Second Chance

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Second Chance

Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom

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This volume is dedicated
with gratitude to the memory
of

ELEANOR RATHBONE
Member of Parliament, 1929–1946

and

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD
Member of Parliament, 1906–1942

who strove for tolerance, understanding
and open doors

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Preface

In September 1988, I was honoured to be invited to open a conference at Clare College, Cambridge, on 'The History of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom'. The occasion was important and the timing most apt and indeed moving. The London Leo Baeck Institute, linked with the German Historical Institute London, and the Jewish Historical Society of England, brought together an international group of scholars to enrich our understanding of the influence and experience of German-speaking Jews over two centuries. The Editors of this volume have now asked me to preface it with the opening remarks I made then.

"The timing is apt for a number of reasons: for historians, because of the current interest in this area of study, not least in Britain and Germany. But the interest goes wider. Sadly we live in an age of refugees. Wherever one looks, there are refugees – not only Jewish refugees – and severe refugee problems. Anyone with compassion must feel concern for the refugees and the problems involved. Moreover, we ought to pause with thought fifty years after the *"Kristallnacht"*, the time of the children's transports from Germany and the horrifying escalation towards the Holocaust, man's greatest crime.

I make no excuse for referring to this in the context of a conference having its focus also in earlier decades and indeed centuries. We should lose no opportunity for reminding ourselves, indeed anyone, of the horrors of the Holocaust. True, it occurred almost half a century ago, but the implications are with us always, and should remain in our thoughts. Too many people take refuge in silence. That would be inappropriate here.

We should be grateful to the Leo Baeck Institute for a far-reaching programme. Leading experts will take us into the past, and assess the contribution made by German-speaking Jews to business, the arts, science, the professions, the academic world, and much else. Attitudes and the image of refugees will be discussed, with emphasis on problems of integration, assimilation and adaptability.

In a rich programme such as this each of us will have special interests. My hope is that the following issues will find their place:

1. In discussing contributions by refugees in their receiving countries, one must consider not just what they did, but how much they might have affected the receiving culture. Have refugees, for example, made Britain more European? Is this what one would expect or indeed want?
2. And another point: one should not think only of those who made it, i. e. success stories. How satisfactory have been the lives of the great majority whose contributions have been less evident, whose lives have been more ordinary? It would be wrong to focus only on the prominent successes.
3. One of the mysteries is that Britain, a country which traditionally does not like foreigners, opened its doors perhaps more widely than any other in the thirties and forties. How did it come about that this of all countries offered such a warm

welcome? After all, it has not always been so; the Eastern European immigrants in the early years of this century were less fortunate. Nor did the reception remain warm even in those recent decades; one only has to think of the medical profession and its disgraceful attitude to refugees, or the internment episode remembered by many of us. Even so, the general reception was exceptional, never to be forgotten.

4. Antisemitism, though not a major problem here, should figure in any discussion.
5. Finally, there is a more personal point. It intrigues me how differently Jewish refugees – even with similar backgrounds – feel. At one extreme there are those who never assimilated or perhaps never even wanted to assimilate. Their roots remained in Berlin or Vienna, and perhaps they returned there at the first opportunity. At the other extreme are those who seem to have become totally British, with no feeling left for their roots. Such differences may reflect when one left, how old one was at the time, and what sort of life one has had since. But even with such factors constant, differences remain. For myself, though I have lived here for fifty years, have had a solely happy life, have most of my friends here and would not dream of living anywhere else, remain constantly thankful for the way our family was able to settle here, I cannot say that I feel totally English. All kinds of things make me feel just that little bit foreign. This is neither a matter for complaint, nor boasting. It does not indicate rootlessness nor insecurity. It is part of personal reality, that one is what one is. It is worth a mention only because it is part of the assimilation scene which we discuss."

Oxford *Claus Moser*

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While the authors have expressed their thanks in their essays to the many institutes, universities, libraries and archives which assisted them, the Editors on their own behalf and on that of their colleagues wish to make the following acknowledgements.

Our thanks go first of all to the German Historical Institute London and the Jewish Historical Society of England, who planned with us the Seminar at Clare College, Cambridge in September 1988 of which the present volume – with expanded papers and additional contributions – is the result. The Seminar itself would not have been possible without grants from the Conanima Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Ridgefield Foundation (of the late Henry Leir), the German Historical Institute and the AJR Charitable Trust. The staff of Clare College, by their courtesy and hospitality, helped to make the Seminar a memorable occasion.

The publication of this volume has been made possible by a further generous grant from the Conanima Foundation. The Cultural Department of the German Embassy in London has taken considerable interest in both the Seminar and the launching of the volume. The Wiener Library in London has assisted so many of our authors in their work that special thanks are due to their helpful staff.

Again, while most of those who helped our contributors have received acknowledgements in the individual essays, the Editors would like to express their thanks to the following people, who either contributed to the success of the original seminar or have been of great assistance in enabling us to publish this volume: Professor Adolf M. Birke, London; Marianne Calmann, London; Sir Geoffrey Elton, Cambridge; Dr. Hans Feld, London; Professor John Grenville, Birmingham; Sir Hans Kornberg, Cambridge; William Margulies, London; C. T. Marx, London; Professor Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Düsseldorf; Professor Erwin J. Rosenthal, Cambridge; Dr. Joshua Sherman, New York; and Dr. Esther Simpson, London.

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Emigration and Reception

PETER PULZER

Foreigners: The Immigrant in Britain

Carl Philipp Moritz ought to be better known than he is.* A German of not much money and poor health, but of great learning and curiosity, he travelled round England for seven weeks in 1782 and recorded his impressions in delightfully deadpan letters to a clergyman friend. On 21st June he took a stage-coach from London to Oxford. By the time he had got to Kensington, it was full inside.

"A Jew applied for a place along with us... but he would not ride on the outside; which seemed not quite to please my travelling companions. They could not help thinking it somewhat preposterous, that a Jew should be ashamed to ride on the outside, or on any side, or in any way; since, as they added, he was nothing more than a Jew. This antipathy and prejudice against the Jews I have noticed to be far more common here than it is even with us, who certainly are not partial to them."[1]

This is an odd inversion of the usual stereotype. Prejudice is, after all, the prerogative of foreigners and prejudice against Jews the prerogative of Germans. Thomas Hood, travelling through the Rhineland half a century later, restores the balance. Having learned of a particularly revolting piece of Jew-baiting in Frankfurt, he records

"In England we have seen a Jewish sheriff in London, but I verily believe if anything could excite a rebellion in these provinces, it would not be the closing of the coffee-houses and the suppression of the newspapers, but the making of a Burgomaster of the race of Israel."[2]

Like Pastor Moritz, he was half-right. That Jews should participate in public life on equal terms was never fully accepted in Germany in the last century or this. Yet individual Jews did rise to great prominence there and in Austria, and the nineteenth-century English image of the status of Jews from Germany is something I shall be coming back to. One of Hood's assumptions, however, Victorian writers increasingly shared: Britain was a tolerant country, where the individual was judged by merit, not origin. Anthony Trollope's *Nina Balatka* is the story of an inter-denominational marriage in Prague: Nina, the bride, is Christian; Anton, the bridegroom, a Jew.

"A Christian here will hardly walk with a Jew, unless it be from counter to counter or bank to bank... As for living together – or even eating in the same room – do you ever see it?"

But Nina's Jewish friend Rebecca consoles her with a vision of what things are like in the enlightened West:

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* This essay is a revised version of a talk first given on BBC Radio 3 on 28th July 1989.

[1] *Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782.* A Reprint of the English Translation of 1795 with an Introduction by P. E. Matheson, London 1924, p. 103.

[2] Thomas Hood, *Up The Rhine*, London 1839.

"We hear that in other countries the prejudice against us is dying away and that Christians stay with Jews in their houses, and Jews with Christians, eating with them and drinking with them. I fear it will never be so in Prague."

Real life is muddled and complicated. Britain's shores have, at least until recently, been open to the persecuted and the poverty-stricken. But once here, they were not necessarily welcomed by everyone. The rules of survival were that you adapted and did not complain, and even that is not always enough, as victims of Paki-bashing will testify. And so there is more than one pattern in the relationship between immigrants and hosts. It depends on who the immigrant is, where he comes from and in what numbers, and what he does when he arrives here. Many of those who enter Britain are economic migrants, escaping poverty; others are religious or political refugees; others still come for business reasons. Some are exiles who envisage a temporary stop-over, and then stay. Some intend to settle and then discover they have made the wrong choice. Some remain isolated and bewildered to the end of their days, others overcompensate and become more British than the British – or at least they try: the performance is not, as a rule, very convincing.

You will have noticed that I am rather ambivalent on whether I am talking about England, Britain or the United Kingdom. That is because there is a complication about Britain as a country of immigration. Migrants from overseas will make for anywhere: London or Manchester, Glasgow or Belfast. If they settle disproportionately in London or the South of England, that is partly for reasons of proximity, partly because the uprooted like to congregate in capital cities. But there is also a lot of internal migration, and at least some of these migrants appear for some of the time odd and foreign. Indeed, their fate illustrates one of the themes of Britain as an immigrant society. The absorption of a new element goes through several phases. The first often consists of suspicion or outright hostility. The second is more varied: there can be assimilation to the point of invisibility; there can be assimilation, but continued visibility; there can be continued separation, with neither side demanding adaptation from the other; and there can be continuing hostility. The final phase, more often than not, is one of retrospective self-congratulation. If the immigrant group has done well, it pats itself on the back for its choice of haven, its skill in adapting and its virtue in repaying a debt; the hosts, in turn, can glory in their enlightenment and the well-deserved rewards they have derived from it. The economic historian William Cunningham is an excellent example of this patriotic tolerance:

"The isolation of our country and the character of our people have been so marked, that we have been able to receive all sorts of strangers from abroad and to assimilate them; they have not remained as separate elements or only for a brief period, as the duration of cities or communities goes; they have been absorbed into our national life. The powers and skills aliens have brought us, and the institutions they planted, have grown with our growth and have long since ceased to betray their origins; with all our prejudices, we have been ready to adopt and adapt what experience showed us was practically advantageous."[3]

[3] W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England*, 2nd edn. with a new Introduction by Charles Wilson, London 1969, p. 270.

Very occasionally, the order is reversed. In the late eighteenth century, it has been calculated, there were anything between ten and twenty thousand Blacks in Britain[4] – sailors, servants, musicians, fugitive slaves – possibly a bigger proportion of the population of London than today. There is no evidence of popular resentment at their presence. There were no race riots, though London was hardly riot-free at this time. There was some discrimination against them: after 1731 city companies were barred from taking on Black apprentices.[5] Whores, on the other hand, at least as numerous as city apprentices, remained an equal opportunity profession, if Hogarth's paintings are to be trusted.[6] Some eighteenth-century Blacks reached eminence of sorts. Cato became the Prince of Wales's head gamekeeper, Tom Molineaux more characteristically a boxing champion and the violinist George Bridgetower, son of a Barbadian father and Austrian mother, gave the first performance of the *Kreutzer Sonata*. Indeed, but for a later quarrel between composer and executant, Beethoven's *opus* 47 – *sonata mulaticca*, as he called one of his rough drafts – would now be known as the Bridgetower sonata.[7] Ignatius Sancho, the first Black writer in Britain "was the best-known negro in London".[8]

But this unfavourable evolution of the place of Blacks in Britain, from curiosities to outcasts, is the exception. What is more usual is rejection first, followed by the embrace that almost suffocates. For British patriotism, or English nationalism, is a wonderfully flexible thing. It is both exclusive and inclusive. Pride in what is native, and contempt for what is alien, is common to most nationalisms. The easy absorption of conquerors and migrants was not universally welcomed. For Daniel Defoe England had become "the eternal refuge of the vagabond" producing "Your Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman English... That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman."[9] Celts do not feature strongly in Defoe's denunciation. Though neither conquerors or immigrants, they were pushed to the periphery by those who were; and when they counter-attacked they appeared, at first, as intruders. However, they also show how, from one generation to the next, the outsider can become the insider. To be invisible is, after all, the highest form of social acceptance.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the most visible aliens were the Welsh. There are more Welsh comic characters in Shakespeare than of any other nationality. His stereotypes and those of contemporary joke-books do not range widely. The Welsh appear as quarrelsome, verbose and boastful – the I-can-call-spirits-from-the-vasty-deep syndrome – and addicted to toasted cheese. The prevalence of Nonconformity in the nineteenth century produced a new Welsh stereotype that is both sanctimonious and devious, like the brass band in Evelyn Waugh's *Decline and Fall* that will play secular music on the Sabbath only if paid double.

But the main point about the Welsh joke is that it has virtually disappeared. The Welsh have been absorbed. The old stereotype revives briefly whenever Mr. Neil Kinnock fails to make his escape from a subordinate clause, but that is the sum of it.

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[4] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power. The History of the Black People in Britain*, London 1984, p. 68.

[5] James Walvin, *The Black Presence. A Documentary History of the Negro in England*, London 1971, p. 65.

[6] For corroborative evidence by Boswell, see *Boswell. The Ominous Years, 1774–1776*, ed. by Charles Ryskamp and Frederick A. Pottle, London 1963, p. 118, quoted by Fryer, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

[7] Fryer, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 446–448, 450–451.

[8] Walvin, *op. cit.*, p. 81. See *Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho*, London 1784.

[9] Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman. A Satyr*, London 1701.

And, if fashions in seaside postcards are any guide, the Scots joke is going the same way. It is not that the Scots have ceased to be a nation; rather that they, too, are victims of first-world homogenisation. Their social and moral habits are no longer sufficiently distinctive to be funny.

Ah, but the Irish joke, you will say, is different. Surely it is alive and well. Up to a point. Any nineteenth-century representation of Fenians shows the perpetrator as a creature of simian brutishness. It would certainly not get past the Race Relations Act today. The Paddy joke of the 1970s, at the time of the IRA's bombing campaign, revived an older stock figure, that of the incompetent bumbler. It was a local variant of a world-wide *genre*, the dumb peasant joke, an instantly recognisable recycling of American Polish or Bohemian jokes, French jokes about Auvergnats or German jokes about East Friesians. Like Tudor jokes about the Welsh, it portrayed the victim in his primitive habitat, not as an unwelcome immigrant. All the same, the Irish are not as absorbed in British society as the Scots and the Welsh. What separates them from most mainland natives is religion, and anti-Catholicism is, I suspect, a more durable component of British popular assumptions than any ethnic antagonism.[10]

Scots, Welsh and Irish may be "immigrants", but they are not foreigners. Foreigners are a more recent arrival. Some, like the Huguenots who came at the end of the seventeenth century, Protestants given to hard work and thrift, faded into the background almost at once.[11] Others, like the Chinese who stick to catering and laundering, have no desire to fade and seem reasonably happy in their self-imposed *apartheid*. Yet others are more controversial, both in the reaction their presence provokes and in their estimate of themselves. An obvious example are East African Asians. There are not that many of them; they were never going to flood the country; and Britain obviously had a special obligation to them.[12] Yet their threatened arrival in the 1960s and 1970s caused an amendment in the immigration laws and helped to give the National Front a short-lived surge. Twenty years later they have become shining examples of the enterprise culture, benefactors and beneficiaries of our open society.

The closest parallel to them are the Jews. Jews in Britain come from many places, including Baghdad and Bombay, but they have three main sources. Those invited by Cromwell as the "people of the book" were Sephardi, refugees who came from Spain and Portugal via Holland and Italy. They were the only Jews most Englishmen met up to the middle of the nineteenth century. Pastor Moritz's fastidious traveller was probably one of them. Though they produced some popular heroes like the prizefighter Daniel Mendoza and the philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore, not to mention Benjamin Disraeli, and in time formed the aristocracy of Anglo-Jewry, they were not widely loved. A proposal to facilitate their naturalisation, the so-called "Jew Bill" of 1753, foundered on popular opposition.

A second wave were the Jews from Poland and Russia, fleeing the Tsarist pogroms after 1881. They were distinctly unpopular, provocatively strange in

[10] See E. R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, London 1968, esp. pp. 11–22.

[11] Characteristically one of the earliest histories of the Huguenot refugees is by Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots. Their Settlements, Churches, Industries in England and Ireland*, London 1867.

[12] See Parminder Bhachu, *Twice Migrants*, London 1985.

appearance and habits, suspected of bringing in disease, sweatshops and revolutionary ideas. After a couple of decades the door was half-shut on them by the Aliens Act of 1905. Yet they, too, have produced their folk-heroes. Where would Marks and Spencer be without the pogroms and the briefly open door?

The third group of Jews in Britain come from Central Europe: from Germany itself and those parts of the former Habsburg Monarchy where German was the main language of the educated classes. Of the three groups they were the least conspicuous, but also the most influential. Until recently nobody had bothered to write their history. Indeed the idea of comparing the fate of different sorts of immigrant in this country came to me in September 1988 at the Cambridge conference on German Jews in Britain, recorded in this volume, the first of its kind. They have been coming for about two hundred years, totalling at most one hundred thousand – remarkably few, considering their impact. They came in two waves – a business community in the nineteenth century, with a fringe of scholars, artists and political exiles, and the post-1933 refugees who were more of a mix.

Germán Jews who came to Britain shared two characteristics. Compared with other immigrants they were high-status and they came with a desire to become part of the host community. The assimilationist urge was partly a matter of class, but it also had its roots in the peculiar ideology of German Jewry, which taught that once you emerged from the ghetto you adapted to the dominant culture of your surroundings.

Nathan Rothschild, the founder of the English branch of the dynasty, was one of the first to arrive, but the Rothschilds are perhaps in a class in their own. More typical were the merchants of London and the Northern textile cities who came to buy the products of the workshop of the world and, in turn, to sell the specialities of their native country, like the wine-merchants Hallgarten and Sichel. Not all these merchants were Jews and their social characteristics, it could be argued, were at least as German as they were Jewish. Outside London they quickly established themselves in civic leadership, founding literary societies, setting up the Hallé Orchestra and becoming Mayors of Bradford, Manchester, Nottingham and Belfast.[13] Their cultivated bourgeois background soon turned them into a recognisable literary type, quite different from either Fagin or mysterious Sephardis like Daniel Deronda or Disraeli's Sidonia. They had social accomplishments, like Trollope's Madame Max Goesler or the Reverend Joseph Emilius, and musical gifts, like Saki's Klammerstein children or – an extreme example – George du Maurier's Svengali. They rarely spoke English with a funny accent. Indeed, their ability in real life to merge into English life within a generation was remarkable. The son of Maximilian Loewe became Sir Sidney Low, ardent imperialist and expert on the constitution. The son of Ludwig Mond became Lord Melchett, founder of ICI. Hugo Hirsch of Munich became Lord Hirst of Wilton, the founder of GEC. Other firms, like Harland & Wolff of Belfast, still bear the names of their German-Jewish founders. You could extend the list to the Schusters, the Wernhers, the Beits, the Speyers and the Cassels, all knighted or ennobled and fluttering round the court of Edward VII. Indeed what infuriated their demagogic

[13] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, p. 325.

enemies, like Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton, was their pretence that they were ultra-British when they obviously could not be.

The 1930s refugees account for the majority of Jews from Central Europe in Britain today, though they did not come in large numbers until the months between *"Kristallnacht"* and the outbreak of the war. Even more than their predecessors, they were overwhelmingly middle-class, educated even if not prosperous. That was a condition of their ultimate success, but also a reason for much initial agony. A glance at the number of Nobel prizes, OMs, Fellows of the Royal Society, peerages, knighthoods, headships of Oxford and Cambridge colleges[14] suggests an astonishing achievement for a minute community; if you subtract those who emigrated further, mainly to America, there cannot have been more than fifty thousand of them. They brought not only quality, but diversity. They brought with them disciplines and techniques until then under-valued in this country: art history, psychoanalysis, photo-journalism: their institutions, from the Warburg Institute to *Picture Post*, enriched public life. Christopher Isherwood's Bergmann, the worldly-wise film director, captured the public perception of them. In George Mikes's *How To Be An Alien* the longest chapter is on how to be a film director, though it could also have been: how to be a publisher.

Many came to Britain *faute de mieux* and, like the political exiles of the nineteenth century, never quite came to terms with British food, British lack of interest in abstract speculation, British indifference to their traumas. Those who did not adjust conversed with each other in *emigranto*, a patois that combined a language they were slowly forgetting with one they would never master. The culture shock, then, was considerable. So were the political shocks. But the greatest of these, the internment of enemy aliens in 1940, also fathered the Amadeus Quartet.

Others had an anticipated affinity with Britain and chose to come here. When Sigmund Freud arrived in London he confessed to H. G. Wells that since the age of eighteen it had been "an intense wish fantasy of mine to settle in this country and become an Englishman".[15] One refugee scientist made his mind up when he saw a policeman playing with a cat in the street. "I said to myself, that is a civilised country. I have seen what matters."[16] For some new arrivals England was the object of envy. One refugee girl, visiting Oxford shortly after her arrival, recalls "Oxford was everything that I was not: at ease with itself, at one with its own past."[17] Some scholars who thought they were bearing great gifts, Karl Mannheim, Karl Popper and Erwin Panofsky among them, acknowledged that exposure to English empiricism and the need to write clear English prose influenced their thinking.[18]

The real test of adaptation came for the second and third generation, the children and grandchildren of the emigrants. Born here, speaking English as their first

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[14] On my calculation there are 13 Nobel Prize winners, 63 Fellows of the Royal Society (not counting Foreign Members), 31 Fellows of the British Academy (not counting Corresponding Fellows), 16 Knights, 2 Companions of Honour, 2 members of the Order of Merit and four heads of Oxford or Cambridge colleges. I am most grateful for the information given me by Miss Esther Simpson, formerly Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.

[15] Ernst L. Freud (ed.), *Letters of Sigmund Freud 1873–1939*, London 1961, pp. 454–455.

[16] Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons. German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany*, 2nd edn., Oxford 1988, p. 79.

[17] Lore Segal, *Other People's Houses*, New York 1964, p. 167.

[18] Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

language, bearing anglicised surnames if their fathers had served in the British armed forces, they have faded into their environment, natives, not exiles. Precisely because they have become invisible as a group it is difficult to generalise about them. But one comes across them as individuals often enough in academia, the media, the arts and in business. One wonders how much of their success rate they owe to a now distant and perhaps not fully conscious ethic of intellectual curiosity and public service; and how much longer a Central European Jewish sub-culture in Britain can last.

Sometimes their achievements are summed up as a typical minority phenomenon, but I think that will not do. Certainly all minorities have some peculiarities that distinguish them from the majority: they would not be minorities if they did not. But minority status is not a sufficient condition for success. Not all immigrants show the relentless upward mobility characteristic of Jews and some Asians. Pre-arrival conditioning is also a factor. In the case of Central European Jews a secular bourgeois ethos, long experience of competing with the majority and an ideal of assimilation have contributed heavily.

The Cambridge conference, the proceedings of which are presented here, marked the first systematic attempt to evaluate the German-Jewish experience in Britain. As might be expected, what emerged was a record of achievements and misfortunes, happy encounters and failed communication that was far more significant than the small number of immigrants might suggest. History, it is often said, is written by the successful about the successful. Those who lead ordinary, virtuous lives, those who simply go under, feature less, at least as individuals. Since one of the main purposes of our volume is to chronicle the interaction of two cultures, the prominent and the eminent are apt to get more space; we say more about physicists, musicians, industrialists and publishers than about domestic servants, though the second category is undoubtedly more numerous. That arises out of the character of the German-Jewish immigration into Britain which, unlike many other waves of immigration, had a visible élite. At the same time we have tried to avoid a mere catalogue of "achievements" and "contributions", tempting though such a compilation would have been. We cover the process of migration, including the legal and administrative difficulties that needed to be overcome, the patterns of settlement, the difficulties of adaptation and, as far as possible, the two-way process of integration. Our book is the story of the impact German-speaking Jews made on British life and of the impact British life made on them.

COLIN HOLMES

Immigrants and Refugees in Britain

I

In the beginning there is a problem. Many historians do not pay any serious regard to the history of immigration into Britain. There is a strongly-held view that this theme and the study of associated minorities belong on the outside track. The core of history, real history, lies elsewhere. This observation can be substantiated quite easily by a survey of recently published histories of Britain. A representative sample reveals only a passing or tangential reference to the immigration process.[1]

Those historians who do concentrate on immigration and related issues are sometimes viewed as working in a sealed intellectual ghetto. This situation is not unique to Britain. In his speech as the outgoing President of the American Historical Association in 1983 Philip Curtin commented that: "We have specialists in Black history (and, one might add, Jewish history and other ethnic/immigrant/minority history), women's history and historical demography but people outside those specialities pay little attention to their work."[2] In part the problem lies with some of the specialists. In Britain many of them, for reasons which vary, cultivate their own patch with loving care but pay little attention to the ground which surrounds them and to which they are inextricably joined. In this respect there is some strength in Curtin's plea for a more general approach to the past. But even when specialist work is related to its wider context, attention is not necessarily forthcoming; certain areas of study remain unfashionable. The history of class conflict is commonly viewed as mainstream: at present the history of racial violence is not.

At the moment, and against this background, research on immigration into Britain has been written mainly by sociologists. However, their emphasis has leaned heavily towards a concentration on the years since 1945. The fact that many private papers are still unobtainable and that perspective, always difficult to achieve, is particularly elusive in relation to the recent past, has failed to deter these brave souls. Moreover, they have been joined at the front by equally intrepid political scientists and, at times, by anthropologists and urban geographers. However, in their passion to proclaim on the recent past the vast majority of these observers have seriously neglected the historical experience of immigration into Britain.

In considering the need to recapture this experience it must be conceded that, in comparison with the scale of immigration into America, entry into Britain has been relatively small. Furthermore, in the case of Britain, at most times during the past one hundred years, the period on which our attention will be heavily focussed, the

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[1] See A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945*, Harmondsworth 1979; François Bédarida, *A Social History of England 1851–1975*, London 1979; Keith Robbins, *The Eclipse of a Great Power. Modern Britain 1870–1975*, London 1983; John Stevenson, *British Society 1914–45*, London 1984.

[2] Philip Curtin, in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 4th January 1984.

country has been a net exporter of population.[3] At certain times, such as during the depressed years of the 1930s and in the period immediately preceding the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962, the reverse process can be detected. Nevertheless, the overall trend has been in a different direction. Even so, during the last one hundred years we can hardly encounter a time when there were no strangers in the land.

In 1981 a former senior official at the Foreign Office drew attention in *The Times* to a letter he had written a few years earlier on "the nationalities of those assembled at the Round Pond, Kensington Gardens". In that earlier letter he had spotted 82 people who were "clearly identified Middle Eastern", three of whom he classified as "British" and six who remained "unidentified".[4] Four years later the totals had increased markedly but the proportions had stayed almost the same. The reason for this personal Mass Observation survey and the significance of its message remain obscure. However, it would be dangerous to assume that the presence of foreigners in London is an exclusively recent phenomenon. Anyone sitting on a London bench in the East End in 1881 would have been able to present an even more diverse picture. Against that observation we can begin to recover the historical tradition of immigration into Britain and, particularly, that of German speakers. In this context the groups who form the focus of our enquiry are those who arrived in Britain from Imperial Germany and those who came from Austria and Germany during the inter-war years.

II

Even though the main focus of our attention is on the period which stretches onwards from the late nineteenth century down to 1945, Germans came to Britain long before the official inauguration of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871. In the late medieval and early modern epoch their presence can be detected in the Hansa, the trading organisation located on the river near Blackfriars. The late medieval years also saw Germans working in various mining enterprises and this expertise remained well-recognised into the early modern period. The area around the Lake District proved a particularly fruitful location for their mining activity.[5] In later years; "Some Germans, among them Jews, [came] to Britain in the wake of the Hanoverians", whose behaviour on the throne, we have been told, "was no more likely to ensure a kindly reception for them than that of the early Stuarts did for the Scots".[6] Even later still, Charles Hallé, founder of the Hallé Orchestra, arrived in Britain in 1848. Other Germans, including Karl Marx, also came in this year of revolution or in its immediate aftermath. Marx spent the rest of his life in exile in Britain, often working in collaboration with Friedrich Engels who lived in Manchester between 1842 and 1844 and again between 1850 and 1870.[7] This flow of

[3] R. K. Kelsall, *Population*, 4th edn., London 1979.
[4] *The Times*, 21st August 1981.
[5] See Hermann Kellenbenz, 'German Immigrants in England', in Colin Holmes (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, London 1978, pp. 63–80.
[6] V. G. Kiernan, 'Britons Old and New', *ibid.*, p. 46.
[7] Roy Whitfield, *Frederick Engels in Manchester*, Manchester 1988.

personnel from Central Europe to Britain continued from the 1840s until the point at which we pick up the major threads of our interest in the late nineteenth century. In this intervening period, Ludwig Mond, the chemist, arrived in 1863, developed his business interests in Lancashire, and eventually entered into partnership with J. T. Brunner, the English-born son of a Swiss immigrant, to form Brunner, Mond.[8]

If we depart from this emphasis on individuals, move into the late nineteenth century, and, at the same time, pause to reflect on the aggregate number of Germans, it is worth observing that in the 1871 Census of England and Wales – the majority settled in these parts of Britain – they numbered 32,823 out of a total European-born population of 89,829; as such they amounted to 0.1 per cent of the total population. In 1911, the last count before the First World War, they numbered 53,324.[9] By that date, however, the German-born minority had been overtaken in size by the Russian-Polish population; indeed the numerical superiority of the Russian Poles had been confirmed as early as the 1891 Census. London featured as a major settlement area for the Germans but their distribution extended beyond the capital city. Important trading communities developed, for example in northern cities such as Bradford and Manchester.[10]

In considering the years to 1914 we encounter a German minority which is diversified along class, gender, political, and religious lines.[11] Some Germans can be counted as political refugees attracted to Britain by the relative liberal openness of the society in which they exiled themselves. In the late nineteenth century it is still possible to spot exiles from the 1848 Revolution.[12] Marx died in London in 1883.[13] But it is not only refugees from 1848 and its consequences whom we encounter. Britain provided a base for exiles of a later vintage. The Socialist Rudolf Rocker can be numbered among the later arrivals.[14] In Britain he found an escape from the anti–Socialist ambience of pre-war Germany. Rocker was not a Jew, but during his years in London he forged close links with the Jewish anarchist and Socialist groups which grew up after the immigration of Russian-Polish Jews, a process which gathered momentum in the 1880s.[15]

Apart from political exiles, other Germans can be found whose presence reflected economic rather than political influences, although since society is an interconnected totality the nice division between economic and political cannot always be sustained. By way of contrast with political exiles, however, we can now consider the activities of German businessmen. The growing importance of Ludwig Mond's chemical ventures illustrated an involvement in a sector where German expertise was developing an international reputation. But the contribution of Germans to British industry extended into other businesses. In Nottingham the activities in the

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[8] Jean Goodman, *The Mond Legacy. A Family Saga*, London 1982. On Brunner see Stephen Koss, *Sir John Brunner. Radical Plutocrat 1842–1919*, Cambridge 1970.

[9] N. H. Carrier and J. R. Jeffery, *External Migration. A Study of the Statistics*, London 1953, p. 127.

[10] Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island. Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971*, London 1988.

[11] Panikos Panayi, *Germans in Britain during the First World War 1914–18*, Ph. D. thesis, Sheffield University 1988, chap. 1, is the best introduction to the Victorian and Edwardian years.

[12] Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany. Exile and Asylum in Victorian England*, Oxford 1986.

[13] Asa Briggs, *Marx in London. An Illustrated Guide*, London 1982.

[14] Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years*, London 1956.

[15] William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875–1914*, London 1975.

textile trade of Lewis Heymann signified one involvement in another industry. This commitment to textiles is also underlined by the activities of Germans in Bradford, the visible symbols of whose activity can still be detected in the "Little Germany" area of the city.[16] A German presence in finance also deserves attention. By the late nineteenth century, following the earlier success of the Rothschild dynasty, German-born bankers had achieved a degree of prominence in the City of London. Ernest Cassel is often considered the leading star in this galaxy. Born in Cologne in 1852 Cassel arrived in Britain in 1869.[17] Edgar Speyer also developed significant financial interests.[18] Furthermore, the activities of both Cassel and Speyer should be viewed against a wider German contribution to the growth of merchant banking activity in the City of London.[19]

Men who achieved a degree of eminence in the professions supplemented the activity of this German business élite. Sir Felix Semon, the surgeon, is one of the better-known professional figures. Others featured in the academic world. A strong German influence can be discovered in the University of Manchester: the physicist, Arthur Schuster, assumed a key role in the young Science Faculty. In London, at King's College, Adolph Bernays from Darmstadt and Charles Adolphus Buchheim, of Pressburg, served as the principal teachers of German Literature.[20]

This selective trawl of the German business and commercial élite underlines the varied roles they assumed in British society in the years before the Great War. The point can be further emphasised by noticing the return to Parliament of Arthur Strauss in 1895 (for Cambourne) and in 1910 (for North Paddington) and the election of Jacob Moser as Lord Mayor of Bradford in 1910.[21]

A concentration on this élite should not be allowed to obscure the history of other Germans, including the clerical workers who arrived in the nineteenth century. The German economy grew at a prodigious rate between 1871–1914 with the expansion embracing both the old heavy industries, such as coal and steel, and new sectors, including electrical engineering and the chemical industry. Nevertheless, up to 1914, many Germans recognised that Britain offered a variety of business opportunities. This awareness not only attracted capital, it also brought in labour. The German clerks constitute one of the best-known examples of German workers seizing opportunities to work in Britain. A particular demand for their talents developed in the City of London. With their proficiency in languages, an interest which then, as now, the Continent took more seriously than Britain, they were able to provide a useful service for City firms. These Germans never constituted a large percentage of the clerical labour force; it has been noted that in 1871 German commercial clerks made up 1.3 per cent of the commercial clerical labour force in

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[16] James Roberts, *Little Germany*, Bradford 1977.

[17] Pat Thane, 'Financiers and the British State. The Case of Sir Ernest Cassel', in *Business History*, 28 (1986), pp. 80–99.

[18] On Speyer see Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, Leamington Spa 1990.

[19] Stanley Chapman, 'The Miracle of Merchant Enterprise. German Merchant Houses in Britain in the 18th and 19th Centuries', in *Bankhistorisches Archiv. Zeitschrift zur Bankgeschichte*, 1 (1980), pp. 29–36.

[20] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, pp. 314, 320.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 316, 325.

England and Wales, and by 1911 this figure had dropped to 0.6 per cent. If the number of foreign clerks is calculated as a percentage of the male clerical labour force, the figure is higher but not substantial. Nevertheless, German clerks possessed a marked "visibility" and their activities did not escape the generally hostile attention of their British contemporaries who, in a rapidly changing clerical labour market, perceived a threat from this German minority.[22]

By the early twentieth century these various German groups had been joined by other newcomers from Germany. The beginning of this century witnessed the enforced movement across Western Europe of various gypsy minorities. Between 1904 and 1906 a few hundred of these "comers and goers", driven by official persecution from Germany to Holland, were subsequently funnelled into Britain by the Dutch before the British Government eventually deported them back to Europe. Unlike the business élite and the German clerical workers the gypsies rejected the ethos of capitalism. In this respect alone, their presence provided a striking illustration of the diversity which characterised the immigration of Germans into Britain before 1914.[23]

This diversity can be further underlined by drawing other Germans into our survey. Sheffielders who had no contact either with political émigrés from Germany or the German business élite, and who seldom if ever met German academics, clerical workers or gypsies, would still have recognised a German presence in the pork butchers shops in the city. Workers in the salt works in Cheshire who were remote from the majority of the Germans living in Britain would have been aware nevertheless of the workers from Germany who toiled alongside them. Other sections of the public would have come across the itinerant German bands whose presence was commemorated in a well-known popular song. These groups, along with the exploited governesses, add further layers to the variegated structure of the German minority before 1914.

The German community in Britain experienced four traumatic years between 1914 and 1918.[24] Indeed, the events of these years, to which we shall soon need to direct our attention, reduced the size of the German minority and the 1919 Aliens Act, which placed tight controls over the entry, movement and deportations of aliens, guaranteed that there would be no rapid recovery in numbers.

It was not until the 1930s that the number of Germans showed any noticeable increase. Even during these years absolute numbers remained small.[25] It has been estimated that between 1933 and 1939 approximately 50,000 Jewish refugees arrived from Greater Germany; it has been calculated that this group made up 90 per cent of the refugee inflow into Britain from this part of the world.[26] A larger

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[22] Gregory Anderson, 'German Clerks in England 1870–1914. Another Aspect of the Great Depression Debate', in Kenneth Lunn (ed.), *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities. Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society*, Folkestone 1980, p. 205.

[23] Colin Holmes, 'The German Gypsy Question 1904–1906', *ibid.*, pp. 134–159.

[24] Panayi, *Germans in Britain, op. cit.*, is the fullest study of the war-time Germans.

[25] A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973; Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa–Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1984. See also Marion Berghahn, *German-Jewish Refugees in England*, Leamington Spa 1984, and the autobiographical testimony in George Clare, *Last Waltz in Vienna*, London 1982.

[26] Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939–1945*, Oxford 1979, p. 82.

number of exiles found a new home in the United States.[27] The years between the Nazi assumption of power and the outbreak of the Second World War were undoubtedly fraught with difficulties for the Jewish minorities in Central Europe. However, we can detect few acute refugees who departed immediately after their first contact with Nazism even if some shift in response patterns can be discerned after 1938. In Germany, for example, the *"Kristallnacht"* pogrom created an increasing sense of anxiety and stimulated a more rapid exodus: events in Austria in the same year also proved decisive. However, if we take the entire period between 1933 and 1939 we cannot trace a clear, unbroken, upward curve of refugee movement from Central Europe: departures fluctuated in response to specific pressures.[28]

It was against this background of Nazi authoritarianism and persecution that refugees arrived in Britain between 1933 and 1939. The British authorities did not facilitate this process, even though, in late 1938, some relaxation occurred in official policy. We have noticed that the 1919 Aliens Act had thrown strict controls over alien immigration and this measure, which remained in force until 1971, endowed the state with considerable power to restrict the flow of refugees. The Government stood out against the exiles becoming an official burden and in these circumstances the Jewish community declared its intention to support Jewish refugees and emphasised that re-emigration would be encouraged. The Government welcomed such voluntary initiatives. The more liberal entry policy which the Government introduced in late 1938 came only in response to pro-refugee opinion and in the wake of criticism of its restrictive policy on the immigration of Jewish refugees into Palestine.[29]

Accounts of these refugees from Austria and Germany have been dominated by a concentration on professional groups and details of their varied contribution to British society. The refugees and their children can be linked with a number of important developments. There is little room for disagreement on that score. However, in dwelling upon success stories we should not lose sight of the obstacles which the exiles had to surmount. It was not only that entry to Britain often proved difficult: those who did manage to gain admission frequently encountered opposition to their employment. This wall of resistance restricted opportunities in both medicine and university work.

We shall consider later the contributions of the refugees as well as responses to their presence. At this point, our central concentration is upon the flow of migration into Britain and it should come as no surprise to learn that the outbreak of the Second World War placed a brake upon the entry of aliens from Germany and Greater Germany. With the onset of hostilities they became transformed into enemy aliens and existing immigration legislation could be used to exclude them from Britain. Moreover, with certain exceptions, visas which had been granted to enemy nationals before the war ceased to be valid from 11.00 a.m. on 3rd September 1939. In the case of Jewish aliens, taking all nationalities into account, it has

[27] Jarrell C. Jackman and Carla M. Borden (eds.), *The Muses Flee Hitler. Cultural Transfer and Adaptation 1930–1945*, Washington, D.C. 1983.

[28] E. Kunz, 'The Refugee in Flight. Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement', in *International Migration Review*, 7 (1973), pp. 125–146.

[29] Wasserstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10; Louise London, 'British Government Policy and Jewish Refugees 1933–45', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, 23 (1989–1990), pp. 26–43.

been estimated that no more than 10,000 such people managed to enter Britain between 1939 and 1945, although that figure needs to be treated with a degree of caution.[30]

This war-time restriction did not mean that the German-born population ceased to grow. The First World War had witnessed the first POWs in Britain since the Napoleonic epoch: the Second World War also resulted in a similar process of confinement. Both Italians and Germans filled these camps and not all of these ex-military personnel left Britain in 1945. The post-war labour shortages in key sections of the economy resulted in Germans being employed on British farms, and some of these men remained in Britain after 1948 when the majority of the ex-POWs went back to Germany. Since that date no immigration of Germans comparable to that of the nineteenth century or the refugee influx of the 1930s has taken place. In the immediate post-war years, however, the British Government recruited a number of German scientists whose work it hoped to exploit. This episode forms part of what has become known as the Paperclip Conspiracy.[31] Furthermore, since that time the German population has been increased by those who came to Britain, often on a temporary basis, as representatives of industry and commerce. Such post-war immigration is difficult to quantify. In the 1981 Census 181,008 people living in Britain gave Germany as their birth place. This figure needs to be considered alongside a national population of 53.55 million.[32] It also requires another degree of perspective. It includes, for example, children born in Germany to British service personnel. In short, the number of German nationals who came to Britain after 1945 is uncertain.

III

These immigrations, which included German Jews, even if the precise scale of this Jewish dimension cannot be fully ascertained, should not be viewed in isolation but within the broader context of immigration into Britain.

If we concentrate first of all on the years to 1914, we have noticed in passing that the gathering immigration from Russian Poland had become particularly evident by the time of the 1891 Census. A heavy Jewish presence can be detected among the arrivals from the Tsar's Empire but, as in the case of immigration from Imperial Germany, we cannot accurately quantify this dimension. Moreover, since many of those who arrived from Russian Poland were sojourners who stayed only briefly before moving on, particularly to America, the absolute size of this Russian-Polish population tended to fluctuate. At a rough estimate, however, it might be suggested that approximately 100,000 Russian-Polish Jews came to Britain in the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries. It can be claimed with greater certainty that the Jewish newcomers in England settled primarily in London, Manchester and Leeds. In Scotland they congregated mainly in Glasgow. Of all these settlements

[30] Wasserstein, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[31] Tom Bower, *The Paperclip Conspiracy. The Battle for the Spoils and Secrets of Nazi Germany*, London 1988.

[32] *Census, Great Britain 1981. Country of Birth Tables*, London 1983, pp. 2–3.

London proved to be the central magnet. This concentration received emphasis in the 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. The number of aliens in the County of London in 1901 amounted to 135,377: of this number 53,337 came from Russian Poland; of this Russian-Polish population 42,032 lived in Stepney.[33]

The arrival of these Russian Poles related closely to the persecution taking place in the Tsar's Empire. The fiercest antisemitism anywhere in Europe before 1914 occurred in Russia. In the case of the Jews their departure can also be related to the pressure on resources in the Pale of Settlement, an area to which the majority of them remained confined until the 1917 Revolution. Whatever the pressure behind the exodus from the Tsar's Empire, the arrival of these newcomers gave rise to a passionate debate in Britain regarding the pros and cons of immigration control. One upshot of this controversy appeared in the shape of the restrictive 1905 Aliens Act.

In view of their close association with this measure, the Russian Poles have attracted considerable attention. However, in recognising the historical importance of the movement into Britain from the Tsar's Empire, we ought not to obliterate from the historical record the presence of the Europeans. Exiles from the 1870–1871 Paris Commune and other French nationals guaranteed that in the years before the First World War a recognisable French community developed in London, even if its history still remains obscure.[34] An even larger group of Europeans came from Italy, pushed out of their own country by a variety of economic and social pressures and pulled into Britain by the developing opportunities in the service sector. Sprinkled into this group we can also trace a number of anarchists who travelled across Europe in their quest for political engagement.[35]

In order to capture fully the diverse nature of pre-war immigration we would need to cast our eyes beyond Europe. When it comes to be written, the history of the Chinese minority in Britain will need to take account of a small, pre-First World War community, concentrated particularly in seaports: it will also need to recover the even earlier history of the Chinese.[36] The same observation can be made in regard to the numerically small Afro-Caribbean population and those minorities who originated on the Indian Subcontinent.[37]

A final sense of perspective is needed on these pre-war years. A glance at the census returns for the period 1871–1914 reveals that the aggregate continental European population remained overshadowed by the number of Irish. The Irish also massively exceeded those who came to Britain from "beyond the oceans".[38] In 1911, for example, the Irish-born population amounted to 550,040, in other words,

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[33] Figures from the *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration*, British Parliamentary Papers, IX (1903), p. 14. The pioneer study of the immigration is Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914*, London 1960 and 1973. A recent local study is Joseph Buckman, *Immigrants and the Class Struggle. The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds 1880–1914*, Manchester 1983.

[34] P. K. Martinez, *Paris Communard Refugees in Britain 1871–1880*, D. Phil. thesis, Sussex University 1981.

[35] Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Britain. Realities and Images*, Leicester 1983.

[36] J. P. May, 'The Chinese in Britain 1860–1914', in Colin Holmes, *Immigrants and Minorities, op. cit.*, pp. 111–124.

[37] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power. The History of the Black People in Britain*, London 1984; Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes. Indians in Britain 1700–1947*, London 1986.

[38] Kiernan, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.

1.0 per cent of the total population in England and Wales and 3.7 per cent of the Scottish population. With their major presence in Liverpool, as well as Lancashire, and London, the Irish need to be brought to the centre of any discussion on immigration into Britain before the Great War. There are some commentators who argue a case for these Irish to be classified as migrants but usage and practice have the pre-war Irish classified as immigrants, even by Irish scholars and those who crossed the water regarded themselves as living in a new, strange land.[39]

In discussing immigration before 1914 an emphasis has been placed upon the diversity of this process, a characteristic which often remains unrecognised. This important emphasis needs to be hammered home. Moreover, the significance of diversity in the immigration process does not end in 1914 and we can now trace its continuation down to 1945.

If the First World War ended immigration from Germany, it did not block off the entry of some other groups. Britain entered the war after the German invasion of Belgium and in the ensuing turmoil and tragedy Belgian refugees began to arrive in Britain. Between 1914 and the spring of 1915 over 200,000 Belgians entered the country. In terms of numbers this immigration exceeded that earlier influx from Russian Poland and it surpassed the number of refugees who arrived in the 1930s from Greater Germany. Furthermore, the arrival of the Belgians took place within a shorter period of time.[40] Compared with the interest shown in the refugees from Greater Germany in the inter-war years the amount of attention devoted to the Belgians has been miniscule; indeed, the episode has lapsed into virtual obscurity. The refugees who came to Britain following the 1917 Revolution in Russia have also remained neglected.

The difficult transition from war to peace and the economic dislocation of the inter-war years served as a brake on international migration.[41] At particular times we can detect evidence of reverse migration during the 1930s with groups leaving Britain and returning to their countries of origin. This tendency can be found among the Southern Irish. However, with the outbreak of war in 1939 and the pressing need for labour in the war-time economy the British recruited Southern Irish workers, notwithstanding Eire's neutral role in the world conflict. Other groups, including refugees from Nazism such as the Poles and the Free French, added to the cosmopolitan texture of war-time Britain. However, none of these refugee groups achieved the size of the Southern Irish minority.[42]

In considering the years from the outbreak of the Great War to the end of the Second World War our emphasis so far has been upon European groups in Britain. However, we need to recognise also the increasing Black presence during these years. Between 1914 and 1918 the Black community increased in size, albeit from a low base, as the State recruited workers to assist in the war effort. The countrywide violence directed against Blacks and other so-called "coloured groups" in the

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[39] Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (eds.), *The Irish in the Victorian City*, London 1985; see also M. A. G. Ó. Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth Century Britain', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31 (1981), pp. 149–173.

[40] Peter Cahalan, *Belgian Refugees Relief Work during the Great War*, New York 1982.

[41] W. A. Lewis, *Economic Survey 1919–1939*, London 1965 edn. captures the problems of this period.

[42] On the Home Front see Angus Calder, *The People's War. Britain 1939–45*, London 1969; on immigrants and refugees see Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, *op. cit.*, chap. 4.

summer of 1919 and the economic dislocation which followed the 1929 crash on Wall Street restricted any significant Black immigration during the inter-war years. However, at the same time as refugees from Greater Germany entered Britain a simultaneous migration of Black students and intellectuals was taking place to what they regarded as the junction box of the Empire. Many of these young people were committed to achieving the independence of their various countries from British Imperial rule and their activities bore fruit much earlier than they had ever dared to dream. A few years later, after the start of the Second World War, the labour shortages in Britain encouraged the state to draw upon the resources of the Empire, just as it had in the Great War. As a result, early in the hostilities Blacks filled vacancies in the merchant navy. In this branch of activity they joined sailors drawn from the Indian Subcontinent, and Chinese seamen, some of whom came from British dependencies. In addition, the war-time Government imported technicians from the West Indies to work in the armaments industry and related engineering trades in Lancashire. Furthermore, after the German invasion and blockade of Scandinavia, the traditional source for British timber needs, foresters from British Honduras were imported to work in the Scottish timber industry.[43]

In considering the years since 1945 it has been emphasised that few Germans came to Britain. However, the immigration of the other groups continued. It is well-known that a sizeable immigration of Blacks from the Caribbean and of Asians from the Indian Subcontinent took place in order to satisfy the labour requirements of the British economy. The major immigration from the West Indies occurred in the 1950s. In the case of the Indian Subcontinent the 1960s proved to be the decisive decade for entry as the early male pioneers were reunited with their families. The imperfections in census returns are well-recognised; not everyone born in the West Indies is Black for example. However, when we notice in the 1981 Census, which recorded a total population in Great Britain of 53.55 million, that 295,179 people in Britain had been born in the Caribbean, 188,198 in Pakistan, 48,517 in Bangladesh and 391,874 in India, we can secure some guidance on what could be the maximum size of the immigrant groups from the Caribbean and the Indian Subcontinent, respectively.[44]

At this juncture, however, a clear sense of perspective needs once again to be established. A balanced account of post-war immigration needs to transcend the dominant emphasis on Blacks and Asians in order to encompass other groups. These would include the Poles who remained in Britain at the end of the war.[45] The European Volunteer Workers whom the British Government recruited from Displaced Persons camps in Europe in the stark immediate post-war years also need to be brought into our picture.[46] So do the Italians, some of whom also came to Britain on Government schemes.[47] Such official initiatives, we have already noticed, also brought some German scientists to Britain. As in earlier years a recognition of the

[43] *Ibid.*, chap. 4.

[44] *Census 1981, op. cit.*, pp. 2–3.

[45] Keith Sword, with Norman Davies and Jan Ciechanowski, *The Foundation of the Polish Community in Great Britain 1939–1950*, London 1989.

[46] J. A. Tannahill, *European Volunteer Workers in Britain*, Manchester 1958.

