Migration of Population', 230–231.
279. Bunt, *Jewish Youth Work*, 26–27, 43. In 1937, there were seventeen Jewish youth clubs in London E postcode areas, nine elsewhere. Ten years later, this figure had changed to twenty-one for East London (with more outside of E1 than in 1927) and thirty-five elsewhere in the capital.
280. Endelman, *The Jews*, 196.
281. Hare and Michaels, 'Migration of Population', 264.
282. Teeman, *Footprints in the Sand*, 400, 573.
283. Levy, *East End Story*, 1.
284. JML, 479, Fay Sterling.
285. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 16, 27; Barnett Litvinoff, *A Very British Subject: Telling Tales* (London, 1996), 18, 34.
286. JML, 189, Alice Burleigh. See also JWILG, *Generations of Memories*, 87.
287. David Bloomenfield, 'Early Years', <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+http://www.movinghere.org.uk/stories/story203/story203.htm?identifier=stories/story203/story203.htm&ProjectNo=11> (accessed 3 August 2015); Marenbon, *Don't Blow Out the Candle*, 75.
288. Frank, 'Hannah Frank', 217.
289. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, xii. Indeed, it was reported that there was only forty acres of open space in all of Stepney in the interwar period. Green, *A Social History*, 101.
290. Geoffrey Alderman, *Controversy and Crisis: Studies in the History of the Jews in Modern Britain* (Brighton MA, 2008), 241.
291. JML, 118, T. Jervis.
292. Spector, *Volla Volla Jew Boy*, 27; Levy, *East End Story*, 99.

293. Williams, *Sidney Hamburger*, 22.
294. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 274. See, also, Chap. 4 for the growth of suburban synagogues during the interwar period.
295. Dobkin, *Tales of Manchester Jewry*, 22.
296. David Cesarani, 'The Transformation of Communal Authority in Anglo-Jewry 1914–1940', in Cesarani (ed.), *The Making*, 137. For Zionism and suburban second-generation identity, see Chap. 5.
297. Dash Moore, *At Home*, 30.
298. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, 183.
299. Dash Moore, *At Home*, 61.
300. *Ibid.*, 30.
301. Geoffrey Alderman, *London Jewry and London Politics: 1889–1986* (London, 1989), 67.
302. JML, 425, L.C. and H.B.
303. *East End News*, 8 October 1936.
304. Gisela Lebzelter, *Political Antisemitism in England: 1918–1939* (London, 1978), 32.
305. Dobkin, *Tales of Manchester Jewry*, 24.
306. JML, 482, Rose Sarner.
307. See Chaps. 3 and 6.
308. Chaim Bermant, *Troubled Eden: An Anatomy of British Jewry* (London, 1969), 175. Alexander Baron, *With Hope, Farewell* (London, 1952).
309. Adler noted that 60% of London's Jews were still in East London (with 52% of those still in Stepney alone) in 1929. Adler, 'Jewish Life', 271. Census returns from 1931 indicated that 77.6% of the London-born population of Stepney had been born in that borough. Hare and Michaels, 'Migration of Population', 265. Kokosalakis noted that nearly half of Liverpool Jewry was still living in the city centre in 1935 and this figure remained at 15% even into the 1980s. Kokosalakis, *Ethnic Identity and Religion*, 157.
310. Jacobs, *Out of the Ghetto*, 29.
311. Caplan, *Memories of the Gorbals*, 67.
312. Smith has noted that 'this was an East End in which everything and everyone one knew was Jewish' right through the interwar period and that a strong 'sense of neighbourhood' remained up to the War. Smith, 'Class, Ethnicity', 358. Frank has noted that the Gorbals also retained a strong 'Jewish' atmosphere well into the late 1930s. Frank, 'Hannah Frank', 228. Williams notes that by 1939 there was still a 'substantial Jewish working class' in areas like Cheetham and Red Bank and that Jewish trades, as well as Yiddish speaking, newspapers and theatre, still flourished. A large part of the religious infrastructure of the city

- (twenty-eight of thirty-nine synagogues in 1939) also remained in the inner-city areas. Williams, *Sidney Hamburger*, 37.
313. Endelman, *The Jews*, 229–230. In 1948, the *Jewish Chronicle* published a series of articles entitled ‘In Search of the East End’—subsequently published as A.B. Levy’s *East End Story*—that discussed population dispersal from the East End, noting that synagogues were disappearing and/or had low attendances, Jewish markets were not as vibrant, and pavements were not as busy with Jews. Levy, *East End Story*.
 314. Collins, *Second City Jewry*, 217. See also, Chaim Bermant, *Coming Home* (London, 1976), 52–53.
 315. *JC*, 15 March 1929.
 316. Burman, ‘Women in Jewish Religious Life’, 49.

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