[47] R. Palmer, 'The Italians. Patterns of Migration to London', in J. L. Watson (ed.), *Between Two Cultures*, Oxford 1977.

full diversity of the immigration process would also encourage us to look beyond Europe and to bring within our focus refugees from Africa, particularly from Kenya and Uganda, as well as various groups from Asia such as the Vietnamese and the Tamils from Sri Lanka.[48]

This selected, abridged list provides some indication of the diverse strands which have been knitted into the post-war immigration process. It could be extended by noticing, for example, the arrival of Baghdadi Jews from India, the presence of Jews among the refugees from Eastern European countries, such as Hungary, and those Jews who, before the Suez invasion, had made their living in Egypt. However, before the *aperçu* is finally drawn, another familiar emphasis is required. Up to the 1981 Census the largest single immigrant minority living in Britain came from the Irish Republic. In the immediate post-war years these Irish crossed the water in numbers which had not been witnessed since the nineteenth century. These fat years of immigration accounted particularly for the 606,551 Irish citizens from the Republic who featured in the 1981 Census return.[49]

On standing back from this survey of immigration since the late nineteenth century a number of observations spring to mind. The immigration from Imperial Germany and also that which took place in the 1930s from Austria and Germany should be considered as aspects of a continual and diverse process of immigration. Furthermore, the arrival of German-speaking Jews in these immigrations stands alongside the arrival of Jews from Russian Poland as one of the substantial Jewish immigrations of this period. Finally, the arrival of German-speaking Jews, particularly noticeable in the nineteenth century and during the inter-war years, can be viewed historically as one strand of a predominantly white immigration into Britain which has occurred since the late nineteenth century: notwithstanding the increasing numbers of Blacks and Asians who arrived after 1945 the preponderance of white newcomers has still continued during these years.

IV

After considering the pattern of immigration into Britain we can now consider the contributions made by immigrants and refugees. In taking our first step along this route it should be admitted that any such assessment is fraught with difficulty. It is far from easy to provide a conclusive answer to the question: "How vital was this particular group to the modernisation of Britain?" The 1903 Royal Commission on Alien Immigration experienced great difficulty in assessing the economic impact which resulted from the arrival of the Russian Poles. In addition, later attempts by economists to evaluate the consequences of immigration from the Caribbean and the Indian Subcontinent for the British economy have been remarkable chiefly for revealing the economists' proverbial capacity for disagreement. In trying to assess the various contributions of the newcomers we need to proceed with caution and recognise the bluntness of many of our tools.

[48] See Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, New York 1985, pp. 364–371, on the recent refugees from beyond Europe.

[49] *Census 1981, op. cit.*, pp. 2–3.

In considering the question of economic impact, observers have concentrated particularly upon the success stories. The immigration of Jews from the Russian Empire led eventually to the foundation of two well-known British institutions in the firms of Montague Burton and Marks and Spencer. In the case of the Germans, and in particular the German Jews, an abundance of information relating to the years before the First World War and the immigration of the 1930s, has been deployed to suggest the important economic contributions which resulted from their arrival. In the case of the earlier influx the net has settled over more than the likes of Ludwig Mond and Ernest Cassel. Other famous names also soon enter the list. Hence we encounter the observation: "Hugo Hirst in 1889 entered the little shop which he was to expand into the General Electric Company".[50] As for chemicals we have been told; "This particular industry... benefited more than any other from German-Jewish skill".[51] In the textile industry of the North of England it is businessmen such as the German merchant princes of Bradford who have magnetised attention. Jacob Behrens is one such figure.[52]

Apart from the development of its internal market one other characteristic feature of the Imperial German economy can be found in its ability to penetrate into export markets. It was in the shadow of this development, related in part to the cultivation by the Germans of language skills, that a strong strain of commercial paranoia developed in countries such as France and Great Britain. Considerable anxiety settled upon the threat of goods "Made in Germany".[53] A similar emphasis on the proficiency of Germans in export markets, but working to Britain's advantage, has featured in some accounts of the German-Jewish minority in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such studies have concentrated on those traders who through their "international contacts and knowledge of languages" helped to "strengthen Britain's links across the seas".[54]

Similar emphases on industrial and commercial success have appeared in discussions of the immigration of the 1930s. A Home Office memorandum refers to the establishment of 187 refugee businesses between April 1935 and July 1938. By August 1939 that figure had risen to approximately 500, of which 60 per cent were located in the so-called Special Areas, so designated by the British Government in 1934 as part of its policy to bring about a recovery from the inter-war economic depression. Not all activity by the refugees centred on these parts of the country. London, as might be expected, exerted a strong pull and it has been claimed that at a result of the immigration of the 1930s London replaced Leipzig as a centre of importance in the international fur market.[55]

In the case of individual firms related to the immigration of the 1930s, one frequently cited case study is that of the textile firm, Mansfield Hosiery. This

[50] Aronsfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 316.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] M. Pratt, *The Influence of the Germans in Bradford*, B. A. diss., Margaret Macmillan College [n. d.]; see also A. R. Rollin, 'The Jewish Contribution to the British Textile Industry. Builders of Bradford', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 17 (1951–1952), pp. 45–51.

[53] E. E. Williams, *Made in Germany*, London 1896; see also R. J. S. Hoffman, *Great Britain and the Anglo-German Trade Rivalry 1875–1914*, New York 1966 edn.

[54] Aronsfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 317.

[55] Holmes, *John Bull's Island, op. cit.*, p. 127; see also the contribution by Doron Niederland in this volume.

company, established in 1937, developed into the Nottingham Manufacturing Company under the driving influence of the Djanogly family who had left Russia in 1917 and settled in Chemnitz (at the moment Karl Marx Stadt), before they were uprooted yet again by Nazism. The firm is now part of the Coats Viyella group. Among other success stories can be counted that of Franz Schon and Frederick Marzillier who set up Marchon Products, a chemical company specialising in the production of detergents, which was taken over eventually by Albright and Wilson.[56] The commercial contribution of the refugees has also been emphasised. To refer to one trade only, two exiles, Fritz Hallgarten and Otto Loeb, played a major part in encouraging the taste in Britain for high quality German wines and the firms they founded still continue to exercise an influence.[57]

In discussing these various forms of business activity it is important to appreciate that success and significance did not come overnight. The economic impact of the immigration of the 1930s, like that of earlier immigrations, matured over a number of years. Consequently, we should refrain from drawing a line under it in 1939 or 1945. Any such chronological balance sheet would not only omit some firms, the origins of which went back to the thirties but whose heyday followed the war; it would also miss the commercial activities of the child refugees of the 1930s. The entrepreneurship of individuals such as Paul Hamlyn, the founder of Octopus Publishing, now part of Reed International, is particularly conspicuous in this regard.[58]

Apart from the difficulty in isolating the precise economic effects of all such activity and the distortions which can arise from whether a short-term or a long-term perspective is adopted, the emphasis on commercial and business success can carry other dangers. It is only too easy to become carried away by such individual examples of conventional success and, as a result, to pass over the history of those immigrants and refugees who failed or refrained from making a similar mark. In precise terms, to concentrate on German-Jewish businessmen in the 1930s at the expense of other groups such as the German-Jewish domestic workers would amount to a significant distortion of the immigration process.[59] Secondly, an equally serious misrepresentation would occur from any failure to recognise that German Jews do not stand alone as examples of business and commercial success. This emphasis has been hinted at in passing, through a reference to the business activity of Russian-Polish Jews. But a similar distortion would occur if we confined our attention to Jewish activity. There are visible symbols of success in business and commerce among groups as diverse as the Chinese, the Italians, and the Ugandan Asians, even though it would also be a distortion of their history in Britain if it were discussed exclusively along that axis.

Accounts of the various groups who came to Britain from Imperial Germany and

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[56] Herbert Loebl, *Government-Financed Factories and the Establishment of Industries by Refugees in the Special Areas of the North of England 1937–1961*, M. Phil. thesis, Durham University 1978.

[57] E. Penning Rowsell, 'A Taste of Germany', in *Financial Times*, 6th October 1983. Hallgarten can be heard on Imperial War Museum Tape (IWM), refugee tape 003967/06.

[58] Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England*, London–Toronto 1982.

[59] Tony Kushner, 'Asylum or Servitude? Refugee Domestics in Britain 1933–1945', in *Society for the Study of Labour History Bulletin*, 53 (1988), pp. 19–27. For a working-class autobiography see Martha Lang, *An Austrian Cockney*, London 1980.

later from Austria and Germany, have tended to place a considerable emphasis not only upon business and commercial ventures but also upon their varied cultural contributions to British society. This theme has already been adumbrated but, at this juncture, it deserves an extended emphasis. An assiduous observer of the German-Jewish businessmen who came to Britain in the Victorian years has remarked that, "it is perhaps their most peculiar characteristic that wherever they went they joined commerce with culture as well as philanthropy."[60] This involvement surfaced in the world of music. Henry Wood might not have saved the "insecurely started Promenade concerts" without the backing of Edgar Speyer.[61] In the North of England, Charles Hallé benefited substantially from the financial backing of German-Jewish merchants in Manchester.[62] The endowment of Joseph Jonas from Bremen helped to establish Sheffield's young University. The lavish donations of Ernest Cassel assumed legendary proportions and included support, following a financial courtship by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, for the newly-established London School of Economics.[63] The philanthropic endeavours of Ludwig Mond are also well known.[64]

The refugees of the 1930s are widely associated with significant personal contributions to the cultural life of Britain. One indication of this influence can be gleaned from the increase in the number of Jews who became Fellows of the Royal Society. This figure swelled markedly following the immigration of 1933 to 1939.[65] The research conducted by Hans Krebs in Sheffield University's Biochemistry Department resulted in 1953 in the joint-award of the Nobel Prize in Medicine.[66] The names of other leading scientists forced into exile come easily to mind. Rudolf Peierls and Max Perutz are two names which can be drawn from a shining galaxy.[67] It is not only the scientific community, however, on which we need to fasten our gaze. The names of Francis Carsten and Karl Popper, the latter coming to Britain via New Zealand, are well-known in History and Philosophy circles respectively.[68] Finally, to reiterate the long-term nature of developments, the work of child refugees such as Hans Eysenck and Sidney Pollard, also became important in the post-war years.[69] By any standards the list is impressive. However, to sound a cautionary note, yet again, a concentration on the careers of such people and the establishment of institutions such as the Wiener Library and the Warburg Institute, which also date back and relate to the refugees of the 1930s,[70] should not be used

[60] Aronsfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 318.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[62] Neville Cardus, *Autobiography*, London 1947, p. 48.

[63] Margaret Cole, *The Webbs and their Work*, Hassocks 1974, p. 49.

[64] Aronsfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 326.

[65] R. N. Salaman, 'The Jewish Fellows of the Royal Society', in *Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, part V, *Essays in Memory of E. M. Adler*, London 1948, pp. 146–175.

[66] Hans Krebs, *Reminiscences and Reflections*, Oxford 1981.

[67] Max Perutz, *Is Science Necessary?*, London 1989. Peierls can be heard on IWM, refugee tape 004772/04 and Perutz on 004645/03.

[68] Carsten can be heard on IWM, refugee tape 004483/03. Popper's *The Unended Quest*, London 1986, is autobiographical.

[69] H. J. Eysenck, *Rebel with a Cause*, London 1990. On the history of the child refugees see the new study by Barry Turner, ... *And the Policeman Smiled*, London 1990.

[70] Colin Holmes, 'On the Track of Tyranny', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, 3 (1984), pp. 111–113 on the Wiener Library. On the Warburg Institute see F. Saxl, 'The History of Warburg's Library', in Ernst H. Gombrich (ed.), *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970, pp. 337–338.

directly or indirectly to promote the view that those individuals from Greater Germany who did not share in such developments possess any less intrinsic historical significance.

Furthermore, a concentration on cultural impact should be set within the broader context of the cultural consequences of immigration into Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Irish made an important contribution to the development of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales following the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850. Blacks and Asians can be counted among the first rank of authors: the names of V. S. Naipaul and Salman Rushdie speak their own testimony. The often neglected cultural influence of exiles from continental Europe also needs to be snatched away from its present engulfing obscurity. The work of Polish artists such as Felix Topolski and Josef Herman provide part of that picture.[71] It can be extended by bringing into view writers such as the Hungarian, George Mikes, who captured the fads and foibles of the English.[72] Vicky, whose incisive cartoons made a distinctive contribution to the political as well as the artistic culture of Britain, is another Hungarian exile whose contribution deserves to be placed on record.[73]

This brief discussion suggests that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a number of economic and cultural contributions can be traced to the process of immigration. If such developments are extended to include other activities, such as the role of immigrants and refugees in the political process, the effects of immigration on British society can start to be recognised, even if, in the last resort, it is difficult to measure such contributions on a social Richter scale.

For their part, immigrants and refugees have often been concerned to promote success stories. The reasons for their doing so are varied. In part, it celebrates a triumph over adversity. It is also designed to convince an audience beyond the minority group of the positive benefits which can flow from immigration. However, the reiteration of such emphases is not without its risks. An impression can emerge that individuals and groups divorced from the images of success are beyond the boundary of toleration. This is not to suggest that immigrants and refugees have been easily tolerated. Even those groups which can lay claim to some of the images of social success have encountered difficulties in Britain. Indeed, such success can breed hostility.

On first reflection this claim may strike a bizarre note. One of the most carefully cultivated images in Britain presents a picture of British society in which toleration reigns supreme. Britain is different: it is a country in which, to use one image promulgated a few years ago, decency triumphs over evil. At times this belief in toleration and its essential virtue led to expressions of outrage against the perpetuation of intolerance in other societies. Gladstone's thunderous campaign against the so-called Bulgarian Horrors and mass protests against the persecution of Jews in the Tsar's Empire, stand testimony to a strongly developed sense of liberal outrage at the abuse of toleration. As for immigrants and refugees in Britain, they have often been reminded of the strong stream of toleration which courses through British society. At times they have also echoed this refrain.

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[71] Felix Topolski, *Fourteen Letters*, London 1988; see the obituary in *The Times*, 25th August 1989.
[72] Mikes's little classic is *How to be an Alien*; see the obituary in *The Times*, 3rd September 1987.
[73] Russell Davies and Liz Ottaway, *Vicky*, London 1987.

However, all celebrations are called to account at some stage and if we examine carefully the years since 1871 and pick over the evidence, it becomes clear that any emphasis on a national tradition of toleration stands in need of modification. This emphasis should not be misunderstood. It would be wide of the mark to claim that immigrants and refugees have faced a universal, unremitting hostility and that any achievements amounted to a triumph over all-pervasive adversity. Close consideration reveals that a degree of complexity often intruded into responses. In other words, individuals and groups could be tolerated in one context but not in another. Ernest Cassel's career is a case in point. Responses could also vary according to economic or cultural self-interest. German clerks were welcomed by the owners of City counting houses whereas English clerical workers opposed their presence. Responses could vary as circumstances changed: attitudes towards the German minority shifted dramatically for the worse in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war in 1914. This complexity in individual and group responses was mirrored in official policy. Nevertheless, such qualifying observations should not lead us to underestimate the motes and beams of hostility located within British society.

If we leave on one side the hostility towards German clerks which came from within the ranks of English clerical workers,[74] and pass quickly over the ferocious opposition towards the German gypsies which resulted in their deportation *en masse* to the Continent,[75] the way is clear to acknowledge the gathering antipathy expressed towards the German élite before 1914. Here is a classic case of success in turn generating hostility within a particular set of circumstances. The intensification of trade rivalry between Britain and Germany and the increasing prospects of armed conflict between the two countries encouraged certain nationalist circles to single out the German élite, in terms which sometimes carried traces of antisemitism, as agents working in the interests of the Fatherland.[76] To Leo Maxse, the arch-nationalist, High Tory and antisemite, who edited the *National Review*, the German plan came over as plain as a pikestaff. In his campaign we can recognise the sowing of the seeds of conspiracy theory long before *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* became available in English.[77] In the fevered atmosphere of Anglo-German rivalry in the late nineteenth century and in the early part of the present century, suspicion and hostility towards the Germans also assumed a wider currency. It became translated into the stuff of popular novels: the various writings of William Le Queux, John Buchan and Walter Wood stand testimony to the wider sweep of anti-German sentiment.[78] In the popular novels produced by these writers, German spies or villains lurked everywhere and with the declaration of war in August 1914 this developing anti-German sentiment assumed larger and more serious proportions.

War tends to reinforce in group-out group tendencies and between 1914 and 1918

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[74] Anderson, *loc. cit.*

[75] Holmes, 'The German Gypsy Question', *loc. cit.*

[76] Paul Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism 1860–1914*, London 1980, provides the general background.

[77] Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876–1939*, London 1979, chap. 5; J. A. Hutcheson, jr., *Leopold Maxse and the National Review, 1893–1914*, New York–London 1989.

[78] D. H. T. Stafford, 'Conspiracy and Xenophobia. The Popular Spy Novels of William Le Queux', in *Europa*, 4 (1981), pp. 163–185; *idem*, 'Spies and Gentlemen. The Birth of the British Spy Novel 1853–1914', in *Victorian Studies*, 24 (1981), pp. 489–509.

the Germans had to contend with various forms of hostility. They had to face vicious verbal hostility. Horatio Bottomley, the demagogic editor of *John Bull,* urged "a vendetta against every German in Britain whether 'naturalised' or not". Bottomley claimed "... you cannot naturalise an unnatural beast – a human abortion – a hellish freak. But you can exterminate it. And now the time has come".[79] Hostility did not stop at this level. Germans were removed from positions of influence in the City of London. Another well-known example of anti-Germanism in action came in the so-called "Loyalty Letters". Following a suggestion by Sir Arthur Pinero, the playwright, that prominent naturalised British citizens of German origin should signify their loyalty to Britain a series of "Loyalty Letters" appeared in *The Times.* The strength of public pressure to write such letters should not be under-estimated and many prominent public figures of German origin, such as Ernest Cassel, bowed to it, even if reluctantly. However, not everyone did. Edgar Speyer can be counted among those who resisted such public pressure.[80]

Two other strands of anti-Germanism might be noticed. First, during the war major outbreaks of violence bore heavily on those who had come from Imperial Germany. These attacks began in 1914 in areas such as London and Keighley almost immediately after the outbreak of hostilities. However, collective violence assumed more significance in the days following the sinking by a German submarine on 7th May 1915 of the Cunard liner, the *Lusitania.* Following the incident the German community in Liverpool, the ship's home port, other parts of Lancashire and even settlements beyond the North-West came under attack. These incidents, which developed a wider xenophobic dimension, turned into violent demonstrations on a "vast scale".[81] Similar collective action surfaced again at the time of war weariness in 1918. Finally we need to focus some attention on official forms of hostility which became particularly important in the war. Before the outbreak of hostilities the War Office and the police had compiled a register of aliens which enabled the authorities to exercise a degree of surveillance over such groups. In the case of enemy aliens the surging xenophobia which arose in 1914 led to demands for the internment of these groups. The sinking of the *Lusitania* added to this pressure. The war-time Government never responded fully to popular demands. Even so, more than 32,000 enemy alien men were herded into the internment camps which appeared across the country, particularly on the Isle of Man. In addition, the British Government deported 28,744 enemy aliens between 1914 and 1919.[82]

In tracing these strands of hostility towards Germans we are emphatically not dealing with a special case. The history of other groups in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals a similar story. The opposition towards the Russian-Polish minority is well-known: to repeat, the debate surrounding this group led ultimately to the 1905 Aliens Act which overturned a long

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[79] *John Bull*, 15th May 1915.

[80] Holmes, *Anti-Semitism, op. cit.*, chap. 5. See *The Times*, 11th–21st May 1915 for the "Loyalty Letters".

[81] Panikos Panayi, 'The Lusitania Anti-German Riots of 1915', in *Manchester Region History Review*, vol. II, no. 2 (1988–1989), p. 5.

[82] J. C. Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilisation in Great Britain 1914–1918*, New York–London 1986. For personal testimony on the internment, see P. Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still. My Internment in England 1915–18*, London 1931.

tradition of free entry for aliens into Britain. The history of other groups during these years also bears testimony to the limits of toleration in Britain. The opposition encountered by Italians, the hostility expressed towards friendly aliens in the shape of Belgian refugees during the First World War, as well as the antipathy encountered by groups from further afield such as the Chinese, provide compelling testimony on this score. Such evidence is also supported by experiences of the largest minority, the Irish, notwithstanding the fact that its history is often presented in bullish and Whiggish terms as evidence of Britain as a tolerant country.[83]

But to return to the minorities who arrived from Austria and Germany. How did they fare between the end of the First World War and 1945? The termination of hostilities in 1918 did not result in any sudden evaporation in anti-German sentiment. The fierce streaks of anti-Germanism in the debate over the 1919 Aliens Act cannot be overlooked. By this time deportations had reduced the size of the German minority and, to re-emphasise, it was not until the immigration of the 1930s, particularly from Germany and later from Austria, that a noticeable increase occurred in the size of the German-speaking population in Britain.

Certain pro-refugee groups assisted the arrival of the refugees from Nazism: among these can be numbered the Academic Assistance Council, an organisation which attempted to secure employment for young scholars. Such activity provided one part of the picture, but another darker side can be detected. It could hardly be expected that Fascist groups in Britain would welcome the arrival of the refugees. However, hostility extended beyond these racial-nationalist circles. Many of the newcomers who arrived from Greater Germany had come from professional backgrounds and a number of groups in Britain including doctors and architects mounted attacks upon the refugees. In turn, such responses could be exploited by Fascist groups. Hence the headline in the Blackshirt press, "Refugees to have your boys' jobs".[84] The opposition from Fascists often assumed an antisemitic character. But this particular strand of antipathy also circulated beyond Fascist organisations. In the 1930s an "unmistakeable tang" of antisemitism pervaded the air and both popular responses and official immigration policy towards the refugees reflected such sentiment.[85]

With the outbreak of the war in 1939 problems increased. The fact that many Austrians and Germans were recent refugees from Nazism did not shield them from hostility. They did not encounter collective violence as they had between 1914 and 1918. Furthermore, the State proved slower to act against enemy aliens. Nevertheless, officials took down from the shelves the internment files relating to the First World War and in 1939 the state introduced a limited, yet similar, policy of confinement. The Isle of Man once again served as an important detention centre. The decision as to who constituted a dangerous alien rested with a system of tribunals set up by the Home Office. At first, the internment programme proceeded slowly. However, the German advance into Western Europe and Scandinavia, which by the spring of 1940 had substantially increased Britain's isolation in Europe

[83] See Holmes, *John Bull's Island, op. cit.* on these developments.

[84] *Action*, 7th January 1939.

[85] Malcolm Muggeridge, *The Thirties*, London 1967 edn., p. 243; Tony Kushner, *British Antisemitism in the Second World War*, Ph. D. thesis, Sheffield University 1986, pp. 77–83.

and the formation in these circumstances in May 1940 of Churchill's Coalition Government combined to accelerate the policy of internment. The programme also became extended to include Italian nationals after Italy entered the war on the German side in the summer of 1940. As a result, by the end of June 1940 only non-suspect Austrian, German and Italian women had been left at large. With that programme firmly in place the Government then turned its attention to the deportation of alien internees, mainly to Canada and Australia.[86]

Soon afterwards, however, some detainees secured their release and in the course of 1941 and 1942 the internment system was effectively dismantled. As a result, the majority of the internees were released and some of them made valuable contributions to the defeat of Nazism.[87] Certain pressures which influenced the move away from internment are clear, and include the *Arandora Star* disaster in July 1940.[88] But not every nuance of the policy shift is yet apparent. Whatever the reasons for the change of direction, it is important to place this internment episode in its appropriate wider context. Many of the strongest voices urging the detention of enemy aliens had been vocal in the 1930s in support of British Fascism: the pressure for internment represented a continuation of that pre-war strand of hostility towards refugees from Greater Germany and particularly towards Jews.[89] Furthermore, a rounded understanding of the internment programme needs to be located within the context of a general contraction of civil liberties in Britain during the Second World War.[90] Finally, it needs to be placed within the amorphous tradition of antisemitism which continued to manifest itself in war-time Britain.[91]

The hostility encountered by the Austrians and Germans between 1919 and 1945 also needs to be viewed within the wider sweep of opposition towards other immigrant and refugee groups rather than within any discrete framework. The experiences of Irish and Black groups reveal the strength of antipathy in Britain. Moreover, the difficulties encountered between 1939 and 1945 by war-time allies such as the Poles indicate that, as in the First World War, friendly aliens did not secure an immunity from hostility.[92]

The period following the Second World War is a relative blank spot. We know that some of the refugees from Greater Germany achieved considerable eminence in these post-war years as "celebrities, senior professors, government advisers [and] occasionally political pundits".[93] But a degree of caution is in order. An emphasis on these success stories, which is often presented as one small aspect of the wider celebratory picture of immigrant and refugee groups in Britain, needs once again to be treated with care. There is evidence of pre-war refugees encountering persistent

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[86] Wasserstein, *op. cit.*; Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice. Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War*, Manchester 1989.

[87] See the wry observations on refugee scientists in A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945*, Harmondsworth 1979, p. 598.

[88] See Wasserstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99 on the incident. There is a memorial to the Italian dead at St. Peter's Church, Clerkenwell.

[89] Holmes, *John Bull's Island, op. cit.*, p. 192.

[90] Neil Stammers, *Civil Liberties in Britain during the 2nd World War. A Political Study*, London 1983.

[91] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice, op. cit.*

[92] Holmes, *John Bull's Island, op. cit.*, chaps. 3 and 4.

[93] Paul K. Hoch, 'The Reception of Central European Refugee Physicists of the 1930s. USSR, UK, USA', in *Annals of Science*, 40 (1983), p. 245.

difficulties in their attempts to adjust to a new life in Britain.[94] Even in the absence of marked hostility from the surrounding society, exile is not always a comfortable home to inhabit. Early roots are not easily pulled up or cast aside. This is not to suggest, however, that all hostility disappeared. Antisemitism did not vanish in the wake of the Holocaust and, when it did come on display, antisemites did not automatically draw a distinction between Austrian Jews, German Jews and other Jews. All members of the Jewish Community were potentially exposed. The view that since 1945 all Jews have been shielded from hostility by the concentration of antipathy on Blacks and Asians, whose immigration started to be curtailed in 1962, needs to be severely tested before it becomes part of historical folklore.[95]

V

Compared with the continuing interest in Black and Asian groups in Britain since the Second World War, the history of European minorities remains relatively neglected. In that respect alone the continuing recovery of information on groups from Imperial Germany and later from Greater Germany, including Jewish newcomers, adds a degree of balance to our understanding of immigration into Britain. Furthermore, it provides considerable evidence on the varied inputs which newcomers have made to British society. These contributions deserve to be brought into focus even if there is a risk of any discussion getting out of hand and becoming hagiographical and generally celebratory. Finally, the experiences of the various newcomers from Imperial Germany and later refugees from Austria and Germany help us to qualify the powerful, often-repeated emphasis on Britain as a tolerant country. We know that on a visit to Manchester in 1875 Sigmund Freud envied the atmosphere in which his half brother was able to bring up his family and that the experience left "ineffaceable impressions" upon him.[96] Such impressions serve as a reminder that hostility possesses a relative as well as absolute dimension.[97] However, an awareness of any comparative advantage which minority groups enjoyed in Britain at any particular time, should not encourage us to drape a veil over the darker side of the picture. To do so would be a distortion and the history of immigration already possesses more than its fair share of twisted perspectives.

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[94] Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[95] This claim forms part of the argument in E.J. Hobsbawm, 'Are we entering a new era of antisemitism?', in *New Society*, 11th December 1980, pp. 503–505.

[96] Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud. Life and Work*, vol. I, *The Young Freud 1856–1900*, London 1953, p. 195.

[97] See the Chief Rabbi's maiden speech, in *Hansard*, 5th series, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Lords, vol. 494 (1988), col. 376.

Aubrey Newman

German Jews in Britain. A Prologue

The story of German Jews in Britain does not begin with the arrival of either the refugees from Nazi Germany or the earlier immigrants from the Wilhelminian Empire. There are impacts as early as the eighteenth century, while that very impact in itself is a reflection of the particular areas from which these Germans came. At the same time these points continued to have an impact upon the general picture of German Jews in Great Britain into the twentieth century.

The fiftieth anniversary of the *"Kristallnacht"* marks an anniversary of obvious importance in relation to German Jewry, but this year is also an anniversary of another event which has a deeper significance in this context than might have been imagined. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 might have been felt to have been of no significance to the story of German Jewry in Britain, but the arrival of William of Orange in Britain, and with that the emergence of a pattern by which Britain was to be deeply involved in the affairs of the Continent, has undoubtedly an importance, if only because it has been since then that we can see a two-way flow between Britain and North Germany and the consequential substantial presence of German Jews in Britain. When for example members of the Sephardi synagogue – then the only one in London – complained of the presence of large numbers of non-Sephardi Jews in their congregation it was largely of the German Jews (the Tudescos) that they complained. When in the event these Jews set up their own synagogue – the Great Synagogue – they looked to Germany for their spiritual leadership. Many of the rabbis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not merely of German origin but were actually born in Germany. The founder of the Great Synagogue as well as its principal rabbi both came from Hamburg. When, in its own turn, the Great Synagogue split, the new body was called the Hambro Synagogue, and it owed not merely its spiritual allegiance to Hamburg but also many of its members. And when, in the nineteenth century, London Jewry set up the United Synagogue, its founding fathers specified that the ritual of this new body, its *minhag*, was to be that of Hamburg. These links were strengthened by the arrival in 1714 of the Hanoverians – George I and George II – on the British throne which meant in particular that there had to be close links between London and Hanover; it is possible to trace individual German Jews who were closely involved in Anglo-Hanoverian trade and politics as well as in various aspects of high finance.

The first point to be made is that in the eighteenth century the United Kingdom formed in a sense one enormous area of reception. From at least the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a comparatively large number of German Jews coming into the country. There is no adequate detail as to the places of origin of many of these immigrants, but it is certainly clear that there were large numbers of German Jews in Britain before 1800. This is particularly true of the provincial communities, and it has even been suggested that the "foundation of provincial Jewish congrega-

tions in England was almost exclusively the work of the German... Jews."[1] There is for example a list of foreign-born Jews living in Plymouth at the end of the eighteenth century. On it were preserved 58 names, of whom 43 came from Germany. They had come mainly from small places, particularly concentrated in a relatively narrow belt running eastwards from the Rhine into Franconia – eleven from Ansbach, ten from in or near Mannheim, five from Frankfurt a. Main, one or two each from seventeen other places in Germany, but only one from Hamburg and one from Altona.[2] Portsmouth records often give the place of origin of members of its congregation, and a list of 1766 mentions the places of origin of seventeen of its members; they correspond quite closely to the pattern of the Plymouth list. There are traces of similar origins for other small provincial communities. In part this was the result of various events and pogroms on the Continent even though it is not always possible to make a direct link between such events and particular communities: but at other times it must be linked clearly to the population explosion in Central European Jewish communities. There was great lack of economic opportunity and basic restrictions upon the size of such Jewish populations and upon the numbers of permitted weddings. Many of the smaller German states, while they encouraged rich Jews, barely tolerated or positively excluded the poorer ones. In Berlin, for instance, "regularly-protected" Jews were able to transmit rights of residence and occupation only to the eldest child and those who had merely "special" protection had no such rights of transmission. Basically, the Jews of the smaller communities moved on because they could not live or earn a living at home. A closer examination of the Plymouth list indicates that of the Jews there thirty were between the ages of twenty and twenty-six when they arrived in England, and nearly all the rest were between sixteen and nineteen or twenty-seven to thirty years old.[3]

It is very relevant that many of those who came were from small country towns where countryside peddling was quite common. As a result, many of these immigrants went on to make their livings peddling in the English countryside and small market towns – and eventually made their homes there as well. The basic impression given is that there may have been a very strong desire to get to England, but that there was very little reason for these immigrants to aim for any particular area of Britain; this is however an aspect of Anglo-Jewish history on which further research is needed.

There were enormous changes during the early nineteenth century. Two major developments in Britain and Germany were most important. In Britain, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there had been a great deal of industrial expansion, and the ending of the Napoleonic Wars had resulted in an increase in commercial links between Britain and the northern Continent. In Germany, both before and after the Revolutionary Wars, the Enlightenment had already begun to have an impact upon the status of individual Jews within the German community as

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[1] Lucien Wolf, quoted by Vivian D. Lipman, 'The Origins of Provincial Anglo-Jewry', in Aubrey Newman (ed.), *Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain*, London 1975.

[2] Vivian D. Lipman, 'Sephardi and other Jewish Immigrants in England in the Eighteenth Century', in Aubrey Newman (ed.), *Migration and Settlement*, London 1971, p. 39.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

a whole. There had been new impetuses inside Germany for Jewish social and geographical mobility, and part of that is reflected in the ways in which German Jews came to Britain, and the reasons for them making that move. Whereas in the past there had not necessarily been any intent behind the choice of area in Britain to which German Jews had moved, that immigration was now much more motivated. Part of that motive was undoubtedly political and ideological; certainly the collapse of various moves for greater political freedom – especially the failure of the 1848 Revolution – led to an influx of political refugees, many of whom concentrated themselves in London. But for most of the immigrants the motive for coming was a strictly economic one, arising out of the needs and opportunities evolving from the German economy itself, and in many ways these migrants concentrated on the provinces rather than looking to London itself.

It certainly becomes clear that during the 1840s a number of provincial communities received a comparatively large influx of German Jews. Bradford and Manchester are the towns best known for this, but there were others as well which were almost equally significant. Birmingham, Nottingham, Belfast and Dundee for example also acted as hosts. It was certainly not a large stream of migration, because the majority of German-Jewish immigrants went to North America rather than Great Britain, but it nonetheless had very significant effects upon Jewish and non-Jewish Great Britain alike.

A great deal of the growth of the wool trade of Bradford[4] in the nineteenth century seems undoubtedly to have come through its German immigrants, most of whom seem to have been Jewish. They concentrated their warehouses and their homes in one quarter and it is no accident that that section of Bradford came to be known as "Little Germany". They did not contribute much apparently in the way of technical innovation, but what they, and many others like them, did possess was a willingness to sell the local products over a wide area. These immigrants represented a community almost unique in Anglo-Jewry, in that they were from the beginning strongly Reform in sympathy, and their influence in local Jewish life is perhaps shown in that it was many years before a second, "Orthodox", congregation was founded there. They also took a leading part in the civic life of Bradford, and in a sense much of the whole significance of the German-Jewish contribution to Britain can be found in miniature here in Bradford. Not only did they give of their money, but even more of their time, and were closely involved in the life of the community. There are a number of very well-known names associated with this process – Jacob Unna from Hamburg who went first of all to Manchester in 1820 at the age of twenty, went on to Leeds, and then came with the railway to Bradford in 1844; Jacob Behrens who came to Yorkshire in 1832; Charles Semon, who came from Danzig and eventually became Mayor of Bradford; Jacob Moser who was born in Schleswig in 1839 and came to Bradford in 1863 and also eventually became Mayor of Bradford; and Berthold Reif who came from the Sudeten area of Bohemia in 1892. Unna, at one stage the manager for Behrens in Bradford, was a founder member of the local Chamber of Commerce. Behrens had had links with an uncle in Manchester and was the son of an old-established Hamburg firm importing wool-

[4] See 'Bradford', in Newman (ed.), *Provincial Jewry, op. cit.*

len and cotton goods from Britain. One of his contributions to the Bradford trade was his interest at the highest level in commercial treaties, and eventually, in 1882 he was knighted for his work in negotiating them. He was to write in his *Memoirs*: "who would have thought it possible that now, just fifty years after I stepped ashore on English soil at Hull a foreigner and a Jew, I should be deemed worthy of the offer of a knighthood by the Queen's government". His public work parallels Charles Semon who was to be the first of these foreign-born immigrants to become a member of the municipal council. Neither of them had been much interested in Jewish affairs, but Moser was much more involved in both Jewish and public affairs. He was one of the founders of the Bradford synagogue and became a prominent and active Zionist.

Manchester[5] is another example of an industrial centre with close links with Germany and Central Europe and which therefore, almost in consequence, attracted German merchants in search of textiles for onward sale. Nathan Meyer Rothschild was an early example of precisely that, coming first to Liverpool and then Manchester to act originally as an agent for Central European merchants in order to ensure a continued high quality of goods. By 1800 about eight German merchants of all sorts of religious persuasion (or none) were to be found in Manchester and Bradford. There were other firms with senior partners in Hamburg and Berlin which began to send very senior representatives to Manchester, and this was a process which can be seen advancing rapidly. In 1834 there were 78 foreign firms listed in Manchester and three years later there were 101, of whom 75 were German. Although not even half of these were Jewish that remains a significant proportion. Of the twenty-three "new" firms eight can be identified as having been Jewish; in so far as their places of origin can be found they came from Hanover, Silesia, Hamburg and Frankfurt a. Main. For the most part they were young men in their twenties and thirties, prospecting in the world's cotton centre.

Birmingham was originally a so-called "commercial" rather than an industrial centre. It is certainly possible to identify "pedlars" and clerks there more effectively than other groups. The 1851 Census in Birmingham has been analysed, and in that year out of 304 identified Jewish males there were seventeen resident males born in Germany and a further twenty-nine born in Prussia. This latter figure, of course, includes a number coming from various parts of Poland incorporated into Prussia after its eighteenth-century partitions. The females showed very many fewer from Germany – six from Germany as against twenty from Prussia. Of the various licences given to hawkers and pedlars ten were from Germany while nineteen were Prussians. One of the German clerks later described his early experiences: "our hours were supposed to be from 9am until 7pm but often and especially on Saturdays, we went on until Midnight. Our only holidays were the two Fridays in Fair week. No Saturday half holidays or bank holidays." Nottingham was another industrial centre which was revived less by changes in technology than by improvements in marketing, introduced especially by German immigrants, again largely German-Jewish. Here Lewis Heymann, who was to become Mayor, was very prominent. In Belfast there were, by the middle of the nineteenth century, some

[5] See Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740–1875*, Manchester 1976, pp. 79–110; see also 'Birmingham', 'Dundee' and 'Nottingham', in Newman (ed.), *Provincial Jewry, op. cit.*

fifty Jews, most of whom were from Germany. The two leading German Jews were Jacob Mautner and Daniel Joseph Jaffé, both of whom were linked with the linen trade in Germany before deciding to move to Belfast and supervise the purchase of linen products on the spot. The sons of the Jaffé family continued their dominant position in Belfast into the next century, both in the Jewish and the non-Jewish community – one of them became Lord Mayor of Belfast – and were joined in due course by Wolff who entered the ship-building industry – hence the firm of Harland & Wolff – although Wolff played little or no part in Jewish life. Dundee was another centre which received Jewish agents from Hamburg who were sent there for the purchase of cheap linens and packing cloths and were within a generation making their mark on the life of the city.

Through an examination of these areas in which German Jews arrived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be seen some indications of what was to be seen in the course of the years after 1933. At first there was nothing which could be described as a "wave" of immigrants, rather a continuing stream of individuals. Almost as a consequence of this there is little sense of German-Jewish community spirit. But during the course of the nineteenth century a pattern can be demonstrated. A number of industrial centres received Jews who came first on an individual basis and evidently for a short term merely to establish contacts. They stayed and built up a substantial commercial basis for their activities. Over and over again they can be seen settling into a centre which had already a good industrial basis but was falling behind in marketing. The sort of statement which is repeated continually in the local histories of these trades or these (non-Jewish) communities is that these Jews settled there because the local industries were not producing goods which the market wanted. Alternatively, these new arrivals were trying to secure continuing supplies of goods or else securing more than one set of profits. Some of these arrivals – such as the Rothschilds – went on into other activities, but their beginnings were largely in textiles.

Another feature of these communities is the extent to which these immigrants proceeded to integrate themselves into the life of the community, contributing not only to its economic life but to its political and cultural life as well. It is significant that these new citizens wished to become absorbed into that life, but it is equally striking that the local citizens were just as prepared to accept them, and that was not something which could normally have been expected in Germany.

A further feature which cannot be omitted is that of their religious life. While some of them followed patterns more or less parallel with that of the host communities very many did not, and it must be confessed that the German-Jewish immigrants in the nineteenth century had far less impact upon Jews in Britain than upon non-Jews in Britain. Some of them, as in Bradford, brought their own religious practices with them and tried very hard to maintain them. Many others did not. There were many Jews who became rapidly absorbed into the host non-Jewish community, and there was even one family in Glasgow which went so far towards losing all links with the local Jewish community as to dig up the bodies of those who had been interred in the Glasgow Jewish cemetery so as to deny their Jewishness.

Taken all in all, however, most features of this German-Jewish immigration in the years preceding the First World War are to be found in the years following 1933.

It is the more appropriate therefore to describe it as having been in a very real sense a "prologue" to the much larger and certainly more concentrated migration which was to follow.

Todd M. Endelman

German-Jewish Settlement in Victorian England

The English Jewish community, like that in North America, is the product of successive waves of immigration from the Continent. Of the various migrations that contributed to its growth, the German-Jewish settlement of the Victorian period has received the least attention from historians. In his pioneering survey of the social history of English Jewry, for example, Vivian D. Lipman devotes less than one sentence to this group of newcomers, noting only that a group of wool merchants from Germany founded a Reform synagogue in Bradford in 1873.[1] In the 1950s, C. C. Aronsfeld contributed a series of short, celebratory articles on prominent German Jews in England to the *Jewish Chronicle*, *AJR Information* and other popular publications, but these were journalistic exercises, uncritical and apologetic, not serious attempts to consider their subject in a larger historical context. The same can be said as well of Aronsfeld's essay, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, which was essentially a summary of work first published in the previous decade.[2] Indeed, only in Bill Williams's study of Manchester Jewry before the beginnings of East European immigration is there a serious, extended account of German-Jewish settlement in the Victorian period, and this, of course, is limited to one provincial centre.[3]

The historiographical neglect of German Jews in Victorian England is not difficult to understand. In part, it is a matter of numbers. Although it is impossible to know how many German Jews migrated to England in the nineteenth century – the British Census, while recording country of origin of persons of foreign birth, failed to distinguish between Christians and Jews at a time when there was a substantial German commercial colony in England – it is clear that their numbers were not great. At best one can say that several thousand, but certainly no more than ten thousand, German Jews moved to Britain during the Victorian period.[4] However, if numbers alone were responsible for this neglect, the earlier Sephardi migration would also have suffered the same historiographical fate, since the number of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who came to England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not much greater. A more critical reason was the "respectable" social character of the German-Jewish migrants. Unlike both earlier and later immigrants, those coming from Germany at this time burdened neither the established Jewish community nor the larger society and thus attracted little attention. In

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[1] Vivian D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England, 1850–1950*, London 1954.

[2] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, pp. 312–329. References to Aronsfeld's popular writing on German-Jewish immigrants can be found in this article.

[3] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740–1875*, Manchester 1976. I have tried to correct some of this historiographical neglect in *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945*, Bloomington 1990, to which this essay is greatly indebted.

[4] Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', *loc. cit.*, p. 312.

addition, because their numbers were few and their prior acculturation to non-Jewish ways extensive, they moved easily into the mainstream of English society and left little mark on Anglo-Jewry.

At the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, there were no more than 30,000 Jews living in England, approximately half of them in London.[5] They were overwhelmingly Ashkenazim, themselves immigrants or the descendants of immigrants from Holland, the German states, and Poland, who were escaping the poverty and degrading restrictions that embittered Jewish life in most *ancien régime* states. They came with few material resources or artisan's skills and on arrival took to low-status itinerant trades to earn a living – hawking goods about the streets of London, buying and selling old clothes and other second-hand goods, peddling notions, gimcracks and inexpensive jewelry in the provinces.[6] These trades required little capital or knowledge of English and were already familiar to the immigrants before their migration. Some were eventually able to improve their economic situation and entered the ranks of small shopkeepers, wholesalers and manufacturers; a fortunate few became overseas merchants and dealers in luxury goods; others remained mired in poverty, dependent on communal relief to make ends meet.

The immigration from Central Europe in the Victorian period, on the other hand, was largely (although not exclusively) middle-class in character – in part, a reflection of the social and economic transformation of German Jewry that occurred in the nineteenth century. Those who arrived at this time came with greater resources – a secular education, prior experience in large-scale commerce, access to capital – and a broader cultural outlook than their predecessors and were thus better positioned from the start to make their way into the English middle class. Evidence of this shift can be seen in the fact that by the middle of the century German Jews no longer figured as objects of poor relief in communal appeals. An editorial in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1846, for example, in urging readers to contribute generously to Jewish charities, attributed the strain on communal resources to newly arrived immigrants from Russia and Poland, while an editorial in 1854 asking for special donations to an East End soup kitchen explained that current funds were unable to handle the great influx of Polish Jews.[7]

Most of the new arrivals from Germany were merchants and commercial clerks with links to or previous experience in large-scale trading ventures who were attracted to England by its unrivalled mercantile and industrial pre-eminence. A number of immigrants who rose to prominence in the textile trade in the Midlands, like Moritz Rothenstein (b. 1836) and Jacob Moser (1839–1922) in Bradford, served apprenticeships in Jewish merchant houses in Germany before settling in England. Others, like Emanuel and Philip Freud in Manchester (half-brothers of Sigmund Freud) and Jacob Behrens (1806–1889) in Bradford, gained experience in family firms before their migration. Some were sent to England for the specific purpose of establishing branches of already flourishing ventures. The story of Jacob Behrens is typical. His father, Nathan, headed a merchant house in Hamburg that imported

[5] Lipman, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–8.

[6] Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714–1830. Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society*, Philadelphia 1979, chap. 5.

[7] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30th October 1846, and 3rd March 1854.

woollen and cotton goods from England, then the centre of world textile production, and in turn distributed them in Northern Germany. Jacob visited England a number of times during the years 1832–1834 to buy textile goods in Leeds for the family firm. His inability each time to persuade local manufacturers to make up goods to his exact specifications convinced him of the advantage of setting up a permanent branch in England. In 1834, he rented a small factory and warehouse in Leeds; at first he manufactured and shipped woollen goods for the firm in Hamburg, but later he set up as a manufacturer and exporter on his own account, eventually becoming one of the great textile magnates of the region.[8]

England's pre-eminence in textile production was not the only attraction for German-Jewish merchants. The emergence of London as the largest domestic market in the world for consumer goods of all kinds – its population at the middle of the century stood at over 2.5 million – and as a major international trading centre also served to attract enterprising Jewish merchants in a variety of fields. The history of the Geiger and Frankau families is typical in this regard. Joseph Geiger (ca. 1807–1870), son of a Frankfurt stationer (and first cousin of the prominent Reform rabbi, Abraham Geiger), migrated to London in the early 1830s and set up business in Goodman's Fields in the East End as an importer of fancy goods. A few years later, with the world of fashion rapidly switching from snuff taking to cigar smoking (the duty on imported cigars having been drastically reduced between 1823 and 1830), he became an importer and manufacturer of cigars. About the same time, that is, in the late 1830s, another young Frankfurt Jew, Joseph Frankau (1813–1857), also migrated to London, establishing himself as an importer of leeches, sponges, and cigars, first in partnership with another German immigrant, Lesser Friedlander, and then on his own. He lived in the same street as Geiger (perhaps in the same building) and in 1843 married his sister Amelia (1813–1863). Four years later Joseph's brother Adolph (1821–1856), who had settled in the United States as a young man, moved to London, where he carried on a successful business as an importer of meerschaum pipes and smoking accessories.[9]

Unlike their predecessors in the previous century, most immigrants from Germany in the Victorian period had received some secular education before their departure – a reflection, again, of the sweeping transformation of German Jewry in the emancipation era. At a minimum, they could read and write German; in many instances, they were literate in other European languages as well. A very small number had attended university and acquired professional training. The laryngologist Felix Semon (1849–1921) had completed his medical studies in Berlin; the industrialist Ludwig Mond (1839–1909) had studied chemistry at Marburg and Heidelberg; the journalist Karl Marx (1818–1883) had studied history and philosophy at Bonn, Berlin, and Jena. One indicator of the cultural status of the

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[8] Jacob Behrens, *Sir Jacob Behrens, 1806–1889*, priv. publ. [ca. 1925].

[9] *The Post Office London Directory for 1832*, p. 152; *The Post Office London Directory for 1837*, p. 107; *The Post Office London Directory for 1840*, p. 98; register of marriages, Western Synagogue, 1837–1863, entry for 19th March 1843, Archives of the Western Synagogue, London; 1841 Census, Public Record Office, Kew, HO 107/716/8; Alexander Dietz, *Stammbuch der Frankfurter Juden. Geschichtliche Mitteilungen über die Frankfurter jüdischen Familien von 1349–1849*, Frankfurt a. Main 1907, p. 101; Edward H. Pinto, *Wooden Bygones of Smoking and Snuff Taking*, London 1961, pp. 48–49, 59; Adolph Frankau & Co., *100 Years in the Service of Smokers. Adolph Frankau of London Celebrate Their Centenary*, London 1947.

immigrants, whatever the level of their formal education, was their ability to take part in musical, literary, artistic, and political activities outside the Jewish community – either in the company of Gentile German merchants or native English merchants and professionals. In Manchester, for example, the prosperous calico printer Salis Schwabe (1801–1853), a convert to Unitarianism, moved easily in middle-class philanthropic and political circles. He took an active part in the anti-Corn Law campaign, became a close friend of Richard Cobden and Elizabeth and William Gaskell, entertained them and other middle-class notables at his country home in Wales, served as Chopin's host when he visited Manchester in 1848, chaired a meeting of German residents at the time of the 1848 Revolution to express sympathy with the Frankfurt Assembly, and in general made his mark on liberal philanthropic activity in the city.[10] In Bradford, Birmingham and Manchester, where there were large German trading colonies, German Jews and German Gentiles banded together to establish social and cultural clubs where they could eat heavy, multi-course, two-hour meals in the German fashion, read German periodicals, gossip about politics and business in their native tongue, nap and play cards. The first two chairmen of the *Schiller-Anstalt* in Manchester, a library, newspaper reading room and dining club, were Jews, as was much of the membership – a fact that led Friedrich Engels to refer derisively to the institution as "the Jerusalem Club". In London, the merchant banker Isidore Gerstenberg (1821–1876) and the orientalist Emanuel Deutsch (1829–1873) were members of the German Association for Science and Art, founded in 1864 by the political exile Gottfried Kinkel.[11]

Among those immigrants who participated in the cultural life of the larger society were a handful of university-trained scholars of Judaica and semitic languages. Victorian Jewry was not a well-educated community, either in terms of traditional Judaica or secular culture and science, and did not produce its own, native-born practitioners of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the new critical Jewish scholarship that developed in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. As a consequence, university-educated German-Jewish immigrants were employed in a variety of teaching and research posts in Britain that required advanced training in Hebrew and other semitic languages. Joseph Zedner (1804–1871) served as librarian of the Hebrew division of the British Museum from 1845 to 1869. Emanuel Deutsch, who was the major inspiration for the Jewish themes in George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, worked there as well from 1855 to 1872 in a more subordinate position, although he was a prominent contributor to learned and popular journals on Judaism, Islam, and the ancient Near East. Adolf Neubauer (1831–1907) was hired by the University of Oxford in 1868 to catalogue the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, a task that took eighteen years. When a readership in rabbinics was established at Oxford in 1884, he was appointed the first incumbent of the post, which he held until 1900. At Cambridge, Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy (1820–1890) – strictly speaking a Hungarian rather than a German Jew, but a product of German culture nonethe-

[10] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 168–169; Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany. Exile and Asylum in Victorian England*, Oxford 1986, p. 207; *The Christian Reformer*, new series, 9 (1853), pp. 596–597.

[11] J. B. Priestley, *English Journey*, London 1934, p. 160; Oswald E. Stroud (ed.), *The Story of the Stroud Family*, Bradford [ca. 1974], p. 83; Zoë Josephs, *Birmingham Jewry, 1749–1914*, Birmingham 1980, pp. 23–24; Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 260, 412, n. 95; Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

less – offered private instruction in Hebrew from 1863 to 1866, was then formally engaged by the university, and in 1876 was given the rank of reader, a post he held until his death in 1890.[12]

German Jews who settled in England in the Victorian era were not typical, however, of German-Jewish migrants in general in this period, the majority of whom settled in the United States. Most Jews who left Germany arrived at their destination with far fewer resources of any kind with which to start their new lives than the relative few who came to England. Those arriving in the United States were for the most part poor and uneducated, without prior experience in large-scale commerce or family connections to established mercantile firms. Many of them – particularly those who left in the first decades of the migration – had their fares paid by communal charities eager to be rid of persons who might otherwise become a long-term fiscal burden. Without sufficient capital to start their own businesses, the great majority became pedlars, in the cities and the countryside, along the Atlantic seaboard and in newly settled regions of the Mid-West, South, and Far West.[13] However, most did not remain pedlars for the remainder of their lives, but, after ascending the various rungs of the peddling ladder, became shopkeepers, wholesale merchants, and, in some instances, manufacturers, primarily in various branches of the clothing trade. Indeed, by the turn of the century German Jews in America had become a solidly middle-class community, their rise from poverty to prosperity being the most rapid of any immigrant group at the time.

Immigrants to England in the Victorian period also differed from earlier Jewish arrivals in their pattern of settlement. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, almost all newcomers settled in London, where the bulk of the Jewish population was concentrated, although a small number, after a stay in London and a stint peddling in the provinces, set up as shopkeepers in ports on the South and East coasts or in pre-industrial county towns. In the Victorian period, however, substantial numbers of immigrants settled immediately in what had become the industrial heartland of the country, in manufacturing cities like Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and Nottingham, due to prior trading links with manufacturers and brokers there. Jewish trading houses in Germany were active in importing and distributing English textiles and other manufactured goods on the Continent. Many of the newcomers were sent to England to establish permanent branch offices for the purchase and export of textiles to family and business associates abroad, thereby circumventing local brokers and ensuring a steady flow of goods at favourable prices. The Behrens family came to the Midlands under such circumstances, as did scores of others. To cite only two examples: Jacob Weinberg arrived in Nottingham at the age of twenty to establish a branch of the well-known Hamburg firm of

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[12] *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 'Zedner, Joseph' and 'Neubauer, Adolf'; Beth-Zion Lask Abrahams, 'Emanuel Deutsch of "The Talmud" Fame', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (TJHSE)*, 23 (1971), pp. 53–63; Raphael Loewe, 'Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy, 1820–1890', in *TJHSE*, 21 (1968), pp. 148–189.

[13] Rudolf Glanz, *Studies in Judaica Americana*, New York 1970, pp. 96, 109–111, 126–127; Allan Tarshish, 'The Economic Life of the American Jew in the Middle Nineteenth Century', in *Essays in American Jewish History to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Jewish Archives*, Cincinnati 1958, pp. 264–265; Avraham Barkai, 'German-Jewish Migrations in the Nineteenth Century, 1830–1910', in *Year Book XXX of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1985, pp. 311, 314.

Simon, May & Co. and succeeded in making it one of the most flourishing in the city; Isidore Gerstenberg came to Manchester, also at the age of twenty, to represent the Hamburg textile merchant Abraham Bauer, though he moved to London several months later, where he continued to work for Bauer, until setting up on his own four years later, first as a merchant and then as a banker and stockbroker.[14] Young men without capital or connections also migrated to the Midlands with the intention of working as clerks and managers in the offices, warehouses and factories of their fellow immigrants. After a number of years they frequently went into business on their own.

Of course, immigrants continued to settle in London as well, certainly in numbers equal to (if not greater than) those who went to the Midlands, for it remained a dynamic centre of commerce, finance and small-scale manufacturing, despite the concentration of heavy industry elsewhere. During the mid-Victorian years it attracted German-Jewish antique dealers, toy manufacturers, grain brokers, fancy goods merchants, timber merchants, importers and exporters of colonial products, boot and shoe manufacturers, jewellers, picture frame makers and wholesale tobacconists – to cite some of the most common occupations of the immigrants.[15] Less typical – but more in the public eye – were the representatives of Jewish banking clans who were sent to London to take advantage of rapidly developing opportunities in government loans, international trade, and railroad, mining and industrial securities. From Frankfurt alone came sons of the Stern, Worms, Erlanger, Speyer, Schuster and Goldschmidt families.[16]

Given the middle-class social structure of the German-Jewish migration to Victorian England and the commercial motives fuelling it, it should come as no surprise that these immigrants, unlike their poorer counterparts in the United States, came from urban rather than rural areas. Before emancipation, German Jewry was overwhelmingly a small-town and village Jewry, scattered in hundred of settlements in dozens of states. In the course of the nineteenth century, as residence restrictions were lifted and the pace of industrial and commercial life accelerated, Jews began moving to urban centres, but the pace of urbanisation before 1880 was slower than is commonly assumed. In 1882, for example, only 17 per cent of the Jewish population lived in the 45 largest cities (100,000 or more inhabitants).[17] In their geographical origins, Jewish migrants to the United States were typical of German Jewry as a whole: they were overwhelmingly *Dorfjuden*, primarily from the Southern and South-Western regions of the country. Most German Jews who settled in Cleveland in the 1840s, for example, were from villages in Bavaria; of the twenty-seven Jewish families who arrived in Columbus between 1838 and 1860, twenty-five were from small communities in the South and South-West.[18] These

[14] *Jewish Chronicle*, 23rd March 1900; Alexander Behr, 'Isidore Gerstenberg (1821–1876) – Founder of the Council of Foreign Bondholders', in *TJHSE*, 17 (1953), pp. 208–209.

[15] See, for example, the German-Jewish entries that appear in the annual editions of *The Post Office London Directory*.

[16] Stanley Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, London 1984, pp. 45, 50, 54, 136; Dietz, *op. cit.*, pp. 377–378.

[17] Barkai, *loc. cit.*, p. 302.

[18] Lloyd P. Gartner, *History of the Jews of Cleveland*, 2nd edn., Cleveland 1987, p. 10; Marc Lee Raphael, *Jews and Judaism in a Midwestern Community. Columbus, Ohio, 1840–1975*, Columbus 1979, p. 14.

immigrants were coming from German states in which Jews still confronted serious legal impediments to their economic advancement and personal happiness. Bavaria and Württemberg, the two largest states in the region, limited the number of Jews who were permitted to marry and establish families and who were permitted to reside in a certain locale. Jewish traders and artisans in these states were also subject to a maze of ordinances and regulations that hampered their ability to earn a living. (In Prussia and the independent city states of Northern Germany and the Rhineland, on the other hand, there were few legal obstacles to economic mobility.)

By contrast, German-Jewish immigrants to Victorian Britain were more likely to have lived in a major urban area prior to their departure. For example, over half of the German Jews who were founding members of the Reform synagogue in Manchester (16 of 29) were from large cities – Hamburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Cologne, Essen and Berlin. At the end of the nineteenth century, Alexander Dietz traced 89 Jews from Frankfurt who had settled in England but only 52 who had settled in the United States, although the total number of German Jews who went to America was at least twenty times greater.[19] However, the fact that most migrants to England came from urban areas should not be allowed to obscure the possibility that some of them might have grown up in small towns and villages and only later become city dwellers. This was the case, for example, with Joseph and Adolph Frankau, who were born in a Bavarian village but emigrated to England from Frankfurt, and with Jacob Behrens, who was born in Pyrmont, Hanover, but whose parents moved to Hamburg when he was a child.[20]

Although the immigrants of the Victorian period were motivated chiefly by economic considerations, they were also moved, if not to the same extent, by the pervasive anti-Jewish hostility of their homeland. Some were in flight from discriminatory statutes that limited freedom of settlement and occupation, as were those Jews who migrated to the United States; a handful were refugees from the political repression that followed the abortive Revolutions of 1848. But most were not so much attempting to escape this or that obstacle to advancement, many of which were removed with the spread of legal emancipation, as seeking to flee a *milieu* in which Jews were routinely treated with contempt and derision. In his memoirs Jacob Behrens repeatedly recalled the indignities he suffered while growing up in Hamburg. He described, for example, how he and his father, when travelling to fairs, would be refused lodging because they were Jews. He also related how his friendship with Ferdinand David (1810–1873), a young Jewish pupil of the Cassel orchestra conductor, was abruptly terminated when the latter insisted that David convert and sever all relations with Jews in order to advance his career. "This was typical of the times and such experiences fixed an indelible impression in my mind", Behrens wrote. Felix Semon, who grew up in Berlin several decades later, also cited the intolerance of German society as a motive for migrating to England. In his autobiography he recalled the difficulty of choosing a profession when he was a *Gymnasium* student in the 1860s. All the careers he was most inclined towards – the diplomatic corps, the army, the civil service – were closed to Jews. Commerce held no interest for him; history and natural science did, but a university career, without

[19] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 260; Dietz, *op. cit.*, part 6.
[20] Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

baptism, was an impossibility. Thus, he was led by a process of elimination to medicine. When he completed his training, he chose to leave Germany, in part because of the widespread dislike of Jews there. Sigmund Freud considered settling in England several times for similar reasons and never ceased to envy his half-brothers in Manchester, whom he visited in 1875, for being able to raise their children far from the daily indignities to which Viennese Jews were subject. A few months after becoming engaged to Martha Bernays, he recalled for her "the ineffaceable impressions" of his trip to England and asked; "Must we stay here, Martha? If we possibly can, let us seek a home where human worth is more respected."[21]

Immigrants in the Victorian period differed from their predecessors in one other important respect as well: they did not grow up in a traditional Jewish *milieu*, segregated socially and culturally from the surrounding society. Although legal emancipation was not complete until 1871, the corporate and national character of Jewish life in Central Europe was well on the way to dissolution before then. German Jews were embracing Gentile patterns of thought and behaviour and abandoning religious customs. Old loyalties and allegiances were weakening and new identities being forged. Thus the new immigrants, especially those from urban, middle-class backgrounds, were accustomed to participating in spheres of activity outside the confines of Jewish social and business networks. Few had received a traditional Jewish education or grown up in homes in which regular synagogue attendance and observance of the dietary laws were the norm. Jacob Behrens, for example, who grew up in Hamburg in the 1810s, received no Jewish education except for some last minute preparation for his bar mitzvah in the Reform synagogue. Ludwig Mond's upbringing in Cassel in the 1840s and 1850s was not too different. He was educated at non-Jewish schools, learned only enough Hebrew to go through the bar mitzvah ceremony, and eventually gave up all religious practices, declaring himself an agnostic.[22]

Once settled in England, the immigrants did not rapidly abandon their attachment to German cultural and social habits or cut their ties to family and friends who remained behind. It was not uncommon for merchants to join German-speaking dining clubs and literary institutes, to return to Germany to find wives for themselves, to send their daughters and sons to Germany to be educated, and to continue to speak German with their English-born offspring.[23] Ludwig and Frieda Mond, who settled in England in 1867, maintained a German atmosphere in their home. Because she disapproved of English methods of child-rearing – they were too lax in her eyes – she engaged a governess from her homeland for her children, who grew up speaking German better than English. Their eldest son, Robert (1867–1938),

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21; Felix Semon, *The Autobiography of Sir Felix Semon*, ed. by Henry C. Semon and Thomas A. McIntyre, London 1926, pp. 31–32, 60; Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, 3 vols., London 1953, vol. I, pp. 13, 24, 178–179, 195.

[22] Behrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–13; J. M. Cohen, *The Life of Ludwig Mond*, London 1956, pp. 16, 62.

[23] The protagonists in two major Anglo-Jewish novels of the period – *Isaac Eller's Money* by Cecily Sidgwick (Mrs. Alfred Dean), London 1889, and Julia Frankau's *Dr. Phillips* (1887) – both return to Germany to find wives for themselves; Frankau's father-in-law, the cigar merchant Joseph Frankau, sent his son Arthur to be educated at the *Realschule* of the Frankfurt Jewish community. Gilbert Frankau, *Self-Portrait. A Novel of His Own Life*, London [1940], p. 24.

married into a German-Jewish family in Manchester which also maintained links to its origins. Though his wife's relatives were anglicised to the extent of owning country estates, they limited the guests at their house parties largely to persons from the same background. As Ludwig Mond's biographer noted, "they remained a still unassimilated enclave in a Gentile society, from which they were divided by their love for music, their German habit of family celebrations for which humorous verse was still manufactured in the mother tongue, and by a certain uneasy sardonic humour which jarred on their neighbours". German Jews in London, according to the novelist Cecily Ullmann Sidgwick (1855–1934), celebrated Christmas in the German fashion "because the memories and customs of their German homes were dear to them. They grumbled a good deal at the annual cost of it, but they never altered their ways. Every year there was a large and elaborate interchange of presents, and a family gathering in each household; and on Christmas Eve, for the pleasure of the family and relatives only, a Christmas tree."[24]

This kind of attachment to German ways was not universal, however, in the immigrant generation, and it would be misleading to infer from impressionistic evidence such as Sidgwick's remarks that the immigrants remained immune to anglicisation. Indeed, most seemed to have been eager to find a place for themselves in English society even if they retained in some areas of life older attachments. Many families eager to adapt to the English environment sent their sons to élite English schools, for example,[25] and made no effort to raise their children in a German-speaking atmosphere. The poet and critic Humbert Wolfe (1886–1940), recalling his childhood in late-Victorian Bradford, was impressed with the eagerness and thoroughness with which his parents and their friends accepted English habits. In speaking, they used Yorkshire phrases, clipped their vowels, and attempted to speak slowly without gesturing with their hands. "The men at the week-ends smoked unusually large pipes, drank whisky-and-sodas, and wore Norfolk jackets, alarmingly checked, and the thickest of heather-mixture stockings under their breeches." The women went even further: they tried to develop an English complexion and abandoned "their natural good taste in dress" in order to adopt "the drab and clumsy apparel habitual among their Christian neighbours".[26]

Whether reluctant to abandon German habits or anxious to embrace English ones, most immigrants were at one in their attitude towards Judaism. Their acculturation and secularisation prior to migration, as well as their exposure to the pervasive antisemitism of their homeland, made them unenthusiastic about its perpetuation and, in some cases, eager to escape it altogether. Many of the new arrivals held aloof from any institutional identification with Judaism, while most of those who did affiliate with a synagogue established a largely formal relationship.

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[24] Jean Goodman, *The Mond Legacy. A Family Saga*, London 1982, pp. 34, 39; Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Sidgwick, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[25] Information regarding the sons of German Jews who were educated at élite schools can be found in the published directories of the major public schools. See, for example, H. E. Chetwynd-Stapylton (ed.), *Eton School Lists, 1853–1892*, 2nd series, Eton 1900; J. H. Stogdon (ed.), *The Harrow School Register, 1845–1925*, 2nd series, 2 vols., London 1925; Mrs. E. P. Hart (ed.), *Merchant Taylors' School Register, 1561–1934*, 2 vols., London 1936; Charterhouse School, Godalming, *Charterhouse Register, 1872–1931*, 3rd edn., 2 vols., Guildford 1932.

[26] Humbert Wolfe, *Now A Stranger*, London 1933, pp. 126–127.

(Because the German immigrants were few in number in relation to the native Jewish community and congregations already existed in the towns where they settled – with the exception of Bradford – they did not establish synagogues of their own, as did their counterparts in the United States.) Most of them either moved away from the Jewish community completely – through conversion or intermarriage – or established such a weak connection to it that their children or grandchildren eventually drifted away. To be sure, none of this can be established with statistical certainty, but contemporary testimony, as well as non-quantifiable evidence, makes clear that the majority of immigrants from German-speaking lands in the Victorian period took advantage of their new surroundings to shed or dilute their Jewishness.

Contemporaries commented frequently on the disinclination of the immigrants to identify themselves publicly as Jews. When the newly-appointed Chief Rabbi, Nathan Adler (1803–1890), surveyed the congregations under his authority in 1845, the New Synagogue in Glasgow replied that many "respectable" German Jews lived there who did not belong to the synagogue. The *Jewish Chronicle* noted in April 1859 that there were hundreds of foreign-born, prosperous Jews in the country, especially in London, Liverpool and Manchester, who neither belonged to congregations nor supported communal charities. In Manchester, in particular, there were numbers of German Jews who were not even known as Jews. When Chaim Weizmann arrived there in 1904, he recalled in his memoirs: "The great majority of German Jews... were disassociated from their people, and many of them were converts to Christianity." In August 1865, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported that there were many wealthy Jews in Bradford but no congregation – indeed, not even a burial ground. These German Jews, according to the newspaper, did not want to be known as Jews (although apparently everyone knew they were, as is so frequently the case). They failed to circumcise their sons or educate them in any way as Jews. They buried their dead in a Christian cemetery and married their children to Gentiles in church ceremonies. Efforts on the part of the Leeds congregation to stimulate the formation of a synagogue in Bradford in the early 1860s failed. When the Chief Rabbi himself visited the city in 1865, six Jews showed up at the meeting he called and told him that he was wasting his time in attempting to create a congregation. Five years later, when there were two to three hundred German Jews in the city, the one service held that year – on *Yom Kippur* – drew only fifteen people. The following year, when services were held on both *Rosh Ha-Shanah* and *Yom Kippur*, thirty to forty persons attended on the latter day. When the community's first rabbi, Joseph Strauss (1844–1922) – German-born, German-educated, and Reform in outlook – arrived in 1873, he found the older and wealthier Jewish residents "indifferent to Judaism".[27]

Some of those who distanced themselves from Judaism remained equally aloof from Christianity because they loathed revealed religion in general. Jacob Behrens

[27] Bernard Susser (ed.), 'Statistical Accounts of All the Congregations in the British Empire', 5606/1845, MS 104, Office of the Chief Rabbi, London, printed in *Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Aubrey Newman, London 1975; *Jewish Chronicle*, 8th and 15th April 1859, 11th August 1865, 21st and 28th October 1870, 6th October 1871; Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, New York 1949, p. 115; Stroud, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

found membership in any religious body impossible because he could not believe in the personal God of organised, dogmatic religion. "When either Christian minister or Jewish rabbi calls on the inscrutable God with the audacity and familiarity of an old acquaintance, I can see nothing but a hollow lie or an unfathomable depth of stupidity", he wrote in his autobiography. He thus refused to educate his children in any faith. (However, his descendants and those of his brothers Louis [1811–1884] and Rudolf drifted contentedly into the Church of England. They were eager to get on in polite society and free-thinking, anti-clerical opposition to organised religion was simply not respectable.)[28] Ludwig Mond also refused to join any religious body and to rear his children as either Christians or Jews. In fact, when his son Alfred (1868–1930) was to marry in 1892, the officiating clergyman almost refused to perform the ceremony when he discovered that the bridegroom was neither a professing Jew or Christian. Felix Semon, too, espoused similar views and remained outside both church and synagogue, believing that all religions, each with its claim to possess the truth, were too exclusive. Like the deists of the previous century, he blamed institutional religion for much of the suffering and bloodshed that had afflicted humankind in past centuries. Yet he raised his children in the Church of England, in part, because his wife was a Christian (although he did not cite this as a reason), and, in part, because he did not want "to close many careers open to them, by mere obstinate adherence to the old tradition".[29]

A principled refusal to join any religious group, however, was not characteristic of German Jews who failed to affiliate with Anglo-Jewish institutions. More common, at least in the provinces, was membership in a Unitarian chapel. As Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy, then rabbi of the Reform congregation in Manchester, explained in 1859, in justifying his decision to preach on the differences between Judaism and Unitarianism: "Our attention is due to Unitarianism on account of the fortuitous circumstance that it is *that* form of Christianity to which such Jews as feel themselves induced to abandon their brethren and to turn their backs on the religion of their fathers are in the first instances chiefly attracted." Most of the German-Jewish merchants who arrived in Manchester between 1790 and the mid-1830s abandoned Judaism, and most of them became Unitarians. In Nottingham, the majority of the newcomers, most of whom were active in the hosiery and lace trades, joined the Unitarian chapel. The most prominent of them, the lace shipper and civic leader Lewis Heymann (1803–1866), was a regular worshipper at the High Pavement Chapel and served as a warden of the congregation several times.[30]

The tendency of newcomers in the provinces who left Judaism to affiliate with Unitarianism was a departure from the usual pattern of apostasy in Anglo-Jewish

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[28] Behrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 93–94; *Jewish Chronicle*, 21st March and 4th April 1913.

[29] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Hector Bolitho, *Alfred Mond, First Lord Melchett*, London 1933, pp. 44, 92, 358; Semon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34.

[30] Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy, *Harmony and Dis-Harmony between Judaism and Christianity. Two Sermons Preached on the Sabbaths Shemot & Va-eira 5619 (December 25th 1858, and January 1st, 1859) at the Manchester Synagogue of British Jews*, Manchester [1859], p. 9; Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–83, 93; C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Nottingham', in *AJR Information*, December 1955, p. 8; Roy A. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town. Victorian Nottingham, 1815–1900*, London 1966, p. 182; High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham, *A Biographical Catalogue of Portraits* [Nottingham n. d.], p. 28.

history. In general, when Jews in England embraced Christianity, they joined the Church of England – for obvious reasons. Their motives for becoming Christians were almost always pragmatic. They were seeking to escape the stigma attached to Jewishness and complete their absorption into the mainstream, to improve their social fortunes, and, before emancipation, to gain entry to élite institutions, like Parliament, that were closed to professing Jews.[31] In these circumstances, Jews in flight from their Jewishness naturally joined the high-status established church rather than low-status non-conformist chapels, whose members themselves were frequently objects of contempt and scorn and were also barred from certain offices and honours. If the object of conversion was social advancement rather than eternal salvation, it hardly made sense for Jews to become Baptists or Methodists.

However, in the manufacturing cities of the Midlands and the North, the reference group for upwardly mobile Jews was not the same as it was in London or the countryside. The élite whom the recent arrivals sought to emulate in matters of taste and deportment, and whose social approval they desired, was Unitarian and industrial-mercantile, not Anglican and landed (as it was for Jews who made their fortunes in finance and international trade in the City of London). In Manchester, for example, the membership of the Cross Street Chapel included opulent merchants, affluent professional men and bankers. Its members played a key role in establishing the major educational and cultural institutions of the new liberal order in the city, such as the Literary and Philosophical Society and the Mechanics Institute. They were well-educated and culturally sophisticated men and women, not dour philistines, as literary caricatures of dissenters frequently suggest. In the words of a contemporary observer, the Unitarians in Manchester were "as a body, far away superior to any other in intellect, culture, and refinement of manners, and certainly did not come behind any other in active philanthropy and earnest efforts for the social improvement of those around them."[32]

Yet the attraction of Unitarianism for German-Jewish immigrants in the provinces was not entirely social. Although rooted in Calvinist Presbyterianism, Unitarianism had become relatively broad-minded by the early nineteenth century. It was theologically relaxed, spiritually undemanding, and politely rationalistic. Its ministers were frequently men of wide secular learning, intellectually sophisticated and tolerant of diverse opinions. Most importantly, its anti-trinitarian stance removed what was to Jews the most baffling and objectionable aspect of Christianity and made sincere acceptance of the faith possible. To German Jews critical of traditional religion whatever its form, this was an immense advantage. They could enjoy the social benefits of belonging to a religious body whose members were wealthy, dynamic and influential without having to accept supernatural theological doctrines repugnant to their own outlook.

In London, where Unitarianism did not occupy the same position it did in Manchester and other industrial cities, German-Jewish immigrants did not join Unitarian chapels in substantial numbers. The records of the Rosslyn Hill Chapel in

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[31] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation, op. cit., passim.*

[32] John Seed, 'Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830–50', in *Social History*, 7 (1982), pp. 1–25; Margaret J. Shaen (ed.), *Memorials of Two Sisters. Susanna and Catherine Winkworth*, London 1908, p. 26.

Hampstead, which drew its upper-middle-class membership from neighbourhoods throughout North-West London (a major area of German-Jewish settlement), indicate that only four or five families of German-Jewish origin belonged to the congregation in the 1860s and 1870s, and only eight or nine families at any one time from the 1880s to the start of the First World War.[33] If German Jews in London formally abandoned Judaism, they were likely to be baptised – or have their children baptised – in the Church of England, which was the religious home of the dominant strata of society in the metropolis.

The tendency of German Jews to shed their Judaism after settling in England contrasts sharply with the religious behaviour of their native middle-class counterparts, who did not disaffiliate from the community in great numbers in the Victorian period.[34] To a limited extent, the high rate of defection can be explained by the fact that the newcomers were leaving a Jewish environment in which religious observance and knowledge had already declined precipitously. In other words, they came to England without a strong prior attachment to home observance and synagogue attendance and once in their new surroundings simply carried their disengagement one step further. On the other hand, native middle-class Jews, while perhaps more diligent in some matters of observance than Jews elsewhere in the West, were not on the whole pious adherents of their ancestral faith. Yet most were content to remain within the boundaries of the community of their birth, even if they felt little attachment to traditional rituals and beliefs – which is to say that alienation from Judaism as a system of doctrines and practices need not necessarily lead to estrangement from the Jewish group.

The German environment shaped the behaviour of Jewish immigrants to Victorian England in another, more profound way, however. The new arrivals carried with them attitudes towards Jewishness that bore the impress of conditions quite different from those they found in their new home. In German-speaking lands, Jews remained second-class citizens until the last third of the century and even after emancipation still faced widespread social and occupational discrimination. In addition, ideological antisemitism was virulent, deep-rooted, and far from being a marginal element in high culture or respectable society. German Jews who identified strongly with the majority culture frequently experienced their Jewishness as a misfortune or burden; in some instances, bitterness and resentment at the accident of Jewish birth developed into pathological self-hatred.[35] Those who migrated to England at this time often behaved in regard to their Jewish identity as if they were still living in their homeland, where conversion was a common response of the socially ambitious to discrimination and denigration. Once settled, they took advantage of their new surroundings to jettison that part of their past with which they were uncomfortable. Migration became for them not only a means for im-

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[33] Rosslyn Hill Chapel, list of members, 1st January 1875, RNC 38.189; subscriptions, 1886–1896, RNC 38.154; minutes, 1907–1922, RNC 38.132, Dr. Williams's Library, London. An even smaller number of German Jews affiliated with universalist ethical societies or churches, for which, see Endelman, *Radical Assimilation, op. cit.*, pp. 123–125.

[34] *Ibid.*, chap. 3.

[35] See Theodor Lessing, *Der jüdische Selbsthass*, Berlin 1930; Peter Loewenberg, 'Antisemitismus und jüdischer Selbsthass', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 5 (1979), pp. 455–475; Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred. Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews*, Baltimore 1986.

proving themselves materially but also an opportunity for refashioning their identity. To be sure, it is possible that they found integration into their new surroundings blocked by their Jewishness – although there is little evidence that this happened – and that they remained apart from Anglo-Jewry in order to expedite their social amalgamation. However, we know that prosperous native-born Jews were able to break into Gentile circles and institutions without rejecting communal bonds.[36] (The relatively few native English Jews who converted at this time did so largely to escape the psychological burden of belonging to a stigmatised minority, rather than to gain access to offices and circles that in other lands were closed to Jews.) This suggests that it was not primarily discrimination in England that encouraged their flight but the formative impact of conditions in their homeland in the period before their migration. The experiences of their early years made it difficult for them to assess the character of Jewish status in Britain dispassionately, and thus they failed to realise that worldly success was attainable there without having to leave the Jewish community.

Even those immigrants who chose to identify themselves with Anglo-Jewish institutions were not, for the most part, firmly attached to Jewish practices and beliefs. Their profession of Judaism was lukewarm, limited frequently to being married and buried according to Jewish rites. Their homes were largely devoid of Jewish ritual and their attendance at synagogue irregular. Their efforts to provide the next generation with the learning that would allow them to live as Jews were half-hearted and minimal, if not altogether absent. As a consequence, their children, most of whom were educated in English schools (those sent to schools in Germany were a minority), grew up feeling far more English than German or Jewish – even if they retained a fondness for music or heavy meals.[37] They mixed with non-Jews in a variety of formal and informal settings and participated in spheres of activity outside the social boundaries of English Jewry. Yet, however attenuated their sense of Jewish identity, to the larger society they remained somehow different, not quite English. Thus many in the second generation found their Jewishness to be a burden that was not worth bearing and ceased to have any contacts with Jewish institutions or circles after they entered the adult world.

In two volumes of memoirs, Humbert Wolfe recorded with great sensitivity the anguish of growing up Jewish in such circumstances in Bradford at the end of the century.[38] Wolfe's father, a native of Germany who had been in business in Milan before settling in Bradford, was a prosperous wool merchant. The family maintained a loose attachment to Judaism. They visited the synagogue, which was

[36] Todd M. Endelman, 'Communal Solidarity and Family Loyalty among the Jewish Elite of Victorian London', in *Victorian Studies*, 28 (1985), pp. 491–526.

[37] In her memoir of Edwardian Manchester, Katharine Chorley writes about a Rothstein family and the progress of anglicisation in the second and third generations: "Our Mr. Rothstein was no longer, like his father, a practising Jew although he was still loosely attached through his private and exclusive pride of race to the faith of his ancestors. He had been educated at Manchester Grammar School and spoke English with a slight Lancashire as opposed to his father's German accent. He had sold most of his father's German books, but retained all the well-marked opera scores and sheets of music, for he could read a score as easily as he could read a book... He had reduced the groaning German board, or his wife had, to a more English weight, but he still drank half a bottle of claret every evening at his dinner. His sons, who were my contemporaries, had no Lancashire accent and a reduced pride of race. They went to Rugby; his daughter went to Roedean." *Manchester Made Them*, London 1950, pp. 117–118.

[38] Wolfe, *Now a Stranger*, *op. cit.*; *idem*, *The Upward Anguish*, London 1938.

Reform, on *Rosh Ha-Shanah* and *Yom Kippur*, and Humbert attended religious school classes there on Sunday mornings for a number of years, but nothing in his upbringing fostered warm feelings towards Judaism. Attendance at High Holiday services left him emotionally unmoved. The rabbi, Joseph Strauss, had no message to impart; the Hebrew hymns made no impression. "There was nothing here to inspire or excite the young worshipper." Strauss's position in the community brought home to Wolfe how little his parents and their friends valued religion, for the wealthy merchants who managed the synagogue treated Strauss like a clerk in one of their warehouses, bullying him into "a state of sullen stupidity". They brooked no interference with their consciences by someone they considered their paid servant. His business was "to interpret the ways of God to man in general, but to avoid the particular at all costs". Their contempt for Strauss was infectious; from them Wolfe learned to sneer at him.

Although Wolfe felt unmoved by Judaism, he could not forget he was Jewish. At school and university he was acutely sensitive about being set apart from his fellow students by his origins. Regularly taunted by a group of urchins as he made his way to the synagogue school on Sunday mornings, he felt bitterly ashamed of being different, envying the church- and chapel-goers on their way to worship. As he wrote of himself; "Each Sunday the boy ran this gauntlet, hating not his persecutors but the object of their persecution." Overt attacks such as these, however, were rare and less destructive of his confidence than a myriad of small signs, not always conscious, reminding him that he belonged to a minority, "edged on the one side, excluded, different". That the English were too "easy-going and good humoured" to carry their antisemitism to extremes only made matters worse, for "when the taint of Jewry means only exclusion from garden-parties, refusal of certain cherished intimacies, and occasional light-hearted sneers, it is difficult to maintain an attitude of racial pride". Had he been secure in his faith or taken pride in his Jewishness, he later realised, he would have been better able to withstand the sense of being different.

In his last years at school, Wolfe developed strong literary interests and simultaneously began to think seriously about religious questions. The "faint shamefaced Judaism of Bradford" offered him no answers or solace and so he turned to Christianity. He discussed the desirability of being baptised with a friend, George Falkenstein, who had himself become a Unitarian. Falkenstein admitted that Unitarianism was a compromise, "a sort of half-way house". To Wolfe, the budding poet and prospective Oxford man, this choice seemed "well enough for unadventurous or doubtful spirits" but "a little too mild" for himself. Yet he could not bring himself to embrace Christianity. He repeatedly slunk in to evening services at St. Jude's and found himself pleased with the eloquence of the preacher and the light streaming in through the stained glass windows. He realised that it would be "comfortable" to feel himself "numbered among those to whom these spiritual elegances belonged", and "advantageous" to the career he envisioned. "But something – probably no more than a mixture of shyness and apathy – had held him back." He arrived at Wadham College, Oxford, still concerned about the fate of his soul – and his career – but unsure about what religion he was committed to. He had no doubt that Judaism was unsatisfactory but still could not take the plunge into the

Church of England – "a step which a desire to be like other men tempted him to take" – for he was concerned about what his mother would think (his father was dead) and restrained by "something stubborn in his blood, which remembered Zion". When Wolfe left Oxford, he passed by examination into the Civil Service and went on to a distinguished career in a number of departments. In 1910, he married a Gentile, the daughter of an Edinburgh schoolmaster, and as an adult took no part in Jewish life other than joining a small dining club of Christians and Jews who were interested in intellectual and spiritual revival in Palestine.[39]

Children of German-Jewish immigrants who grew up in circumstances similar to those in which Humbert Wolfe was raised tended to disassociate themselves from Jewish life once they reached adulthood.[40] The ambiguous religious and ethnic character of their home life – part Jewish, part Christian, part English, part German – left them without a firm inner sense of who they were and thus unable or unwilling to cope with even low levels of contempt and exclusion. That is, because they did not follow a recognisably Jewish regimen or affirm distinctively Jewish beliefs or mix primarily in Jewish social circles, they were not prepared to endure even modest slights on account of their identification with the Jewish group. Humbert Wolfe, it should be recalled, felt that he had been especially sensitive to the taunts of other children because he had been brought up in a lukewarm Jewish atmosphere and lacked the pride that would have allowed him to withstand their contempt. He concluded that a Polish Jew, secure in his faith, was better able to withstand virulent antisemitism than a deracinated English Jew, ever alert to the least suggestion of being different, the occasional social sneer or jibe.

Even when shame and embarrassment were not present, disaffiliation from the Jewish community was commonplace in the second and third generations. Indifference to and ignorance of Judaism, as well as integration into Gentile social circles, promoted intermarriage and the dissolution of Jewish ties. In those instances when children from German-Jewish families did marry within the fold, usually within the German-Jewish fold, their attachment to Judaism might persist for another generation but it was an attachment in name only. The publisher Fredric John Warburg (1898–1981), whose grandfather had migrated to England in the 1860s and made a fortune in financing London's first underground train network, described his family's Jewishness as a matter of inertia. The Warburgs, he wrote, were Jews "because they were born of Jewish parents and believed themselves to be Jews", but "their religious feeling was slight and their racial exclusiveness negligible". They were both too proud and too lethargic to disaffiliate themselves formally from the Jewish group through conversion; thus they remained Jews until something unintended occurred – like marrying a Gentile, as he did – to make them leave their Jewishness behind. "Then they changed with as little fuss as a man changing from

[39] Norman Bentwich, 'Humbert Wolfe. Poet and Civil Servant', in *Menorah Journal*, 31 (1943), pp. 34–45.

[40] See, for example, Robert Speaight, *William Rothenstein. The Portrait of an Artist in His Time*, London 1962, pp. 5–6, 151, 405–406, 410; John Rothenstein, *Summer's Lease. Autobiography, 1901–1938*, New York 1965, pp. 9, 30, 37, 123; E. H. W. Meyerstein, *Of My Early Life (1889–1915)*, ed. by Rowland Watson, London 1957, pp. 17–19; *idem*, *Some Letters of E. H. W. Meyerstein*, ed. by Rowland Watson, London 1959, pp. 131, 138, 240–243; Fredric Warburg, *An Occupation for Gentlemen*, Boston 1960, pp. 30–33.

one lounge suit to another of a slightly different colour. So they remained basically the same, substituting for the practice of not going to synagogue the rather similar practice of not going to church."[41]

The absorption of German Jews and their offspring into English society progressed steadily in the years before the First World War. Although it is impossible to gauge their incorporation in any quantitative way, the available evidence seems to indicate that with every year more and more of them ceased to be identifiable as Jews. Their departure was not a dramatic affair for the most part. This was because their numbers were not great by comparison with the native community and even less by comparison with the new East European immigrant community, which became the focus of widespread public notice from the 1880s. Their absorption also failed to attract public notice because the host society, which, after all, determined the pace of integration, put few obstacles in their way and thus there were no battles to be fought to gain access to Gentile circles and institutions. Then, during the war, their assimilation received an unexpected boost: with anti-German hysteria raging, hundreds of families anglicised their names in order to avoid suspicion of disloyalty to Britain. Auerbachs became Arbours; Meyers, Merricks; Rothensteins, Rutherstons; Schlosses, Castles; Waldsteins, Walstons etc.[42] Although the immediate motive for these changes was the desire to obscure German rather than explicitly Jewish origins, the effect was the same. Stripped of their German names, the children and grandchildren of the immigrants could blend even more easily into the larger society.

The wholesale name-changing of the war years made possible the virtual disappearance of the German-Jewish group in the 1920s and 1930s. Individual families here and there continued to identify as Jews, of course, but they were the exceptions. When J. B. Priestley returned home to Bradford in 1933, he discovered, to his regret, that there was "hardly a trace now of that German-Jewish invasion" of the previous century. That same year, when Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany began arriving in Great Britain, they found no circles or associations of Jews of German origin to help them in their resettlement. Indeed, the rise in anti-Jewish agitation and discrimination in the inter-war period discouraged persons of Jewish origins without strong Jewish commitments from asserting their links with Jewry. Stephen Spender, whose maternal grandfather, Ernest Joseph Schuster (1850–1924), came from a Frankfurt Jewish banking clan, recalled that when he was in his teens and twenties both his German and Jewish origins were "passed over in silence or with slight embarrassment" by his family. As a child, he had no idea that he was "a quarter Jewish". From the conversation of nurses and governesses, he had gathered the impression that Jews were "a strange race with hooked noses" and

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[41] Warburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32.

[42] The genealogist Sir Thomas Colyer-Fergusson clipped scores of change-of-name notices from *The Times*. They can be found throughout the volumes of newspaper clippings about Anglo-Jewish families that he assembled, which are today housed in the Anglo-Jewish Archives, Parkes Library, University of Southampton. In Somerset Maugham's short story 'The Alien Corn', the rabidly assimilationist Sir Adolphus Blank (whose father's name was originally Bleikogel) breaks off relations with his uncle Ferdinand Rabenstein over the latter's refusal to anglicise his name during the First World War.

"avaricious manners". with whom he had no reason to imagine that he had any connection.[43]

Because most German-Jewish immigrants were lukewarm in their attachment to Judaism and because so many of them and their offspring failed to affiliate with communal institutions, they had no significant long-term impact on Anglo-Jewry. There were, of course, individual families here and there who were observant before their migration and remained so afterwards, and they in their own small way helped to strengthen Jewish practice in England. The Nottingham lace shipper Jacob Weinberg, for example, was meticulous in his observance of Jewish tradition. He shut his office on the sabbath and festivals and maintained a private synagogue in his own home. He took no part in political or civic affairs, but instead devoted his leisure hours to Jewish learning.[44] But he was in no way typical. Nor was the small group of strictly observant followers of Samson Raphael Hirsch's Neo-Orthodoxy who lived in Canonbury and who founded the North London *Beth Hamedrash* in 1889. A number of prominent businessmen, like Raphael Tuck (1821–1900), the greeting card publisher, and David Gestetner (1854–1939), the pioneer of office duplicating equipment, belonged to this group, but its total membership was not large relative to other congregations. Moreover, because it pursued the Hirschian strategy of sectarian independence, refusing to co-operate with or participate in mainstream Orthodox institutions, its impact on communal life was minimal.[45]

At the liberal end of the congregational spectrum, as well, German Jews contributed little to the religious complexion of the community, despite the fact that Germany was the home of the Reform movement. The first and largest Reform congregation – the West London Synagogue of British Jews – was established in the early 1840s by a small number of wealthy, status-conscious Sephardim and Ashkenazim from families long settled in England, not by recent arrivals from Germany. Their motives were primarily social: aware of Christian opinion about the indecorous character of Jewish worship, they sought to make it more respectable and genteel. Although they may have been inspired by reports about Reform Judaism in Germany, they were not influenced by its specific ideological orientation. No attempt was made in London to make the liturgy more universal in content, as was the case in Germany. Nothing of a nationalist or particularist nature was eliminated. Prayer in Hebrew was retained, as were specific prayers for the coming of the Messiah, the return to Zion, and the restoration of the Temple cult. In Manchester, where a Reform congregation was founded in 1856, recent German immigrants were prominent in its establishment. Yet here too the influence of the Reform movement in Germany was limited. The immigrant merchants who helped found the new congregation were perhaps inspired by events in the old country but they did not look to liberal synagogues there for guidance in matters of doctrine and liturgy. The model that the Manchester group emulated was the West London Synagogue of British Jews, whose prayer book and form of worship they

[43] Priestley, *English Journey, op. cit.*, pp. 160–161; Stephen Spender, *World Within World*, London 1951, p. 13.

[44] *Jewish Chronicle*, 23rd March 1900.

[45] Bernard Homa, *A Fortress in Anglo-Jewry. The Story of the Machzike Hadath*, London 1953, pp. 7, 10–11.

adopted. Only in one minor provincial community, Bradford, where German Jews were the dominant element before the arrival of East European immigrants late in the century, was the influence of the German Reform movement substantial. When the German merchants there decided in the early 1870s to establish a non-Orthodox congregation, they wrote to Germany to find a Reform rabbi.[46] (In most cities, it should be recalled, Reform Judaism made little or no headway; before the Second World War, few English Jews, certainly no more than ten percent, were members of liberal congregations.)[47]

Although German immigrants failed to leave a collective mark on the character of Victorian Jewish life, individuals of German origin did play a critical role as religious functionaries and teachers. For reasons best explained at length elsewhere,[48] the native Anglo-Jewish community of the nineteenth century failed to produce the rabbis, cantors, ecclesiastical judges and educators it needed. It was thus dependent on persons born and trained abroad to fill both minor and major communal posts. Since East Europeans lacked the social polish and Western orientation thought necessary to serve English congregations, the community looked to Germany, from whence came the most notable religious leaders of the period: Nathan Adler, Chief Rabbi from 1845 to his death in 1890; Gustav Gottheil (1827–1903), rabbi in Manchester for thirteen years before his departure for New York City in 1873; Michael Friedlaender (1833–1910), principal of Jews' College for more than forty years; Samuel Marcus Gollancz (1819–1900), reader at the Hambro Synagogue, London, and progenitor of an intellectually distinguished Anglo-Jewish family; Benjamin Henry Ascher (1812–1893), funeral preacher at the Great Synagogue, London, for forty years and noted Hebrew scholar; Albert Lowy (1816–1908), rabbi at the West London Synagogue of British Jews for fifty years and secretary of the Anglo-Jewish Association from its founding in 1871 to 1889. Yet, however distinguished their careers as preachers, scholars and educators, these men made no contribution as a group to the institutional structure or religious temper of Anglo-Jewry. In particular, they were not successful in imparting to their adopted community the scholarly standards and intellectual tone that were characteristic of the communities in which they had been educated. Either they succumbed to prevailing Anglo-Jewish standards or they found their position too weak to exert much influence beyond small circles of similar-minded persons.

In light of the negligible impact of the German-Jewish immigration on the Victorian community, it is not surprising that historians have devoted scant attention to it. Had German Jews in England preserved a distinctive collective identity over several generations, as did the much less numerous Sephardim, then the matter might have been otherwise. The same would be true if the immigrants had successfully transplanted Reform Judaism or *Wissenschaft des Judentums* or if they had

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[46] Historians disagree about the origins and development of Reform Judaism in England. The various positions are discussed in Todd M. Endelman, 'The Englishness of Jewish Modernity in England', in *Toward Modernity. The European Jewish Model*, ed. by Jacob Katz, New Brunswick–Oxford 1987, publication of the Leo Baeck Institute, pp. 231–236. The most recent account is in Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity. A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, New York 1988, pp. 171–180.

[47] The failure of Reform Judaism to take root in Victorian England is discussed in Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–179.

[48] Endelman, *Radical Assimilation*, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–189.

created lasting communal institutions, as did their counterparts in the United States. But few in number and indifferent to Jewish practice, they and their descendants took advantage of the relatively benign climate of England to move quickly and quietly into the larger society, attracting little comment from friendly or hostile observers along the way. None the less, as a group, they merit our attention, precisely because their behaviour contrasts so sharply with that of German Jews in the United States at this time and with that of middle-class native Jews, themselves mostly the offspring of an earlier migration from Germany. Seen in this comparative perspective, the study of German-Jewish settlement in Victorian England acquires a new importance. No longer the celebration of this or that contribution to British society, it becomes a vehicle for understanding broader themes in the history of assimilation and emancipation in the Jewish communities of the West.

Doron Niederland

Areas of Departure from Nazi Germany and the Social Structure of the Emigrants

Scholars dealing with Jewish emigration from Germany during the 1933–1939 period have tended to describe German Jews as refugees, deprived of any ability to make their own decisions, and almost totally dependent upon Jewish organisations. The adoption of this approach runs the risk of ignoring the process of decision-making about emigration. The motives for emigration, its timing, and the reasons for choosing a certain host country at a given time were seen as secondary issues, and consequently, they were not dealt with in a systematic manner.

In two comprehensive articles, published in the *Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute* at the beginning of the 1980s,[1] Herbert Strauss dealt thoroughly with the entire range of political and organisational aspects relevant to Jewish emigration from Germany during the Nazi period. Strauss pointed out[2] that until the *"Kristallnacht"*, the decision to emigrate, its timing and the choice of destination were left, to a large extent, up to the individual. Organisational attempts, both from the Jewish and the German side, to supervise and direct Jewish emigration could not override individual considerations. In the wake of Strauss's statement, it is clear that until the *"Kristallnacht"*, and in spite of the Nazi rise to power, German Jews could still make decisions regarding their emigration. It is thus evident why a systematic examination of the whole emigration decision-making process, which has not as yet been carried out, should receive priority.

One of the most important general attempts to explain migratory movements – the theory of Everett S. Lee – presents four sets of factors determining emigration: 1. "Push" factors in the country of origin which overcome the natural tendency to avoid emigration; 2. "Pull" factors to other countries; 3. Inhibiting factors related to the route, such as the costs of emigration; 4. Individual demographic, economic and social traits, causing differences in the response to the above-mentioned factors.[3]

An integrative approach, taking into account these four sets of factors within the dimension of time, can also serve as a framework for analysing Jewish emigration from Germany, even during the Nazi period. The reasons for choosing a host country, Britain in our case, and the social structure of the emigrants preferring this route are obviously only a part of the greater migratory movement of German Jews. Hence, they should be examined within the framework of general patterns.

The data regarding the dimensions of Jewish emigration from Germany to

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[1] Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I)', in *Year Book XXV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1980, pp. 313–361; '(II)', in *Year Book XXVI of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1981, pp. 343–411.

[2] Strauss, '(I)', *loc. cit.*, pp. 338–339.

[3] Everett S. Lee. 'A Theory of Migration', in *Demography*, 1 (1966), pp. 47–57. (Also in John A. Jackson, *Migration*, Cambridge 1969, pp. 282–298.)

Britain between 1933 and 1939 seem to show that Britain's role as a host country was very important, inferior only to that of the USA and Palestine. According to a report of the Council for German Jewry,[4] 40,000 Jews emigrated from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia to Britain during this period. British non-Jewish sources give even higher estimates. They show that 50–60,000 refugees were registered in Britain by the outbreak of the Second World War.[5] However, the gap between the two estimates is much smaller than it seems when it is taken into account that the second figure also includes non-Jews together with transmigrants, who stayed in Britain only for a short time. Relying on the total number of emigrants alone to evaluate the importance of Great Britain as a host country in comparison with other destinations seems to be misleading. An examination of the timing of emigration demonstrates that the vast majority (70%) of German-speaking emigrants entered Britain during the last year preceding the outbreak of the Second World War (November 1938–September 1939),[6] i. e. after the *"Kristallnacht"*, and in our view, they can be termed refugees. Thus, they are not dealt with here.

Another period in which Britain served as an important destination was 1933 and the first half of 1934. Nevertheless, its importance then is not comparable to that of 1938–1939. Moreover, in 1933–1934 Britain received fewer German-Jewish emigrants than countries bordering on Germany like France, Holland and Czechoslovakia.[7] The substantial decrease in the popularity of Britain as a host country, occurring in the second half of 1934 and in following years,[8] should be regarded as a part of a more general phenomenon, the tendency among German Jews to prefer overseas countries such as Palestine, the USA, Latin America, and South Africa to Europe.

In order to explain the sharp fluctuations in the popularity of Britain, as well as the social structure of the immigration, it is necessary to examine the issue in a broader context. An analysis of the reasons leading German Jews to choose their destination at a given time indicates that one of the main considerations was the chance of professional and economic absorption.[9] The emigrants tended to continue working in the same field in which they were occupied in Germany. Hence, they preferred a country which would enable them to do so. The hopes of the emigrants regarding their economic absorption in host countries, including, of course, Bri-

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[4] Council for German Jewry, 'Total Jewish Emigration from Greater Germany April 1933–1st July 1939 (Estimated Figures)', Table I, The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, INV/1419.

[5] Francis L. Carsten, 'German Refugees in Great Britain 1933–1945', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa–Atlantic Highlands, N. J. 1984, pp. 13, 27 (notes); A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973, pp. 245, 255–256, 271.

[6] According to Neville Chamberlain's figures given in a speech in Parliament (21st November 1938), Great Britain received 11,000 refugees plus 5,000 transmigrants up to November 1938. See Carsten, *loc. cit.*, p. 12; Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 181.

[7] Strauss, '(I)', *loc. cit.*, Table X, pp. 354–355. Sherman estimates that Britain received 1,500–2,500 refugees during the years 1933–1935. See Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[8] 'Tätigkeitsbericht für April–Juni 1935 der öffentlichen Auswandererberatungsstelle, Köln', Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Reg. Aachen 18467, p. 2; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[9] Doron Niederland, *Emigration-Patterns of German Jews 1918–1938* (in Hebrew), Ph. D. diss., Hebrew University Jerusalem 1988, pp. 149–163.

tain, were based on information they received about the general economic conditions prevailing there as well as about the prospects of obtaining a position in one's profession. The most common ways of receiving such information were personal acquaintance with a certain country through earlier visits and use of family, social or business ties. A further consideration was the possibility of transferring capital without losing a large part of it through taxes of various kinds. This factor, influencing mainly the wealthy, determined to a large extent the timing of emigration. In cases where special preferential transfer possibilities to a certain country were created, this also determined the route of emigration.

Table I
Occupational Distribution of German-Jewish Emigrants in Great Britain Registered in 1933

Persons		Persons	
Doctors and dentists	309	Miscellaneous independent	
Lawyers	113	professions	13
Teachers –		"Merchants"	251
University	20	Manufacturers and proprietors	111
General	45	Bankers and brokers	10
Gymnastics, dancing	20	Estate agents	7
Kindergarten	20	Insurance	3
Scientists, economists, research	46	Advertising	10
Rabbis and cantors	16	Farmer	1
Accountants	7	Agents, salesmen, etc.	166
Engineers	43	Clerks, secretaries	139
Architects	9	Skilled workers	80
Civil Servants	7	Managers	45
Museum assistants and librarians	12	Miscellaneous employees	33
Chemists	18	Domestic	9
Social Workers	11	Housewives and no profession	332
Journalists	44	Students –	
Artists (including actors and		Medical	88
commercial artists)	83	Law	102
Nurses, laboratory assistants	24	and others	229

The response of individuals and groups among German Jews to the above-mentioned economic factors and considerations were not uniform. Therefore, one should expect differences among the various host countries regarding the social structure of the emigrants choosing them. This hypothesis is confirmed by our case study which tries to compare the social structure of the emigrants to Britain with the socio-demographic traits of those who preferred other destinations, mainly in Europe.

In 1933–1934 Britain was one of the favourite destinations for academics and

members of the liberal professions hit by the "Aryan" legislation of April–May 1933. This fact is illustrated by Tables I and II.[10]

Comparative figures collected by welfare committees for German-Jewish refugees active in Britain, Holland and Czechoslovakia demonstrate this tendency even more clearly:[11] nearly 50% of the bread-winners registered with the British committees were academics or professional people, whereas their relative proportion in Holland and Czechoslovakia was only 12% and 15% respectively. One of the major reasons for Britain's attraction, mentioned both in Jewish and German sources,[12] was the intensive organisational activity there on behalf of this sector. The British authorities, like the Americans, were interested in absorbing famous Jewish scientists and intellectuals from Germany, some of them Nobel prize winners. This fact enabled organisations like the Academic Assistance Council (AAC), to assist, directly and indirectly, in finding positions for nearly 200 people.[13]

Table II

Distribution of Academics and Professional Jews Emigrating from Germany (Sample) among Various Host Countries

Country	%	Total Number	Country	%	Total Number
Austria	3	(16)	Hungary	1	(4)
CSR	3	(16)	USSR	1	(9)
UK	19	(112)	USA	27	(162)
Netherlands	3	(16)	Israel	8	(50)
Sweden	1	(6)	Australia	1	(4)
Belgium	1	(6)	Argentina	1	(5)
France	9	(56)	Brazil	1	(4)
Switzerland	9	(57)	All Others	7	(20)
Italy	3	(21)	Total %	100	
Turkey	2	(11)	N	—	(589)

In addition to academics, Great Britain also attracted many physicians and dentists.[14] It seems that the reason for this was the relatively good employment conditions which they found there, in comparison with other countries. The dentists who came to Britain could theoretically obtain a position immediately, even without completing further studies. For physicians this was not the case. As elsewhere, their German diploma was not recognised in Britain, and they had to complete additional studies as well as passing examinations. However, it should be

[10] Miss Heinemann, 'Some Statistics of the German-Jewish Migration', in *The Jewish Review*, 7 (1934), pp. 86–87; Herbert A. Strauss, 'The Intellectual Emigrés. Demographic and Occupational Characteristics', in *idem* (ed.), *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the USA*, 6 vols., New York–München–London –Paris 1979–1987, vol. VI, *Essays on the History, Persecution and Emigration of German Jews*, 1987, p. 377.

[11] Heinemann, *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

[12] *Ibid.*; 'Tätigkeitsbericht für April–Juni 1935', *loc. cit.*; Carsten, *loc. cit.*, pp. 11, 17.

[13] Carsten. *loc. cit.*, p. 16: Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.

[14] Auswandererberatungsstelle, München, 'Vierteljahresbericht April–Juni 1933', Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München (BAYHSTA), MInn 74182, p. 5; 'Tätigkeitsbericht für April–Juni 1935 der öffentlichen Auswandererberatungsstelle, Köln', Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Reg. Aachen 18957, p. 2; Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 259; Carsten, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16–17; Heinemann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 84–86.

stressed that after qualifying the German-Jewish doctor could obtain a position not only in Britain but also throughout the British Empire. Moreover, following mutual agreements signed by Britain with Italy and Japan, a doctor with a licence to practise in Britain could find employment there as well. It is no wonder, then, that German-Jewish doctors tended to emigrate to Britain which could offer them, at least in theory, a variety of employment opportunities.[15] Britain's attraction, especially for academics, doctors and dentists, decreased markedly from the second half of 1934 onwards.[16] This phenomenon, common also to other host countries except Palestine, did not derive from the deterioration in employment possibilities. Another factor – the rise in the cost of emigration – was at work. According to a decree published in June 1934, the upper limit of foreign currency in cash which could be taken out of Germany was reduced from RM 10,000 to RM 2,000. The only exception to this decree was immigration to Palestine which continued to be subject to the much more favourable stipulations of the *Haavara* transfer agreement. The foreign currency legislation *(Devisengesetzgebung)* of June 1934 dramatically changed, according to German sources,[17] the entire course of Jewish emigration from Germany. From that time on, Palestine became the most popular destination while other countries became considerably less attractive. The same sources indicate that the tendency of academics and physicians to prefer Palestine to Great Britain from July 1934 on should be viewed as a part of this process.[18] In this case one can, therefore, conclude that considerations regarding the cost of emigration overcame the employment factor.

In addition to academics, dentists and physicians Britain also attracted the "future generation" of these professions, namely students. The data of the above-mentioned welfare committees reveal that 17% of all the registered emigrants in London in 1933 were students, especially in law and medicine, as against only 3% in both Holland and Czechoslovakia.[19] Many of the students who wished to continue or to complete their studies in Britain came alone, without their parents. Moreover, the practice of sending the teenagers of well-to-do families to be educated in the well-known British network of grammar and public schools was also common among German Jews.[20] These facts, together with the other figures presented above, suggest that Britain attracted mainly the wealthy and highly educated classes of German Jewry.

It has been stated that Britain and the USA were the most favoured destinations for academics and professional people. However, it should be stressed that this generalisation does not reflect a completely accurate picture of the emigration. Herbert Strauss's figures, based on a random sampling of 583 people from a total of

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[15] 'Tätigkeitsbericht für Januar–März 1934 der öffentlichen Auswandererberatungsstelle, Köln', Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Reg. Aachen 18957, p. 6.

[16] *Ibid.*, April–Juni 1935, p. 2; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Carsten, *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

[17] Die Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, 'Stand der Auswanderungsbewegung im 3. Kalendervierteljahr 1934 (Juli–Sep.)', BAYHSTA, MInn 74165, pp. 2, 4; 'Tätigkeitsbericht für April–Juni 1935 der öffentlichen Auswandererberatungsstelle, Köln', *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Heinemann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85, 87.

[20] Die Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, 'Auswanderung im 2. Kalendervierteljahr 1937 (April–Juni)', BAYHSTA, MInn 74165, p. 12; Gert-Julius Hermann, *Jüdische Jugend in der Verfolgung*, diss., Tübingen 1967, pp. 70, 87.

4,190 emigrants belonging to this occupational sector, illustrate that the dominance of Britain and the USA was only limited to certain professions, among them scientists and engineers, university teachers, doctors, dentists and students.[21]

In contrast, his data as well as other sources indicate that other professionals, mainly those for whom the German language was the medium of their daily work, such as writers, journalists and performing artists, preferred to emigrate to other countries.[22] They tended to emigrate to German-speaking countries like Austria, Switzerland, the Saar region and Czechoslovakia, where their economic and professional integration seemed more promising. Many also went to France, which was at the time the major destination for those leaving Germany.

Apart from academics and professional people, Britain was also regarded as a favoured destination by merchants, businessmen and entrepreneurs, especially those engaged in the textile industry. It may be assumed that the central role of Great Britain in the world textile market attracted German Jews working in this sector. The tendency of Jewish textile merchants and manufacturers injured by Nazi persecution and prevailing economic conditions to emigrate to Britain, where they hoped to carry on their business, can be illustrated by means of the case of the Leipzig fur merchants, many of whom were Jewish.

A report of the *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* (German Office for Emigration Affairs) dealing with this issue complained that the key position traditionally held by the city of Leipzig in the world fur trade was now passing (at the end of 1934) more and more to England, its main rival.[23] Due to the sharp cut in foreign currency allocations imposed by the German authorities in June 1934, the fur merchants met with severe difficulties in purchasing goods and raw materials in England for their clients abroad. The big businessmen overcame this problem by employing independent agents in London. The small and medium-sized firms who could not afford to do this closed their businesses and emigrated to London. This process caused, according to the report, fatal damage to the German fur industry and trade. Thus, for example, the South African Karakul furs were coming only to the London market, while in the past they had been processed in Leipzig and then exported abroad. The wave of emigration of Jewish small and medium fur merchants from Leipzig to England in the second half of 1934 resulted directly from the vulnerability of their economic position at a given time. They chose Britain as their destination because of former business connections and since it was seen as their "natural environment". Another important factor for adoption of this approach was the policy of the British government, encouraging German-Jewish entrepreneurs to found factories in new industrial zones located in the depressed Northern and North-Western parts of the country.[24] According to both British and German sources several hundred textile, toy and pharmaceutical factories, most of

[21] Herbert Strauss, 'The Intellectual Emigrés', *loc. cit.*, pp. 367, 378, 380.

[22] *Ibid.*; High Commission for Refugees coming from Germany, Central File of Professional Refugees (4th–5th July 1934), Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, AR-7162, Box 7, p. 2.

[23] Die Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, 'Stand der Auswanderungsbewegung im 3. Kalendervierteljahr 1934. (Juli–Sep.)', BAYHSTA, MInn 74165, p. 13.

[24] Carsten, *loc. cit.*, p. 18.

Table III

Percentage Distribution of Sample by Country of First Settlement and Occupation at Emigration

Country Occupation:	Pct Students	Pct Science and Engineering	Pct Medicine	Pct Univer. Teachers	Pct Writers	Pct Musicians	Pct Other Artists	Pct Other Prof. & Technical	Pct Management, Administrators	Pct Other Groups	Pct Row Total	N
Austria	1	–	–	–	3	6	9	2	–	–	3	(15)
CSR	1	–	–	1	9	–	10	–	–	–	3	(16)
UK	22	37	22	14	12	9	13	20	8	12	19	(109)
Scandinavia	1	–	3	1	1	–	1	2	23	12	1	(12)
Belgium/ Netherlands	2	–	7	1	3	4	6	9	–	–	4	(23)
Switzerland	10	8	7	11	15	4	10	2	23	–	9	(55)
France	6	3	3	21	21	15	12	7	8	–	9	(55)
Italy	–	–	1	6	3	2	3	7	–	–	3	(20)
Turkey	2	–	9	1	–	2	–	2	–	–	2	(11)
USSR	1	–	3	–	1	6	2	–	–	–	1	(9)
Canada, Australia, New Zealand	1	–	3	6	–	2	–	–	2	12	1	(8)
USA	34	35	18	31	12	32	13	27	31	37	27	(160)
Brazil & Argentina	.5	5	–	–	3	4	–	–	–	–	2	(9)
Israel	10	8	13	6	8	2	6	13	8	–	8	(48)
All others (countries & regions)	4	5	9	–	9	4	12	5	–	25	4	(23)
Total %	100.5	101	98	99	100	101	97	96	103	98	96	–
N	(208)	(208)	(51)	(49)	(66)	(46)	(67)	(45)	(13)	(8)	–	(583)

them small or medium-sized, were founded in the British Isles by German Jews.[25] This process helped the British government to overcome the unemployment problem. Since the majority of German Jews were engaged in trade and commerce it is not surprising that Britain – a world commercial centre – absorbed many of them. However, one can observe that in the case of Britain the proportion of self-employed merchants among the immigrants as against employees was considerably higher (in 1933) than in other European countries such as Holland or Czechoslovakia.[26]

Table IV

The Proportion of Self-Employed Merchants as against Employees among the Emigrants Engaged in Commerce etc.

	Britain (%)	Holland (Sample) (%)	Czechoslovakia (Sample) (%)
Self-Employed (Independent)	22	32	27
Employees	28	44	58
Percentage of emigrants engaged in trade, commerce and manufacture	50	76	85

As opposed to academics, members of certain professions, students and self-employed businessmen who were represented in large numbers among German-Jewish emigrants to Britain, some occupations were under-represented in comparison to those reaching other countries. Among these were skilled workers, apprentices, artisans, cattle or grain merchants and farmers. Figures about the social structure of the emigrants in 1933 indicate that the percentage of skilled workers and apprentices emigrating to Britain (7.4% of those engaged in commerce, manufacture and industry) was markedly low as compared to those emigrating to Czechoslovakia (46%) or even to Holland (23%).[27] These figures, as well as the fact that the reports of the *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* up to 1938 refer mostly to academics, members of certain professions, students and self-employed businessmen, suggest that at least until 1938 Britain received mainly the upper social and economic strata of German Jewry. In this respect it differed considerably from many host countries, both in Europe and overseas.

The chance of finding employment in a certain country was, it seems, one of the main factors determining the emigration routes of different social strata among German Jews. Since those of them living in large cities differed from those living in small towns and villages in their occupations, as well as in their economic connections abroad, one might expect that the former would be inclined to choose other destinations than the latter. Figures regarding the place of residence of the emigrants

[25] *Ibid.*; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Die Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, 'Auswanderung im 4. Kalendervierteljahr 1936 (Okt.–Dez.)', BAYHSTA, MInn 74165, pp. 9, 12.

[26] Heinemann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85–87.

[27] *Ibid.*

Table V

The Place of Residence (in Germany) of the Emigrants to England in 1933 as Compared to that of German Jewry

	All Jews in Germany %		Refugees in England %	
Towns of 100,000 inhabitants and over		67		87
Towns of under 100,000 inhabitants		33		10
Not known		—		3
Towns of over 100,000 inhabitants with over 8,000 Jews per town:				
Berlin		31		49
Frankfurt	5.2		8.0	
Hamburg	3.5		4.3	
Cologne	2.9		2.8	
Munich	1.8	19.5	2.2	23.4
Nürnberg	1.5		2.2	
Leipzig	2.2		2.0	
Breslau	2.4		1.8	
Towns of 100,000 inhabitants with over 1,000 Jews		13.2		13
Towns of 100,000 inhabitants with less than 1,000 Jews		3.3		1.6
Towns under 100,000 inhabitants		33		10
Not known		—		3

to Britain in 1933 as compared to that of German Jewry as a whole support this assumption.[28]

According to these data, the emigrants to Britain were mainly those who had lived in large cities while the relative proportion of emigrants from small towns or villages was far below the corresponding proportion among German Jews. Furthermore, the data also suggest that Britain attracted in particular Jews from Berlin, Frankfurt a. Main and Hamburg. This may also be explained by the long-standing business and commercial connections which the Jewish communities of these three cities had with England. One should also bear in mind that Britain attracted many academics and professionals, who were also generally residents of large cities.

The importance of former connections to a certain country for the economic and social integration of the emigrants also explains the different routes taken by Jews with foreign nationality, mainly Eastern Europeans, as against those holding German citizenship.

The data regarding 1933 demonstrate that the most favoured destinations for "non-German" Jews were either Eastern European countries or certain Western European ones, especially Belgium (60%) and Holland (27%).[29] The percentage of

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 89–91.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

Table VI
The Nationality of German-Jewish Emigrants to Great Britain, Belgium, Holland and Czechoslovakia in 1933 (by percentage)

	Great Britain %		Czecho-slovakia %		Belgium %		Holland %	
German		85		42		40		73
Polish	4		12		37		18	
Stateless	3		18		17		9	
Austrian	1		7		—		—	
Hungarian	1	15	5	58	—	60	—	27
Czechoslovakian	1		15		—		—	
British	3		—		—		—	
Others	2		1		6		—	

"foreign" Jews emigrating to Britain was, in comparison, very small (15%). Moreover, it was even below the relative proportion of holders of foreign citizenship among German Jewry (20%). The reason for this phenomenon is apparently to be found in the strong familial ties which "foreign" Jews had to their countries of origin in Eastern Europe, as well as to Belgium, particularly to Antwerp, or Holland. These two countries had absorbed many of their relatives from Eastern Europe in earlier years. It seems that with Britain, however, this was not the case. Thus, it was not viewed as a preferred destination by German Jews with foreign citizenship.

An examination of the age and sex distribution of the Jewish emigration from Germany in general suggests that the emigrants, especially to distant overseas countries, were mostly unmarried young men between the ages of twenty and forty or young couples in the same age group.[30] The emigration of entire family units or of young unmarried women was, on the contrary, not common. Data concerning the age distribution of the emigrants to Britain in 1933, compared to that of German Jewry, illustrate this tendency.[31]

As to the proportions of the sexes, the data relating to the year 1933 show that 65% of the emigrants registered in London were men and only 35% of them were women.[32]

It would seem that there are two explanations for the preponderance of men among younger emigrants.[33] Firstly, many parents avoided sending their daughters abroad unaccompanied. It seems that despite the deterioration of living conditions in Germany, Jewish parents believed that the risk involved in sending their daughters abroad was greater than the dangers threatening them in Germany. Similarly they wanted their daughters to remain at their side, to help in the household and in

[30] Niederland, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–220.
[31] Heinemann, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88–89.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[33] Niederland, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–220.

Table VII
Age Distribution of German-Jewish Emigrants to Britain in 1933 Compared to that of German Jewry

	Germany %	Great Britain %
20 and under	21	17
21–30	15	38
31–40	18	23
41–50	17	12
51 and over	29	9
Not specified	—	1

coping with daily problems. On the other hand, when it came to sending their young sons abroad, the parents were inclined, according to the social norms prevailing in those years, to decide favourably, since it was important to them to ensure their son's education and professional future.

Another explanation for the surplus of men over women is linked with the process of family emigration.[34] In many cases, the male breadwinners emigrated before their wives and families in order to see if they could find employment in their new home. Those who were disappointed went on to another country or even returned to Germany. In these cases, their wives did not follow them to the first place of settlement.

In general, our study has shown that economic considerations relating to living conditions in Germany, the costs of emigration and absorption possibilities in the host country had a great influence on the actual taking of the decision to emigrate and on the choice of timing and destination, even during the Nazi period. Britain, in this case, is thus a particular example of a more general phenomenon.

Another important conclusion arising from the discussion is that emigration to Britain between 1933 and 1938 was characterised by marked differentiation according to the demographic and social characteristics of the emigrants, both in comparison with the German-Jewish population and in comparison with emigrants to other destinations. This fact strengthens the argument that the emigration of German Jews during this period should not be defined as "forced migration" but rather as "semi-forced" or "impelled migration".[35]

Further proof of the difficulty involved in defining Jewish emigration from Germany as "forced" is the incidence of return migration. This interesting phenomenon of Jews who left Germany after suffering Nazi persecution, yet later returned to live under the same regime was particularly noticeable in the years 1933–1935. The returnees during this period numbered several thousand (10,000

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] William Petersen, 'A General Typology of Migration', in *American Sociological Review*, 23 (1958), pp. 256–266.

according to German sources quoted in the Jewish press)[36] and as a result the German authorities decided to imprison returning emigrants in "training camps" *(Schulungslager)*. The volume of return migration lessened only after this decision. However, it continued to exist even later.[37]

With regard to Britain, it is known that hundreds of salaried employees in the various branches of commerce had already decided to return to Germany by the end of 1933 because of increased unemployment.[38] The source noting this phenomenon adds that this was one of the main reasons for the decline in the numbers of German Jews remaining in Britain, from a high point of 2,500 to only 1,500 in October 1933.

The very existence of the phenomenon of return migration indicates that some of the emigrants, especially those who took part in the "panic wave" of 1933, did not regard themselves as refugees. Their emotional ties with Germany were not broken even after their emigration, and when they met difficulties in settling in and finding work in their new homes, a considerable number of them gave practical expression to these ties by returning to Germany even though it continued to be under Nazi rule.

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[36] *Jüdische Rundschau* (10th May 1935); Arthur Prinz, 'Der Stand der deutsch-jüdischen Auswanderungsfragen (1935)', Leo Baeck Institute Archives, New York, AR-5103, Box 4, Folder 4.

[37] Niederland, *op. cit.*, pp. 295–296.

[38] *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, Nr. 42 (19th October 1933).

Bob Moore

Areas of Reception in the United Kingdom: 1933–1945

Any survey of the reception and settlement of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom must inevitably concentrate on the immigration which occurred as a result of the persecution in Nazi Germany during and after 1933. The subject has produced a number of important monographs, most notably by Sherman, Stevens and Wasserstein. More recently, attention has been focussed on the social history of the refugees and on local studies of refugee reception, assimilation and integration.[1] By combining material from these studies with further information from government and private archives, this paper will attempt to examine three areas of enquiry – firstly to try and quantify Jewish refugee immigration into Britain between 1933 and 1945; then to look at the patterns and nature of settlement before the outbreak of war in September 1939; and finally to show how the war and the immediate post-war period affected those settlement patterns.

Before looking at the statistics for the 1933–1945 period, it is important to place the movement of refugees in the context of earlier German-Jewish settlement in the British Isles and the changes which took place both before and after the Nazi period. For example, it should be borne in mind that the twentieth century included periods of emigration as well as immigration. Immediately after the First World War, and again after the Second World War, there were movements by German-speaking Jews out of Britain. After 1918 this was largely due to the treatment of German and Austrian nationals during the war. After 1945, although there were some people who had been alienated by their treatment in war-time Britain, the mainstream emigration involved those who were completing journeys interrupted by the war to destinations in other parts of the world. Parallel with this post-1945 emigration was some further immigration of Jews into Britain from Europe including victims of the concentration and extermination camps.

Making some quantitative assessment of these movements is, however, complicated by the lack of accurate statistics. While the Home Office did keep records of immigrant aliens for most of the twentieth century, there was no differentiation between Jews and Gentiles in its statistics, which were confined to recording nationality. In this respect, the period of refugee immigration is better served, with additional figures compiled by relief agencies, but even these are far from complete and in any case usually only recorded those people who required some form of assistance in settling, or travelling to and from the United Kingdom. For this reason

[1] A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973; Austin Stevens, *The Dispossessed. German Refugees in Britain*, London 1975; Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945*, London 1979. More recent works which deal with aspects of German-Jewish immigration to Britain are, Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa–Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1984; Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons. German-Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany*, London 1984. Finally, there is a local study of refugees in Birmingham by Zoë Josephs, *Survivors. Jewish Refugees in Birmingham 1933–1945*, Birmingham 1988.

alone, the statistical evidence for the numbers of German-speaking Jews who came to the country in the twentieth century must remain somewhat impressionistic.

There is some justification for beginning by examining the German emigration from Britain after 1918, an emigration which undoubtedly included some German-speaking Jews. The xenophobia and spy-scares of the 1914–1918 period led to verbal and physical attacks on German-speaking and even German-sounding people. In the first months of the war, the British government decided to pursue a policy of interning enemy aliens, a policy which resulted in 10,000 internees by November 1914 and a conservative estimate of 20,000 by the end of 1915.[2] Many of those interned were kept in atrocious conditions on the Isle of Man, and at the end of the war few expressed the wish to return to their former addresses. The result was that in February 1919, 16,000 were still in the camps and most ultimately returned to mainland Europe.[3] In this general emigration of "enemy aliens", there is no means of telling how many German-speaking Jews were involved. Yet, in some respects, Jews were even more vulnerable than other aliens. While all nationals of the Central Powers suffered victimisation and privation, the Jews also found themselves singled out by sections of the British press who tended to equate all Jews with "the enemy". This led to campaigns against Jews of German origin holding high office, most notably Sir Felix Semon (physician to Edward VII), Sir Alfred Mond (founder of ICI) and Sir Edgar Speyer (Banker and Privy Councillor). Mond was even attacked by the Executive Committee of the Conservative Party in his Swansea constituency during the 1918 election campaign as "not a fit and proper person to represent any British constituency in the Imperial Parliament",[4] and was forced to take out actions for libel on several occasions. In spite of these attacks, Mond was resolutely defended by Asquith and was ultimately brought into the coalition government by Lloyd George. Speyer was less fortunate. Attacked in the courts to show "by what authority he was a privy councillor since he was not a natural born British subject", Speyer ultimately resigned all his public offices and emigrated to the United States in 1921.[5] While some prominent German-speaking Jews thus became targets, non-German Jews from Eastern Europe also found themselves victimised during the war, firstly for not enlisting in the British Army (most were still aliens) and secondly for refusing to enlist with the allied Tsarist Army (something which, unsurprisingly, most were less than keen to do).[6] The upshot of all this was that foreign and even naturalised Jews in war-time Britain could find themselves condemned for being German, Jewish and anti-Russian![7] Thus the First World War appears to have reduced the number of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom through post-war emigration – a factor which took on an added importance during the period of immigration in the late 1930s.

The 1920s and early 1930s saw little immigration into Britain from Germany or

[2] Peter and Leni Gillman, *'Collar the Lot!' How Britain Interned and Expelled its Wartime Refugees*, London 1980, pp. 11, 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[4] Hector Bolitho, *Alfred Mond. First Lord Melchett*, London 1933, pp. 175, 210–211; Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society*, London 1979, p. 144.

[5] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'Jewish Enemy Aliens in England during the First World War', in *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 (1956).

[6] Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[7] Aronsfeld, *loc. cit.*

Central Europe. In the 1920s there were restrictions on the immigration of aliens, and later there were few economic benefits to be derived from moving to the United Kingdom. Thus it was not until the threat of a Hitler government that Jews in Germany began to think of leaving. Under any circumstances, moving from one country to another was a major step, let alone as a refugee. In examing the refugee exodus from Germany to Britain, it is clear that the experiences of each individual were different and it is therefore extremely difficult to provide "typical" examples. In 1933, potential refugees did have some choice of destination – especially if they had convertible assets or resources which could be realised outside Germany. Even then, the shores of Britain were largely unattractive as a place of settlement for refugees and only 2–3,000 came to the country before April 1934.[8] There were a number of reasons why Britain seemed an unattractive destination. In the first place, it was geographically far more distant than France, Belgium or the Netherlands. Secondly, there were few Jews in Germany who had near relatives living in Britain, and thus the country appeared alien and bereft of friends for the vast majority of potential immigrants. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, there was the question of British government immigration policy.[9]

It would not be unfair to say that British government policy was by far the most important factor in determining not only the admission, but also the pattern and settlement of Jewish refugees from Germany. In the period before 1938, the Home Office had adopted a policy of what was described as "rigid but sympathetic control" over refugees desirous of settling in Britain. This meant that by the end of 1937 the country was playing host to several thousand "desirable, industrious, intelligent and acceptable persons".[10] In other words, those with money or with expertise to sell found entry fairly straightforward. Others without means or with fewer obvious advantages usually had more trouble convincing the immigration officials at Harwich or Dover that they should be allowed in for more than a brief visit. Only with help from relatives or from a refugee relief organisation could an individual hope to be allowed to stay in Britain permanently. Thus by 1938, the country was playing host mainly to refugees who had family or business links with Britain, some of whom had independent means, together with a sprinkling of academics, professionals and "political" émigrés.

The relief organisations created by the Jewish community in Britain to help refugees had given an undertaking to the government in 1933 that no Jews from Germany would become a public charge, but the *Anschluß* in March 1938 became the watershed, both for the relief organisations and for the British government. As a result of the increasing pressure on their already stretched resources, the German Jewish Aid Committee informed the Home Office that it could no longer handle the new influx of refugees from Austria. In response, the government introduced a visa requirement from 21st May 1938 for all German and Austrian nationals, the criterion for the granting of a visa being "whether or not an applicant is likely to be an asset to the U. K."[11] This did serve to remove some of the decision-making from

[8] Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[10] Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 90–91.

the immigration offices at ports such as Dover and Harwich. At the same time, it virtually decided the categories of people to have a chance of admission and those who were to be excluded. In the latter category were small shopkeepers, retail traders, artisans, "persons likely to seek employment", agents and middlemen, minor musicians and commercial artists, and "rank and file" doctors, lawyers, and dentists. Members of the last category might only be exempt from exclusion if a special case could be made for political asylum. On the other hand, "distinguished persons" of "international" repute could be granted asylum on the spot provided they could be assured of hospitality in the UK.[12]

With these restrictions, there were only a very few occupational groups who could obtain visas and the majority of these needed financial guarantees from organisations or individuals resident in Britain. As few German Jews had relatives with enough money to provide the necessary guarantees, most were provided via the German Jewish Aid Committee (GJAC) in London or one of its provincial offshoots. The categories of people eligible for visas were (women) to be employed as domestic servants or nurses. Young people between the ages of sixteen and eighteen being trained for technical or agricultural skills were also allowed in – on the assumption that most would eventually make their way overseas. Transmigrants were admitted provided they had a reasonable chance of completing their journeys. As a result, the fact that Britain was a staging post for so many overseas destinations made accurate assessments of the total numbers of refugees resident in Britain almost impossible. The only other individuals to be admitted were children, but, as with all the other groups, provision had to be made for their welfare from private funds, and this also set some limits to the numbers able to come to Britain. In other words, the age and occupational structure of the refugees who did manage to come to Britain before the outbreak of war was anything but a mirror image of the Jewish communities in Germany and Austria. It is perhaps indicative of the difficulties faced even by refugees with the requisite visas that at the outbreak of hostilites less than half the visas (5,702 out of 12,967) issued by the government had in fact been used.

Table I

German and Austrian Refugees in the United Kingdom September 1939[13]

Children under 18	9,028
Young Persons for Tech. and Ag. Training	2,493
Awaiting Emigration	1,707
Elderly People for Permanent Residence	877
Domestic Servants	4,461
Richborough Refugee Camp	1,700
Refugees for Settlement in Britain	28,685
Total	48,951

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Table II
German and Austrian Refugees in Britain January 1945

Adults and Accompanied Children		65,000	
Children		8,300	73,000
Less: Re-emigrated	18,000		
Deaths and Naturalisations	6,000		
In Britain in January 1945			24,000
			49,000
Potential Settlement:			
Returning to Germany			6–8,000
Re-emigrating			10–12,000
Remaining in Britain			30–34,000
			46–54,000

Soon after the beginning of hostilities in September 1939, a Home Office survey showed that there were around 50,000 refugees from Germany and Austria in the country and a further 6,000 from Czechoslovakia. While it is important to bear in mind that not all of these people were Jews, they certainly formed an overwhelming percentage of those included in the survey. To this total should be added the transmigrants. In July 1939 there were estimated to be about 40,000 people in the UK awaiting passage overseas.[14] Many of them did manage to leave the country either before hostilities began or in the early part of the war but the majority remained. Wasserstein estimates that some 10,000 refugees found their way to Britain during the war[15] which would give a total of around 100,000. However, a Home Office census of aliens in 1944 gives a total of 89,943 Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Poles and stateless persons registered with the police[16] which suggests that perhaps 10–15,000 of the transmigrants did manage to get away. One other factor highlighted by the Home Office census was the imbalance between men and women among the German and Austrian refugees (21,866 men, 34,851 women). Part of the explanation for this may lie in the exclusion from the statistics of the 9,230 aliens who were estimated to have been enlisted in the British armed forces.[17] Again it has to be remembered that these figures pertain to all aliens of those nationalities in Britain, and not just to Jews. For a more accurate assessment of the changes in the Jewish refugee population in Britain during the war, we can turn to a Jewish Central Information Office report of January 1945. This gave some approximate figures for Germans and Austrians of whom 90% were said to be Jewish and 35% over fifty years of age.

In looking at the settlement patterns of this highly disparate group of people it is perhaps wrong to talk of actual settlement prior to 1945. The reason for this

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 245.
[15] Wasserstein, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[16] Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), HO 213/588.
[17] Werner Rosenstock, 'The Jewish Refugees. Some Facts', in *Britain's New Citizens. The Story of the Refugees from Germany and Austria*, Tenth Anniversary Publication of the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain, London 1951, p. 15.

reservation is simply that few of the refugees actually found permanent homes before the end of the war. This, of course, was not necessarily of their own choosing, but stemmed partly from the difficulties of pre-war settlement and the enormous upheavals created by the war effort and by government policy. Furthermore, bearing in mind the composition of all the refugees who found themselves in Britain during the war, a fair proportion continued to see themselves as transmigrants who had no long-term plans to stay.[18] Many others had only been granted conditional residence permits when they arrived in Britain. Nevertheless, in order to understand the peripatetic career of so many of the refugees, it is first necessary to take a closer look at their settlement in the peace-time years prior to September 1940.

The refugees with independent means who arrived in Britain soon after 1933 had a relatively free choice as to where they should settle. Not surprisingly, however, they tended to base themselves close to existing Jewish communities and overwhelmingly in London. While only the Jews with Eastern European backgrounds were likely to have relatives in Britain, the combined attractions of a large Jewish community and living in a major financial and commercial centre seem to have been paramount. For those who came without means, the need to remain in London was even stronger as, until 1938, the bulk of all refugee relief operations were based in the capital. Thus the overwhelming majority of pre-1938 refugees found homes for themselves in North and North-West London, in the suburbs of Hampstead, Finchley, Golders Green and Belsize Park. It was later remarked that they did not follow the "traditional" path of Jewish refugees in London – into the East End. One explanation given was that although "most of them arrived without means they could not forget their middle-class background and preferred a bed sitting-room with a gas ring in a more or less 'bourgeois' neighbourhood to less expensive but roomier accommodation in other parts of London."[19] The refugees did contribute a great deal to the overall well-being of the Jewish community, often breathing new life into small or moribund religious and secular institutions which had little support among British Jews, but which had more in common with Jewish life and observance in Germany. As refugee communities established themselves in these areas, so they became magnets for other refugees arriving from Germany and Austria.

This high concentration of refugees in a few North London boroughs was not altogether welcomed. Otto Schiff of the GJAC, in a meeting with other provincial refugee relief committees at the Board of Deputies in April 1939, said that the committee wished to see the refugees spread more evenly throughout the country rather than having a vast majority living in the North-Western districts of London.[20] By this time, most of the major Jewish communities in the British Isles had created some form of relief organisation in their area in response to requests from family members and friends of people still in Germany, or in response to letters sent from the Third *Reich* appealing for help. These provincial organisations in the main

[18] Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[19] Rosenstock, *loc. cit.*, quote is on p. 19.

[20] Minutes of a meeting of the GJAC and provincial committees, 23rd April 1939, Board of Deputies Archives, C11/12/33.

grew out of existing philanthropic or charitable work but were all relatively young. For example the Manchester branch of the GJAC was formed at a meeting on 7th November 1938.[21] Others were founded in Liverpool, Sunderland, Sheffield, Hull, Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, Leicester, Edinburgh, Brighton, Belfast, Harrogate, Newcastle, Bradford, Southend, Cardiff and Swansea. Each committee dealt with its own cases but applications for permits and visas were handled by the London office – a system which gave rise to many complaints about slowness and inefficiency.[22]

The provincial committees played a major role after 1938 in the dispersion of refugees to other major towns and cities in Britain, both in their sponsorship of immigration direct from Nazi Germany and also via their work in finding homes and placements for refugees. At the same time, the work was limited by their ability to raise money for guarantees. The Manchester committee raised a total of £2,350 from various benefactors which then allowed committee members to stand as guarantors for incoming refugees. Yet even Manchester, the second largest community in the country, was never able to assist more than about one hundred people at any one time in this way.[23] While most of the refugees arriving with visas continued to be settled in London, the provincial committees did play a much larger part in the dispersal of those people admitted with Home Office permits. For example, all the provincial committees were involved in finding suitable placements for young trainees. This led to a number of such people finding their way to the industrial cities of the North and North-West. Similarly, the committees were also involved in placing domestic servants, but the Manchester GJAC reported that there were a large number of girls in London who were unwilling to work in the provinces, and an internal memorandum of the GJAC in London lamented the number of complaints they had received about the quality of these domestic servants.[24] Conversely, there were also many stories of refugee domestic servants being appallingly treated by their employers. Much of the dissatisfaction on both sides clearly owed a lot to the fact that most of those employed were not domestic servants by upbringing or inclination – yet they were given little choice in who employed them, or where they were sent. In such circumstances, a degree of friction was almost inevitable.

However, it was the settlement of children which the GJAC regarded as perhaps its most important work. Although children's aid committees had existed since before 1936, it was with the idea of children's transports from the major cities in Germany and Austria after late 1938 that the real work of placement began. Although there had been some thought given to selecting children for available places while they were still inside Germany, the urgency of the situation made such detailed planning difficult, if not impossible, and while some children did arrive with specific destinations, others had to wait to be allocated to new foster homes. In January 1939, Otto Schiff reported that the children arriving via Harwich were

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[21] Barash Papers, Manchester City Archive, Manchester Central Reference Library, M553 Box 1.

[22] Letter from Sheffield GJAC to London GJAC, 14th March 1939, Board of Deputies, E3/525.

[23] Manchester City Archive, M102, Archives of the Manchester Guarantee Fund for Jewish Refugees.

[24] Meeting of the Manchester GJAC, 22nd November 1938, Barash Papers, M533 Box 1; memorandum from Brotman to Laski, June 1939, Board of Deputies, E3/532.

being distributed to their foster parents on Liverpool Street Station and suggested that the children might be taken to the Jews' Temporary Shelter where they could be collected in more privacy.[25] Those children who arrived without firm destinations were accommodated at Dovercourt holiday camp where they were visited by representatives of provincial committees who attempted to match children with the homes they had available.[26] All parties involved were agreed that it was desirable that children should go to private homes rather than to institutions, but this proved difficult when the supply of suitable Jewish homes ran out. Offers did come from non-Jewish sources, and even from towns such as Stroud and Cirencester where there were no Jewish communities at all. Most of the general offers were not taken up, but nearly every offer of foster parenting was seriously considered, and all individual offers which met the necessary criteria were ultimately used. The children who stayed the longest at Dovercourt, and at Pakefield holiday camp in Lowestoft, were those with strictly Orthodox backgrounds. Individual foster parents would also visit the camps, leading to charges that it was like "a market" or "selecting a pet in an animal store".[27]

Even the finding of foster homes for children from the transports did little more than mirror the existing patterns of Jewish settlement in Britain. Domestic servants and trainees were more dispersed as they would often be sent to non-Jewish homes and firms, but even here, most of the placements were made through contacts with the local Jewish community. Some Jewish educational institutions managed to move themselves from Germany complete with pupils and teachers, while another example of pre-war refugee dispersal can be seen in the relatively small number of "capitalists" and manufacturers together with their families who took advantage of the British government's Special Areas policy and settled to found businesses in the North of England, Central Scotland and South Wales.[28] Some mention should also be given to the Zionist and non-Zionist training institutions established in Britain to cater for the refugees. These were often in rural locations and included the Whittingehame Farm School in Scotland, the non-Zionist youth training scheme in Oxfordshire and the Christian Pacifist *Bruderhof* in the Cotswolds.

As can be seen, the distribution of German-speaking refugees in Britain was dependent on a number of factors related to occupation, support, relief agency and government policy. Proportionally few of the refugees had made a deliberate decision to come to Britain, and fewer still were swayed by family ties in their choice of location once in the country. However, all the plans of the relief agencies, the refugees who had intended to settle in Britain, and the transmigrants were thrown into disarray by the opening of hostilities with Germany on 3rd September 1939.

There followed a whole series of events which served to overturn almost all the

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[25] Letter from Otto Schiff to Neville Laski, 26th January 1939, Board of Deputies, E3/532.

[26] Minutes of the Manchester GJAC Executive Committee, 6th December 1938, Barash Papers, M533 Box 1.

[27] Copy of letter, March 1939, Board of Deputies, E3/525; Esther Judith Baumel, *The Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain 1938–1945*, M. A. thesis, Bar Ilan University 1981, p. 81 (available in the Wiener Library, London).

[28] Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Herbert Loebl, 'Refugee Industries in the Special Areas of Britain', in Hirschfeld (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 219–249.

good work done by the refugees and the relief agencies in the previous six years. In the first instance, all the German and Austrian nationals became "enemy" aliens at the outbreak of war and many nurses, apprentices and domestic servants were immediately dismissed from their jobs and were forced to fall back on the relief agencies for help. By December, it was estimated that the agencies were having to support 13,300 people, including 3,000 (now unemployed) domestic servants.[29] It was at this point that the British government stepped in with some financial assistance for the hard-pressed relief agencies. Both government and relief agencies were now equally worried about the possible spread of antisemitism if the private relief effort for the refugees were to collapse. Thus the government undertook to pay 50% of the costs of supporting destitute refugees in 1939, and by 1945 were shouldering the entire burden. By this time, however, the numbers requiring such aid had been drastically reduced.

In September 1939, the government had no intention of repeating the same mistake as in 1914 and organising the mass internment of enemy aliens. Screening did take place between October 1939 and January 1940, which resulted in a mere 528 aliens being interned while a further 8,356 were placed under some restrictions and the remaining 60,000 left at liberty. While the decisions of the tribunals were occasionally somewhat inconsistent and arbitrary, most of the relief agencies were satisfied with the procedure and the outcome.[30] All this was to change in the aftermath of the Norway debacle and the "fifth column" scare following the German invasion of the Low Countries. Spurred on by alarmist press reports, the government decreed a protected area along the Southern and Eastern coasts within which all male Germans and Austrians were to be arrested and interned. Their dependents, together with female employees, were also to be moved to other parts of the country – thus placing enormous additional burdens on the relief agencies. In mid-May all category "B" aliens were interned – including women. While this served to remove some refugees from the lists requiring relief, it also created even more destitute and in some cases homeless dependents. In September 1940, the Manchester committee reported that there were about 300 people in the city who had been evicted from protected areas, of whom 137 had to be financially supported. It can fairly be said that the internment of all adult German and Austrian males in the late summer and autumn of 1940 did more than anything else to wreck the pre-war patterns of settlement, yet worse was still to come. The deportation of "dangerous" internees to Canada under the aegis of MI5 led to the sinking of the steamship *Arandora Star* by a U-Boat with much loss of life. Even this did not prevent later transports to Australia – including some who had been shipwrecked on the *Arandora Star*. In this way, some thousands of German and Austrian Jews found themselves in the Dominions and, when given the opportunity, chose not to return to Britain.[31] Some 900 did come back from Canada but those who did attempt the return journy had to face the dangers of the high seas, and at least one

[29] Wasserstein, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[30] Minutes of Manchester GJAC Executive Committee, January 1940, Barash Papers, M533 Box 1.
[31] Gillman and Gillman, *op. cit.*, pp. 292–293.

transport ship carrying released internees from Australia was sunk and forty-three refugees lost their lives.[32]

Less than a month after the mass internment of "enemy" males, and in the light of the scandal surrounding the treatment of internees, the government began to re-appraise the situation. The refugees were clearly an important resource for the country's war effort and could not be ignored. Moreover, on the outbreak of war, many of them had expressed a desire to help their adoptive homeland through using their skills or by enlisting in the armed forces. Only now were these offers taken up. As internees were released, so they were directed into work of national importance, or into the Pioneer Corps and later into other branches of the armed forces. This deployment of refugees as part of the British war effort spread them to the four corners of the country – to factories, military installations and hospitals. Later many were to see service overseas as well. This mobilisation for the war effort served to move many of the German-speaking refugees, if not permanently, at least temporarily out of the communities which they had established or of which they had become a part.

During the war, it was not only the adult refugees who had to endure disruption to their lives. The relief committees had expended a great deal of effort in placing refugee children in suitable foster homes and making appropriate arrangements for their schooling. Yet all these elaborate plans were put into total confusion by the evacuation of children from London and the other major cities not once, but twice. Evacuation was first put into operation soon after the start of the war in September 1939, but the continuance of the "phoney war" led to children being sent home before a second evacuation became essential in April 1940.[33] While the relief organisations had had problems placing refugee children with foster parents where they could be assured of an upbringing in line with their background, the transfer of these children to the provinces and to rural districts made this impossible – especially when the provincial cities also became targets for German bombs and children were evacuated from there as well. Even when whole schools could be moved *en bloc*, the problems were not always solved. The *Jüdische Privatschule Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt für Knaben und Mädchen* (Athelstan School) had moved to Folkestone, but the pupils were eventually boarded-out in Wales and went to local schools when evacuation took place and their teachers were interned.[34] Thus in many cases, the experience of evacuation brought refugee children into much closer contact with non-Jewish communities than might otherwise have been the case. Indeed, the Refugee Children's Movement was subject to a good deal of criticism for having failed to ensure that the children received a proper Jewish education, and for having placed them in unsuitable homes. Cited as evidence for this were the high rates of intermarriage with non-Jews and the high rates of conversion to Christianity – especially in Scotland.[35] In this way, some of the children "disappeared" from the statistics of the relief agencies when they reached the age of majority.

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[32] Minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Jewish Refugees Committee, January 1943, Barash Papers, M533 Box 1.

[33] Bernard Steinberg, 'Jewish Education in Britain during World War II', in *Jewish Social Studies*, 1 (1967), p. 34.

[34] Baumel, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

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

By 1944, nearly all the adult refugees available for employment were engaged either in work for the war effort at home or in the armed forces. This included some of the refugee children who had grown up during the war years but who had had little in the way of a settled existence since their arrival before the war – a statement which could be applied to most of the adult refugees as well. As it became clear that the war in Europe was coming to an end, the refugees had to reconsider their own position, as did the British government. The 1944 Home Office census of aliens showed that there were 42,597 German and Austrian nationals in the country who had been granted conditional residence (compared with only 14,138 who had been given unconditional permission to stay).[36] For the Home Office, the problem was twofold. The industries which now employed the bulk of the refugees were likely to contract as the war effort was reduced and the country returned to a peace-time economy. Thus a large number of them might well be rendered unemployed in the foreseeable future. Secondly, there was the question of refugees with conditional residence permits. The position of the Home Office on the whole issue was neatly summarised by H. H. C. Prestige in an internal memorandum of August 1944.

"My own view is that not more than about 40,000 souls (probably not more than 20,000 families) now here temporarily are likely to want to stay, and that they could be absorbed without being noticed in a population of 40,000,000 if they were not so gregarious and not so assertive. As a matter of political expediency, however, I suppose that we must go through the motions of considering every case individually..."[37]

While continuing governmental worries about the possibilities of antisemitism were mirrored in this memorandum, Prestige's predictions were borne out by a further Home Office report on aliens in 1945 which estimated that there were still 29,000 Germans and 12,000 Austrians in Britain who were still technically subject to employment and entrepreneurial restrictions, and while there was to be no formal statement, it was tacitly accepted that these restrictions would be lifted and these people's residence accepted as permanent. Apart from the need to regularise the position of these refugees, the main gains for the British economy were perceived in the diamond, fur and toy sectors – all trades in which London was now a world leader and which was to be welcomed.[38] Only with this guarantee of permanent residence could refugees make long-term plans to settle in Britain. If we add together the 40,000 or so conditional refugees who were given permission to stay after 1944 with the 14,597, we have a total of around 55,000 German and Austrian refugees who settled in Britain. The Home Office produced an approximate figure of 59,400 in 1945, but this included Czech refugees as well.[39] While these figures did include non-Jews, the overwhelming majority were Jewish – perhaps anything up to 90%. To them should be added an indeterminate number who were naturalised as British subjects before 1945 and thus disappeared from the statistics – something which was an increasing tendency in the late 1940s. Thus for further information on the exact location and numbers of German-speaking

[36] 1944 Census of Aliens, PRO, HO 213/588.
[37] Memorandum from H. H. C. Prestige to A. Maxwell, 7th August 1944, PRO, HO 213/1350.
[38] Report on Aliens for 1945, PRO, HO 213/1008.
[39] Home Office Report (1947), PRO, HO 213/968.

Jewish refugees in Britain, we would have to look to more impressionistic evidence, such as, for example, the circulation and distribution figures of *AJR Information*.

Not surprisingly, there was only a minority of Jews interested in returning to Germany or Austria after the war. Some refugee Jewish lawyers whose professional expertise was only useful in Germany did return.[40] Other reported returnees were about one hundred or so Jewish girls who had married working-class Germans while in Britain and had chosen to go to live in Eastern Germany, Austria or Czechoslovakia.[41] For the majority, however, settlement in Britain provided the opportunity to re-establish their lives and careers. While some moved in accordance with the needs of their careers, for example those employed in universities, or for business reasons, the majority of German-speaking Jews who continued to think of themselves as part of the Jewish community tended to settle in existing communities, thus mirroring the trends of the pre-war period and reinforcing the settlement patterns of Jews in Britain. The majority chose to live in the suburbs of North London while Manchester also had a substantial influx of German-speaking Jews. Leeds, on the other hand, with a Jewish population not far short of Manchester's, attracted only a very few refugees. It has been estimated that no more than 200 German, Austrian, Central and Eastern European Jews settled in the city before, during and after the Second World War.[42] By and large, other communities played host to numbers of German-speaking Jews roughly in proportion to their size.

One final chapter in the history of German-Jewish immigration into Britain which should not be forgotten is the admission of concentration camp inmates, and especially children, during and immediately after the liberation of Europe. Here again, the relief agencies of the Jewish communities in many British cities were able to step in and provide food and shelter for these last survivors of Nazi persecution.

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[40] Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[41] *Britain's New Citizens*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[42] Ernest Krausz, *Leeds Jewry. Its History and Social Structure*, Cambridge 1963, p. 7.

Herbert A. Strauss

Jewish Emigration in the Nazi Period
Some Aspects of Acculturation

I

In this century of great population treks, the flight of Jews from Hitler's Germany and Austria ranks at the lower end of the scale of migrations, if judged by numbers only. In January 1933, when it began, no-one was able to foresee or would have predicted that it would be followed by the displacement of close to 40 million fellow-Europeans during the Second World War alone,[1] and that it would inaugurate a new chapter in the demographic history of the continent – the emergence of most of the European industrial nation states as countries of immigration. Collective auto-stereotypes die hard, and neither the political nor the intellectual and cultural implications of this demographic change have as yet been adequately understood and incorporated into population policies. As supra-national relations strengthen in the West, and the supranational imperialism of the East collapses, new nationalisms may be expected to produce intensified assertions of ethnic boundaries within new patterns of discrimination or persecution, new migrations.

Seen in this context, the emigration of Jews and political opponents of totalitarian Nazism after 1933 may be understood as one chapter, the most brutal at that, in the travails of a continent working its way out of the chimera of the demographically and culturally uniform nation state towards the demographic pluralism emerging in the present. But just as earlier migrations across national boundaries and within territories (*Binnenwanderung*, urbanisation, metropolisation) prior to 1933 have now become a legitimate subject of European social history, the emigration of Jews from Germany, seen in the context of Jewish population movements, was preceded by other migratory movements that revolutionised the position of the Jewish people.

The German-Jewish migration stands midway between 1881, when the flight of Russian and Polish Jews began, and 1948, when the Jewish immigrants to Palestine and their descendants found their political form in the State of Israel, i. e. between national group consciousness and post-Holocaust ethnic and cultural self-assertion. The USA represents the most explicitly developed and most influential expression of the latter. Thus, the conceptual framework most appropriate for the interpretation of a social process now in its fiftieth year may be focussed on the two contexts just outlined, the transplantation and transformation of the group involved and the qualities, cultural, social etc., that make up its unique yet representative characteristics, and the ways in which the societies into which they migrated perceived their admission or exclusion and their resettlement in terms of the demographic transformation of the industrial nation state.

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[1] See for example, *Spostamenti di popolazione e deportazioni in Europa 1939–1945*, Bologna 1987.

This general framework applied to historic conditions and events will naturally undergo significant modifications when it is tested by the concreteness of human experiences and institutional arrangements. Jews in Germany were a highly differentiated community, even if the word community designates only the organised religious group. Hitler's and the Nazis' racism, however, lashed out blindly against all Jews "by race" or by descent, and imposed persecution on many for whom links with Jewish culture or religion had been distant ancestral memories. The attitudes of the major countries of immigration or refuge to the admission of refugees after 1933 had been set long before the first German Jews were to crowd the railway stations in their panic-stricken attempts to leave during the first few months of that year. Factors perceived as influences allowing the entry of refugees varied in time and emphasis: conceptions of national interest and traditions of asylum. Once admitted, the refugees, like other immigrants before them, needed food, shelter and clothing, and took the first steps necessary to function within new cultural frameworks, whatever their expectations for a future return to the country of origin. This formed the realistic basis for the intricate pattern of behaviour and attitudes that is best captured by the – value-free – term acculturation and its operationalisations. With the biological ageing of German-Jewish immigrants of the first and the establishment of their third generation, the process can be considered as completed and perhaps be *historisiert* – integrated into contexts that transcend what the actors themselves could perceive or conceptualise at the time.

Thus the acculturation of immigrants may be most adequately understood as the process of cultural change affecting members of a minority – the immigrant group – within a majority culture. The group rests on similar cultural origins, whether the minority defines itself as ethnic, religious, national, political, or in other self-stereotyping ways, and includes the immigrant generation, their children and the third generation in all areas of behaviour and attitudes. It reveals subtle interplays of changes affecting the immigration group itself with the behaviour and attitudes as well as the historical changes affecting the majority culture as perceived by the minority. The historical process revealed by acculturation research shows considerable variation for individual and collective (institutional) behaviour even within a single national culture and for a single minority group such as German-Jewish immigrants. Where strong pressures were felt by immigrants to demonstrate their loyalty to national majority cultures, the continuity of traits derived from the culture of origin has tended to be minimised in first-generation-based research. In other research schemes, exile consciousness, e. g. among political exiles of the 1930s, has tended to minimise the generational aspects of cultural change. In still other research developments, changing concepts of immigrant history have revealed traditionally nationalistic definitions of cultural change as inadequate representations of immigrant realities, and promoted their replacement by empirical research based on value-free operationalisations of acculturation. Another variant of nationally-orientated research is found for example in Israel where acculturation research is reduced to research on absorption (*klitah*). This reflects, of course, the energetic nation-building of Zionism, and the resulting contraction of acculturation theory as well as Palestine/Israel policies

during certain periods of their history. The insights revealed by the varying patterns of research for different countries and historical situations have never undergone comparative analysis.

II

The basic facts of German-Jewish flight and emigration have been on record for quite some time, but some major questions raised by historians of migration may be beyond answers even today. Sources have been destroyed, witnesses have died, specialised research has not taken up the cues and suggestions contained in earlier work. Already basic statistics blend into estimates. Between 1925 and June 1933, the number of Jews identified by religion in German census data had shrunk from 564,379 to 499,682. For January 1933, about 525,000 appears a reasonable estimate. Of these, between 278,000 and 300,000 emigrated. To the number of Jews by religion (registered in congregations and liable to "church taxes") must be added up to 300,000 to 350,000 Jews "by descent", non-affiliated, of the Christian religion, and/or living in mixed marriages. There were, of course, no statistics kept or collected on such persons before or, for that matter, after 1933 except for one self-indicting census (May 1939). Of Jews by religion, 98,747 were nationals of foreign countries or stateless persons in 1933, primarily of Eastern European or Austrian origin. However, citizenship and cultural identity did not always coincide: the state governments – they had a decisive influence on naturalisations – proved reluctant to grant foreign, but German-born, Jews German nationality. Half of all Jews lived in six *Großstädte* (Berlin, Frankfurt, Breslau, Hamburg, Cologne, Leipzig), two thirds in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, the then definition of a *Großstadt*. Berlin was in a class of its own in this compilation: one third (160,000) of all Jews lived there in 1933. It harboured the extremes and contradictions of Jewish culture in Germany: extreme entrepreneurial, commercial or banking wealth, and extreme poverty among workers, the lower-middle-class majority, and the East European immigrant quarters, religiously Orthodox separatists (*Austrittsgemeinde Adass Jisroel*), extreme religious liberalism (*Reformgemeinde*), Left-wing intellectuals, the entertainment and film industries, the major Jewish newspaper publishers, an international bohemia of musicians, writers, artists: "Weimar culture". At the same time the originally rural settlement had steadily declined since the late nineteenth century; the rural Jews (*Landjudentum*) of South and West Germany and the Eastern provinces, the last remnants of German-Jewish popular religious culture and manners. Socially, the majority of German Jews belonged to the lower middle classes in outlook and objective condition, engaged in commercial enterprise either independently or as employees. About 9% were registered as workers. Jewish participation in law and medicine was strong and visible, especially in the cities, and at some universities Jews or those of Jewish descent were strongly represented in selected university faculties or in highly visible disciplines (theoretical physics, law, medicine, innovative social science amongst others).

By 1933, with the advent of Nazism this demographically declining and above average age group of city-dwellers had equally endured the crises that had beset

German culture following defeat in the First World War: revolutionary unrest, inflation, and, from 1930 on, the Great Depression. The number of those indigent and on public assistance had increased with its onset. Structural factors increasingly barred the classic route of commercial employees towards business independence. The larger congregations had found it necessary to set up kitchens to feed the *Mittelstand* in need, and to organise labour exchanges. Social agencies cared for the immigrant proletariat. Social workers, as in other countries, worked out schemes for occupational re-structuring (*Umschichtung*). Defence organisations worried about the increasing attraction for young Jews of radical-Left ideas. Rural poverty intensified Jewish *Landflucht*. The stereotypical power and influence of Weimar German Jewry rested on an outdated social structure of pre-technologically-trained small-to-middling retailers, commercial employees or petty salesmen. The turn towards higher education and the professions, a typical pattern of social mobility beginning in the late nineteenth century, was visibly changing this traditional structure in significant percentages, and it could be argued in the 1930s that German Jews were thus anticipating the secular trend of industrial societies towards service occupations. All this still only represented minute percentages of the total population.

This economic and occupational structure proved highly vulnerable to the several thrusts of persecution and discrimination unleashed by the Nazi government and the polymorphous organisational apparatus of the Nazi Party which enrolled about 10% of the population. Immediate targets were those who were politically active, who had to flee for their lives, and those in government positions, law, or medicine whose livelihood depended on access to courts or the all-pervasive health-insurance agencies (*Krankenkassen*). Pressure on business brought about increased Jewish unemployment: it hovered between 34,000 and 40,000 although the Jewish population decreased significantly. Rural and local boycotts and intimidation continued, although running counter to *Reich* policies which aimed at sparing Jewish business for the time being to allow the tranquillity needed for general business recovery. It was by late 1937, that conditions appeared right to promote the final push against whatever Jewish economic activity still remained. The last thrust was powered by the rank brutalities and barbarisms of the November pogroms (the *"Kristallnacht"*) of 9th and 10th November 1938. Insidious theft had become outright robbery, as Nazi "laws" outlawed any and all Jewish economic activities, leaving only forced labour, deportations and destruction as "final solutions".

III

Thus, although German Jewry was a culturally highly diversified community, it had suffered a sequence of collective experiences in being exposed to an all pervasive campaign of vilification ranging from pornographic hate-sheets to pseudo-intellectual theorising, the social, the proverbial and the relatively new media of radio and film. It had been Nazi policy to permit a separate and unequal Jewish sub-culture to develop or be maintained which included theatre and music, publishing houses, a school system, training institutions for teachers and rabbis, a centre for higher

Jewish learning, the congregational structure with its religious and social services, and also a press that was relatively unhindered in its expression of views – about Jewish matters only. The collective experience that may be distilled from a reading of the bi-weekly and weekly publications of the period reflect, of course, the major divisions of Jewish life, the Orthodox and the Liberal, the Zionist, the mainstream integrationist, women, youth and special groups. For Zionists, Nazism sadly confirmed a pessimistic prognosis for Diaspora life and the end of Liberalism as against national culture and world-Jewish political concerns. Zionists had been only a minor segment of German Jewry; their newspaper, although available from street vendors, had a small readership – until 1933. The journal of the integrationists reveals the painful experience of separation from German society and culture. The ideal of being both German and Jewish had been guiding Jewish self-understanding in the period of emancipation for close on 180 years. Now emphasis was shifted to the Jewish component of the equation (community of history and fate), although the lasting significance of what had amounted to a love affair with Weimar or with classical German *Bildung* could not be wiped away: educated German Jews were products of German *Gymnasia*, universities, or professional schools, and continued to be so even when revulsion at being suddenly left in the lurch, isolated, brought about a change in self-image. The newspapers document that process; it consisted in a protracted learning and testing of reality, that revealed itself progressively in Nazi policy and the German people's acquiescence in it, and shows considerable variation in timing and in individual forms of dealing with cultural disintegration.

However, what remains unclear is to what extent this published opinion represents public – even more, private – opinion among the diversified segments of German Jewry, and which balances of the identificational elements combined in which ways apply to which age groups at what time. Its structure was acculturation reversed: language and customs remained largely unchanged while social contacts with Christian-German culture decreased or disappeared (intermarriage was prohibited from September 1935 on) and traditional identification became more and more in question. For many, the situation called for new emphasis on the Jewish in religious observance, the absorption of Jewish customs and lore, art, literature, or history. It popularised the learning of Hebrew, and brought new intellectual and emotional ties to friends, relatives, or neighbours who had gone to live in Palestine. Whether such reactions penetrated beyond the circle of committed Jews or the youth movement in search of identity, whether it amounted to a renaissance of Judaism, how long it was maintained, cannot be answered any longer. It certainly created a fluid situation in published opinion prior to emigration and may well have been an element in the psychological conditions in which the new acculturation situation in immigration countries was perceived.

IV

The question of who among German Jews migrated when, where and why has not been tackled in conclusive ways since this writer published a first, quite

tentative, overview of the problem.[2] This migration was primarily a migration of families. Thus family ties to other countries and factors related to family cohesion, such as unwillingness to be separated from small children, were one factor e. g. for Orthodox migrants to the Netherlands or Belgium, for migrants of East European background to relatives there, in Palestine, or the USA. Family ties had also been incorporated in the US immigration laws of 1924 which required "affidavits of support" from a relative living in the USA, guaranteeing that a prospective immigrant would not be "liable to become a public charge". Immigrants to the agricultural settlement "Avigdor" founded by Baron Hirsch in Argentina used to send a "forerunner" (*Vorreiter*) to prepare the ground for the family to follow. For Palestine, besides family links ideological factors played a role for Zionists and the young, while the larger number of *Olim* (immigrants) admitted on certificates for owners of some capital (A-Certificate) may also have been motivated by the advantage of the rates for capital transfer offered for Palestine (*Haavara*). Their acculturation pattern will suggest some modification of the usual simplifications about their attitudes. For political refugees, the "exiles" of the 1930s, choosing countries neighbouring on the Third *Reich* may have been influenced by the formation of centres for "exile politics" in Czechoslovakia, France, or the Soviet Union, and by the hope that internal resistance to the Third *Reich* could be directed from abroad and facilitate an early return to German soil. Other centres of exile politics or literature developed in Latin American countries and attracted political activists, writers, and propagandists. Among those forces which impelled emigration the significance of economic discrimination remains unclear. Some things are obvious: university teachers and intellectuals who had lost their livelihood, or were impoverished, would not have sought emigration to continue their work if they had not been dismissed from their posts. To commercial employees or school graduates without prospects, occupational retraining and subsequent emigration e. g. to Palestine were recommended as acceptable solutions by emigration agencies that provided training opportunities. Family wealth played a role in sending children abroad for schooling or university, financed through special transfers negotiated by Jewish social agencies. Job opportunities abroad played a role in the decision to emigrate for artists and musicians, and, of course, university lecturers: research on the decision to emigrate now in progress reveals a complex interplay of social, motivational, cognitive and network elements. That wealth or the benefits of economic recovery in the Third *Reich* for Jewish business was a retarding factor in emigration is suggested by some data – but the documentary evidence for a statistical investigation of this as yet tentative observation has not been produced.[3] On the other hand, wealth was one prerequisite for being admitted to many potential settlement countries including pre-1938 England, while the poor who were not even able to show the amounts required by immigration provisions at points of entry in several countries were, of course, barred by their poverty. The massive destruction attending the 1938 November pogroms was meant to stam-

[2] Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany. Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I)', in *Year Book XXV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1980, pp. 338–346.

[3] Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration... (I)', *loc. cit.*; Werner Rosenstock, 'Exodus 1933–1939. A Survey of Jewish Emigration', in *Year Book I of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1956, pp. 373–399.

pede the remaining Jewish population into flight, just as the brutalities turned on Austrian Jews by Eichmann's *Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung* in Vienna in 1938, were a kind of terror *cum* economic policy: no Jew could earn a living under the total exclusion laws that followed.

Economic in origin and effect were also many of the provisions written into immigration laws or practised by consuls and customs officials. US immigration practices had already been tightened in 1930 by President Hoover in order to close the doors to all but a few wealthy applicants. Great Britain did not admit German-Jewish (or other) refugees in the 1930s unless they fitted the economic and occupational categories considered non-competitive or useful for industrial development or science (including work related to armaments). Latin American immigration laws, issued in countries often proud of their liberal political traditions, followed patterns of national and racist exclusions closely paralleling the then valid US immigration laws. Professionals, businessmen, commercial employees, university teachers were able to get in if they travelled first class; for such passengers were exempt from the scrutiny of the law, e. g. in Argentina in the 1930s. Australia and Canada – both empty continents or half-continents – excluded even those with occupations that might have been useful, and several parliaments in countries in Africa or Central America rejected pleas by the British Colonial Secretary or the Home Office to open their doors to larger numbers of refugees.

Naturally, all such legislative-political-administrative discriminations had economic implications for both push and pull factors. The composition of US immigrants from Germany reflected even earlier economic factors, if only indirectly: many prospective immigrants used Jewish agencies to help locate relatives whose forebears had immigrated in the nineteenth century, and would thus qualify for providing the required "affidavits of support" – that is those who had fled poverty and economic restrictions in such German *Bundesstaaten* as Bavaria or Prussia (Posen-Poznań) a century earlier. Finally, a case can be made for the differential impact of Nazi persecution measures on economic segments of German Jewry in the Third *Reich*, as it affected the perceptions and overall conditions – *Lebenswelten* – of the intended victims. Flashpoints like 1933 and 1937/1938 show increased emigration; tranquillising deceptions (1934–1936: Schacht era, Nuremberg Laws ending the street violence of mid-1935; the display of "Law-and-Order" during the Olympic Games of 1936) appeared to allow for time and hesitation. Speculation as to whether the actual number of émigrés could have been increased in those years would have to assign values to quite a few of the recognisable and documented factors that remain entirely hypothetical. They would also have to include the assistance offered by the large Jewish (and some non-Jewish) emigration agencies. Some situations show that their advice to leave or to choose one place over another was not always followed: emigration still remained an individual, at best a family, decision, not a centrally directed exodus, its *post facto* explanations must mirror the *de facto* complexity of the decisions.

V

The process of resettlement resulted in the establishment of communities and groups. This and the lone struggles of numerous individuals to fend for themselves also involved for most Jewish émigrés the final cutting of ties with the country of origin and the end of the German-Jewish cross-fertilisation of cultures. After November 1938, it became well-nigh impossible not to accept that the break had become final. In contrast, political and literary exiles held on bravely to the expectation of ultimate rehabilitation in a post-Hitler homeland. Such "failure to see things as they were" had clashed early on with the perceptions of the Jewish community that the history of Jews in Germany had come to its end: *Auswanderung* was not *Exil*, even if the migrants maintained an intense interest in the unfolding dramas of German and European affairs. The focus had shifted.

History also shifted the significance of the several countries of settlement.[4] Until the mid-1930s, first Germany's European neighbours, then Palestine, became the major areas of refuge. Continental Western Europe served as a first target for political refugees and Jews in flight before actual or anticipated personal arrest, torture and worse. Precise numbers cannot be determined because of the large number of illegal entries, entries on visitors' visas, double counts of departures to other destinations, etc. Considered estimates for France range to up to 30,000 for the period after March 1938 (Austria, Czechoslovakia) for non-transients, 6,000 each for Belgium, Holland, and pre-1939 Czechoslovakia, 5,000 for pre-1938 Italy (before the passage of the antisemitic legislation), 2,000 for Denmark and Norway, 3,000 for Sweden. The number of transient refugees in European countries between 1933 and 1945 cannot be determined precisely. Refugee and émigré status (legal categories) may have been granted to up to 17,000 Jewish persons in war-time Switzerland. Great Britain admitted up to 11,000 transient and permanent refugees up to September 1938 and about 55,000 after the November pogroms of that year (including Austrian and Czech nationals). The outbreak of the war delayed the re-emigration of substantial numbers who had been admitted with that expectation by the Home Office until after the war's end.

Until 1936, Palestine was the first choice for émigrés among overseas countries. The total number of Jews from Germany admitted by 3rd September 1939, based on official statistics, was 55,000, presumably including changes from visitor to immigrant status. In 1936/1937 the USA began to admit a larger number of immigrants from Germany, a fact that turned US immigration statistics from the red (departures of aliens) into the black (excess of arrivals over departures). Of the about 250,000–300,000 European refugees from all countries and of all types, admitted until aliens of enemy nationality were debarred after Pearl Harbor, the number of Jews from Germany is estimated at about 132,000. This does not include those arriving after the armistice and the substantial admission of war victims under the Displaced Persons Act.

Less precise are estimates for refugee settlement in Central and South American

[4] For a detailed analysis of Jewish emigration and resettlement cf. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration... (I)', *loc. cit.*; and *idem*, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany. Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (II)', in *Year Book XXVI of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1981, pp. 343–409.

countries.[5] Main centres were Argentina (20,000–30,000), Brazil (10,000–15,000), Bolivia (up to 5,000), Colombia (up to 5,000) and Uruguay (up to 3,500 plus another 3,500 transients). For Cuba, the preferred waiting room for those expecting admission to the USA in Central America, as many as 8,000 transients may be assumed for the years 1933–1945.

Dry compilations like the above do not reveal the human tragedies caused by the vacillations of the immigration policies of these countries. They also do not include the failures of governments in colonies, countries or continents that barred all but a few from entry: "none was too many" certainly sums up Canada's dismal role in this connection. English, American, Latin American, Swiss, and Israeli scholars have researched other countries, in part using recently opened archives.

Conditions were not conducive to the effective rescue of victims of Nazi persecution, as xenophobic moods and economic isolationism accompanied the Great Depression years of the 1930s. The outbreak of war intensified this mood. Refugees were interned as enemy aliens (France, England), vilified as "fifth column" (there were US moves, though soon abandoned, to treat the German refugees as Japanese Americans, the Nisei, were treated in California), immigration was halted in part or entirely, and enemy aliens were deported overseas. Italian and Swiss policies towards Jewish immigrants from Germany were determined in part in cooperation with Berlin, while the changing policies on refugees practised by Latin American countries reflected the balance of domestic trends between Left and Right including strong German diasporas, and the swings of foreign alignments and international trade.[6]

VI

The way in which refugees and the "refugee problem" were perceived by the varying shades of public opinion in immigration countries reflected first of all national traditions. Some countries had incorporated the humanitarian idea of giving political asylum to victims of persecution in their national ethos and could look back at considerable achievements at least until the First World War. England, for example, had been a centre for such exile for centuries, and the debates surrounding the Aliens Act of 1905 proved beyond doubt that its political classes guided the population into respect for this tradition even if economic factors were seen as legitimate motives for limiting immigration. France, Switzerland and other European countries could look back on similar traditions. The conditions met by refugees in the 1930s, however, were defined by laws that had marked the change in this liberality of outlook since the First World War. France had actively sought the admission of foreign workers after 1918, while Switzerland, like other European countries, tightened rules for admission under the impact of the Great Depression. In none of these countries can any awareness be found in published opinion that a

[5] For a recent analysis of Jewish immigration in Latin America see, Achim Schrader and Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, *Europäische Juden in Lateinamerika*, St. Ingbert 1989.

[6] For a detailed review and literature see, Herbert A. Strauss, 'Changing Images of the Immigrant in the USA', in *Amerika Studien/American Studies*, vol. XXI, no. 1 (1976), pp. 119–137.

new era was about to begin in viewing those seeking asylum, refugees, in terms other than as foreign nationals to be given merely temporary shelter. Those who stayed on or made a permanent home in the country of refuge faced a national culture-consciousness that left no legitimate room or model for the delicate and unstable balance of acculturation other than that of complete public suppression of foreign moulds. Anglo-conformity, Franco-conformity, Germano-conformity (for the increasing flow of foreign workers began in Germany before the First World War), rested on unquestioned convictions of national cultural superiority. Even countries of immigration such as the Latin American republics saw themselves as Catholic and Hispanic and strove, especially under nationalistic governments, to restrict expressions of immigrant minority cultures in the public domain. A special historic position in relation to immigrant cultures prevailed in Palestine: its modern Jewish population was, in the overwhelming majority, stimulated by Eastern European patterns of Nationalism to create a nation and revive a language by a sheer effort of will. The thrust of national consciousness – the creation of a Jewish homeland and culture – was directed at overcoming the cultural diversity of the immigrants' countries of origin.

That such national attitudes were not the only options available in viewing immigrants can, however, be demonstrated by the changes in collective attitudes towards immigrants occurring in American political and cultural consciousness. Anglo-conformity, to be sure, was one of the attitudes dominating the colonial period and the "national" period of US history in the nineteenth century. It viewed the country as essentially Protestant and, at times, developed considerable political and cultural animosity towards Catholic immigrants such as the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century. It was revived in the 1890s, when racist prejudice was held to have a scientific basis, and was subsequently incorporated in American immigration law – the national quota system – that prevailed when Jewish immigrants from Germany began to arrive in the 1930s. Immigrants had been expected to Americanise and shed old loyalties even in the liberal view of the American as "the new man" that had been articulated as early as 1782 by J. H. St. J. Crevecoeur.[7] When eighteenth-century attitudes of natural law, freedom of growth, and the purposes of political union gave way to the national period (the 1870s or 1880s), American national images of the immigrant acquired a humanistic tinge that prevailed on many levels as an "American dilemma" (Gunnar Myrdal): economic needs for an underpopulated and as yet not fully settled continent counselled liberal immigration policies. The nineteenth-century image included another strain in the liberal image of the land of unlimited opportunity, where economic exploitation, if present, differed significantly from the feudal oppression of European countries. The idea of the melting pot in the cities, or on the rural frontier about to close in the 1890s, appeared to correct the national exclusiveness of earlier thought and was still really another variant of the Anglo-conformity tradition: the immigrant melted into the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant structure: his heritage would be gracefully received into the fold.

When mass immigration began in the 1880s, the idea of "cultural pluralism"

[7] J. It. St. J. Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), modern edn., New York 1963.

emerged to account for what social idealists observed on the Lower East-sides of the American cities: the mass was too critical to melt as prescribed. Force-fed Americanisation (as practised still in the First World War to defuse the presumed radicalism of the foreign worker) was to give way to social reform, the immigrant ghetto was conceived as having ultimately integrative functions, if integration was understood as the two-or-three-generational process it turned out to be. Yet, as recent scholarship has again tended to confirm, the best and most liberal thinking of the period, informing for example a multi-volume study on immigration sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation in the 1920s,[8] rested on an integrative social model of America.

The last changes in the image of the immigrant came too late to affect German-Jewish immigrants: from the mid 1960s on the political culture discovered the "ethnic revolution". Historians of American immigration and labour recognised that "ethnicity" (in the environmental sense of cultural anthropology) had been and was a central factor in American life. Popularised as "ethnic pluralism" it strove to redefine minority and race relations, and elaborated a model of society that sparked considerable empirical research. Even if public concern with its findings may have given way since then to new balances between integration and fragmentation, the understanding of acculturation as an enduring "unstable equilibrium" in demographically plural societies offers considerable insights into present trends in industrial or post-industrial society, American or European.

VII

It also supplies a useful model for the history of Jewish immigrants from Germany after 1933. To be sure, the immigrants were never a uniform group. Persecution swept up the entire spectrum of a population because of their politics, their religion, or their descent. They were a predominantly urban group, but still had amongst them a significant segment of village dwellers or of those recently relocated from village to city or town. More than comparable migrants, they were differentiated in their occupations. The files of the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration, New York, preserve the names or biographies of 35,000 people who, for one reason or another, appeared in print, the media, bibliographies, the membership lists of institutions of higher learning, professional organisations, schools, business directories, political parties, cultural organisations, and similar sources. An unknown but presumably high percentage were of Jewish religion or background.

Culturally, too, no overall uniformity can be observed. Since 1881, German Jewry had included a significant number of people at various stages of acculturation between Polish-Jewish and German-Jewish patterns of culture. They numbered up to 160,000 immediately after the First World War, about 100,000 during the Weimar Republic and in 1933 every fifth German Jew was a first-generation immigrant in Germany. They, and the artists, writers, singers, actors, film-makers, theatre

[8] Recent edition: W. S. Bernard (ed.), *Americanization Studies. The Acculturation of Immigrant Groups into American Society*, 10 vols., Montclair, N.J. 1973.

people and journalists of non-German background made significant contributions to the cosmopolitan and innovative forms of entertainment that had made Berlin a world centre of the arts for some years.

A further sub-group expressive of a high level of occupational differentiation and social mobility was constituted by scholars and scientists – two thirds of the about 2,000 German academics dismissed from their positions in 1933/1935 and listed in the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés*[9] were of Jewish religion or descent. They, and the comparatively large percentage of Jews among lawyers, physicians and other academic professionals, placed this emigration in the front rank of mature late-emancipation Jewish social structure, a step further on from the predominantly business community of the preceding stages. Still, the bulk, as indicated, reflected the earlier concentrations (commercial pursuits, lower middle class). In their countries of refuge, the image of the immigrant has been formed by the high visibility of these intellectual élites, whose dastardly and contemptuous treatment at the hands of a government still controlled by the German conservative establishment led to a rapid decline in German prestige among Western intellectuals and opinion makers. The British response was the first and most committed (such as the formation of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning), even if in the end the resources of the United States and its establishment gained the key advantages from this massive influx of brain and talent.

Yet, the benefits implied are tempered if the human costs and the tragic losses caused by the uprooting of an entire community are dwelt on. German Jews, unlike the so-called "White Russian" emigration following the First World War, did not withdraw into the self-contained language and culture ghettos of the kind they had created in Berlin or Paris, but for a variety of reasons, including the collective experience of being deserted by the very establishments and networks they had once been part of, responded by creating a new present and a new future for themselves and for their children.

It might be useful to exemplify the comprehensive process of cultural change in a limited and concrete field, the economic behaviour of the ideal-typical "average" German-Jewish immigrant. The first point concerns the continuity of behaviour and attitudes in the countries of immigration. Using Milton Gordon's useful if limited categorisation – limited in areas covered and the underlying assumption of almost "an iron law of assimilation" – this middle class entered the work process in all countries of resettlement. Levels were, of course, related to training, financial condition, openings for an individual's skill, connections (and/or luck) and other factors. Many starting jobs in England were determined by the admission of refugees on permits for household work. With the outbreak of the war, refugees volunteered or were drafted for war-related work. A major episode in their history was the internment of "the lot" and the deportation overseas of some of them, with a tragic loss of life when one steamer (*Arandora Star*) was torpedoed by a German U-Boat on the way to Canada.

[9] Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 / International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 3 vols., Munich –New York–London–Paris 1980–1983, vol. II, 1983.

It is this "average" German-Jewish middle-class immigrant whose social history in selected countries of settlement permits some tentative comparative observations. Economically, poor pay was characteristic of the job levels available or necessary to gain entry. For England, following the 1938 pogroms, the Home Office issued numerous permits for work as maids and butlers – with consequences ranging from the absurd to the hilarious. In the USA, most immigrants entered a labour market still severely curtailed by the effects of the Great Depression that changed only when rearmament production began in earnest. In Palestine, economic recovery had already begun in the early 1930s, before immigrants from Germany arrived, but for a significant number manual labour, in rural or industrial employment, was the rule. In Latin American countries, entry jobs appeared to have been obtained primarily in the commercial sectors of the economy. The several serious-minded attempts to resettle German Jews in rural occupations appeared to have lasted only in the so-called *Mittelstands-Siedlungen* in Palestine, and with the significant number of *chaluzim* and pupils of the Youth *Aliyah* who found new roots in *kibbuzim*, some of which they founded from scratch. In the USA, German Jews, resettled as chicken farmers in the states of New York and New Jersey (partly sponsored by the Jewish Agricultural Society), did not survive the erosion of small farm agriculture following the end of the war. In Bolivia, some few thousand Jewish immigrants were settled on the land in view of their having been at least part-time farmers (cattle dealers) in Germany, but could not cope with the entirely different climate and conditions of sub-tropical frontier agriculture, and returned to the cities as small traders or pedlars, in competition with fellow Jews or earlier waves of immigration. In Argentina, German Jews joined the agricultural colony "Avigdor", founded in the nineteenth century by the philanthropist Baron Hirsch. After several decades, the colony had lost most of its Jewish "gauchos". The agricultural settlement "Rolandia" in Brazil found success when it turned to coffee planting as advised by their landlord (*Companha de Terras Norte do Paranà*, a subsidiary of Parana Plantations Ltd., a British trading and colonisation agency). Founded in 1934, the colony was settled mainly by people persecuted for their Jewish descent and had a relatively small number of Jews by religion.

The main lines of economic development appear to have been in line with the urban and commercial past of German Jewry. Only Great Britain appears to have developed a scheme to attract manufacturers as a group to invest in "depressed areas" in the North-East of England. The involvement in business and manufacturing in the USA cannot be estimated with precision – there are few conclusive data. The first volume of the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés*[10] lists big business, banking and manufacturing concerns founded by German-Jewish immigrants, although complete and exhaustive documentation may have eluded the editors. In practically all countries of settlement success may well have been defined by reaching the levels of activity and income that had prevailed in the homelands – and these levels ranged from the middling company to small and very small-scale retailing, selling insurance, transport companies and small craft workshops across the entire spectrum of business. This meant, in practice, that

[10] Strauss and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch, op. cit.*; see also note 5.

significant sectors among first-generation immigrants retained a lower-middle-class marginality. For many, the German *Wiedergutmachungs-Pensionen* following on retirement made the difference between an old age of poverty and independence.

For the second generation and their children, available data for several countries suggest a significant turn from commercial activities to services – the tertiary sector in the direction of the post-industrial service society. This, too, suggests continuity in patterns of mobility, but it also coincides with what has been observed about Jewish social mobility in other industrial societies, particularly the USA, but also Argentina, Great Britain and, presumably, Israel. Like their peers, children and grandchildren of immigrants are found in the professions, in management, science and the humanities, space technology and engineering, government service including the foreign services, education and educational administration, recently also in elected offices in parliaments and in higher government service. Although precise data are missing, the highly visible peaks of this pattern of mobility appear to coincide with a broader trend on other levels. In Israel, for which data to assess the entire range of these changes have not yet been forthcoming,[11] similar shifts to a professionalisation of second and third generations of German-Jewish immigrants appear to have occurred; for example in the universities, education and educational administration, government service, library and archival institutions, and possibly other areas.

If these tentative observations suggest similarities derived from the structure of the immigrant group as well as the societies they settled in, relating them to the images of the immigrant outlined above will suggest significant differences in the field of identification. The main difference emerging here derives from the differences in attitudes to immigrants in national cultures and immigration countries. In Israel,[12] the immigrant understood his *Aliyah* as a return to the homeland, even if the original reason for coming there was in part motivated by economic and occupational considerations; exclusion from German life had led, in many cases, to a rediscovery of Jewish roots – in the German tradition. "Yet the immigrants became confused when they discovered how alien that cultural life was to them. It was the Hebrew language... which caused much difficulty... even when they had learned the language they still found cultural life in Palestine strange and remote both in form and substance... most of them had little or no knowledge of English – the official language during the period of the British mandate – and even less of the other local language, Arabic."[13] The German Jews developed a network of cultural, social welfare, self-defence, religious and other organisations that amounted to a sub-culture in cities like Tel Aviv where a critical mass of immigrants had settled.

The dilemma between the exclusion and discrimination that were part of American society and its political and social traditions of openness to newcomers – within the two-tier racially defined society – determined the public image of the German-Jewish refugee in similar fashion. Opinion polls indicate that antisemitic attitudes

[11] However, a first comprehensive publication in Hebrew has been published very recently under the auspices of the Jerusalem Leo Baeck Institute: Yoav Gelber, *New Homeland. Immigration and Absorption of Central European Jews 1933–1948*, Jerusalem 1990.

[12] For the following see Curt D. Wormann, 'German Jews in Israel. Their Cultural Situation since 1933', in *Year Book XV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1970, pp. 73–103.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

remained strong long after 1945. The record, as analysed by several American historians, has laid bare the political and social constellations that kept Congress, Presidency and bureaucracy from liberalising immigration provisions even during the extreme emergency years of the Holocaust. The immigrant embraced with fervour the Liberal and Left-wing image of liberality and integration and promoted the real contribution made by immigrants as the traditional model for this "nation of nations" (Louis Adamic, 1940). Like other immigrants before them, the refugees established a differentiated network of organisations designed to respond to the economic, cultural, religious, social, even scholarly requirements and values of their situation. As other immigrants arrived in some numbers after the Second World War and the "new immigration" from Third World countries and Central and Latin America changed American perspectives, organisations and individuals passed through the changing balances of a differentiated process of culture change. Today, fifty years after the last major "wave" of Jewish immigrants from Germany entered the country, and the majority have now retired from active life, the issues that agitated this immigration group in its earlier stages have become moot. Economic and social roles for the individual have become a matter of choosing the reference group that befits his or her predilections. Organisations complete circles of acculturation depending on their functions, remain independent, change their membership, or join the larger American (-Jewish) groups that offer continued support and gradual change towards serving a broader clientele. On individual and organisational levels, German Jews have been submerged in mainstream America.

As for the reception of immigrants in Great Britain and the pattern of their acculturation the scholarly discussion has only begun. The England of 1938/1939 was, of course, an immigrant country, but the mainly Irish incomers were seen in terms that had been frozen by centuries of Irish dependence, by religion, and by class. Those political exiles admitted with great loyalty to principle in the nineteenth-century tradition were never perceived as immigrants. Yet, recurring national panic gripped the population in time of war, in 1914 even German-Jewish immigrants who had risen to high positions within the establishment were suddenly perceived as potential enemy agents (Sir Ernest Cassel, Sir Edgar Speyer for instance), and Jewish refugees fleeing persecution and hating the same enemy were interned with little discrimination in 1940. Records from many sources published after the thirty-year limit on confidentiality had passed indicate the divisions of attitudes towards the refugee that emerged at the time from the divided press, the debates in the House of Commons, or the exemplary record of for example, the Anglican Church and the universities after 1933. Since sociability and status attribution in British society were related to language, locality, class, and region in fine gradations, the relationship of auto-stereotype and other-stereotype for this loyal and war-time-tested group of immigrants and their children must be reconstructed today for a country as yet not on the way to a multi-racial society.

Social and Cultural Impact

Prefatory Note

The theme of this section might appear to tell the story of those Jews who came to Britain from German-speaking Europe and achieved some eminence in their chosen walk of life. It is based on the assumption that their common Central European Jewish backgrounds make these persons a distinctive, identifiable group, whose career paths, outlooks and behaviour make them worth studying as a group. There are nevertheless some problems of definition. Who is a Jew? Any member of the Jewish religious community, no doubt. Equally, for our purpose, anyone born of Jewish parents who at one stage or another of his or her life left the community either for another denomination or for a non-denominational limbo. The character of many such people was influenced by their Jewish background. They would, in most cases, be publicly considered to be Jews. It would be slightly odd to describe Benjamin Disraeli as the well-known Victorian Anglican Prime Minister. But what is to be done about those of partly Jewish descent, those whose Jewish backgrounds lie two or even three generations back, those who ostentatiously deny that they are Jews or assert that they lack all Jewish identification and that irreducible segment, however small, of whom it is simply impossible to ascertain whether they have Jewish ancestors? There might, indeed, seem to be something indecent, after the experience of the Nuremberg Laws, in investigating ethnic origins in such an obsessional way. We have nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, tried to include all those for whom it is reasonable to suppose that their careers were influenced, whether positively or negatively, by their Jewish origins. There is a further difficulty. Especially in the arts, in academic life and in politics those Jews who came to Britain formed part of a larger group that left Germany or Austria for economic or political reasons. This was true of the nineteenth-century business community, of the post-1848 political exiles and above all of the refugees from Nazi Germany. To tell their story by excluding all of those who were not of verifiably Jewish descent would be both arbitrary and misleading. Where a particular profession, as that of psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, was overwhelmingly Jewish that raises no problems. But in music, art and architecture or political science the Jews concerned were inseparable from their Gentile colleagues: "Weimar culture" contained many Jews, but not only Jews. Hence it makes no sense, in talking of the origins of Glyndebourne to mention Rudolf Bing, but ignore Fritz Busch or Carl Ebert; to talk of Erich Mendelsohn but not Walter Gropius; or Richard Löwenthal, but not Franz Borkenau. Indeed, the inter-denominational character of this emigration makes an important statement about the integration of intellectual German Jews in pre-1933 German society.

Mitchell G. Ash

Central European Emigré Psychologists and Psychoanalysts in the United Kingdom

Introduction

Many discussions of the migration of German-speaking, mainly Jewish, scholars, scientists and professionals from Central Europe after the Nazi takeover of power focus, surely rightly, on their contributions to science and culture in their new homelands.[1] Too often, however, the term "contribution" is used as though the émigrés came with already-finished pieces of knowledge which they then added like building stones to already existing scientific or cultural edifices. Such static metaphors, and the conceptions of science, scholarship and culture on which they rest, do insufficient justice to complex, interactive processes of knowledge or cultural transfer and the dynamics of social and cultural change which inform them. True, writers now generally recognise that some form of acculturation preceded or even shaped the émigrés' contributions, but even this usage often presupposes a static conception of a culture, into which émigrés are perceived to have fitted more or less well. Such language has the virtue of conforming to the usage of the time. Yet, it also implicitly obscures the potential flexibility of cultural structures by taking them as given. Moreover, it misses what could be the most important issue – the changes that may have been necessary both in the émigrés' thinking, methods or attitudes and those of their erstwhile hosts in order for contributions to occur at all.

In what follows I shall focus on the last issue, looking especially at the role of disciplinary and extra-disciplinary organisations and institutions as mediators in the complex process of cultural or science transfer.[2] Given the complexity of the processes involved, my thesis is comparatively simple. I shall contend, firstly, that the cases of psychology and psychoanalysis both reveal, albeit in differing ways, the central role of mediating institutions and disciplinary leaders as selectors of scientists and knowledge for transfer – a role far more important in these cases than that of Jewish communal groups, though these too were involved in some instances. Secondly, the differences show precisely the variety of ways in which disciplines serve as mediators of cultural values, hence the complexity of the seemingly unified

[1] Research for this paper was supported by a Study Visit award from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). I would like to thank Colin Harris of the Bodleian Library and Jill Duncan at the Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society for valuable assistance, as well as Pearl King for permission to quote from documents in the Society's archives. The Center for Advanced Studies at the University of Iowa provided indispensable facilities during the writing.

[2] The role of such mediating institutions has been emphasised in Paul K. Hoch, 'Institutional versus Intellectual Migrations in the Nucleation of New Scientific Specialties', in *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 18 (1988), pp. 1–20; and especially in Gerhard Hirschfeld, '"The defence of learning and science..." Der Academic Assistance Council und die wissenschaftliche Emigration aus Nazi-Deutschland', in *Exilforschung*, 6 (1988), pp. 28–43.

cultures to which émigrés sought to adapt. I will first discuss psychologists, focusing on the role of the Academic Assistance Council (AAC) and the assessing professors on which it relied. Then I will consider the case of psychoanalysis, in which émigré Central European Jews played a considerable, and increasingly well-explored, role in Britain. Because this is a preliminary study, the result will raise more questions than it resolves. Some of these will be mentioned in the conclusion.

Psychologists

The Emigres as a Group

The survey is limited to Central European Jewish émigrés who began or completed their training at German-speaking universities or psychoanalytic institutes before their arrival in Britain. This excludes those who came as children or adolescents and took up psychology or psychoanalysis in Britain during or after the Second World War.[3] Such a procedure is clearly appropriate in a discussion of knowledge or science transfer, though it has generally not been followed in immigration studies. For psychology, perhaps the most surprising consequence of this criterion, and also of the focus of this essay collection, is the exclusion from consideration of one rather important émigré psychologist, Hans-Jürgen Eysenck. Eysenck had barely begun his university studies when he emigrated in 1934, and neither he nor his family were Jews.[4]

At any rate, in the case of psychology large numbers are not at issue. Contrary to widespread assumptions, psychology in Germany and Austria was not a "Jewish science", either in a demographic or in any other sense. Once their Jewish members had been driven out, both psychology and psychoanalytic psychotherapy served the Nazi state, albeit in somewhat differing capacities.[5] In psychology, however, the rank of those excluded on racist grounds was at least as significant as their number. Five full professors teaching psychology in German universities were removed from their positions by the 1933 Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*, BBG) – one third of all full professors in that field. Among them were William Stern (Hamburg) and David Katz (Rostock), both members of the German Society for Psychology's executive committee, Max Wertheimer (Frankfurt), founder of *Gestalt* psychology, and Wilhelm Peters (Jena). All emigrated within a year. Otto Selz, professor at the commercial academy in Mannheim, remained in Germany until 1939, then emi-

[3] Among these were the following, as listed in Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 / International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 3 vols., Munich–New York–London–Paris 1980–1983, vol. II: Gustav Jahoda, Hildegard Himmelweit, Hugh Lytton, Mia Pringle and Bear Wolf.

[4] See entry for Hans-Jürgen Eysenck in Strauss and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 276–277.

[5] See Ulfried Geuter, 'German Psychology during the Nazi Period', in Mitchell G. Ash and William R. Woodward (eds.), *Psychology in Twentieth-Century Thought and Society*, Cambridge–New York 1987, pp. 165–188; Ulfried Geuter, *Die Professionalisierung der deutschen Psychologie im Nationalsozialismus*, 2nd edn., Frankfurt a. Main 1988; Geoffrey Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich. The Göring Institute*, Oxford –New York 1985; Regine Lockot, *Erinnern und Durcharbeiten. Zur Geschichte der Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie im Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt a. Main 1985.

grated to Amsterdam, from where he was deported to Auschwitz and murdered. When associate professors are included the proportion of dismissals and émigrés is still greater. After 1938, the director and associate director of the Vienna Psychological Institute, Karl and Charlotte Bühler, joined the exodus, along with many of their students.[6]

Relatively few émigré psychologists came to or remained in Britain. Of the 120 émigrés known to me thus far, only twelve, or ten per cent, remained in Britain, compared with more than 80, or two thirds, who went to the United States. The twelve were: Jonas Cohn, Richard Goldschmidt and Erich von Hornbostel, associate professors in Freiburg, Münster and Berlin respectively; Frieda Goldman Eissler, Hans Friedlander, Marie Jahoda, Stephan Krauss, Susanne Liebmann, Johann Loeser, Olga Marum, Paul Plaut and Gertrud Wagner. Ten others came to Britain for a time before proceeding elsewhere. Among them were two full professors, Wilhelm Peters and David Katz; Katz will be discussed below. Two younger scholars, Karl Duncker and Otto von Lauenstein, were not Jews. The remaining "transit" or temporary émigrés were: Walter Boernstein, Liselotte Frankl, Alice Friedman, Gustav Ichheiser, Emma Plank and Friedrich Weiss (later Frederick Wyatt). Of these only Frankl stayed in Britain for more than one year. All of the Jews among them went on to the United States.[7]

The following facts about the group of twelve permanent émigrés may be of interest.

1. Seven were male and five were female, a ratio of women to men somewhat higher than that among émigré psychologists overall.

2. The great majority (eight) emigrated between 1933 and 1938; only three emigrated after 1938. The emigration date of one is not yet known.

3. Six were under forty years old when they emigrated; three were older. The ages of the others at emigration are as yet unknown.

4. Still more interesting are the data on career development after emigration. Three émigrés shifted from academic to clinical or applied psychology, while seven remained in the same or a similar line of work. This differs from America-bound émigrés, who tended to a far higher extent to shift to clinical or applied fields.[8] It should be noted, however, that many of the seven had already begun to combine academic and professional work before leaving the Continent.

The Academic Assistance Council and Discipline Leaders as Selectors

Like other émigré scholars, scientists and professionals, psychologists who considered coming to Britain faced economic difficulties posed by the Depression, legal

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[6] Mitchell G. Ash, 'Disziplinstruktur und Wissenschaftstransfer – deutschsprachige Psychologen in der Emigration', in *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 7 (1984), pp. 207–226; on the dismissals see also Geuter, *Professionalisierung*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99ff.

[7] For biographical data and criteria of selection see, *idem* (ed.), *Daten zur Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie*, vol. I, Göttingen 1986, pp. 10–11, 253–282. Additional data come from the files of the Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (hereafter SPSL), Bodleian Library, Oxford. The status of another émigré, Ilse Hellman, like Frankl a Vienna-trained psychologist, is unclear at the time of writing.

[8] See Mitchell G. Ash, 'Emigrierte österreichische Psychologen. Fragestellung und Überblick', in Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft II. Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft*, Munich –Vienna 1988, pp. 252–267.

hurdles set by restrictive British immigration policies and domestic opposition on economic, ethnic or antisemitic grounds. A further complication was the policy of selectivity enunciated by Home Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare. In a 1936 lecture, he spoke of "gratitude for all the services that the Jewish intellect *[sic!]* has rendered to humanity", but asserted there was "no reason why the world of thought should differ from the world of industry", and emphasised that "very careful selection" was necessary in order to harvest the "capital in the form of skill, knowledge and foreign technical processes" that the émigrés could provide – capital that could "help to make this country the intellectual centre of the world". Such remarks were clear signals that émigrés would be assisted according to their practical economic value.[9]

In addition, academic psychology in Britain was not in a good position to receive émigrés, because the field had not expanded in the way it had in the United States by that time. In 1933 there were only five psychology professorships in Britain – two in London and one each in Cambridge, Manchester and Edinburgh – compared with more than one hundred in the United States. This was due in part to the differently structured university systems in the two countries at that time, and in part to persisting scepticism among British academics about the intellectual legitimacy and practical value of the field. In dramatic contrast was the considerable growth in applied psychology, particularly in education and child guidance. The membership of the British Psychological Society numbered more than 800 by 1941; most of the association's members were evidently not academics. Perceived applicability was clearly an important reason for the predominance of so-called "objective" methods, mainly psychophysical or statistical measures descended from the "biometry" of Francis Galton and Karl Pearson. The perceived relevance of psychology to certain social policy concerns – particularly that of intelligence testing to educational issues – was one reason for Cyril Burt's advancement to a chair at University College, London, in 1932. From that vantage Burt was in a position to have considerable impact on the reception of and selection among émigré psychologists in Britain.[10]

A brief discussion of two émigrés, one academic and one applied psychologist, may help illuminate the thesis expressed at the outset about the role of mediating institutions and discipline leaders as selectors in science transfer.

David Katz

David Katz, Wilhelm Peters, Jonas Cohn, Richard Goldschmidt and Erich von Hornbostel all exemplify the point already made above, that the émigrés in academic psychology were not numerous, but important. Katz, an authority on the perception of colour, the senses of touch and taste, and comparative psychology, was Professor of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy at Rostock University. He was forced to leave that post even though as a veteran of the First World War he was

[9] Samuel Hoare, 'The Academic Refugee' (1936), repr. in *The Lecture Recorder*, 8 (1939), on p. 201; see also Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*

[10] On the history of academic and applied psychology in Britain, see Lester S. Hearnshaw, *A Short History of British Psychology, 1840–1940*, London 1964; Gillian Sutherland, *Ability, Merit and Measurement. Mental Testing and English Education, 1880–1940*, Oxford 1984; Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex. Psychology, Politics and Society in England, 1869–1939*, London 1985. On Burt's appointment see, Lester S. Hearnshaw, *Cyril Burt, Psychologist*, New York 1981, pp. 128f.

technically exempt from the BBG. The state government of Mecklenburg got round the exemption by eliminating his position. He came to Britain in 1933 with the initial support of the Academic Assistance Council and a local assistance committee at the University of Manchester, headed by the distinguished historian Lewis Namier. His wife and co-worker, Rosa Katz, who was also a psychologist by training, and their children remained in Germany at first; all came to Manchester when Katz's dismissal became official in January 1934.[11]

When the AAC grant came up for renewal in 1935, testimonials were solicited from four of the leading psychologists in Britain: Robert Thouless of Glasgow, James Drever of Edinburgh, T. H. Pear of Manchester and, most notably, Cyril Burt in London. All assessments were positive. Thouless did note that Katz, like most German experimentalists, was ignorant of statistical methods, but thought that there were many areas where this would not matter. Burt wrote that he regarded Katz "as undoubtedly the ablest of the German psychologists who have been seeking hospitality in this country", and added that "he has shown himself peculiarly adaptable to English methods and English institutions". Though Burt offered no explanation of the latter remark, Pear fleshed out its meaning in his assessment: "He has made friends everywhere among the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish members of the university and city community." Moreover, he had helped to direct an investigation funded by the Manchester Research Council on colour perception in fog, which could have practical implications for traffic regulation as well as theoretical significance. He also utilised his skills in sensory psychology in consulting work for the Research Association of British Flour Millers on improving the taste of bread.[12]

With his broad research interests and clear signs that his work could have practical value, Katz thus seemed well on his way to improving his position in Britain. An attempt was made at this time to bring him to London. With support from the Halley Stewart Foundation arranged by Julian Huxley, and a grant from the Academic Assistance Council, he did research with animals at the London Zoological Garden and laboratory work at University College while continuing consulting work for the flour millers' association. Walter Adams of the AAC wrote to the Emergency Committee in New York that he would be available only for a permanent post in America. Offers of permanent positions were indeed forthcoming, albeit neither from Britain nor the United States but from Istanbul, in September 1936, and the next year from the University of Stockholm. The latter offer had actually been in the works for some time. Katz refused the former position, which was taken by Peters, and accepted Stockholm. He ultimately went on to a distinguished career in Sweden, becoming President of the International Congress of Psychology in 1953.[13]

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[11] Geuter, *Professionalisierung*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99f.; David Katz, 'David Katz', in E. G. Boring *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, vol. IV, Worcester, Mass. 1952, pp. 189–212.

[12] Robert Thouless to Walter Adams, 11th May 1935; T. H. Pear to Adams, 5th February and 10th May 1935; Cyril Burt to Adams, 11th May 1935; James Drever to Adams, n. d. All in SPSL, 345/4. Cf. Katz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 207–208.

[13] AAC memorandum, 17th December 1934; Adams to Namier, 25th January 1935; Pear to Namier, 5th February 1935 (copy); Adams to Burt, 20th May and 6th August 1935; Burt to Adams, 21st May 1935; Adams to Emergency Committee, 22nd July 1935; Cable from Istanbul, 14th September 1936; AAC

For Katz at least, this would appear to have been a happy ending. However, as James Drever had already written, Katz was "a man whom no country in the world, however rich in psychologists, could afford to lose without imperilling its position in the development of the science".[14] As noted above, academic psychology had grown only slowly in the United Kingdom. The only way to have retained someone of Katz's stature would have been to create a new position. His story, then, is an example of how the weak state of a discipline's institutional development could inhibit the reception of émigré scientists.

Olga Marum

As stated above, most members of the British Psychological Society were evidently not academics. Thus, it appears that there might have been opportunities for émigré psychologists who could find niches in applied fields – especially if they were willing to work outside London and perhaps undergo retraining. The case of Olga Marum shows that making such a transition from academic to applied work was not a simple task.

Olga Marum earned a doctorate from Munich University in 1918. She then worked as an assistant to neurologist Max Isserlin at a unit for brain-damaged soldiers in Munich, then at psychological laboratories in Cologne, Vienna and Freiburg, and also for four years in a juvenile psychopathic home in Cologne. Her research focused on the psychology of crippled children and the value of handwriting analysis in intelligence assessment. On paper, someone with such a broad background of academic and applied work would appear to have had prospects in Britain. Marum came to London late in 1934, with recommendations from Isserlin, Jonas Cohn and Wilhelm Peters, but with only poor language skills, in Cyril Burt's opinion. At Burt's suggestion, she did some exploratory work at homes for crippled children, and the homes' directors expressed interest in her work.[15] When she applied for Academic Assistance Council support, however, Burt was sceptical of the use of interviews by someone of different nationality, but noted that she would rely mainly on "objective methods" in her proposed work and therefore obtain more "trustworthy results". Her case was eventually referred to the Professional Committee for Jewish Refugees, which gave her a small grant in November 1936; but its director was apparently also sceptical as to whether her work would bring her higher paid employment.[16]

When Marum tried to supplement her grant by obtaining permission to practise as a graphologist, or handwriting expert, Burt suggested that she ought to apply as an "applied psychologist" instead, "because of unfortunate associations of that word in this country". The Home Office was more open-minded, but had already

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memoranda, 1st December 1936 and 11th February 1937. All in SPSL, 345/4. For details of Katz's appointment and career in Sweden see, Katz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 208ff.; Ingemar Nilsson, 'David Katz as a Swedish Psychologist', in *Proceedings of the 4th Conference of Cheiron, European Society for the History of the Behavioural and Social Sciences*, Paris 1985.

[14] Drever to Adams, n. d., SPSL, 345/4.

[15] Olga Marum, biographical statement and references; Wilhelm Peters to Skepper, 12th November 1934; Skepper to Burt, 2nd November 1934; Burt to Skepper, 7th December 1934; AAC memorandum, 13th December 1934; Home Office endorsement, 20th December 1934. All in SPSL, 523/4.

[16] Burt to Esther Simpson, 18th October 1935; Makower to Adams, 9th June 1936; AAC memorandum, 1st November 1937; Sir Henry Gauvain to Adams, 15th December 1937. All in SPSL, 523/4.

given permission to three graphologists, and wanted to see how well they did before granting more. Marum ultimately got permission to practise as a "graphologist and psychologist" in 1939, with a ringing endorsement from the newly-founded Graphological Society, though the Home Office was careful to note that "she is not at liberty to engage in any other form of medical practice". But the outbreak of war reduced her potential clientele. She struggled to find employment as a psychologist, but without success. She then tried less qualified work, but had to leave a post as a monitor for the BBC after six months because of a hearing deficiency. She died in November 1944, when a bomb destroyed her home. It was a sad end to ten years of underemployment.[17]

Further examples could be discussed, but the upshot of the discussion thus far is nonetheless clear. With a single important exception to be treated below, in Britain very few émigré Central European Jewish psychologists found academic or professional positions from which they could have engaged in transfers of their scientific knowledge or other skills. A number of reasons for this result may be suggested. One was the discipline's low level of institutional anchorage, evident in the lack of academic positions. Another was the absence of support from the British Psychological Society; the reasons for this remain as yet unclear. Opposition from British psychologists on economic grounds may have been involved, as it clearly was in other fields, notably in medicine. In the United States, however, the American Psychological Association managed to overcome such internal resistance and constitute a Committee on Displaced Foreign Psychologists, which provided at least some assistance to émigrés in the United States.[18]

Aside from such institutional and political factors, another reason appears to have been the particular methodological preferences of influential academics called upon to assess the émigrés. These worked against support for all but a few outstanding psychologists. Such preferences were not merely the idiosyncrasies of individuals, but were closely linked to societal demands on psychology in Britain. Alternative professional networks and support might have come from organisations such as the Graphological Society in London, but these were generally insufficiently developed themselves to be of much assistance.

Marie Jahoda

Of the émigré psychologists who remained in Britain, the career of only one could be called a success story. Marie Jahoda's varied career began at the Vienna Psychological Institute, where she founded the *Österreichische Wirtschaftspsychologische Forschungsstelle* with Paul Lazarsfeld, who became her husband. Its

[17] Home Office to Adams, 27th November 1936; Secretary of Graphological Society to AAC, 28th December 1937; Adams to Home Office, 28th February 1938; Home Office to Adams, 12th April 1939; Simpson to Home Office, 16th March 1939; Home Office to AAC, 3rd May 1939; Marum to Simpson, 17th February 1942, 6th March 1942 and 13th September 1944; Clara Marum to Miss Skemp, 27th January 1945. All in SPSL, 523/4.

[18] Jean Matter Mandler and George Mandler, 'The Diaspora of Experimental Psychology. The Gestaltists and Others', in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (eds.), *The Intellectual Migration. Europe and America, 1930–1960*, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, pp. 381 ff.; Mitchell G. Ash, 'Aid to Emigré Psychologists in the United States, 1933–1943. A Research Note', in Helio Carpintero and Jose N. Peiró (eds.), *Psychology in its Historical Context. Essays in Honor of Josef Brozek*, Valencia 1985, pp. 51–61. On opposition to employing émigrés in medicine, see the contribution by Paul Weindling in this volume.

work was initially financed with fees from privately commissioned market research, until a Rockefeller Foundation grant was obtained in 1931. But the Social Democratic Party of Austria dominated Viennese politics in the 1920s, and a commitment to Socialist aims was an important motivation for the work of both Lazarsfeld and Jahoda. Indeed, Jahoda later said she was "completely convinced that I would one day become Socialist Minister of Education in Austria. No question! That was the reason that I decided to study psychology."[19] This commitment was especially evident in the *Forschungsstelle's* most significant product – a now-classic "sociographic" study of the effects of long-term unemployment in the working-class district of Marienthal, in the Vienna suburbs, first published in 1933.[20] The combination of sociological and social-psychological research methods, a concern with the social psychology of work, and the hope for an impact on social change would remain consistent foci of Marie Jahoda's career.

After Lazarsfeld's departure for the United States in 1933 on a Rockefeller fellowship and his permanent emigration following the new regime's bloody suppression of a workers' uprising in Vienna in 1934, Jahoda became Director of the *Forschungsstelle* and apparently used its office as a mail drop for the Revolutionary Socialists *(Revolutionäre Sozialisten)*, the illegal successors of the banned Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria. When security police raided the *Forschungsstelle* in November 1936, she was arrested and charged with sedition. Intervention from abroad – primarily from Britain – resulted in her release in July 1937, on condition that she leave the country. She then emigrated to Britain, where the sociologist Alexander Farquharson of the University of London and others arranged a grant from the AAC to supplement funding from the International Institute for Social Research and the *Institut für Sozialforschung* in New York.[21]

Immediately upon arriving in Britain Jahoda pursued the thread of her earlier career, studying a community of unemployed workers in South Wales organised on Socialist lines by Quakers, and doing market research in Bristol. For the latter work, a four months' contract, she received – with some difficulty – an exception from the Home Office's usual policy making residence permits for émigré scholars conditional on their accepting no employment in the United Kingdom.[22] As Pinsent-Darwin Student at Cambridge, in 1939, she then conducted a study of factory girls in Bristol. This remarkable early example of participant observation yielded a highly differentiated social phenomenology of the work place, document-

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[19] Marie Jahoda, 'Ich habe die Welt nicht verändert. Gespräch mit Marie Jahoda', in Mathias Greffrath (ed.), *Die Zerstörung einer Zukunft. Gespräche mit emigrierten Sozialwissenschaftlern*, Reinbek 1979, p. 113; cf. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, 'An Episode in the History of Social Research. A Memoir', in Fleming and Bailyn (eds.), *op. cit.*

[20] Marie Jahoda, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Hans Zeisel, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* (1933), repr. Frankfurt a. Main 1975 (transl., *Marienthal. The Soziography of an Unemployed Community*, London 1972).

[21] Jahoda, 'Ich habe die Welt nicht verändert', *loc. cit.*, pp. 129ff.; Mitchell G. Ash, 'Psychology and Politics in Interwar Vienna. The Vienna Psychological Institute 1922–1942', in Ash and Woodward (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 156. On AAC support and Farquharson's role, see Farquharson to Adams, 14th October 1937, SPSL, 351/5; Adams to Cooper, 29th October 1937 and Cooper to Adams, 1st December 1937, SPSL, 433/3.

[22] Farquharson to Esther Simpson, 18th July 1938; David C. Thomson to Cooper, 29th August 1938; C. E. Gane to Home Office (copy), 10th September 1938; Simpson to Cooper, 12th September 1938; Simpson to Jahoda, 12th September 1938; Thomson to Cooper, 4th October 1938; Home Office to AAC, 12th October 1938. All in SPSL, 433/3; Jahoda, 'Ich habe die Welt nicht verändert', *loc. cit.*, p. 123.

ing both horizontal and vertical relations, distinguishing "dictatorial" from "patriarchical" supervisor-employee relationships, and assessing the effects of piecework, boredom and fatigue as well as the roles of age and sex differences in workers' attitudes to work and life in general. However, she was sensitive enough to local methodological preferences to show a certain defensiveness about the study's lack of quantification.[23]

Apparently this was not a major career inhibitor for Jahoda, as she was then asked to do social survey research for the war effort, for which she resigned her studentship. After the survey staff resigned in August 1941 because of a conflict with the Minister of Information over scientific standards, she moved on to secret war-time propaganda work, writing broadcasts for a radio programme organised by Richard Crossman, funded by the Foreign Office and beamed to Vienna from a country home in Berkshire. This work, too, ended after a policy conflict, when the Foreign Office objected to a programme critical of colonialism in India. She spent the rest of the war co-ordinating market research for the Marks and Spencer retail firm.[24]

In 1945, Jahoda moved to the United States for personal reasons, and became a co-director of the research series *Studies in Prejudice* funded by the American Jewish Committee. The move brought with it a shift in her research to issues of prejudice and racism, topics then dominant on the American scene. She had considered issues of authoritarianism and solidarity earlier, most notably in her contribution to the volume *Studien über Autorität und Familie* financed by the previously Frankfurt-based *Institut für Sozialforschung*. Moreover, as she later recalled, she had already learned about psychoanalysis from colleagues who were being analysed in Vienna while saying nothing about it to their academic employers.[25] However, her characterisation of racism as a form of emotional disorder in the 1950s was consistent with American social scientists' attempts at that time to view Fascism and racial prejudice as potentially curable social pathologies, or as rationally controllable deviance, in either case as "problems" requiring expert solutions.[26]

Marie Jahoda returned to Britain in 1958 to take up a post at the University of Sussex, with which she remains affiliated as Professor Emerita. This in itself is an example of the point mentioned above – that opportunities for academic social scientists became sufficiently available in Britain only after the war. The dual themes of Jahoda's subsequent research, race relations and employment, were in obvious continuity with her earlier career, and of equally obvious relevance to pressing social issues in post-war Britain. Most notable was her emphatic distinction between mere "employment" and work as a part of lived experience. Though the former may be governed by economic or sociological functional laws, she

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[23] Thomson to Aliens Office, 24th January 1939 and Home Office to AAC, 9th February 1939, SPSL, 433/4; Marie Jahoda, 'Some Socio-Psychological Problems of Factory Life', in *British Journal of Psychology*, 31 (1941), pp. 191–206.

[24] Jahoda to Simpson, 17th February 1942 and 15th September 1944, SPSL, 433/3; Jahoda, 'Ich habe die Welt nicht verändert', *loc. cit.*, pp. 136f.

[25] Marie Jahoda-Lazarsfeld, 'Autorität und Erziehung in der Familie, Schule und Jugendbewegung Österreichs', in Max Horkheimer *et al.*, *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, Paris 1936, pp. 706–725; Jahoda, 'Ich habe die Welt nicht verändert', *loc. cit.*, p. 117.

[26] See e. g., Daniel Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder*, New York 1950; for the context see, Franz Samelson, 'Authoritarianism from Berlin to Berkeley. On Social Psychology and History', in *Journal of Social Issues*, 42 (1986), pp. 191–208.

insisted that the latter, with its psychological dimensions, required consideration in its own right and a different kind or level of explanation.[27]

Marie Jahoda's career, though varied, has shown remarkable continuity through three different stations of emigration. Of course, this was due primarily to her own vitality and competence, which were noticed in Britain from the beginning.[28] But her interest in socially relevant issues and her ability to combine academic and applied research were also noted. These played important roles in her selection by disciplinary leaders at the outset, and thus contributed in important ways to her success.

Preliminary Conclusion

Even after considering a small number of cases it appears clear that it is true but insufficient to say that there were not enough places for psychologists in Britain. The case of Marie Jahoda suggests that it would be more accurate to say that there were not enough places of a particular kind. What seems to have been wanted were, in academics, either a mastery of quantitative or other research techniques deemed "objective", or the ability to orientate research to practical policy concerns or economic interests. Fulfilling the latter demand was clearly easier for émigrés with a commitment to or previous training in such work. However, as the case of Olga Marum shows, even such psychologists often struggled, and some did not succeed. This was also the case in the United States during the same period. It was only after 1945, with post-war economic prosperity and growing demand for applied and clinical work, that many émigrés there were able to make careers in their chosen fields. By that time, however, only a few émigré psychologists remained in Britain.

Psychoanalysis

The Emigres as a Group

The relative size of this group of émigrés was considerably different from that of psychologists, though its absolute size was not. As is well known, prominent Nazis declared psychoanalysis a "Jewish science", and the emigration of Jewish analysts from Germany began only months after the seizure of power in 1933. Of these early émigrés a few went to Britain, including Paula Heimann, Käte (later Kate) Friedlander, Franz Cohn, Hilde Maas and Walter and Melitta Schmideberg. Others came after 1935, such as Barbara Lantos, who had gone first to Paris but then came to London, in part at Friedlander's invitation as someone who spoke the same "analytic language", i. e. who, like herself, had been trained at the *Berliner Psychoanalytisches Institut*.[29] The trickle became a flood after the German annexation of Austria. On 20th March 1938, only eight days after the annexation, the *Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung* was dissolved, and nearly the entire member-

[27] Marie Jahoda, *Employment and Unemployment. A Social-Psychological Analysis*, Cambridge 1982.

[28] See e. g., Ginsberg to Adams, 14th October 1937, SPSL, 351/5.

[29] Barbara Lantos, 'Kate Friedlander 1903–1949. Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency', in Franz Alexander, Samuel Eisenstein and Martin Grotjahn (eds.), *Psychoanalytic Pioneers*, New York 1966, p. 512.

ship joined thousands of other Jewish scientists, professionals and business people in a headlong escape. By the end of 1938, only four of the *Vereinigung*'s members remained in the city.[30]

Many Viennese analysts came first to Britain, including Edward and Grete Bibring, Ludwig Eidelberg, Solomea Gutmann (later Isakower), Otto Isakower, Wilhelm and Hedwig Hoffer, Ernst and Marianne Kris, Eduard Hitschmann, Max Schur, Maximilian Steiner, Erwin Stengel, and Josephine Stross. Others came from Central Europe, such as the Hungarian analysts Michael and Alice Balint. Some, however, had departed by 1941, nearly all for the United States. An exact count of émigré analysts in Britain has not yet been published. One recent study lists nine temporary and twelve permanent émigrés from the membership of the *Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung*, excluding analysts in training.[31] Taking German and other Central European analysts into consideration, the membership list of the British Psycho-Analytical Society for the year 1939 yields a total of 39 émigrés, including full members, associates and guests, but again excluding analysts in training. This was rather more than the twelve permanent and twenty-one total émigré psychologists, but the important point is that émigrés made up more than one third (35.5 per cent) of the Society's membership in that year. The following discussion refers to these, excluding, for lack of space, non-Freudians such as Wilhelm Stekel as well as Adlerian and Jungian analysts.[32] One émigré, Anna Freud's close friend and co-worker Dorothy Burlingham, was American and not Jewish.

The most famous émigrés, of course, were Sigmund Freud himself and his daughter Anna. Their stories are too well known to be retold here, except to note the essential facts – that the Freud home was raided twice, that Anna Freud was interrogated by the *Gestapo* on 22nd March 1938, only ten days after the *Anschluß* and that the Freud family and party ultimately obtained exit visas and immigration permits with the help of Princess Marie Bonaparte, William Bullitt, the American Ambassador in Paris, and especially Ernest Jones's friends, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, and Earl de La Warr, Lord Privy Seal.[33] The British government's seemingly extraordinary gesture of welcome was in fact consistent with Hoare's announced policy of selectivity among academic and professional émigrés, already described.[34] It also deeply affected the intellectual and institutional history of psychoanalysis in Britain in a variety of ways.

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[30] Johannes Reichmayr, '"Anschluß" und Ausschluß. Die Vertreibung der Psychoanalytiker aus Wien', in Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft I. Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft*, Munich–Vienna 1987, pp. 141 ff.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–144.

[32] The names listed have been drawn by the author from a variety of sources, including Strauss and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch*, *op. cit.*; Reichmayr, *loc. cit.*; and membership lists in the Archives of the British Psycho-Analytical Society (hereafter BPS). On Adlerians see Bernhard Handlbauer, '"Lernt fleissig Englisch!" Die Emigration Alfred Adlers und der Wiener Individualpsychologen', in Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft II*, *op. cit.*; on Wilhelm Stekel see Martin Stanton, 'Wilhelm Stekel. A Refugee Analyst and his English Reception', in Edward Timms and Naomi Segal (eds.), *Freud in Exile. Psychoanalysis and its Vicissitudes*, New Haven 1988.

[33] For details see Peter Gay, *Sigmund Freud. A Life for Our Time*, New York 1988, pp. 618–629.

[34] See notes 2 and 9.

BACKGROUND: PSYCHOANALYSIS IN BRITAIN AND ERNEST JONES AS SELECTOR

The cultural setting of psychoanalysis in Britain differed considerably from that of Austria, Germany or the United States.[35] Though the occupational mix of the British Psycho-Analytical Society was not very different from that of the Vienna association, the presence of members of the Bloomsbury Group and other élite, culturally progressive circles made its political constellation subtly different. Though a psychoanalytic clinic existed in London, the Messianic-Socialist drive to provide free analysis to all in need which had led to the founding of the Vienna *Ambulatorium* and the Berlin Clinic was not so much in evidence. One particularly significant feature was the British Society's openness to lay, i. e. non-medical, analysts who made up forty per cent of the membership. Jones managed to gain a certificate of recognition from the British Medical Association in 1929, at the cost of allowing lay analysis only under the supervision of physicians like himself. Even so, it is difficult to speak of psychoanalysis as an established profession in the 1930s, in comparison with psychiatry or medical psychotherapy. Precisely the coterie characteristic of the field in Britain – and also the fact that there were very few Jews in the British Society before 1933 – are important parts of the background to the activity of Ernest Jones as selector among the émigrés.

A long-time friend and colleague of Freud, Jones had been co-founder of the British Psycho-Analytical Society in 1919, after an initial attempt in London six years earlier foundered in dissension. He was instrumental in early efforts to translate Freud's works into English – he spoke of creating a "standard edition" even in the 1920s – and encouraged members of the Society, such as James and Alix Strachey, to travel to Vienna and Budapest to be analysed by Freud and Sandor Ferenczi, though he did not do so himself.[36] In his capacity as President of both the British Society and the International Society for Psycho-Analysis, he was – along with Anna Freud as General Secretary of the International Society – centrally placed to aid in the transfer of Jewish analysts from Central Europe. The Home Office routinely consulted him in its handling of work and residence permit applications by Freudian analysts.[37] His unstinting service in the effort to find positions for émigré analysts has been widely noted, but archival research shows that he was not always so generous and open in his treatment of other émigrés as he was with the Freud family. Both general and professional politics could and did complicate his role.

The case of Wilhelm Reich indicates the role of general political considerations and the way in which these could interact with institutional politics. One of the leading training analysts in Vienna in the 1920s, Reich moved to Berlin in the early 1930s and became a Communist committed to both sexual reform and political

[35] For the following see esp., Edward Glover, 'Psychoanalysis in England', in Alexander *et al.* (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 535–538; David Rapp, 'The Reception of Freud by the British Press. General Interest and Literary Magazines, 1920–1925', in *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 24 (1988), pp. 191–201; Pearl H. M. King, 'Early Divergences between the Psycho-analytical Societies in London and Vienna', in Timms and Segal (eds.), *op. cit.* Cf. Hearnshaw, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Gregorio Kohon, 'Notes on the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement in Great Britain', in *idem* (ed.), *The British School of Psychoanalysis. The Independent Tradition*, London 1986.

[36] On Jones's role in the 1920s see, Vincent Brome, *Ernest Jones. A Biography*, New York 1983; R. Andrew Paskauskas, 'The Jones-Freud Era, 1908–1939', in Timms and Segal (eds.), *op. cit.*

[37] Home office memorandum, 6th November 1938, Public Record Office, HO 213/342.

revolution; his activities stirred increasing dissension among analysts. In 1933 he travelled throughout Europe trying to establish a new base of operations. Jones appears at first to have had an open mind on Reich, but after meeting him several times and consulting with Anna Freud and other leading members of the Society, he ultimately decided that Reich would have to choose between his commitment to psychoanalysis and his political commitment. This was an impossible request, given the fact that for Reich they were one and the same.[38] Perhaps Jones had this case in mind when he wrote to a Dutch colleague at that time that he had to beware of "the association between Jewry and Communism" in Parliament and the Home Office.[39] Reich ultimately went to the United States.

The case of Robert Waelder illustrates more directly the role of professional politics in Jones's selective activities. Waelder had represented the *Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung* in an exchange of lectures with the British Society in 1935, and had left a mixed impression. When he applied for a residence permit in 1938, he did not receive it. As Jones wrote to Anna Freud, "I agree with the others that his personality does not lend itself easily to assimilation."[40] One meaning of this remark may have been that Jones perceived Waelder's alleged "arrogance" as a threat to his own dominant, but increasingly tenuous, position in the British Society. He also feared conflict with the Society's then-dominant faction, the adherents of Melanie Klein. However, such conflict was the inevitable result of his welcome to the Kleinians' chief adversary, Anna Freud herself, only months later (see below).

Another important professional-political aspect of Jones's role was his decision to channel some émigrés to provincial cities such as Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester, in order to expand the base of psychoanalysis and to lessen competition for case referrals in London.[41] The first aim was clearly achieved through the work of the Balints in Manchester, of E. Haas in Birmingham and of Franz Cohn and Erwin Stengel in Bristol. The Balints in particular – whom John Rickman apparently invited to Britain without consulting Jones – established a strong independent training programme; Michael Balint had already joined the Society's Training Committee by 1944.[42] That Jones shared his friend Sir Samuel Hoare's view of the émigrés in economic terms became clear when he referred to Stengel in particular as an "investment" and later as "an especially good acquisition", because he was a psychiatrist as well as an analyst.[43]

As has already been noted, some analysts who came to Britain in 1938 and 1939 did not remain. One study lists nine Viennese who had departed by 1941; the total is

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[38] Riccardo Steiner, 'C'est une nouvelle forme de diaspora... La politique de l'émigration des psychoanalystes d'après la correspondance d'Ernest Jones avec Anna Freud', in *Revue Internationale D'Histoire de la Psychoanalyse*, 1 (1988), pp. 263–321.

[39] Jones to J. H. W. van Ophuijsen, 25th April 1933, see also 4th April 1933, Jones Papers, BPS.

[40] Jones to Anna Freud, 29th April 1938, quoted in Phyllis Grosskurth, *Melanie Klein. Her World and Her Work*, Cambridge, Mass. 1987, p. 221.

[41] Jones to Anna Freud, 26th and 28th April 1938, Jones Papers, BPS.

[42] Erwin Stengel to Jones, 8th October 1938, Jones Papers; Training Secretary to E. Haas, 26th October 1943; Council minutes, 14th June 1944. All in BPS.

[43] Jones, 'To Anna [Freud], very important', n. d. and 28th April 1938, and cf. Anna Freud to Jones, 28th April 1938, Jones Papers, BPS.

surely higher.[44] Though another author has suggested that few émigré analysts came to Britain in any case because they distrusted Jones, "who did little to encourage them",[45] this reluctance cannot be laid entirely at Jones's door. The Battle of Britain made cities dangerous places, and non-citizens – if they were not interned as "enemy aliens", like Erwin Stengel – required special permission to go to the countryside. Many émigrés wrote that they went to the United States for personal reasons, or because they had intended to do so from the beginning, not because they felt excluded or driven out in London.[46] For some émigré analysts, however, the sense that professional opportunities would be better elsewhere was closely associated with the impression that the British Society was dominated by adherents of one Central European Jewish psychoanalyst who had come to Britain more than ten years before – Melanie Klein.

Melanie Klein and Anna Freud

The conflict between Melanie Klein and Anna Freud is central not only to the fate of Central European Jewish psychoanalysts in Britain, but to the history of the psychoanalytic movement as a whole. It is also of particular relevance to the claim that an acculturation process mediated by inner-disciplinary dynamics shaped the émigrés' contributions. Before 1938, the controversy could be and was conducted at the safe remove of separate institutional locations. The arrival of the Viennese analysts, including Klein's chief rival, after 1938 literally transported the struggle into the confines of the British Society itself.

Born in Austria, Melanie Reizes became Melanie Klein when she broke off her studies to marry an engineer. She "discovered" psychoanalysis when she read Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* while living in Budapest, and went to be analysed by Sándor Ferenczi. She left Hungary after the authoritarian, antisemitic Horthy regime took power there in 1919, and later studied with Karl Abraham at the *Berliner Psychoanalytisches Institut*. After Abraham's death, she sought new patronage and received a hospitable welcome in Britain in 1926 after having lectured in London the year before. She became a member of the British Society in 1927. Her reception was due both to interest in extending psychoanalysis to children by Alix Strachey and others, and to Jones's sponsorship, which in turn was forthcoming after Klein analysed his wife and children.[47] Partly on the basis of an analysis of her own children, she had already developed an approach to child analysis quite different from that being created by Anna Freud in Vienna at the same time. A brief sketch of three areas of difference between them may help in understanding the conflicts that followed in Britain.[48]

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[44] Reichmayr, *loc. cit.*, pp. 141–142, names Edward and Grete Bibring, Ludwig Eidelberg, Eduard Hitschmann, Otto Isakower, Ernst and Marianne Kris, Margarete Mahler and Max Schur. Solomea Gutmann, who married Otto Isakower in Britain, should be added.

[45] Grosskurth, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[46] See e. g., Eduard Hitschmann, 'Some Autobiographical Notes by Dr. Eduard Hitschmann in Relation to Psycho-Analysis', BPS, p. 6. On Stengel's internment on 28th June 1940 and release in November see, Stengel to Simpson, 4th November 1940, SPSL, 398/7.

[47] King, 'Early Divergences', *loc. cit.*, p. 128; cf. Grosskurth, *op. cit.*, pp. 159ff.

[48] For more complete accounts see, Uwe Hendrik Peters, *Anna Freud. A Life Dedicated to Children*, New York 1985; Grosskurth, *op. cit.*; Elisabeth Young-Bruehl, *Anna Freud. A Biography*, New York 1988; as well as, King, 'Early Divergences', *loc. cit.*, and Kohon, *loc. cit.*

The fundamental differences were theoretical, focusing on the interpretation of Freud's schema of psychical development and his concept of the death instinct. Klein dated the Oedipal situation much earlier than Freud had, following Abraham in relocating both the oral and anal stages, and thus the emergence of the ego and super ego. Still more radically, she reconceived the content of early infantile fantasies as desires and fears of imagined objects understood as endopsychic counterparts to the Freudian drives. In the 1930s, she extended her theory to the psychoses and advanced the claim that there were certain basic unconscious attitudes to these objects persisting throughout life, which she called "depressive" and "paranoid-schizoid positions". Anna Freud, in contrast, conceptualised early infantile psychical development in a manner that would reconcile it with and build on her father's tripartite "structural" model of the psyche. In the 1930s, she created, with Heinz Hartmann and others, the first systematic account of the ego's repertoire of defences against unconscious drives and wishes, based in part on analyses of children in the post-Oedipal or latency period and in part on autobiographical material. Most notable of these were altruistic surrender and identification with the aggressor. Thus, whereas Melanie Klein and her followers pushed the frontiers of psychoanalytic thinking as it were backward into infancy, Anna Freud and her followers extended them forward into puberty while simultaneously maintaining and demonstrating the viability of child analysis.

A second area of difference lay in conceptions of psychoanalytic technique, particularly the timing and role of analysts' interpretations. Klein was convinced that her version of play therapy was a way of bringing out infantile fantasy material and corresponding object relations for direct interpretation by the analyst. Anna Freud viewed such interpretations as purely symbolic, hence inadequate indications of underlying unconscious processes. In consequence, her views on technique and intervention were more cautious.

Perhaps most important for their reception in Britain were the two women's differing conceptions of the purpose of psychoanalytic therapy. In the 1920s, these centered on questions of pedagogy – i. e. whether child analysts should emphasise adaptation to parental and societal norms, or encourage free self-development. The British analyst and teacher Susan Isaacs, through her work at the Malting House School in the late 1920s and as Head of the Department of Child Development at the Institute of Education in London from 1933, vigorously promoted Klein's position that all children should be analysed as part of their general education, whether they were deemed neurotic or not. Isaacs's and Klein's emphasis on fantasy and self-expression encouraged liberal, tolerant attitudes towards children, but did not provide clear advice on behaviour appropriate to specific ages, or on recognising and dealing with pathology.[49] Anna Freud, again in contrast, warned that psychoanalysis was a delicate instrument best used with caution, and consistently maintained that the pedagogical role of the child analyst was that of a mentor alongside parents and teachers.

Already before 1938 a controversy had begun within the British Society over the implications of Klein's thinking for technique and research. According to a later

[49] Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 188f.; cf. Grosskurth, *op. cit.*, chap. 2.

account by her daughter, Melitta Schmideberg, the early impact of Klein's thinking in Britain was to encourage optimism about the possibility of child psychoanalysis and the belief that by pursuing Klein's version of it British analysts could become pioneers, not mere recipients of wisdom from Vienna. Some scepticism had apparently set in before 1938, however, related to doubts about the verifiability of Klein's assertions and anxiety about what she claimed to find in children's unconscious.[50] The two antagonists had developed their key theoretical concepts in parallel and to some extent in opposition, Klein mainly though not entirely in Britain, Anna Freud mainly in Vienna before her emigration. It is difficult to say to what extent the fact of emigration determined the development of the ideas themselves, but it is much more obvious that events immediately following the arrival of Anna Freud and many of her and her father's supporters in Britain shaped their transmission.

The "Controversial Discussions" and their Impact

The issues between the "Kleinians" and the "Viennese", as the two groups called one another, came to a head first at extraordinary meetings of the Society in 1942 and 1943, then in the "Controversial Discussions" held in 1943 and 1944. Since these have been discussed in detail elsewhere, it is only necessary here to bring out some of the dimensions of the conflict as it ultimately affected the work of émigré analysts in Britain.[51]

First of all, this was a battle for control of the Society itself. Younger British analysts had evidently become resentful of the patriarchal control exerted by Jones and Edward Glover over the Society for nearly twenty years. Parallel to this ran the struggle amongst the Europeans and their British supporters for control of the Society's Training Committee, i. e. of the intellectual and professional formation of psychoanalysts in Britain. The émigrés kept largely in the background of the former struggle, but not of the latter.

A related dimension of conflict was the issue of medical versus lay analysis. Glover was particularly hostile to Klein for claiming authority to treat psychotic cases without medical training. He and others appear also to have resented implications that the Kleinians, most of whom were female and many of whom were lay analysts, were better therapists than the Society's male, physician leaders.[52] However, Anna Freud, too, and some of her supporters were women with no medical degrees; hence in this respect the alliances were overlapping and refractory.

Despite efforts to maintain appearances of friendliness and liberality, a touch of xenophobia or at least of cultural differences occasionally entered into the proceedings. As James Strachey wrote to Glover, for example; "The trouble seems to me to be with extremism on *both* sides... These attitudes are of course purely religious and the very antithesis of science... Why should these wretched fascists and communists invade our peaceful compromising island? (bloody foreigners)." In

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[50] Melitta Schmideberg, 'A Contribution to the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement in Britain', in *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 118 (1971), pp. 61–68.

[51] The most detailed and thought-provoking discussion is Riccardo Steiner, 'Some Thoughts about Tradition and Change Arising from an Examination of the British Psycho-Analytical Society's Controversial Discussions (1943–1944)', in *International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, 12 (1985), pp. 27–71; see also Grosskurth, *op. cit.*, Part 5; Young-Bruehl, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 266ff.

[52] Schmideberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 62; cf. Glover, *loc. cit.*, p. 544.

another letter he castigated Anna Freud in particular for behaving as though psychoanalysis were "a Game Preserve belonging to the Freud family and that Mrs. Klein's ideas are fatally subversive."[53]

Also important, however, was the economic uncertainty of war-time. As patients left London, and others were called to military or auxiliary service, the primary professional function of psychoanalysis in Britain up to that time – as provider of relatively expensive therapy to a select clientele – appeared in jeopardy. Participants recognised that this may have lent a particularly desperate tone to the proceedings.

Given these multiple and refractory lines of conflict, the outcome was amazing. Intellectually, all agreed, the result was a clarification of the differences between the Kleinian and Anna Freudian positions, or at least of the territory under dispute. Riccardo Steiner attributes this to acceptance by all parties of a "minimum code of reciprocal acceptance", rooted partly, perhaps, in the British tradition of tolerance, but mainly in an avoidance of the anxiety-driven dogmatism that had riven psychoanalytic societies elsewhere.[54] Institutionally, the compromise reached after the war was quite unique in the history of psychoanalysis. Training took place henceforth in two groups, group A the Anna Freudians and B the Kleinians. Trainees could choose one group or combine courses and elect to affiliate with neither. The motives for this compromise appear to have been a mixture of understandable desires in both factions for intellectual and practical independence, and an apparent lack of intense interest on the part of British analysts in achieving theoretical unity within the Society at all costs. Some émigrés appear to have regretted this outcome. Barbara Lantos, for example, wrote that it was frustrating to give students "heterogeneous training", but noted that "it was Anna Freud's wish to avoid controversy, while giving our students as much as they were willing to accept [of 'orthodox' tenets]. This was respected by all of us."[55]

In fact, Anna Freud and the group around her benefitted tremendously from the new arrangement, less within the Society than by organising an alternative training centre alongside it without splitting. The story began with the Hampstead Nurseries, which were organised during the war to treat children deprived of parents by death or separation and were extraordinarily successful from the start. Emigrés were deeply involved in all aspects of the operation. Staff included Martha Herzberg and Josephine Stross, as well as Vienna-trained psychologists Ilse Hellman and Liselotte Frankl; Kate Friedlander and Barbara Lantos gave basic courses to non-analyst staff; and many of the trainees, too, were émigrés.[56] Reports of particularly provocative cases written with Dorothy Burlingham, including six children of concentration camp victims, gave Anna Freud a world reputation.

At the urging of Friedlander, who had organised psychoanalytical child guidance clinics in West Sussex, Anna Freud set up the Hampstead Child Therapy Course in 1947. Five years later came the founding of the Hampstead Clinics, at which more

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[53] James Strachey to Glover, 28th April 1940, quoted in Grosskurth, *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 257; cf. Steiner, 'C'est une nouvelle forme', *loc. cit.*, pp. 301 f.

[54] Steiner, 'Some Thoughts', *loc. cit.*, esp. p. 59.

[55] Lantos, *loc. cit.*, p. 514.

[56] Young-Bruehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 ff.

than one hundred analysts had been trained by the late 1970s; more than forty-four were practising in Britain, and a similar number in the United States. Uwe Hendrik Peters's claim that these developments made child analysis essentially independent of general psychoanalysis may be somewhat overdrawn; one might just as well speak of the British Society's reluctance to grant official recognition to the Hampstead programme, which did not occur until 1971.[57] The success of these ventures remains undeniable. It is important to note, however, that part of the institutional framework supporting child analysis was centred in the United States, most notably the journal *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, and that, despite her evident preference for life in Britain, Anna Freud received far more recognition, honours – and funding – for her work from America.[58]

As for Melanie Klein, the impact of her work and ideas in Britain has been considerable, in the 1930s through Susan Isaacs's pedagogical reform efforts, during the post-war period through the work of students such as Hanna Segal but most importantly through that of independent child therapists John Bowlby and Donald Winnicott. Neither can now be called "Kleinian" in any strict sense, but their work made "object relations theory" a cornerstone of post-war psychoanalytic thought.[59] Object relations theory has also been taken up in feminist theory. Indeed, Melanie Klein's concepts may be more intellectually alive in that realm than anywhere else.[60]

Conclusions and Questions for Research

As stated at the outset, this is a preliminary study. Perhaps it is already clear that the differing impacts of Central European Jewish psychologists and psychoanalysts in Britain were due in part at least to the disciplinary structures and the theoretical and methodological preferences of the disciplinary leadership then in place. These mediating institutions and leaders played decisive roles in giving some émigrés a forum for further developing, propagating and passing on their ideas and methods, while denying the stage to others.

In the case of psychology, it seems clear that the émigrés were more objects than subjects of history. The most prominent among them were unable to remain in Britain because there were no positions commensurate with their rank. Still others, like Olga Marum, succumbed before they could grasp such opportunities. In only one case, that of Marie Jahoda, was there successful science transfer; and her career shows the importance of complex interactions between the personality and adaptability of émigrés, the particular combination of academic and applied research and consulting services they were prepared to offer, and local demand circumstances. Further study is needed of the interactions of psychology and psychoanalysis in Britain, for example the work of Vienna-trained psychologists as diagnostic testers

[57] Peters, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–176; cf. Young-Bruehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 395ff.

[58] See e. g., Young-Bruehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 334ff.

[59] For a recent account, see Judith E. Hughes, *Reshaping the Psychoanalytic Domain. The Work of Melanie Klein, W. R. D. Fairbairn, and D. W. Winnicott*, Berkeley 1989.

[60] Naomi Segal, 'Freud and the Question of Women', and Teresa Brennan, 'Controversial Discussions and Feminist Debate', both in Timms and Segal (eds.), *op. cit.*; see also Nancy Chodorow, *Psychoanalysis and Feminist Theory*, New Haven 1989.

in the Hampstead Nurseries, mentioned above, and also of those who adapted productively, albeit quietly, to their new situation by working as clinicians after 1945. Susanne Liebmann, for example, who had studied colour perception with the *Gestalt* psychologists in Berlin and also practised speech therapy with her father, a physician, was admitted to Britain in 1939, but only for work as a servant. After requalifying as a psychiatric nurse in 1942, she eventually found a position as a speech therapist at a colony for the mentally handicapped in Wiltshire, where she still lives.[61]

The situation of psychoanalysis was considerably different and more complicated. In the British Psycho-Analytical Society, émigré analysts had a stage on which to act; and they have had a considerable effect on both the theoretical and institutional development of the "British school", though it is fair to say that this impact has begun to diminish with time and generational change. Despite fears that the British Society's training scheme would ultimately harden lines of division, the number of analysts calling themselves members of the Kleinian or Anna Freudian faction has diminished, and the self-consciously eclectic "middle" group, later called "Independents", has gained the ascendancy, so much so that the editor of a recent volume sees fit to construct for it a historical tradition of its own. The editor acknowledges the influence of both Melanie Klein and Anna Freud on that tradition, but the urge for liberation from these foremothers is unmistakeable. Only two émigrés appear on that editor's list of prominent Independents – Paula Heimann, who broke with Melanie Klein in the 1950s, and Michael Balint, who was for a time President of the British Society.[62]

The relationships of such impacts – and their limitations – to general trends in post-war British society and culture has only been hinted at thus far, and largely remains to be explored. One such issue discussed of late is the cultural transfer involved in the creation of the Standard Edition of Freud's works translated into English – or rather, as Bruno Bettelheim has charged, into a Latinised, pseudo-scientific version of that language – in the 1950s and 1960s.[63] Another aspect is the role of émigrés in shaping the historiography of the psychoanalytic movement itself. The collaboration of Jones and Anna Freud on Jones's monumental biography of Sigmund Freud, for example, is still in need of a detailed account and evaluation.

Perhaps the most significant issue is the impact of science or cultural transfer on practice. Some writers have emphasised the role of Central Europeans in establishing and expanding psychoanalytic training in the United States, and suggested that their orthodoxy – or their understandable desire to maintain what they took to be true psychoanalysis – along with the requirement of medicalisation there, shaped that training in profoundly conservative ways.[64] Others have suggested that the success of ego psychology in the United States went hand in hand with a clear shift

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[61] Susanne Liebmann questionnaire, 8th October 1938; Liebmann to Thomson, 21st October 1938; Liebmann to Ursell, 13th October 1947. All in SPSL, 346/2.

[62] Gregorio Kohon, 'Prefatory Remarks', in *idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 19; see also his 'Notes', *loc. cit.*

[63] Bruno Bettelheim, *Freud and Man's Soul*, New York 1981. For examinations of the issue see the essays in Timms and Segal (eds.), *op. cit.*, Part III, esp. Riccardo Steiner, 'Die Weltmachtstellung des Britischen Reiches. Notes on the Term "Standard" in the First Translations of Freud'.

[64] Lewis A. Coser, *Refugee Scholars in America. Their Impact and Their Experiences*, New Haven 1984;

of emphasis towards adaptation rather than self-discovery as the primary goal of therapy.[65] One recent study suggests that such a shift to a "revamped and normalizing psychoanalysis" also occurred in post-war Britain.[66] A full assessment of that claim would have to account for the relative balance of the Kleinians and the ego-orientated Anna Freudians within the British Society during the 1950s.

Recent research has focused on the war work of British psychoanalysts – largely non-émigrés – and the forging from this of an alliance with medical psychotherapists at the Tavistock Institute. That alliance in turn played an important role in securing both a place for psychotherapy in the National Health Service after the war, and a training role for psychoanalysts at the Tavistock.[67] Seen in that context, the irony would be that both Melanie Klein and Anna Freud contributed to the professionalisation of psychoanalysis in Britain – which in the post-war period meant its increasing, though by no means complete, medicalisation – in spite of being lay analysts and insight-orientated therapists themselves. This, too, like the emergence of the Independents, would be evidence of the historically circumscribed nature of their achievements. For it was only in Britain, which has consistently been less dogmatically opposed to lay analysis than other countries, that these two innovators could live and work freely. Yet it is unclear to what extent it would be possible for them to do so today.

Sigmund Freud called himself at times "an infidel Jew" or "a godless Jew", and was outraged by the Nazis' imposition of Jewish identity on him. At a meeting of the *Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung* on 13th March 1938, however, he showed enough identification with his heritage to compare his own and his followers' emigration with the story of Jochanan ben Zakkai after the destruction of the Second Temple. Though she appears to have been ignorant of Jewish customs, Anna Freud, too, called the migration of psychoanalysis "a new form of diaspora".[68] Indeed, the Hampstead Nurseries and Clinic, where she and so many émigrés worked, might well be described as an attempt to preserve and cultivate the Freudian tradition, not unlike that of the Torah schools of old. The fate of that tradition in Britain has been as ambiguous as that of so many Jews here – survival and uneasy assimilation.

Nathan G. Hale, Jr., 'From Berggasse XIX. to Central Park West. The Americanization of Psychoanalysis 1919–1940', in *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 14 (1978), pp. 299–315.

[65] Paul Roazen, *Freud and his Followers*, New York 1976; Russell Jacoby, *The Repression of Psychoanalysis. Otto Fenichel and the Political Freudians*, New York 1983; Reichmayr, *loc. cit.* See also the pungently critical remarks by Bruno Bettelheim, 'Kulturtransfer von Österreich nach Amerika illustriert am Beispiel der Psychoanalyse', in Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft II*, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–220.

[66] Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[67] Pearl H. M. King, 'Sur les activités et les influences des psychoanalystes britanniques durant la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale', in *Revue Internationale D'Histoire de la Psychoanalyse*, 1 (1988), pp. 133–165; cf. Henry Victor Dicks, *Fifty Years of the Tavistock Clinic*, London 1970.

[68] On Freud as "godless Jew" and Anna Freud's ignorance of Jewish customs see, Gay, *op. cit.* the reference to Jochanan ben Zakkai is cited in Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud. Life and Work*, 3 vols., London 1953–1957, vol. III, *The Last Phase 1919–1939*, p. 236. The quotation from Anna Freud is in Steiner, 'C'est une nouvelle forme', *loc. cit.*

ALFONS SÖLLNER

On Transit to America – Political Scientists from Germany in Great Britain after 1933

Throughout modern history manifold intellectual relations have been established between Britain and Germany and, especially since the Enlightenment, it was only natural that the import of ideas originating with persons of Jewish descent corresponded to the rising number of Jewish scholars and writers in German intellectual life.* As regards the emergence of modern social sciences in the nineteenth century, the names of Marx and Engels designate a constellation of undisputed significance. Only a few years later, a similar intensive mutual fructification began between Social Democratic "Revisionism" and the Fabian Society – for example, it is interesting that in 1896 the still unknown Bertrand Russell made his debut at the London School of Economics with six lectures on German Social Democracy.[1] English Neo-Hegelianism represents another and more traditional line of influence, which in 1918 was still strong enough to provoke L. T. Hobhouse's critique of the "metaphysical state".[2] But when at the same time Harold J. Laski started to construct his theory of the pluralistic state, he could do so by partially basing his anti-metaphysical thinking on eminently German historicists, such as Otto von Gierke.

I only refer to these well-known cross-connections in modern intellectual history in order to state a few methodological generalisations which also hold true for the period after 1933, when conditions of intellectual exchange had been severely tightened. Cultural influence is usually based on reciprocity; one affects others and is affected by them in turn, in the process of learning one also teaches things and *vice versa* – at least in the long run. So, in the process of emancipation, i. e. in the course of the nineteenth century, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish Jewish from German, English or whatever national culture, which does not mean belittling the continued exclusion or discrimination of the Jewish minority and its cultural achievements. Scholarship and higher learning constitute a field of culture which was certainly long affected by national and other boundaries, but in the twentieth century things changed considerably. Although modern sciences sprang from national roots and retained national features, they now became embedded into a process of internationalisation which affected natural sciences much earlier and more strongly than social sciences, a process that accelerated until it became an autonomous factor.

* This article is part of the research project: "Transfer of knowledge through emigration", which was organised by the director of the Berlin *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung*, Herbert A. Strauss and sponsored by the *Stiftung Volkswagenwerk*.

[1] For the Fabian Society and the foundation of the London School of Economics see, Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie, *The Fabians*, New York 1977, esp. p. 207.

[2] L. T. Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, London 1918.

It was to this international community, formed in solidarity with the emigrants, that William Beveridge, then director of the London School of Economics, appealed in May 1933, when he tried to persuade the academic public to support those scientists who had been sacked by the Hitler regime.[3] It is well known that his appeal led to the foundation of the Academic Assistance Council, later the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. We are well acquainted with the achievements of that most important relief organisation; they were made possible by both extensive information campaigns and generous donations, thanks to which in the first two years of its existence 62 scholars were able to obtain a permanent placement in British universities and other institutions, while 148 others were offered a temporary placement.[4] Yet we also know about the biased distribution of these funds. Thus social scientists clearly rank behind natural scientists and technologists and even behind scholars working in the field of the humanities. Furthermore – and this goes for all these sectors – from the first only an élite of already prominent individuals known for outstanding achievements was taken into consideration.

Of course, this selectivity had to do both with the restricted financial means, which had to be raised privately, and with the situation of the academic labour market during the 1930s, when the relative, though not the absolute, number of both students and lecturers showed a downward movement. But it was also the result of a deliberate policy that combined – not without reason – celebrity with the profit to be expected from offering help to prominent scholars; the high degree of internationalisation of natural science probably gave additional significance to both criteria. In the appeal formulated by Beveridge, who saw Jewish and non-Jewish scholars as being equally entitled to support,[5] the accumulation of criteria for the selective procedure is not as apparent as in the phrasing of a resolution passed by the Cabinet on 12th April 1933, which mentions only "prominent Jews who had achieved distinction whether in pure science, applied science, such as medicine or technical industry, music or art", and then goes on to disclose the realistic counterpart of the recommended philanthropy as follows: "This would not only obtain for this country the advantage of their knowledge and experience, but would also create a very favourable impression in the world, particularly if our hospitality were offered with some warmth."[6] How far the warmth of governmental hospitality reached can be measured by the fact that a financial programme for the realisation of these plans was never even thought of.

It is this ambivalence in attitude towards the academic emigrants which, together with the conditions for the admission of a specific group, reveals how little chance most of these people had to be culturally influential. What had – necessarily – happened in the relationship of the theory and the practice of a liberal asylum policy, such as Great Britain pursued during the 1930s, repeated itself on the more abstract and in a certain way more vulnerable level of cultural relations: to find refuge from

[3] William H. Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning*, Oxford etc. 1959, p. 1.

[4] See Gerhard Hirschfeld, 'Die Emigration deutscher Wissenschaftler nach Großbritannien, 1933–1945', in Gottfried Niedhart (ed.), *Großbritannien als Gast- und Exilland für Deutsche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Bochum 1985, p. 124.

[5] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

[6] Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 121.

the persecutor is much, but it does not automatically imply the creation of those social conditions that are an indispensable requirement for the free production and circulation of ideas.[7] This is an important point, especially with regard to the well-founded supposition that of all countries to which refugees from Germany were driven in the 1930s and 1940s, Great Britain was the one in which the groups of political exiles could operate if not in the freest (thinking of the internment wave in 1940), at least in the most constructive manner. This comparison with exile politics, especially with that pursued by the Socialists or by Social Democrats[8] gives a clearer outline to the question of the spheres of activity opening up for emigrants working in the social sciences in Great Britain.

I shall now go on to discuss a small, but probably representative, group from the wide field of social sciences, namely that of emigrant political scientists, which means that I shall exclude sociologists, economists and specialists in law. In several respects this group constitutes an artificial unity. First, it comprises people selected on an abstract, cognitive basis, the social and political dimensions of which are so far practically unknown. Secondly, the world-wide migration of refugees from the Hitler regime, a process which was more or less directed by chance and which was in any case highly individual, is being reconstructed in retrospect as if it had been based on a collective objective. Thirdly, and this is the most problematic of these points, there existed no discipline of that name in Germany at the time of the Weimar Republic, and consequently the future political scientists came from all sorts of different backgrounds; all they had in common was that they were graduates from German-language universities. With that I have referred to a final restriction in the selection of the group I analysed: it only encompasses emigrant political scientists of the "first generation" and not the probably larger number of those who were still children or adolescents at the time of their emigration and only began their academic education in the host countries.

Going through the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés*, which can be considered the most reliable source on the professionals among the Hitler refugees,[9] with these criteria in mind, one gets a group of about 65 persons (of whom less than half show up as of Jewish confession or having Jewish parents). What can – on a purely quantitative level – be deducted from this group with regard to the British mother country as a place of refuge? Of these 65 people, most of whom turned their back on Germany shortly after 1933, only fifteen (that is less than a quarter) came into contact with Great Britain at all; of these fifteen persons, ten continued their migration after a short stay of usually less than three years, that is mostly before 1936. Only five were able to remain in Great Britain during the war, thanks to the more or less secure posts they had obtained, and yet

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[7] See the chapter on England in Hans-Albert Walter, *Asylpraxis und Lebensbedingungen in Europa*, Neuwied 1972, p. 78 and *passim*.

[8] See Werner Röder, *Die deutschen sozialistischen Exilgruppen in Großbritannien 1940–1945*, 2nd edn., Bonn–Bad Godesberg 1973; to compare Great Britain with other countries see his 'Introduction' to volume II of Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 / International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 3 vols., Munich–New York–London–Paris 1980–1983.

[9] Strauss and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch*, *op. cit.*

again it is quite interesting that of these five only one finished his career in Great Britain, while the four others returned to West Germany sooner or later. We get a clearer picture of this migration process if we compare Great Britain with other host countries: as a country chosen for a purely transitory stay Great Britain ranks closely behind France (with eleven individuals from my group) and ahead of Switzerland (with nine individuals); as a country chosen as the final destination it ranks second behind the United States, but with a large gap between them. Of the 65 emigrant political scientists, 54 individuals or almost 85% reached the United States as their final destination; 23, i. e. more than one third emigrated directly to the US, while the rest of them passed through several countries in transit.[10]

Numbers such as these are indispensable for the analysis of the history of the Hitler refugees as a migration process. Indeed the expulsion or emigration of the professionals alone reached quantitative and regional dimensions of a kind that can only be dealt with statistically, even if we ignore the political exile and the general Jewish migration in the 1930s and 1940s.[11] Yet it is also evident that numbers are of limited significance if we also deal with questions of cultural action and interaction. What obviously holds true for artistic and free intellectual influences, namely that they are a matter of atmosphere and therefore hard to objectivise, also applies to a lesser extent to the humanities and social sciences; their impact often makes itself felt in a microsphere, in which individuals exchange ideas in a manner that is often hardly ponderable. One way to objectivise these interactions (in a somewhat superficial manner) would be to concentrate on the professional career, that is on the step forward or backward a professional made in the institutions of his field. How did a stay in Great Britain rank in the development of a German emigrant into a political scientist?

First I would like to list alphabetically the ten emigrants who passed through Great Britain in transit. Mentioning, where it exists, their major scholarly achievement might serve as a first step to characterise their professional positions and to draw some lines in the complex history of scientific knowledge.

Heinrich Brüning was a former member of the Catholic Centre Party and Chancellor of the *Reich* between 1930 and 1932. In 1938 he accepted a short teaching assignment in Oxford before he was appointed to a chair at Harvard in 1939. Brüning's importance was and remained based on his controversial role in the crisis of the Weimar Republic, consequently his public appearance during the years of emigration rested not in scholarly publications by himself, but in personal memoirs and secondary interpretations by (sympathetic or critical) historians.[12]

The Austrian William Ebenstein was a student of Hans Kelsen and had specialised in public law. He continued his studies at the University of London in 1934, but

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[10] For the quantitative results of my research I thank my co-worker at the Berlin *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung*, Heinz-H. Völker.

[11] For the social composition of the Jewish emigration, in general, and of its professional stratum in particular, see the two introductions by Herbert A. Strauss to *idem* and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. xi and lxxvii.

[12] E. g., see Heinrich Brüning, *Memoiren 1918–1934*, Stuttgart 1970, and Ferdinand A. Hermens and Theodor Schieder (eds.), *Staat, Wirtschaft und Politik in der Weimarer Republik. Festschrift für Heinrich Brüning*, Berlin 1967.

already two years later he left for the USA, where he received a second doctorate and started to teach political science at the University of Wisconsin. His book *The Nazi State* was adopted by the American Defense Department as a kind of textbook. In 1948 he was appointed chairman of a UNESCO project for the first comparative study of international political science, and later, as professor at Princeton University, he published several successful books both on totalitarian and democratic regimes.[13]

The Austrian Leo Gross had received a Rockefeller research grant for the London School of Economics, already before emigration. Between 1933 and 1935 he assisted Hermann Lauterpacht in editing the *Annual Digest of Public International Law* and, after half a decade with the Paris office of the League of Nations, he emigrated to the USA, where he soon became lecturer and Professor of International Law at Tufts University. While consultant to several national and international organisations, he taught as visiting professor at the most prestigious American universities such as Harvard, Yale and Columbia and became a leading authority on international law.[14]

Ferdinand A. Hermens was a specialist in political parties and election law and, already before 1933, had taken an interest in political Catholicism. In 1934 he emigrated to Great Britain and did research work at the London School of Economics. In 1935 he left for the USA, where he first became assistant professor at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. From 1938 onwards he made his career at the University of Notre Dame and gained a name for managing the *Review of Politics*, which, founded by another émigré, Waldemar Gurian, was to become the most distinguished voice of conservative academic emigration. Hermens published on a wide variety of subjects in American professional journals and, after returning to West Germany in 1959, became influential as director of the Political Science Seminary at the University of Cologne.[15]

In 1933/1934 Louise W. Holborn, sister of the German-American historian Hajo Holborn, was a student of international relations at the London School of Economics, before she left for the USA. In 1938 she received a Ph.D. at Harvard and became a teacher of history and political science at Wellesley College, Massachusetts. From 1947 onwards she taught as Professor of Government and International Relations at the Connecticut College for Women and became a leading figure in both the theory and the practice of international organisations with special respect to refugee help.[16]

Ernst Jäckh was a member of the *Deutsche Demokratische Partei* and had, as founder

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[13] William Ebenstein, *The Nazi State*, New York 1943; UNESCO, *Contemporary Political Science*, Paris 1950; for his later work compare: *Today's Isms*, New York 1954; *Totalitarianism. New Perspectives*, New York 1962; co-auth., *American Democracy in World Perspective*, New York 1967.

[14] See countless articles by Leo Gross in the *American Journal of International Law*, and his compilation: *International Law in the Twentieth Century*, New York 1969; his impact is to be seen in Karl W. Deutsch and Stanley Hoffman (eds.), *The Relevance of International Law. Essays in Honor of Leo Gross*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968.

[15] Of his publications see e.g. Ferdinand A. Hermens, *Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation* (1941), repr. New York 1972, and *The Representative Government*, Notre Dame 1958.

[16] See her *The International Refugee Organization, 1946–1952*, New York–London 1956; Louise W. Holborn with Philip and Rita Chartroud, *Refugees, A Problem of Our Time. The Work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951–1972*, 2 vols., Metuchen, N.J. 1975.

and director of the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin already gained a considerable international reputation when he came to Great Britain in the summer of 1933; nevertheless he did not get an academic post, but worked first as director of the private New Commonwealth Society of Justice and Peace, which he helped to expand on an international scale. In 1939 he became director of the Near East section of the Ministry of Information, but emigrated one year later to the USA, where he continued his academic career as a professor at Columbia University; there he founded the Near and Middle East Institute and became its director in 1950.[17]

Karl Korsch was Professor of Public and Labour Law in Jena. He had temporarily served as a Communist Minister in a *Land* Government, but had soon been excluded from the Party. After emigrating in 1933, he did not find institutionalised contact in Great Britain and was officially deported in 1935 – both events are remarkable since, before the war, Korsch had been a member of the Fabian Society and actually held a contract with the editor of the prestigious series *Modern Sociologists* to write the volume on Karl Marx; on the other hand, he did not meet with much response in the United States either, where he lived, almost forgotten, until his death in 1961. So, within our group of emigrant political scientists Korsch is an example of one for whom emigration was a professional dead end.[18]

Franz L. Neumann had been legal adviser to both Weimar trade unions and the Social Democratic Party and apparently could count on political connections, when in the spring of 1933, he escaped from Berlin to London. At the London School of Economics he finished a second dissertation in political science, but left in 1936 for the USA. He first made a living at the Institute for Social Research which had emigrated from Frankfurt a. Main to New York, where he wrote his influential analysis of Nazi Germany, *Behemoth*. In the 1940s Neumann became chief analyst in the research branch of the Office of Strategic Services and later of the State Department. After 1947 he started a remarkable career as Professor of Public Law and Government at Columbia University and, in the early 1950s, became the driving force for the institutionalisation of political science in West German universities.[19]

Sigmund Neumann had worked as a lecturer at the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik* in Berlin before emigration. In 1933 he came with a Rockefeller research grant to the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London; one year later he emigrated to the USA, where he was soon appointed Professor of Political Science at Wesleyan University and later held visiting professorships at prestigious East Coast universities. Neumann published an embracing analysis of modern totalitarianism and became an authority on the comparative study of political parties; in the 1950s and 1960s he was active in introducing political science to West German universities.[20]

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[17] Compare Ernst Jäckh, *Weltstaat. Erlebtes und Erstrebtes*, Stuttgart 1960, which, however, deserves critical reading more than any other autobiography, since the author tends to an unusual self-extenuating vocabulary.

[18] Compare Douglas Kellner (ed.), *Karl Korsch. Revolutionary Theory*, Austin–London 1974, p. 102.

[19] See Franz L. Neumann, *Behemoth. The Structure and Practice of National Socialism 1933–1944*, 2nd edn., Toronto–New York–London 1944; Herbert Marcuse (ed.), *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State*, Glencoe, Ill. 1957; and Alfons Söllner (ed.), *Wirtschaft, Staat, Demokratie. Aufsätze 1930–1954*, Frankfurt a. Main 1978, p. 7.

[20] Sigmund Neumann, *Permanent Revolution. The Total State in a World at War*, New York–London 1942; *idem* (ed.), *Modern Political Parties*, Chicago 1956.

The philosopher Leo Strauss had been a research assistant at the *Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin. He emigrated to Great Britain in 1934 and, assisted by the Rockefeller Foundation, did research in Oxford. In 1938 he went to the USA where he became professor at the New School for Social Research. In 1949 he was appointed to the Chair of Political Philosophy at the University of Chicago, where he continued to teach until the 1970s and successfully established an influential school of political thinking. Strauss published a whole series of books on Jewish and Greek political philosophy and became a leading international figure in interpreting the classical tradition.[21]

The question of how far these persons could exert any influence on the culture and science of Britain as a host country hardly needs answering. It is self-evident that they could not have had any appreciable impact. Of course, this is above all due to their not staying in Great Britain for very long and thus having little intensive contact with the institutions of the country, which were indispensable as mediators for the emigrants, who would otherwise have had to remain what they were on arrival, more or less isolated strangers. Surely every one of them had at least some kind of personal contact with local scholars, and especially the Social Democratic refugees had certain connections with the Labour Party or the trade unions. Still it can hardly be considered accidental that postgraduate studies or research work remained the most frequent form of institutionalised contact, and even more significant is the other fact, that it was mostly not British, but American money, that made these contacts possible. Here, and particularly in the role the Rockefeller Foundation played in the 1930s, we find the rather materialistic explanation for the intimate co-operation of two processes which otherwise might be seen as less connected: that the migration especially of young German academics to Great Britain was only the first step which, sooner or later, resulted in the second one, further migration towards America.

Ernst Jäckh can be regarded as an exception to this rule, but even in his case it is interesting that he got a chance only as government adviser and, at first, could not continue the pioneering role which he had played in the Weimar years as founder and director of the *Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*. Although one has to concede that Jäckh's notorious zeal for founding organisations did not always harmonise with his personal scholarly achievement, the institution he represented during the Weimar period was in certain aspects comparable to the pioneering role the London School of Economics had played in Great Britain before the turn of the century. Just as the Fabians can be considered as a scientific *avant garde* which developed the scope and method of a new science of politics out of practical needs, a similar process may be studied in Weimar Germany, where the academic establishment was probably more hesitant towards a reformist movement, even if as nationally-minded as the Jäckh circle in fact was.[22] Whereas, however, in Germany political science had not been

[21] From Leo Strauss's many books compare, e.g., *Natural Right and History*, Chicago 1950; *What is Political Philosophy?*, Glencoe, Ill. 1956; *Studies in Platonic Philosophy*, Chicago–London 1983.

[22] See Ernst Jäckh (ed.), *Politik als Wissenschaft. Zehn Jahre Deutsche Hochschule für Politik*, Berlin 1931; Alfons Söllner, 'Gruppenbild mit Jäckh – Anmerkungen zur "Verwissenschaftlichung" der Deutschen Hochschule für Politik während der Weimarer Republik', in Gerhard Göhler and Bodo Zeuner (eds.), *Kontinuitäten und Brücke in der Politikwissenschaft*, Baden-Baden 1990.

accepted as a regular university discipline, in inter-war Britain the London School of Economics became a recognised part of the university system, but was still not sufficiently developed to integrate more than a few of the German refugees.

Comparing national levels of scientific development is probably the only reliable key to the international migration of knowledge which confronts us here. As far as political science is concerned, only lately has serious research been on the way.[23] Nevertheless, it is evident that already in the 1930s the USA was the country which not only had the highest quantity of political science departments and the strongest financial and personal resources, but, on this basis, had also developed political science as an autonomous and at the same time highly differentiated discipline, which could be self-confident enough to gain international leadership in the field.[24] Compared with these dynamics even the most advanced department in Great Britain, that at the London School of Economics, appeared underdeveloped, and individual highlights such as Graham Wallas in the first, and Harold J. Laski in the second quarter of the century could hardly compensate for what the discipline as such failed to accomplish. It is in this respect interesting that the London School of Economics was still subsidised by the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1930s. Even more significant is that, to anticipate future developments, the British Political Studies Association, i. e. a national organisation of the profession, did not come into existence before 1949 and that, when it did, it was only in reaction to the foundation of the International Political Science Association which in turn was heavily dominated by American protagonists.[25] Locating the USA as the hegemonic power in the international field into which modern social sciences expanded in the twentieth century, offers the best explanation for the way Great Britain was never more than a transitory stage for the émigré social scientists. This is especially true for the political scientists among them who, in the representative *List of Displaced German Scholars*,[26] do not show up as a special category at all: they had to become the modern wandering scholars, becoming pilgrims to a new scientific Mecca, America.

Still, the emigrants' stay in Great Britain is of some interest to the history of the discipline, and this has to do with the micro-structure of cultural influences already mentioned. Looking once more at the above examples, we can in a way reverse the

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[23] See 'The Evolution of Political Science', in *International Political Science Review*, vol. VIII, no. 1 which, interestingly enough, excludes Great Britain.

[24] The classic studies are still: Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, *The Development of American Political Science*, Boston 1967; and, interesting because of the nostalgic view of a British-educated political scientist of the advanced (and misled!) American discipline: Bernard Crick, *The American Science of Politics*, London 1959.

[25] This is quite clear in the representative recollections of W. A. Robson, 'The Study of Public Administration Then and Now', in *Political Studies*, 23 (1975), p. 193; see also Jack Hayward, 'The Political Science of Muddling Through. The de facto Paradigm?', in *idem* and Philip Norton (eds.), *The Political Science of British Politics*, Brighton 1986, p. 3. That the study of politics in Great Britain was possibly not underdeveloped, but only developed in another direction is to be seen in W. A. Robson (ed.), *Man and the Social Sciences. 12 Lectures Delivered at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Tracing the Development of Social Sciences During the Past Century*, London 1972.

[26] See the several lists of the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Scholars and of the *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* in Herbert A. Strauss *at al.* (eds.), *Emigration. Deutsche Wissenschaftler nach 1933. Entlassung und Vertreibung*, Berlin 1987.

perspective and ask how these people were influenced in their careers by their stay in Great Britain. Thus we could ask what it was that these emigrants learnt when staying in Great Britain and what they could take along as intellectual luggage, so to speak, when they left the country. Certainly these questions are not easy to answer because no two of these intellectual biographies are alike. Yet I should like to discuss at least two examples, a comparison of which will prove to be quite instructive – not least because it leads to more subtle questions that have to be answered if we are going to analyse the history of the impact of the emigration – not only from the outside, as the history of a migration process, but also from the inside, as the history of knowledge. In this respect, it might be helpful to compare the biographies of Franz L. Neumann and Leo Strauss, for both of whom the confrontation with the autochthonous English tradition of thinking turned out to be directional in a specific way.

That Franz Neumann studied at the London School of Economics gains in importance because in his studies he was supervised by both Harold Laski and Karl Mannheim – one of them the best-known British political scientist of the time, the other probably the most influential of all emigrants working in the field of social science.[27] As we may read in Neumann's recently published 1936 dissertation *The Rule of Law* – is it not amazing how long the influence of the migration makes itself felt?[28] – the English Natural Law and the political and economic philosophy deduced from it became a model for Neumann that not only enabled him to part with the authoritarian implications of German public law, in accordance with which he had been brought up, but also provided him with a definitive theoretical framework for his later, very influential analysis of National Socialism. He drew a sharp line between "Behemoth" and "Leviathan", that is between the terrorist and nihilist "non-state" of National Socialism and all other forms of government, of which he said that even in their most authoritarian variants they still kept a minimum of Liberalism in maintaining a rational legal system and the separation of public and private spheres, and because they guaranteed certain individual rights.[29] For someone like Neumann, who in the 1930s more than ever was a theoretician of clearly Marxist orientation, such a model – which is nowadays more or less taken for granted – represented an important bridge that enabled him to leave behind the disaster of Weimar and to find his way into the theory and practice of American politics. In his suggestions for the reconstruction of West Germany after the war this concept would provide him with a realistic corrective framework that kept him from expecting too much of the Socialist plans for reconstruction.[30]

A quite similar mediation of these models that, however, produced a completely

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[27] For Laski see Herbert Deane, *The Political ideas of Harold J. Laski*, New York 1955; for Mannheim's experiences in England now see Sigrid Ziffus, 'Karl Mannheim und der Moot-Kreis', in Ilja Srubar (ed.), *Exil, Wissenschaft, Identität. Die Emigration deutscher Sozialwissenchaftler 1933–1945*, Frankfurt a. Main 1988, p. 206.

[28] Franz L. Neumann, *The Rule of Law. Political Theory and the Legal System in Modern Society*, Leamington Spa 1986, esp. Part III. For its place in the English period of Neumann see the postcript by Alfons Söllner in the German edition, *Die Herrschaft des Gesetzes*, Frankfurt a. Main 1980, p. 359.

[29] Neumann, *Behemoth*, *op. cit.*, esp. chap. 'Behemoth'.

[30] See Alfons Söllner (ed.), *Zur Archäologie der Demokratie in Deutschland*, vol. I, *Analysen von politischen Emigranten im amerikanischen Geheimdienst 1943–1945*, vol. II, *Analysen von politischen Emigranten im amerikanischen Aussenministerium 1946–1949*, Frankfurt a. Main 1986.

different line of reasoning is apparent in the philosophical studies pursued by Leo Strauss in Oxford between 1934 and 1938. Leo Strauss is, incidentally, one of the few émigré political scientists in whose work Jewish ideas as such are manifest. His research led to a book that shows the development of Hobbes's political science in a new light.[31] Strauss stresses not so much the *mos geometricus* of modern rationalism than the selective reinterpretation of classical ethics, which he regards as having changed the course of intellectual history decisively. In the sequel, Strauss generalised the complementary pessimistic *Weltanschauung*, from which Hobbes deduced the necessity of the authoritarian "secular God", so that it encompassed also the liberal doctrines of liberty and of happiness. Even Western political philosophy he regarded as being affected by a poisonous hedonistic and ultimately atheistic morality, or rather amorality, which proved the world as a whole to be abject and profligate.[32] The solution envisaged by Strauss was a timeless and absolutely binding Natural Law. Thus his studies on Hobbes represent a point in the work of this influential political theoretician at which a philosophy of religion orientated by the Jewish tradition changed into an idealised vision of the Greek *polis*, which has become the esoteric centre of an altogether exoteric conservative school of political philosophy.[33]

The comparison between Neumann and Strauss shows the manner in which intellectual influences were digested was decisively affected by the differences in the respective starting points. It also brings to light the great disparity between the individual developments with which we have to deal even if we concentrate on a single discipline; therefore it is problematic to analyse the history of the intellectual emigration and its consequences as a collective phenomenon. We can only trace more distinct and stronger lines of influence in those cases in which whole groups or even schools of emigrants were able to stay together and work together for a longer period, such as the New School for Social Research or the Institute of Social Research in New York.[34] With regard to exile in Britain, the only comparable example is to be found in the field of humanities – the Warburg Institute – not in the field of social sciences. That even the London School of Economics, where a certain concentration of emigrants working in social sciences can be detected, did not really wish to harbour a whole school of emigrants is revealed by a little-known episode which took place in 1933. Before they found shelter at Columbia University, Horkheimer and his colleagues from Frankfurt a. Main applied to the London School of Economics for admission. Just like the Warburg Institute from Hamburg, Horkheimer tried to make his application palatable by offering his already considerable library stocks. William Beveridge agreed to the proposition, but was then called back by his more conservative collegues, who argued that the liberal-

[31] Leo Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes*, Oxford 1936.

[32] Compare for example the chapter on John Locke in Strauss, *Natural Right and History*, *op. cit.*

[33] See the actualising articles in the collection *Liberalism Ancient and Modern*, New York-London 1968; G. S. Woods, 'The Fundamentalists and the Constitution', in *New York Review of Books*, 18th February 1988.

[34] See now Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott, *New School. A History of the New School for Social Research, 1917–1970*, New York 1986; Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Wissenschaft im Exil. Deutsche Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftler in den USA und die New School for Social Research*, Frankfurt a. Main 1987; and Rolf Wiggershaus, *Die Frankfurter Schule. Geschichte, theoretische Entwicklung, politische Bedeutung*, München 1986.

pluralistic consensus of the faculty should not be impaired by admitting a Marxist school from Germany, that is to say a collective body of émigrés instead of individuals only.

It would be hasty to add the conjecture that a Liberal-Conservative consensus prevailed at British universities that affected the possibly Marxist-orientated émigré social scientists negatively from the very beginning. And yet there is every indication that British academia showed a high degree of homogeneity, though this was more social than political, which characterised a Fabian foundation such as the London School of Economics just as much as "Oxbridge". It is in this very special respect that a paragraph from Lord Robbins's autobiography, where the above mentioned anecdote is reported, is worth quoting: "Now I had no objection whatever to offering assistance and asylum to individual Marxists who were fleeing from Hitler... But any suggestion of bringing into intimate association with the School an entire organisation of such reputation involved considerations of a completely different nature. It might involve the introduction of something quite alien to the principles on which the School had been founded; and it certainly ran [the] danger of appearing to confirm all the ignorant misinterpretations to which we were always subject."[35]

Lord Robbins's argument becomes interesting if brought in contact with the question of what the real political stratification within the German academic emigration to Great Britain was. The group of political scientists I studied is certainly too small and too disparate to lend plausibility to generalisations. But it indicates with some certainty at least one single feature: that the academic emigration from Germany was far from mainly Marxist. It contained people of various political beliefs and was pluralistic in the full sense of the term. And it is against this background that the group of émigré political scientists who could stay in Great Britain, although extremely small, has some significance for the selectivity of integration. Of the five people who were able to work on a long-term basis only one was appointed full professor before 1945, namely the Liberal-Conservative orientated Moritz Julius Bonn, who was anything but a Marxist, at the London School of Economics. He fitted perfectly into a *collegium* which was dominated not by Socialist political scientists (such as the lone Harold Laski) but by economists as conservative as Friedrich August Hayek who had joined the staff before 1933 and in 1945 was entrusted with writing something like the official history of the School.[36]

The remaining four émigrés, although more intensely integrated into British society, do not need much more extensive illustration than the purely transmigrant since, at least before 1945, they could not establish firm academic affiliations either. These people are nevertheless significant in that their activities and interest touch the field of political exile in Great Britain that can only artificially be separated from academic migration.

Franz Borkenau had been active in the German Communist Party and, since

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[35] Lionel Charles Robbins, *Autobiography of an Economist*, London 1971, pp. 139–140.

[36] See his 'The London School of Economics 1895–1945', in *Economica*, 1946, p. 1. It is interesting that the development of the political science department plays almost no role in this history, whereas the contrary is true for the economic branches.

1925, in the Western branch of the Comintern; after being expelled from the Party, he wrote, as a fellow of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, a well-received study on the genesis of bourgeois modernity.[37] In 1934, he emigrated to Great Britain via Vienna and Paris, accepted a short teaching assignment in Panama and, after a trip through Republican Spain, continued his stay in Great Britain. His list of English publications is considerable; it embraces the Spanish Civil War and the history of Communism as well as political developments in Germany and, on an international scale, effectively summarised a theory of totalitarianism.[38] Nevertheless, he was accepted only for adult evening classes in Cambridge and London, where he taught from 1938 to 1943, in between being deported to Australia. Later on, he worked for the BBC and, in the Office of War Information, took part in the reorganisation of the *Deutsche Nachrichtenagentur*. It was not until 1946, at the time of the occupation, that he was offered a chair at Marburg University, which he soon left again for free-lance writing.[39]

The Protestant Gerhard Leibholz, after a short career as judge, had been appointed Professor of Public Law in Göttingen and was dismissed in 1935. In 1938 he emigrated to Great Britain, where he soon became, and remained until 1946, a fellow of the World Council of Churches, briefly interrupted by internment. He published widely on politics, religion and church matters,[40] but could only gain an academic position when, returning to Göttingen in 1947, he got back his Chair of Public Law, which was at once expanded to political science. Leibholz later became an influential figure in the Federal Republic as a judge of the Constitutional Court.[41]

The Socialist Karl J. Newman had received a doctorate in law from the German University in Prague and, after being arrested by the *Gestapo*, left for Great Britain in 1939. In London he continued his studies and earned a second doctorate at Oxford. In 1943 he was appointed provisional education official of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile. Only after 1945 did he obtain positions as lecturer at British universities, including Oxford and London, and in the 1950s he was offered a chair in Pakistan and became a specialist in Third World development.[42] In 1961 Newman returned to West Germany and taught political science at the University of Cologne.

Richard Löwenthal is one whose British career I should like to compare, in conclusion, with that of Moritz Julius Bonn. I hope that in taking these two as an example of a rather successful and happy mastering of the situation of an exile in Great Britain, I shall avoid misleading generalisations. Although their positive experiences in Great Britain had in both cases a lot to do with individual merits and achievements, they also point to favourable starting conditions in which the rela-

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[37] Franz Borkenau, *Der Übergang vom feudalen zum bürgerlichen Weltbild*, Paris 1934.

[38] See for example Borkenau: *The Spanish Cockpit*, London 1937; *The Communist International*, London 1938; *The New German Empire*, Harmondsworth 1939; *The Totalitarian Enemy*, London 1940.

[39] See Franz Borkenau, *End and Beginning. On the Generations of Cultures and the Origins of the West*, New York 1980, edited and introduced by his friend, Richard Löwenthal.

[40] See Gerhard Leibholz, *Christianity, Politics and Power*, London 1942; and his articles: 'National Socialism and the Church' (1939), 'Germany between East and West' (1942), 'Two Types of Democracy' (1945), reprinted in *Politics and Law*, Leyden 1965.

[41] See the *Festschrift. Die moderne Demokratie und ihr Recht*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1966.

[42] See Karl J. Newman, *Essays on the Constitution of Pakistan*, Dacca 1956, and *Die Entwicklungsdiktatur und der Verfassungsstaat*, Frankfurt a. Main–Bonn 1963.

tionship to politics played a decisive role, although they had different conceptions of politics. As already pointed out, Great Britain was the host country in which the conditions for exile politicians were the most favourable and where they were able to act on a long-term basis, although it has to be kept in mind that the scope for action was necessarily rather limited. Intellectuals, in our case political scientists, could make the best use of the competence they brought with them if their knowledge could serve as a political orientation in the new environment, that is, if it served not only as an orientation for this or that group of exiles, but rather for the political élites of the host country, who, of course, adjusted it to their own needs. This interrelation, which was based on social exchange and represented at the same time an intimate mediation of scholarship and politics, seems to offer a clue to the history of the exile of political scientists and to their overall influence, which is, however, again demonstrated by the American experience more clearly than by the British one.[43]

Moritz Julius Bonn, one of the most notable members of the group under discussion, is the incarnation of a specific type of scholar who considered himself more a diplomat than a scientist, just like Ernst Jäckh or Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, former director of the Hamburg *Institut für Auswärtige Politik*, who in 1934 became, and until his death in 1936 remained, Senior Research Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. As director of the *Handelshochschule* in Munich from 1910 to 1920 and as director of the Berlin *Handelshochschule* before 1933, Bonn had not only gained a lot of experience at foreign universities but also taken part as economic consultant in almost all of the important agreements that helped to reintegrate the Weimar Republic slowly into the Western international community.[44] Furthermore, as his publications since the turn of the century demonstrate, he was a specialist in British colonial history and modern Imperialism.[45] In the 1920s he expanded his interests to include Western capitalism and democracy in general and found an international audience for several of his books.[46] Apparently he taught these subjects in complete accordance with the old Commonwealth orientation and could therefore be considered an Englishman by adoption. Thus it was only natural and almost an act of scholarly diplomacy that in 1933 he was immediately offered a chair at the London School of Economics. It would be difficult to demonstrate how much favour he really found with British academia during the 1930s, but there is no doubt that the several positions he was later offered as visiting professor in Canada and the United States were not due to academic unemployment as in other cases, but rather a luxury for a man who could consider himself a member of the British

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[43] Even for the USA a comprehensive study of scholarship and politics is still missing, as far as the academic emigration is concerned. For a first try on a limited group see my article, 'Wissenschaftliche Kompetenz und politische Ohnmacht. Deutsche Emigranten im amerikanischen Staatsdienst 1942–1949', in Thomas Koebner *et al.* (eds.), *Deutschland nach Hitler*, Opladen 1987, p. 136.

[44] See the chapters on Weimar in Moritz Julius Bonn's memoirs, *Wandering Scholar*, New York 1948.

[45] See *idem*, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland*, Stuttgart–Berlin 1906; and his articles, 'Der moderne Imperialismus', and 'Die Organisation des britischen Weltreichs', in *Grundfragen der britischen Volkswirtschaft*, München–Leipzig 1912.

[46] See especially, Bonn, *The Crisis of European Democracy*, New Haven 1925; *Die Kultur der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Berlin 1930 (English translation, London 1933); and *"Prosperity", Wunderglaube und Wirklichkeit im amerikanischen Wirtschaftsleben*, München 1931 (translated into English, French and Spanish).

establishment.[47] Consequently, he never returned to Germany; but through former disciples he still exerted an influence on Germany's recovery, which he advocated in accordance with traditional capitalist principles.

Richard Löwenthal, younger by more than a generation, had been active in the Communist student organisation, but had soon left the Party again. After 1933, his leading position in the resistance movement *Neu Beginnen* led him first to Prague and Paris and then to London, but he did not settle permanently in Great Britain until 1939. As demonstrated by his clearly Marxist analysis of Nazi Germany,[48] Löwenthal pursued political ideas quite contrary to those of Bonn, but though at first everything seems to point to differences between the two careers, there are still remarkable similarities to be noticed. I think that this is above all true for an attitude of political realism which combined an intelligent analysis of the present with strategic abilities and, not least, with good connections with influential circles in the host country. Each of these factors guided Richard Löwenthal on his way into emigration: not only did he contribute to a penetrating analysis of the European and international situation, which marks out the *Neu Beginnen* publications in the 1930s,[49] he also knew how to adjust this analysis to the rapidly changing conditions of national politics – with the result that he and his small group contributed considerably to the foundation, however problematic, of the *Union der deutschen sozialistischen Organisationen*. A later and remarkable result is to be seen in his 1948 book, *Jenseits des Kapitalismus*, at once an all-embracing political theory and a Socialist strategy for a new European order, in which Great Britain was to play a prominent role.[50] Furthermore he cultivated intense relations with parts of the Labour Party and the trade union movement, or rather with their international organs. He took part in the BBC's German-language radio propaganda and from 1942 onwards he worked for the Reuter news agency. As international leader-writer for the *Observer*, Löwenthal became one of the most important spokesmen for English-German relations in the 1950s; when, in the 1960s, he was appointed to a chair as Professor for International Politics in Berlin, he became known as an authority on both Russian politics and international relations and was the grey eminence who contributed considerably to the origins of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*.[51]

Just as Moritz Julius Bonn represents a happy beginning for the German emigration to Great Britain, so Richard Löwenthal stands for its constructive outcome. The historical period between these two poles was certainly affected as much by the domestic changes in Great Britain as by the dramatic changes that took place in Germany and by those transformations in the overall international constellation which played a decisive role in that development. Richard Löwenthal summarises

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[47] See Bonn's ironic comments on America which reflect his identity as a "gentleman" in his *Memoiren*, *op. cit.*, chaps. on the USA.

[48] Löwenthal was, under the pseudonym Paul Sering, the driving force within the short-lived journal *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, Karlsbad 1934–1936.

[49] See for example Richard Löwenthal, *Der kommende Weltkrieg. Aufgaben und Ziele des deutschen Sozialismus*, Paris 1939.

[50] Published, under the pseudonym Paul Sering, in *Lauf bei Nürnberg*, 1947.

[51] See his *Chruschtschow und der Weltkommunismus*, Stuttgart 1963; *Model or Ally? The Communist Powers and the Developing Countries*, New York 1977; and the *Festschrift*, *Sozialismus in Theorie und Praxis*, Berlin–New York 1978.

his British experience as follows: "In England the German socialist emigrants got to know an impressive model of a free democracy which proved its worth under extreme external pressure; thus they were essentially confirmed in their democratic conviction and prepared for the tasks that awaited them after the war. The English, at least those who lent the emigrants an ear and cooperated with them, gathered new hope that a true democracy might be established in Germany and contributed considerably to the realisation of this model during the first harsh postwar years. After a lapse of several decades, I can thus state with conviction that, in spite of all the initial difficulties, the encounter proved rewarding to both sides."[52]

Certainly, this judgement is biased not so much in that it overestimates the importance of the political and especially the Socialist exile, but rather in that it does not even consider the special conditions of academic emigration in general, and that of political scientists in particular. With regard to these, whether they were Socialists, Conservatives or of no political affiliation whatsoever, one has to adhere to what Franz L. Neumann said, whose political conviction in 1952 was not so far removed from that of Richard Löwenthal. Neumann, then living in the US, gave a far more negative account of his British experience: "England was not the country in which to do it. Much as I (and all the others) loved England, her society was too homogeneous and too solid, her opportunities (particularly under conditions of unemployment) too narrow, her politics not too agreeable. One could, so I felt, never quite become an Englishman. Thus the United States appeared as a sole country where, perhaps, an attempt would be successful to carry out the threefold transition: as a human being, an intellectual, and a political scholar."[53] It is always problematic to infer an ambiguous and contradictory historical era from individual recollections, but it seems that – though they represent a rather heterogeneous group – the other émigré political scientists have shared Franz Neumann's fate.

[52] Richard Löwenthal, 'Zur deutschen politischen Emigration in Großbritannien im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Wechselwirkungen und Nachwirkungen', in Niedhart (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 115–116.

[53] Franz L. Neumann, 'The Social Sciences', in W. Rex Crawford (ed.), *The Cultural Migration. The European Scholar in America*, Philadelphia 1953, pp. 17–18.

RODNEY LIVINGSTONE

The Contribution of German-speaking Jewish Refugees to German Studies in Britain

I

The impact of Jewish refugees on German Studies may not have attracted the attention some other fields have received, and its effects may be of smaller general interest, but two factors lend it special significance.[1] First, German culture was of particular importance to the refugees themselves because it had been the medium through which Jews were assimilated into German society in the nineteenth century. German culture had become the symbol of a German-Jewish identity. When Gershom Scholem remarks that "the intellectual encounter with Friedrich Schiller was for many Jews more real than their encounter with empirical Germans", he neatly encapsulates the intensity of the Jewish commitment. When I asked Siegbert Prawer why he had chosen an academic career in German Studies even after falling victim to the policies of Nazi Germany, I think, he spoke for many others when he replied that he was unwilling to concede the possession of German culture to Hitler.

Second, German Studies were relatively weak and neglected in Britain. The history of German Studies has yet to be written, but some important elements of the general picture are clear. In the late nineteenth century German literature and thought were held in high esteem by writers like George Eliot and Matthew Arnold, but they had lost much of their prestige and public interest after the First World War. No doubt the reasons for this were partly political in nature, but other factors were at work, too. In philosophy, for example, the emergence of trends based on mathematical logic, following Russell and Whitehead's *Principia Mathematica* (1910–1913), tended to discredit metaphysical thought and with it the entire post-Kantian German idealist tradition. (The part played in this shift by Frege, Wittgenstein and German mathematicians was too specialised to offset the general effect.) In literature, too, the onset of modernism dealt particularly severely with the classical German tradition. T. S. Eliot, for example, writing in 1933 remarked of Goethe that "he dabbled in both philosophy and poetry and made no great success of either". In *What is a Classic?*, written in 1944, he added that in his view Goethe was "a little provincial". It is true that he attempted to modify these opinions in 'Goethe as the Sage' in 1955, but by then the pattern was firmly established.[2]

[1] I should like to record my gratitude to those people who generously agreed to discuss aspects of this subject with me, in particular Siegbert Prawer, Michael Hamburger, Charlotte Jolles and Gertrud Seidmann. I must also thank Liz Fraser of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), for drawing my attention to the existence of their archives in the Bodleian Library (Boxes 298–302) and encouraging me to use them.

[2] See, T. S. Eliot, *What is a Classic?*, London 1944, p. 527 and also 'Goethe as the Sage', in *On Poetry and Poets*, London 1958, p. 220.

Unlike French literature German writing was not deemed to be an essential part of the cultural heritage and was largely ignored by the *avant garde*. Teaching of the language was significantly disrupted, thanks no doubt to the two wars (in my own grammar school in the 1940s, for example, German was only available to science specialists). The refugees brought with them a knowledge of German culture unprecedented in Britain and were therefore in a position to give the subject greater impetus and to push it in new directions. Their achievement is all the more remarkable when we contemplate the vicissitudes of the lives of people known chiefly as scholars and teachers. One example that may stand for many is that of Henry Prais. In 1933 he was expelled from his *Gymnasium*. He then served as an apprentice clerk in a private company and followed this by attending Talmudic College in Frankfurt and seminaries in Cologne and Breslau. He came to Britain in 1938 from Buchenwald. He worked at first as a farm labourer, tending pigs. Following internment he retrained as a metal worker and toolroom turner in Glasgow. During the war he served in the Highland Light Infantry and following it he worked in commerce until 1953. He did not begin university studies until that year. After graduation he worked as a teacher in Glasgow until 1963. He did not become a lecturer until 1966 at the age of 48. As a professor at Heriot-Watt (from 1973) he was then able to establish the first course in German and Electronics in this country.[3] It would be idle to pretend that such a *curriculum vitae* is typical. But few of the immigrants have led straightforward scholarly lives unmarked by history.

The relative lack of prestige of German Studies in Britain is perhaps reflected in the British attitude towards immigrant Germanists. According to the much-quoted Cabinet Minute, British policy was "to try to secure for this country prominent Jews who were being expelled from Germany and who had achieved distinction . . . in pure science, applied science such as medicine or technical industry, music or art. This would not only obtain for this country the advantage of their knowledge and experience, but would also create a very favourable impression in the world, particularly if our hospitality were offered with some warmth."[4] It is not clear from this whether German Studies, or indeed the other humanities are to be included in "music and art". In the event few Germanists attempted to come to this country and even fewer succeeded. Of those who did manage to make a career here the majority belonged to the younger generation who were mainly children or students when they arrived in Britain. Hence in German Studies the major contribution has come from the children of the original refugees, scholars who received their education either partly or wholly in this country.

It should perhaps be added in parenthesis that a considerable number of the immigrants did not regard themselves as Jews in a religious or indeed any other sense. Many were or became converts to Christianity and several have expressed reservations about being singled out as Jews for the purpose of this paper. It was argued that they only became Jews by virtue of Nazi legislation and they did not relish a new attempt to categorise them in this way. Such objections are not without

[3] See the information in Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 / International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 3 vols., Munich–New York–London–Paris 1980–1983, vol. II.

[4] See Public Record Office, Cabinet 27 (33), Conclusion 8, 14th April 1933.

point, since if someone denies he is a Jew or has a Jewish social or cultural identity, we are ultimately forced back onto ethnic definitions. Some of my correspondents on this matter would have felt happier with a general examination of refugees, regardless of their racial origin.[5]

The fact that Germanists were not a high priority for the British emerges very clearly from the archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), the organisation responsible for placing refugee university teachers. In Germany itself, even before the Nazis came to power, German Studies had been regarded as a bastion of German-ness. Hence relatively few Jews had gained university posts in that subject. According to Horst Möller, 56 university teachers of German emigrated from Germany, but the numbers of émigré scholars are certainly larger.[6] Around thirty Germanists ranging from aspiring academics to full professors applied to the Society for help of different kinds (not all wished to come to this country).[7] In addition, around twenty-five people either made their way independently of the Society, or were too young to qualify for assistance. The Society went to enormous trouble to advise, assist and place as many as possible, but was forced to operate, of course, within the constraints of British policy towards the refugees. Thanks to the familiar arguments that there were no job vacancies and money was in short supply, the majority of would-be immigrants were urged either to move on to the USA or, if they had to remain, to become schoolteachers. In fairness it should be stated that German was a very small subject. During the thirties about 89 students graduated in Single Honours German in the whole of Britain and another 40 took Joint Honours. In 1918 there were twelve professorships of German in the fifteen British universities and about 31 other academic posts. In those circumstances the influx of refugees must have appeared

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[5] As an instance of a life story of an entirely non-Jewish Germanist which surely deserves our attention we should mention Heinz Walz (1907–1985). He studied German language and literature in Berlin, Kiel, London and Freiburg, supporting himself and his family by working for some of the time down a coalmine. He taught in a school in Castleford. During the same period he wrote a doctoral thesis on Meredith and broadcast German lessons for the BBC. He became Head of the English Department of the Interpreters' Institute in Mannheim and then in Heidelberg. There, in charge of a department with about 80 students, he saw himself as "charged with exerting a 'liberal' influence on them". His classes became increasingly hostile to National Socialism. He was first warned and eventually dismissed. On coming to England he set up in business, manufacturing dynamos for electric bicycle lamps. His factory was destroyed by fire and he was bankrupted. After internment, from which he was released in November 1940, he again tried his hand in industry. In 1945 he lectured without pay to German POWs. In 1948 he returned to Heidelberg. In 1967 he was given the chair in German at Surrey where he laid the foundations for the present lively department.

[6] Strauss and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch, op. cit.*, contains significant omissions as far as German Studies is concerned. Of those who applied to the SPSL, for example, there are no entries for Fritz Braun, Egon Cohn, Meta Corssen, Siegfried David, Melitta Gerhard, Hans Sperber, Georg Stefansky, Rudolf Sühnel, Edda Tille-Hankamer and Richard Ullmann, among others. Of notable Germanists, mainly of the younger generation, there are no entries for Claus Bock, Werner Brock, Peter Ganz, Ilse Appelbaum-Graham, Peter Stern, Marie-Louise Waldeck and Marianne Wynn. See also Harro Kieser, *Die Verzeichnung des Schrifttums von deutschen Emigranten aus dem deutschen Sprachbereich (1933–1950)*, Köln 1968; Horst Möller, *Exodus der Kultur. Schriftsteller, Wissenschaftler und Künstler in der Emigration nach 1933*, München 1984.

[7] Josef Körner, for example, who had just emerged from Theresienstadt, only to learn of the death of all his close relatives, wanted financial assistance with the publication of his books which would make his name as an authority on German romanticism.

huge.[8] Nevertheless, it is distressing to see how all but the eminent were discouraged. One petitioner, Willi Bauer, was one of a number who were forced to break off their studies just before obtaining the indispensable *Habilitation*. He described himself as an *Universitätsanwärter*, which was interpreted as "hoping to get an academic post eventually". Writing about him to Professor Norman of University College London, C. M. Shepperd of the SPSL commented that "as approximately 1,200 university teachers have been dismissed from their positions in Germany, you will understand that the Council is forced to discourage a number of the younger scholars from pursuing an academic career". Accordingly very few aspirants were placed until after 1945[9] and of those only Erich Heller was to make a career in Britain after the war. Of the immediate generation of immigrants some were lost to German Studies altogether, others could only function outside the universities. In the former category we may mention Richard Ullmann, a Quaker of Jewish parentage. Ullmann had obtained his doctorate with a dissertation on the concept of "Romanticism" and had then taught in Canton until 1931. He arrived in Britain in 1939 but was deported to Australia in 1940 on the notorious *Dunera*. After his release from internment in 1943 and subsequent return to England he lectured for the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office (PID) to German prisoners of war. After the war he worked with the Friends Relief Service in Germany. His only other contribution to German Studies in the broader sense was his book on *German Parliaments*, written with Sir Stephen King-Hall in 1955. Other cases could be mentioned. There is almost no overlap between those who originally came here and those, principally the younger generation, born around 1920, who made a lasting contribution.

On the other hand, the policy of encouraging refugees into schoolteaching provided a great boost to the study of German in schools. Many such teachers were over-qualified by British standards and in addition to their teaching some even found time and energy to carry out scholarly work. Among the contributions to British German Studies, for example, we may mention the valuable six-volume collection of essays, *German Men of Letters*, edited by Alex Natan, a history teacher in Worcester. Or again, there are the illuminating and popular books on German drama by Hugh Garten. Moreover, these teachers, working in isolation, never more than one to a school, brought an expertise and dedication to their work which can have few equals. Now that the refugees have mostly retired, or died, we are only starting to miss the generations of students who came up to university with a knowledge and enthusiasm that often went far beyond Advanced-Level syllabuses.[10]

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[8] See W. Brenn, 'British "Germanistik" and the Problem of National Socialism', in *German Life and Letters*, New Series, vol. XLII, no. 2 (January 1989), pp. 145–167.

[9] These include Solomon A. Birnbaum (at the School of African and Oriental Studies [SOAS] London); Fritz Braun (at Birmingham); Erich Heller (at the London School of Economics [LSE]); Werner Milch (at Exeter); Wolfgang Paulsen, a non-practising Protestant who emigrated because his wife was Jewish (at Durham and Reading); Richard Samuel (Cambridge and then Durham); Albert Malte Wagner (Bedford College, London and then LSE).

[10] Immigrant teachers did not just teach during the day. They also took evening classes. Operating without adequate textbooks, they were forced to invent their own teaching materials and discover their own methodology, including such innovations as intensive courses. They were active, too, in the University Boards of Examination and especially as oral examiners. Eventually (in 1958) Gertrud

Despite the devoted efforts of the SPSL to place immigrants, a number of distinguished Germanists were lost to this country, thanks to the stringency of British policy. It is illuminating to dwell briefly on their fates. We may mention Walter Berendsohn, who was primarily a Scandinavian specialist, a subject superfluous to British requirements. Although he was invited to address the Goethe Society in 1938, nothing permanent could be found for him and he remained in Denmark, escaping to Sweden in 1943. He subsequently found his *métier* through the experience of emigration and wrote the first major work on German writers in exile.[11] Franz Mautner later became an eminent expert on Nestroy and Lichtenberg. When he applied to the SPSL for assistance in 1938, he was twenty-six and had been teaching at a *Gymnasium* since 1934. He already had a notable list of publications to his credit, as well as a positive testimonial from the late Friedrich Gundolf. But since he was only a *Gymnasialprofessor* he did not come within the remit of the Society, who sent his papers on to the organisations trying to place teachers. Walter Adams, the General Secretary of the SPSL, denied that this was merely a device to shift responsibility for his case and it is clear that the constraints were those of general policy and the limited means of British universities, rather than the Society, which did everything in its power to help. Nevertheless, it proved impossible to assist Mautner and he followed the advice to try the USA where he eventually obtained a chair at Swarthmore. Peter Heller came to Britain at the age of eighteen and studied for a year at Cambridge. Who knows whether he might not have stayed here had he not been deported to Canada as part of the internment policy? In the event he settled down and completed his studies there, before moving on to the USA. Most grotesque perhaps was the case of Melitta Gerhard, an acknowledged expert on Schiller and, as a lecturer in Kiel, apparently the first woman to hold a university post in German literature at a German university. Efforts were made (by Professor Willoughby of London among others) to place her at Newnham College, where her application was judged to have arrived too late. Ultimately she failed to obtain a position because her command of English was said to be unequal to the task of teaching prose translation. It is doubtless true that poor English was a greater impediment in the humanities and the social sciences than in maths and science (vigorous efforts were made to prevent T. W. Adorno from giving public lectures on these grounds). In Gerhard's case it is perhaps fortunate that American colleges took a less purist view, since she was able to make her career at Wellesley College.[12]

Seidmann founded the Association of Teachers of German (now the German Section of the Modern Languages Association). A number ended up teaching in university or polytechnic language centres (examples are Gertrud Seidmann in Southampton, Eva Paneth in Hatfield Polytechnic and Trudie Berger in York University Language Centre).

[11] Walter Arthur Berendsohn, *Die humanistische Front*, vol. I, Zürich 1946.

[12] On the other hand, Britain later benefited from the arrival of scholars who had emigrated elsewhere or who returned to Britain after moving on elsewhere. Examples of the first category are Werner Schwarz, who went first to Palestine but came to Britain because his wife had to leave Palestine for reasons of health; Arnold Paucker, too, went first to Palestine and did not come to Britain until 1950. Mention should perhaps also be made here of George Steiner who came to this country from the USA. Although not a Germanist he has written extensively on German literature, notably in *The Death of Tragedy*, London 1961. The second category includes Hans Reiss, who emigrated originally to the Republic of Ireland in 1939 and only came to Britain in 1946. He then spent several years in Canada during the late 1950s and early 1960s before returning to a chair at Bristol in 1965. It should also be noted that a number of Germanists, Erich Heller and Lilian Furst among them, subsequently emigrated once again, in their cases to America.

Others who tried in vain to settle here include Max Lederer, who ended up in the Library of Congress; Wolfgang Liepe taught in South Dakota and Chicago; Werner Richter also went to Chicago; Hans Sperber found employment in Ohio State and Georg Stefansky went to Columbia. Angela Lasch, a philologist specialising in Low German who had taught at Bryn Mawr during the First World War, obtained nothing and returned to Berlin in 1936. Edda Tille-Hankamer, a philologist and the wife of the well-known Baroque specialist, Paul Hankamer, who was killed in Munich in February 1945 by escaped Russian prisoners of war, also went to the USA.

Even where refugees did obtain posts little effort was made to retain their services. A case in point is that of Richard Samuel who came here from Berlin where he was the chief assistant of Julius Petersen, one of the most prominent Germanists of the day. Having completed his doctoral thesis on Novalis in 1925 he went on to collaborate with Paul Kluckhohn on the standard critical edition of the same writer. This appeared in four volumes in 1929. He was thus already an acknowledged authority on German romanticism. During the 1930s he taught as *Lektor* in Cambridge and was made Acting Head at Durham. He also completed a second doctorate, on the works of Kleist. In 1939, together with Richard Hinton Thomas he published *Expressionism in German Life, Literature and the Theatre*, the first book to appear in Britain on the modern movement. During the war (following internment in Huyton, where he was camp father) he served in the army, first as a pioneer and then on secondment to the PID. In 1945–1946 he was attached to the Education Section of the British Control Commission in Germany. The files of the SPSL make it clear that he was a person of some influence and that he used it to help his fellow refugees. For example, he made great efforts (ultimately unsuccessful) to bring Richard Alewyn to Cambridge to work on the Schnitzler Archive.[13] Despite this impeccable record it was apparently made clear to him that he had no future in Britain, and so he took the Chair of German in Melbourne where he spent the rest of his career building up German Studies in Australia.[14]

The entire negotiations with the refugees were marked by ambivalences on the British side towards the employment of Germans. Before 1914 native Germans had been highly sought after because of the great achievements of German philology. Many of the most distinguished figures of German Studies were native Germans. Breuel, Johannson, Buchheim, Siepmann, Fiedler and Meissen are examples. Even lectureships in French were sometimes given to Germans.[15] After 1918 home-grown Germanists emerged in a process that may have been accelerated by the role German specialists had played in military intelligence during the war. By the 1930s this process combined with financial constraints during the slump to limit the

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Furthermore, after 1945 a number of immigrants returned to one or another of the German-speaking countries. These include Fritz Braun and Heinz Walz to the German Federal Republic, Albert Malte Wagner to the GDR and Felix Braun to Austria.

[13] The SPSL was able to place Alewyn in the *Institut Germanique* in Paris in 1934 but he soon returned to Austria. After the *Anschluß* he was invited to Cambridge for a short period by Professor Williams in order to learn English before proceeding to the USA.

[14] See also, D. Coverlid *et al.* (eds.), *Richard H. Samuel. Selected Writings*, Melbourne 1965.

[15] For an account of this period see Walter H. Bruford, *First Steps in German 50 Years Ago*, Presidential Address of the Modern Humanities Research Association, 1965. See also *idem*, *Some German Memories 1911–1961*, London 1980.

opportunities for native Germans. The need for native German speakers in university departments of German may be thought to be self-evident. But traditionally their role has been a subordinate one. The permanent staff should be British, Germans should come over as lectors for a few years only. Germans have sometimes been seen as a threat, partly because of the facility with which they speak their own language. Would they fit in? Would they take our jobs? The predominance of native Germans in many American departments has often been the subject of negative comment in Britain. Political factors could only aggravate such feelings. Before 1945 there was no hurry to appoint immigrants. Even in the schools they were regarded with some suspicion and were often asked how they could believe they were suited to teach German when they disapproved so strongly of Germany. Erich Fried has given an outsider's view of the immigrants' prospects: "Those who wanted above all to make a career, or who had initiative mainly went not to England, but to America, if they could get friends to vouch for them. Generally speaking, those who came to England were the ones with less initiative... Of course, that is only true statistically, it is not meant as a comment on individuals... For Germanists there were limited job possibilities, but the professors of German were all British."[16] After 1945 there was a shortage of native German speakers, but at the first post-war conference of University Teachers of German opposition was expressed towards the appointment of Germans, who after all might well be unreconstructed Nazis. It thus became opportune to remember the immigrants. Käte Silber, who had spent the war in domestic service, was given a job in Edinburgh. Charlotte Jolles, who had been teaching at Watford Grammar School and working with refugee children, obtained a post at Birkbeck. Like others who were appointed at around the same time, she had acquired a British degree in addition to her German doctorate. This may have helped to assuage fears that immigrants might be unfamiliar with the British education system.[17] Once the British did decide to employ the immigrants they did so wholeheartedly and of course, even earlier, a number had made great efforts to find positions for the refugees in difficult circumstances. By the late 1960s the immigrants occupied many of the important chairs in Britain.[18] All the immigrants I have spoken to emphasised how kindly they were received and how much help they had been given. On the tricky question of latent or open antisemitism, too, most of them denied that they had ever encountered it. However, I have received one letter which maintains that antisemitism is "innate" in British society.

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[16] Quoted in Michael Seyfert, *Im Niemandsland. Deutsche Exilliteratur in britischer Internierung. Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der Kulturgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, Berlin (West) 1984, p. 152.

[17] Like Richard Samuel, Charlotte Jolles was a student of Julius Petersen who has been much attacked since the war because of his association with the Nazis. (Another émigré Albert Malte Wagner, was prominent in raising the question of Petersen's record.) She believes this criticism of Petersen to have been misguided. But whatever his politics he took her under his wing. She wrote her dissertation on Fontane at his suggestion and he arranged for its part-publication, an indispensable precondition for the award of the degree. She was thus enabled to obtain her doctorate as late as 1937, although she was advised not to attend the ceremony.

[18] Claus Bock (Westfield College, London), Peter Ganz (Oxford), Ilse Graham (King's College, London), Erich Heller (Swansea), Charlotte Jolles (Birkbeck College, London), Siegbert Prawer (Westfield College, London and then Oxford), Hans Reiss (Bristol), Werner Schwarz and Peter Stern (both University College London).

II

In order to assess the contribution of the immigrants a few words must be said about British German Studies before the war. It was a relatively young subject which had built up a solid competence in the classical period, medieval literature and Germanic philology. Ideologically it was liberal and pluralistic to a fault. It is hard to dissent from the judgement of an outsider, John Willett, on this point. "Shameful as it may now seem", he writes, "the orientation of British *Germanistik* in those days was towards the eighteenth century and the Middle Ages; modern literature was largely ignored, and insofar as the academics took an interest in it their judgements coincided all too often with those prevalent in the Third Reich." Willett supports this last remark with reference to the memoirs of Walter Bruford, who occupied the Cambridge chair and was for many years the rightly respected doyen of British German Studies.

> "Much more typically, alas, W.H. Bruford in his charmingly written *Some German Memories 1911–1961* even now looks back sympathetically at E.G. Kolbenheyer, H.F. Blunck (who had 'a difficult run as President of the *Reichsschrifttumskammer* under the Nazis for a few years'), Rudolf Binding ('completely the cavalry officer and gentleman') and Hans Grimm of *Volk ohne Raum* fame whom Bruford visited in 1936 ('an excellent opportunity of getting to know a few of the leading writers left in Germany after the coming in to power of the National Socialists and the flight of Jewish authors and/or irreconcilable opponents of the government'), actually inviting him back to lecture in Edinburgh the next year. Admittedly Bruford also knew and liked Toller but, generally speaking, the émigrés in those days were treated as cut off from the German tradition and the periodicals in which their new work appeared were not bought for our libraries. Writers like Hans Carossa, Rudolf Alexander Schröder and Stefan George were seen as more central, borne by what Leonard Forster has called 'the sustaining power of a true tradition'. Brecht by these standards was not yet worth academic consideration..."[19]

Of course it could be objected that Bruford's interest does not imply approval and in any case his liberalism is not in question. But the attitudes Willett complains of were fairly prevalent as a scrutiny of the pre-war issues of *German Life and Letters*, the chief journal of the profession, suggests. Kolbenheyer was able to publish his views of the German novel there and Hans Carossa, a Nazi fellow-traveller, was vigorously defended in its pages. Elsewhere, Jethro Bithell published an anthology of German verse in 1941 which concluded with one poem by Heinrich Anacker, a well-known Nazi hack, and two poems by Baldur von Schirach, no less, one in praise of Hitler. He justifies their inclusion as follows: "This anthology has been compiled for the youth of free lands. They are free, above all, to weigh and discuss and decide for themselves; in charity to all, it may be hoped – even to Nazi lyrists who, propagandists as they must be (like Virgil and Horace), may be poets nevertheless." Of course there is another side to the picture. *German Life and Letters* contains a number of sharp anti-Nazi statements (notably one by C.P. Magill) and Bithell's anthology gives some space to exile poets. There was also a small, but articulate "Left wing" in German Studies, ably represented by Roy Pascal, who wrote a book critical of Nazism as early as 1934. But generally Willett's picture

[19] John Willett, 'The Emigration and the Arts', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa–Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1984, pp. 214–215.

seems accurate enough. It is generally confirmed, moreover, by Wolfgang Brenn's recent article which documents more fully the British preference for German establishment writers or representatives of the so-called "inner emigration" at the expense of the genuine refugees.[20] It should be added that the fate of German writers in Britain still awaits an independent investigation. Important figures like Stefan Zweig, Hilde Domin, Robert Neumann, Wolfgang Hildesheimer and Erich Fried lived here for varying periods, largely unknown to the English public and ignored for the most part by the academic profession.

III

Instead of simply providing a catalogue of the many important books or articles that operate solely within German Studies or a discussion of each individual's total contribution, it seems more profitable to highlight those achievements which have helped to change the direction of the subject in Britain and hence too the public perception of German literature. Obviously such changes as took place were not solely the work of the refugees. The existence of a post-Hitlerian Germany and the political problems of Europe as a whole, with its central focus on Germany after 1945, inevitably brought about altered perceptions of Germany, as did the emergence of the Federal Republic and the GDR. Developments in British *Germanistik* also had an impact. A new generation of scholars, many of whom had seen service in the war, were more eager to engage with contemporary Germany than had sometimes been the case before 1939. There was also a significant level of interaction with the refugees after 1945.[21] Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the immigrants had a powerful impact on German Studies in a variety of ways. Their contribution may conveniently be summarised under the following headings:

1. The revision of the tradition and the introduction of modern literary studies.
2. The revitalisation of critical methodology.
3. The introduction of interdisciplinary or comparative studies.
4. The research into Jewish aspects of German literature, including Yiddish.
5. The link between critical and creative writing.
6. Other major scholarly work.

The fact that a scholar may be treated under only one rubric does not imply the absence of a contribution to others.

1. The Revision of the Tradition and the Introduction of Modern Literary Studies

Following Samuel's pioneering study of Expressionism the major landmark was Erich Heller's *The Disinherited Mind* (1952), a book which, incidentally, *German Life and Letters*, failed, for whatever reason, to review. It grew out of a lecture course

[20] In 1936 Richard Samuel wrote a curious article for *German Life and Letters* which compares Thomas Mann unfavourably with Hans Grimm. One cannot help wondering whether this was a perhaps unconscious concession to the prevalent atmosphere in British *Germanistik*; Brenn, *loc. cit.*

[21] To give but one example, we may refer to the collaboration between Richard Samuel and Richard Hinton Thomas which had begun before the war with the book on Expressionism but continued very relevantly after it with *Education and Society in Modern Germany* (1949).

delivered in Cambridge in 1946. Although regarded as "newfangled nonsense" and a "dangerous precedent", the course gained provisional approval for inclusion in the Tripos in 1947 and was finally made permanent in 1960.[22]

With this the study of modern German literature was formally incorporated into the Cambridge Tripos, a move to be followed with varying degrees of delay at other universities. Heller's book established a new literary canon which moved from Goethe and Hölderlin to Kafka, Karl Kraus and Rilke. To this we may add Thomas Mann with Heller's second book, *The Ironic German*, in 1958.

The nature of the continuity in the tradition was provided by Heller's thesis that modern German literature offered an incomparable insight into the alienation of modern European man. "The incompatibility of the external order with the internal truth", he wrote, is "in its most radical forms, the great danger of our tradition." It was scientific thought, he believed, which posed the major threat. A further threat was perceived in psychoanalysis and Peter Stern extended this diagnosis to include the dangers inherent in technological determinism, as exemplified in the writings of Ernst Jünger, and then in ideology, especially Marxism.

In this canon Goethe occupies a key position as the writer who above all strove to retain a human wholeness, resisting the abstract and fragmenting mathematical techniques of Newtonian science for sound moral reasons. It should be emphasised that Heller's redefinition of the German tradition and his integration of modern literature into it antedates German efforts in the same direction. In the immediate aftermath of the war and defeat, the Germans were understandably at a loss to know what to salvage of a culture which seemed to have collapsed with the fall of the *Reich*. At the very moment when Heller proclaimed the centrality of Goethe, thinkers like Karl Jaspers and José Ortega y Gasset were casting eloquent doubt on his relevance to a Germany among the ruins. There was indeed something of a Goethe cult in Germany, as represented by Hans Carossa, Ernst Robert Curtius and others, but this involved the transformation of Goethe into a fetish, a source of quasi-religious solace in troubled times and was very different from Heller's considered reappraisal. It is a remarkable paradox that émigré Germanists were in a position to redefine the tradition, not only in Britain, but for the Germans.

Even more important than Heller's view of literary history was his insistence on the identity of poets and thinkers. Poets do not merely operate with ideas, they are thinkers in their own right. Controversial though this thesis was, and still is, it had one beneficial effect, since it made possible a more intellectualised view of the German tradition than had been current in Britain. Of course, the link between Germany and heavy metaphysical thought was an established tradition among the British public. Perhaps in reaction against this British Germanists had emphasised the importance of a robust commonsense. Heller's book showed that it was possible to be intellectual and also exciting. In fact it generated an interest in German thought that was unparalleled at the time.

Peter Stern has summed up its importance with these words: "And the passage of time since it first appeared has not dislodged either its main thesis or its evaluations... It is canonical at least in the sense that it has fashioned the outlook of one

[22] See J. P. Stern's account in Volker Dürr and Géza von Molnár (eds.), *Versuche zu Goethe. Festschrift für Erich Heller. Zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. 3. 1976*, Heidelberg 1976, especially pp. 353–354.

whole generation of readers, in the sense, too, that there is no other book on its subject – no other book written with a more than parochial appeal – whose point of view is radically or perhaps significantly different."[23] Other major contributions to the study of modern literature include Michael Hamburger's work on modern poetry (notably in *Reason and Energy* [1957]). Then there was Hans Reiss's book, one of the earliest, on Kafka (1952). Mention should also be made of Gotthard Guder's monograph on *Else Lasker-Schüler* (1966). A crucial work was Martin Esslin's *A Choice of Evils* (1959), a book which introduced Brecht to this country simultaneously with the monograph by John Willett and following Kenneth Tynan's campaign in the *Observer*. Esslin's book, by praising Brecht's dramatic and theatrical genius while keeping his radical politics at a distance, showed how to make Brecht palatable to a whole generation of British readers and theatre-goers at the time of the Cold War. It should be noted that Esslin was employed not in a university but by the BBC, an organisation that gave shelter to a number of refugees from the war years onward.[24]

2. Methodology

While Heller introduced speculative modes of thinking from the Continent, it is noteworthy that both he and others were also among the first to adapt recent British critical methods to German literature. Siegbert Prawer, for instance, used the techniques of practical criticism derived from I. A. Richards and F. R. Leavis in his *German Lyric Poetry* of 1952, as well as in his early books on Heine.[25] Both Heller and Peter Stern were powerfully influenced by the critical ideas of W. H. Auden and T. S. Eliot. Heller's thesis of the threat to interiority may be viewed as a version of Eliot's idea of the dissociation of sensibility as one of the characteristics of the modern age. Eliot, Spender and others were very important too, in a very different way, for Michael Hamburger, since he was both critic and poet.

Broadly speaking, Peter Stern may be said to operate within the framework established by Heller, but he acknowledges other influences (Wittgenstein in particular), and he goes beyond Heller in several important ways. In his *Re-Interpretations* (1959) he extended Heller's scheme to such writers as Grillparzer, Büchner, Stifter, Heine and Fontane. This initiated a preoccupation with the nature of literary realism which culminated in his book *On Realism* of 1973. That is to say, he shows a greater concern and involvement than Heller with questions of aesthetics and literary form, with the actual workings of literature. Moreover, he does so in dialogue with the writings of another great émigré scholar, Erich Auerbach, whose *Mimesis* has been a major contribution to our understanding of literary realism. Furthermore, whereas Heller had followed the German tradition in its marked reluctance to evaluate literature, Stern's criticism has always stood out for the subtlety and moral passion with which he makes literary judgements. In this respect, too, he stands in an English tradition, but also one which derives from Karl

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[24] Others to have worked there were Urban Roedl (= Bruno Adler), Carl Brinitzer, Erich Fried, Alfred Kerr, Richard Friedenthal, Hans Flesch-Brunningen and Heinz Walz.

[25] S. S. Prawer, *Heine's Buch der Lieder*, London 1960, and *Heine the Tragic Satirist. A Study of the Later Poetry, 1826–1856*, Cambridge 1961.

Kraus and perhaps the Wittgenstein who proclaimed that "aesthetics and ethics are one". Finally, Heller had talked about the importance of language, but it was Stern who has shown the greater insight into the moral and aesthetic implications of literary language in action. This combination of a historical view of the progress (or perhaps decline) of civilisation with powerful new critical techniques and a burning commitment to modern literature and its crucial significance, transformed the landscape of German literary criticism in the 1950s and 1960s.

3. Interdisciplinary and comparative Studies

Heller's belief that poets are also thinkers was one of the factors that opened the door to the fruitful annexation of German thought by literary critics and, more generally, to a variety of interdisciplinary approaches. I could mention here his own essays on Spengler, Burckhardt and Nietzsche. In addition Stern has worked on Schopenhauer and has produced a major study of Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*. Beyond Heller's influence there was Hans Reiss's work on Kant's political writings and Siegbert Prawer's pioneering book *Karl Marx and World Literature* (1976).[26] The development of comparative literature with Lilian Furst's *Romanticism in Perspective* (1969) or Martin Esslin's *Theatre of the Absurd* (1961), helped in the task of reintegrating German literature into the European canon from which it had been severed by the war. More recently, Siegbert Prawer's *Caligari's Children. The Film as Tale of Terror* (1980) is a notable contribution to film studies, a field which has only made its appearance in German Studies in the last few years.

The tools available to the literary critic could also be extended to politics. Peter Stern's book on *Hitler* (1975), by concentrating on the language of the *Führer* and his people, proved that a subject which had been worked over exhaustively by historians and social scientists could still be illuminated by a literary critic.

4. Jews and Germans

On the whole the immigrants have refrained from comment on German-Jewish themes, partly as I have suggested, because so few of them claimed Jewish identity in a positive sense. A major exception is the work of Siegbert Prawer. His contribution here includes his three books on Heine, the last of which, *Heine's Jewish Comedy* (1983), is a monumental work of scholarship. But his work on Jewishness goes beyond even this, ranging from an appreciation of the *Minnesänger*, Süsskind von Trimberg, to a brilliant analysis of Sigismund Markus, the owner of the music shop from which Günter Grass's Oskar bought his tin drum. Latterly, he has interested himself in Yiddish and was instrumental, along with Peter Ganz and Dovid Katz, in revitalising the fortunes of Yiddish Studies at Oxford, partly at least by rescuing the subject from the Faculty of Oriental Languages and installing it among the modern languages. Yiddish was also able to benefit from the potent presence of Solomon A. Birnbaum before his re-emigration to Canada in 1970. Birnbaum had been a pioneer of Yiddish studies in Germany, where, as a lecturer in Hamburg, he had been the first to hold a university post in the subject. After coming to England in

[26] The concern with German thought was of course not the monopoly of the immigrants. We may point to Roy Pascal's work in this area which goes back to the 1930s, or to Elizabeth Wilkinson's books on Goethe as a thinker and on Schiller's *Aesthetic Letters*, among others.

1933 he held a post in paleography and epigraphy at SOAS, as well as an honorary lectureship in East European Jewish Studies at the School of Slavonic Studies. During the war he worked for the postal censors. Birnbaum's services to Yiddish are numerous, but most noteworthy perhaps was his authorship of the first systematic grammar of the Yiddish language, *Grammatik der jiddischen Sprache* (1918). No less important was his *Leben und Werk des Baalschem* (1920). His, too, was the first systematic analysis of Hebrew scripts including the dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls in *The Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Paleography* (1952). Other important work includes Werner Schwarz's study of the principles of Bible translation and the editions and critical study of Yiddish literature by Peter Ganz (the *Dukus Horant*, 1964) and Arnold Paucker.

5. Creative writing and criticism

Among the immigrants were a number of creative writers who occasionally devoted themselves to matters connected with German studies, or who were unable to find university positions. Among these we may mention the following: Bruno Adler was originally an art historian with links with the *Bauhaus*. In England he worked for the BBC. He is known, under the name Urban Roedl, for his monographs on Matthias Claudius and Adalbert Stifter. Felix Braun, the well-known Austrian writer gave Workers' Educational Association lectures in Durham and reviewed extensively for *German Life and Letters* after the war. Richard Friedenthal, a writer who like a number of others was very active in the German PEN centre in exile, achieved prominence through his controversial biographies of Goethe and Luther. Rudolf Majut was a member of *Der neue Club* and *Das neopathetische Cabaret*, groups from which the Expressionist movement had sprung. He wrote the first scholarly monograph on Georg Büchner, *Farbe und Licht im Kunstgefühl Georg Büchners* (1912). During and after the war he taught in English secondary schools for ten years "mit Zorn und Eifer" (with anger and enthusiasm). Subsequently he taught "ohne Zorn, aber mit Eifer" in both Loughborough and Leicester. In addition to scholarly works which include *Der deutsche Roman vom Biedermeier bis zur Gegenwart* (1958), he has left an amusing memoir of life in an internment camp.

Then there are some fascinating, but neglected memoirs by immigrant Germanists which deserve to be recalled. These include Paul Roubiczek's *Über den Abgrund*, a moving and memorable account of his reactions to the outbreak of war in 1939. Roubiczek was primarily a philosopher. Before the war he had worked as a publisher, and together with Peter de Mendelssohn he had founded the *Europäischer Merkur* in Paris, which had published works by Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Louis Golding and Ernst Gläser. During the war he taught both philosophy and German literature in Cambridge and produced a whole stream of philosophical works. Together with Werner Brock whose *Introduction to Contemporary German Philosophy* had appeared in 1935, he was among those responsible for bringing a knowledge of existentialist philosophy to this country. Even more dramatic than Roubiczek's is Claus Bock's *Untergetaucht unter Freunden* (1985). As a child Bock had gone to school in Holland. With his parents away in India, he was spending the summer holidays in England when war broke out. Nevertheless he had to return to Holland because the school insisted on it. His parents could not be

reached to be consulted and their telegram instructing the school to keep him in England failed to arrive. His book narrates how he lived in hiding in Holland throughout the war, protected by some of the writers associated with the circle around Stefan George, in particular Wolfgang Frommel and Percy Gothein (who died in Neuengamme). The group is said to be depicted in the *Argonauten* by Max Beckmann, who lived a few streets away. Bock's experiences evidently marked him for life and explain why he devoted much of his life as a Germanist to the study of the writers associated with Stefan George, an interesting example of a scholarly life decisively moulded by the experiences of exile.

The work of Michael Hamburger operates on the dividing line between the critical and the creative. He is primarily a poet and translator. He has taught in universities and worked from 1955 to 1964 at Reading University, but gave it up because he felt his work as a poet would not let him do justice to the demands of a teaching post. In 1943, at the age of eighteen, he published translations of Hölderlin's poems, an astounding feat. Since then he has published translations of other modern writers ranging from Hofmannsthal to the first anthology of poetry from the GDR. His critical output seems to have sprung from his work as a poet. It is inspired by the desire to mediate between British and German culture and above all by the wish to dismantle the ideologies and prejudices which render German literature inaccessible to the British. Both his translations and criticism serve this function. His book, *The Truth of Poetry*, is an important and exciting survey of modernism in poetry, one which is particularly valuable because of the way in which German poetry is illuminated by being contextualised within the European tradition. Furthermore, it should be emphasised that Hamburger is almost unique in taking seriously the whole idea of the *avant garde* in poetry. This sets him apart from most of the immigrants who have tended to share the literary conservatism of their British hosts. Thus although Heller set the agenda for modern German literature, he placed it in a nostalgic framework. His advocacy tends to confine itself to what may be termed the negative side of modernism: its documentation of modern alienation. Hamburger is alive to its positive side too, and this enables him to keep abreast of even the most recent developments. In his appreciation of past German literature, too, it is radical creativity – Hölderlin, Kleist and Büchner – that engages his attention most.[27]

6. Scholarship

A survey of this kind inevitably leaves many important contributions unmentioned because they fail to fit into the categories used above. This section lists some of the most important. Refugee scholars have made significant contributions to German medieval and philological studies. These include Peter Ganz's *Der Einfluß des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz 1690–1815*; Werner Schwarz's essays on the *Ludwigslied*, Gottfried's *Tristan* and Hartmann's *Gregorius*; Marianne Wynn's work on Wolfram's *Parzival*. On the age of classical German literature mention must be made of Ilse Graham's major studies *Goethe and Lessing. The Wellsprings of Creation* (1973), *Schiller's Drama. Talent and Integrity* (1974) and *Kleist. Word into Flesh*

[27] For the works of Michael Hamburger see i. a., *A Mug's Game. Intermittent Memoirs*, Oxford 1973, and *Michael Hamburger*, Contemporary Authors Autobiography Series, vol. IV, Detroit n. d.

(1977), as well as Marie-Luise Waldeck's essays on Goethe's *Egmont* and *Torquato Tasso*, and Schiller's *Die Künstler*. In addition there is Hans Reiss's important critical study, *Goethes Romane* (1963). Charlotte Jolles's doctoral dissertation pioneered the analysis of Fontane from a social and political point of view and has recently been re-issued in the GDR (*Fontane und die Politik*, 1983). She has also made a major contribution to Fontane-studies by her editorial work on the Nymphenburger edition of Fontane's works. Finally, we should include Ernest Bramsted's *Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany* (1937). Bramsted was a student of Karl Mannheim both in Frankfurt and at the LSE, where this work formed the substance of his Ph. D. thesis. It is an early attempt to use the novel as a source for understanding class relations in Germany and also to make a contribution to the sociology of German writers in the nineteenth century. Its author emigrated to Australia after the war.

Conclusion

It is impossible to sum up the highly diverse achievements of the immigrants in the field of German studies, but perhaps one general point can be made. In Michael Hamburger's memoirs the theme of bilingualism deserves to be emphasised because of its general relevance. The question of language is a particular problem for literary critics since language is the object of study as well as the means of communication. The problematic nature of language should not be overlooked merely because, as has often been noted, many of the immigrants have been remarkable stylists in their language of adoption, to the envy of many native speakers of English. For a creative writer and translator like Hamburger, the problem is more acute still. He regards English as his main language, although German was his mother tongue. This meant that his childhood was experienced in German, and his adulthood in English. He reports his struggle to overcome this mismatch and to acquire in German the adult fluency of English. Conversely, he was told by a student friend at Oxford, that no one who had learnt English at the age of nine could ever be an English poet. He thus found himself painfully caught between the two languages and so regarded the bilingualism for which many would envy him as a curse, since it compounded the dislocations of his life. Many of the immigrants seem to have triumphantly overcome the problems of bilingualism, Hamburger included, of course. But this issue focuses some of the abiding problems. These go beyond the question of linguistic competence and point to the problems of being an immigrant and of discovering, or creating an identity for oneself. They point to the task many of the immigrants set themselves of mediating between two related, but alien and historically sometimes incompatible cultures. A sense of the cultural discontinuities they faced is perhaps conveyed by the remarks of the (immigrant) novelist Eva Figes, who has recorded the difficulty of practising her craft in Britain:

"It is perhaps as a writer that I feel least English, even though I write my books in the English language and could use no other. It was Kafka who first blew my mind open to the potentialities of prose in a way that three years reading English at university had failed to do. When I began writing prose myself it was the discovery that a novel could take any form, and

did not have to be like most of the English novels I had read, which first excited me. If my novels have more in common with post-war writing in Europe than with anything being produced in England, I think this probably goes deeper than a purely intellectual decision. The English still write in the style of Arnold Bennett because they still inhabit his world. England was never invaded, never touched by the cataclysm that shook Europe. After the Second World War life, as far as European writers were concerned, could never be the same again, and prose had to reflect that convulsive change. Only England, locked in her dream of past greatness, believed that everything would go on as before. But I am a European survivor, wrestling with a different reality."[28]

Since 1945 a number of factors have helped to change the British perception of Germany and German literature. In their different ways the immigrant Germanists have lived through many of the traumas of these historical relationships and have been in the forefront of those who have laboured to bring these alien worlds closer together.

[28] Eva Figes, 'The Long Passage to Little England', in *Observer*, 11th June 1978. Quoted in Marion Berghahn, *Continental Britons*, Oxford–Hamburg–New York 1988, p. 100.

CHRISTHARD HOFFMANN

The Contribution of German-speaking Jewish Immigrants to British Historiography

In his essay, *On Exile*, the Greek author Plutarch provocatively declares that in the last analysis exile has to be regarded as something positive.* Historians like Thucydides and Xenophon were sent into exile by the Muses in order to bring their work to perfection.[1] Exile as a ruse of Clio to improve the historian's style? The thesis seems improperly aestheticising if applied to the brutal expulsions of our century. Moreover, Plutarch's thesis, as it is, lacks sufficient balance to fully account for the complex realities in the lives of émigré historians. It does, however, raise the question of the general relationship that exists between the experiences of exile and emigration on the one hand, and the writing of history on the other. While little attention has been paid to this problem,[2] we must agree with Plutarch that the experiences of exile and expulsion have often sparked a strong impulse for new inquiries into and re-interpretations of the past. Following Reinhart Koselleck,[3] we may even evolve the thesis that methodically innovative history has almost exclusively – with few exceptions – been written by victims – as indeed, most exiles have been victims. The list of examples supporting this contention is impressive. To name but a few: Thucydides had been exiled from his native Athens for causing a military defeat. He wrote his *History of the Peloponnesian War* in far-off Thrace. The distance forced upon him permitted him to observe the war not only from afar, but from the viewpoint of both parties. It enabled him for the first time to grasp the long-range causes of the conflict. Polybios reached Rome as a hostage from Greece. His foreign origin enabled him to describe the rise of Rome from both the internal and the external perspective. Josephus, who initially had been a captive in Rome and been torn between his Jewish patriotism and the cosmopolitan culture of the victorious Romans, tried to mediate between the two cultures in his historic works. Machiavelli and Guiccardini too, who were expelled from Florence in unconnected actions in the first half of the sixteenth century and deprived of their leading positions in the city state, wrote their great works in exile. Theodor Mommsen's

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[1] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 605c: "Indeed the Muses, it appears, called exile to their aid in perfecting for the ancients the finest and most esteemed of their writings". (Translation: Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch's *Moralia*, London–Cambridge, Mass. 1959, vol. VII, pp. 556–557.)

[2] Only recently two major studies on the subject have been finished: Peter Th. Walter, *Von Meinecke zu Beard? Die nach 1933 in die USA emigrierten Neuhistoriker*, Ph. D. diss., State University of New York 1989; Heinz Wolf, *Deutsch-jüdische Emigrationshistoriker in den USA und der Nationalsozialismus*, Bern–Frankfurt a. Main–New York–Paris 1988.

[3] See Reinhart Koselleck, 'Erfahrungswandel und Methodenwechsel. Eine historisch-anthropologische Skizze', in Christian Meyer and Jörn Rüsen (eds.), *Theorie der Geschichte*, vol. V, *Historische Methode*, Munich 1988, pp. 13–61, esp. pp. 53ff.

Römische Geschichte, finally, also originated in exile in Zürich, after the abortive Revolution of 1848 and his subsequent dismissal from the University of Leipzig.

Such examples should not lead to the wrong conclusions. Not every important historiographic achievement is originally based on the experience of expulsion, exile and defeat, and – even more true – not every work of history written in exile is significant and innovative. On the contrary, emigrants tend to have their own prejudices, defences and resentments.[4] Still, Plutarch's thesis may have a kernel of truth: the experience of persecution and exile usually causes a break in the refugee's biography. This, and their encounter with foreign countries and cultures, may set free productive forces, like new perspectives, unusual methods, and the ability to compare, all of which positively influence history-writing. In this sense exile and emigration may function as catalysts for innovative historiography.

This should caution against seeing the transfer of knowledge through emigration and its cultural impact too mechanically or reducing it to a kind of "contributionism". German-speaking Jewish historians who came to the United Kingdom in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not simply bring their expertise and knowledge as well as their concepts and methods with them and thus exert their influence – their perspectives, their questions and historical judgements were also transformed by their emigration. In a complicated process of acculturation,[5] a new identity linking the country of origin with the country of resettlement was formed which changed their history-writing. Even if in highly differentiated and specialised scientific activities this is not equally true for all branches of historical scholarship, it certainly applies to the historiography of modern and particularly contemporary history.

I shall discuss acculturation and transfer of knowledge, conditions of acceptance and cultural influences, in reference to German-speaking Jewish émigré historians in Great Britain. In doing so, I will concentrate on the first generation of immigrants who fought their way through from Central Europe, and then made various contributions to historiography in Great Britain. I will not take into account the second generation, i. e. those children who were born in the country of resettlement, or those who had lived for a certain period of time as exiles in the United Kingdom, but returned to their country of origin and became historians only upon their return, or those who migrated to yet another country – mostly to the United States – after a stay of less than two years. I shall define the term historical scholarship as used in this article fairly broadly: it incorporates the history of all countries and epochs, it includes legal, economic and cultural history, but excludes the histories of art and literature. Occasionally, scholars of related disciplines like political science and sociology will be referred to as historians, if they used historical methods – this should not, however, be misinterpreted as an expression of "professional chauvinism".

Generally, two kinds of émigré historians can be distinguished: those who started

[4] See e. g. Wolfgang Leppmann, 'Die russische Geschichtswissenschaft in der Emigration', in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, New Series, 5 (1931), pp. 215–248, esp. p. 247.

[5] Fundamental for the concept of acculturation in emigration history is Herbert A. Strauss, 'The Pattern of Acculturation', in *idem* (ed.), *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the USA*, 6 vols., München–New York–London–Paris 1979–1987, vol. VI, *idem*, *Essays on the History, Persecution and Emigration of German Jews*, 1987, pp. 288–316; 'The Intellectual Migration', *ibid.*, pp. 347–365.

to concern themselves with historiography only in exile and who practised it primarily as non-academic scholars, and those who had already been professional and often highly specialised historians at the time of their emigration. The first kind of German-Jewish émigré historian prevailed before 1933, the second characterised the wave of refugees which was triggered by National Socialist persecution. In my essay I will treat the two periods separately from one another.

Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century

Compared to the United States, the immigration of German-speaking Jews to Victorian England was relatively limited. It is estimated that between 1830 and 1930 no more than a few thousand German-speaking Jews had come to Great Britain.[6] In general, they integrated with the new environment rapidly, and did not develop a separate group identity or even a sub-community within Anglo-Jewry. Only a few individuals from this group of immigrants, such as Sir Ernest Cassel, Baron Reuter, Sir Otto Jaffé, Sir Felix Semon etc., are known to have made notable careers for themselves. In the realm of historiography, however, at least for the period before 1933, such great names and spectacular careers are lacking. Sir Lewis Namier (1888–1960), who had come from the Polish part of Galicia to England, and who held a professorship at the University of Manchester from 1931 on, even had a school of research, "Namierism", called after him.[7] He had no counterpart among Jewish immigrants from Germany. Nevertheless, even among Jews of German origin, some scholars made important contributions to historiography in Great Britain. Their contributions were concentrated in three characteristic areas of research: the history of English Socialism, Jewish history and – if we include scholars who did research in England for an extended period of time without settling there permanently – British history.

Since the abortive Revolution of 1848, England and specifically London had become a centre for members of the German opposition.[8] The British Isles – not least because of the presence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels – were an almost classic place of refuge, particularly for Communist and Socialist exiles. During the years of (Bismarck's) law against Socialists (1878–1890) and during later repressions as well, many a Socialist Party leader and journalist transferred his activity to London; from there they sought to influence German politics as correspondents of general and Socialist papers. Two of these exiles, who remained conscious Jews despite their Socialist involvement, were Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932) and Max Beer (1864–1949). During their extended stay in England, they launched many inquiries into the history of British Socialism and broke new ground.

Eduard Bernstein,[9] the theorist of Socialist Revisionism, presented a comprehen-

[6] See C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, pp. 312–329, this ref. p. 312.

[7] On Namier see, John Kenyon, *The History Men. The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance*, London 1983, pp. 251–269.

[8] See Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany. Exile and Asylum in Victorian England*, Oxford–New York 1986.

[9] On the historiography of Bernstein see, Hans-Christoph Schröder, 'Eduard Bernstein als Historiker

sive study of radical movements during the Great Rebellion in England. It was intended for the *Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen* which Kautsky and he had edited. It appeared as volume I, 2 of the series in 1895. A separate edition followed in 1908 under the title *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der großen englischen Revolution*, which went through a number of editions.[10] When Bernstein began his work in 1893, he merely wanted to write a biography of John Lilburn, the leader of the Levellers, but before long he found himself almost overwhelmed by the wealth of interesting documents and pamphlets which he had located in the British Museum, and broadened his study to include the Leveller movement and other radical groups of the revolution. The fact that contemporary British historiography had either completely ignored these movements, or had treated them with little understanding, gave Bernstein an additional incentive. It put him in a position to explore new scientific territory and to analyse important documents bearing on English radicalism for the first time. In doing so, he was also the first to discover Gerrard Winstanley as a Communist thinker.[11]

According to his own understanding, Bernstein's interpretation was based on the materialist historiography of Marx and Engels. Like Marx, Bernstein also thought of the English Rebellion as a bourgeois revolution, "a revolution of the possessing classes: a struggle for the emancipation of proprietors – landholders – from the surviving remnants of the feudal burdens on the land".[12] Consequently, Bernstein stressed that religious and radical movements were determined by social conditions, even though his classification tended to be at times rather schematic and limited by the conceptual categories of the nineteenth century: "The Levellers represented those interests which were common to the artisan and the advanced citizen, while the 'True Levellers' exclusively represented the labouring interest."[13] Leaving these isolated abstractions aside, Bernstein's book proved to be a rather undogmatic product of Marxist historiography. There is reason to assume that Bernstein's later development towards revisionism was accelerated not only by external influences, such as Fabianism,[14] but also by his historiographically detailed work which allowed him a deeper understanding of the complexity and the controversial nature of political and social processes.[15]

Among British scholars, Bernstein's book was received with considerable enthusiasm. The two leading experts in the field of the study of revolution,

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der Englischen Revolution', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Historische Sozialwissenschaft*, 7 (1981), pp. 217–254; Peter Gay, *The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism. Eduard Bernstein's Challenge to Marx*, New York 1962, pp. 64–67; Hans-Josef Steinberg, 'Karl Kautsky und Eduard Bernstein', in Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *Deutsche Historiker*, vol. IV, Göttingen 1972, pp. 53–64.

[10] Eduard Bernstein, *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der großen englischen Revolution*, Stuttgart 1908, 6th edn., Berlin–Bonn 1974.

[11] See G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* (1898), repr. Cambridge 1967, p. 175 (note): "The honour of the discovery of Winstanley belongs to Bernstein."

[12] Eduard Bernstein, *Cromwell and Communism. Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution*, London 1930, repr. London 1963, p. 99.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[14] See Helmut Hirsch, *Der "Fabier" Eduard Bernstein. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des evolutionären Sozialismus*, Berlin–Bonn 1977; Herbert Frei, *Fabianismus und Bernstein'scher Revisionismus 1884–1900. Eine ideologisch-komparatistische Studie über wissenschaftstheoretische, philosophische, ökonomische, staatstheoretische und revolutionstheoretische Aspekte der Marx'schen, fabischen und Bernstein'schen Theorie*, Bern 1979.

[15] Schröder, *loc. cit.*, pp. 242–254.

Samuel R. Gardiner and C. H. Firth, wrote to Bernstein praising his work and offering additional comments. Firth deemed the study "such a useful contribution to the period" that he even recommended an English translation, which he later helped to bring about.[16] The translation appeared under the somewhat graphic and forceful title *Cromwell and Communism* in 1930, 35 years after it was first published. Owing to this delay, Bernstein's book did not have a broad reception. Only in the 1960s, when the interest in radical movements during the English Rebellion increased again, was his book republished as a classic and met with greater resonance.[17]

When Bernstein returned to Germany in 1901, after almost fourteen years of exile in London, he was succeeded by Max Beer as British correspondent of the Social Democratic Party paper *Vorwärts*. Beer had left Germany in 1884 as a Social Democrat and had lived in England, France and the United States ever since. It almost seemed as if Bernstein's interest in the history of British Socialism devolved upon his successor: in 1911, Beer resigned from *Vorwärts* in order to devote himself fully to a *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England*, which he had agreed to write for a German publisher. In his memoirs Beer later wrote about the work:

> "It [the book] kept me busy for fifteen months, mostly in the British Museum Reading Room and Manuscript Department and at the Hendon Repository, the so-called 'cemetery' of English books and papers, where I found unique material for the period 1825–34, the most productive decade of original thought among Socialist and Labour writers and leaders in Britain. My joy at discovering hitherto unknown documents of profound significance for Socialists richly compensated for many a hungry day in those months of 1911–12."[18]

When Beer's book was published in Germany in 1913, it was the first comprehensive history of Socialist thinking and also of the aspirations of the political Labour Movement in Great Britain in the period between 1750 and 1912.[19] Critics praised his presentation, which was based on a thorough knowledge of the literature and the sources, as a major scholarly achievement. Of course, some Socialist critics thought the book not Marxist enough, or not Marxist at all, while others, for example the political economist and *Kathedersozialist* Gustav Schmoller, took offence at its Marxist perspective. But even Schmoller had to admit that Beer had not written the book as "a narrow-minded partisan but as a historian".[20]

In England, too, the reaction to the book was positive: one review in particular appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* which despite its pronounced non-partisanship was so positive that many English publishers asked Beer to agree to a translation.[21] For the English edition, Beer not only translated the work but also revised it in principle. It must be added that Beer conceived of his work as an

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 224–226; see also, Eduard Bernstein, *Aus den Jahren meines Exils. Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten*, Berlin 1918, p. 257.

[17] See Schröder, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

[18] Max Beer, *Fifty Years of International Socialism*, London 1935, p. 169.

[19] Max Beer, *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England*, Stuttgart 1913.

[20] Gustav Schmoller, 'Die soziale Bewegung Englands von 1770–1912 im Lichte der Marxistischen Klassenkampfideen', in *Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche*, 38 (1914), pp. 1–42, ref. p. 2.

[21] *The Times Literary Supplement*, 5th June 1913, p. 240: "We should be sorry to do him [Beer] the disservice of raising up enemies by overpraising his book [...] but we must confess to a feeling of great admiration for the way he has done his work and of gratitude for the work itself. It is the barest truth to say

expression of his deep bonds to England and the British Labour movement. In his preface he wrote:

"The *History of British Socialism* is but a feeble attempt to repay the enormous mental debt which I owe to English life and scholarship. I could not have written it but for my twenty years' residence in this country, which has taught me how high an elevation of political and moral culture a nation must reach before it can embark on a socialistic reconstruction of society."[22]

Although Beer and his family felt deeply rooted in English life, they were declared "enemy aliens" at the outbreak of the First World War and returned to Germany in 1915. The two volumes of Beer's *History of British Socialism* were to be published only after the war.[23] They became classics in their field and have continued to retain their value despite more recent research. A richly illustrated new edition appeared as recently as 1984.

In the area of Jewish historiography in Great Britain, individual German-Jewish immigrants have also provided significant impulses. The *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, a movement which was founded in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Reformists, was created to redefine the identity of Jews through modern (secular) scholarship and to combine traditional Jewish learning and modern European *Bildung*. It has never achieved the central significance for Anglo-Jewry it had for Jews in Central Europe. It is true that a seminary dedicated to new Jewish learning, Jews' College in London, had been founded in England as early as 1855, but it is symptomatic that until after the Second World War none of its administrators and only few of its lecturers had come from England, but had had to be "imported" from Eastern and Central Europe.[24] Among them was Adolf Büchler (1867–1939), who had studied at the seminaries in Budapest and Breslau, received his doctor's degree in Leipzig, and had taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna until he came to Jews' College in 1906. He succeeded Michael Friedlaender as president from 1906 until his death.[25] Büchler was an eminent historian of Jewish history of the Second Temple period. He was among the first to recognise the value of rabbinical documents (Talmud and Midrash) as sources for the history of ancient Jewry, thus overcoming distortions inherent in research until that time. He did not base his presentation of that epoch exclusively on Greek and Roman authors, and thus drew a more accurate picture of Jewish history during Hellenistic and Roman times.[26]

While Büchler worked on a period of Jewish history which traditionally stood in the centre of Jewish and Christian research, much new territory was still to be explored in other areas, for example in the history of Anglo-Jewry. In 1893, the

that he has made a most valuable contribution to history on its sociological side and laid all students under deep obligation."; see also Beer, *Fifty Years*, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

[22] Max Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, Nottingham 1984, p. xi.

[23] London 1919 and 1920.

[24] See Albert M. Hyamson, *Jews' College, London 1855–1955*, London 1955; Raphael Loewe, 'Jewish Scholarship in England', in Vivian D. Lipman (ed.), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, London 1961, pp. 125–148, this ref. p. 144.

[25] See Isidore Epstein, 'Adolf Büchler. The Man and the Scholar', in Israel Brodie and Joseph Rabbinowitz (eds.), *Studies in Jewish History. The Adolf Büchler Memorial Volume*, London 1956, pp. xiii–xxii.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. xvi f.

Jewish Historical Society of England was founded and dedicated itself fully to this task.[27] The driving force behind the foundation was Lucien Wolf (1857–1930), whose father had come to England as a political refugee from Bohemia, then part of the Austrian Empire, as a result of the events in 1848.[28] Lucien Wolf was born in London and was thus a member of the second generation of immigrants, but always remained conscious of his Central European origin.[29] Wolf became a prominent Anglo-Jewish publicist and on the strength of his knowledge and his international experiences he took an active part in the negotiations of the Versailles peace treaty in 1919 concerning Minority Rights of Eastern and Central European Jews. Among other topics, Wolf concerned himself with the life of Moses Montefiore, with questions of Anglo-Jewish history, and the Spanish Jews, the *marraños*, whose history he traced back to the Canary Islands and Portugal.[30]

The study of British history had occupied an important place in German historical and legal scholarship. Moreover, many a German scholar of the nineteenth century – from Karl Theodor Welcker and Friedrich Georg Dahlmann to Rudolf von Gneist and Lujo Brentano – thought of England as a political model and ideal because of her political and social institutions.[31] After the founding of the German *Kaiserreich*, this tradition of Anglophilism increasingly lost its importance until it was replaced by an Anglophobic attitude. Heinrich von Treitschke particularly seemed to have been very effective in depicting England as Germany's rival and arch enemy. One of the results was a noticeable decline in academic interest in England and her history.[32] Perhaps it was no coincidence that among the few scholars who, during the *Kaiserreich*, continued to specialise in British history, were a number of Jews: Felix Liebermann (1851–1925), Ludwig Riess (1861–1928) and Felix Salomon (1866–1928). Despite their exceptional achievements, none of them was awarded a full professorship at a German university, which can be read as an indication of antisemitic and Anglophobic attitudes in the academic life of the time.[33] Riess, whose dissertation on the *Geschichte des Wahlrechts zum englischen Parlament* (1885) had attracted attention,[34] taught at the University of Tokyo for many years, until he was made associate professor in Berlin in 1902. Salomon, who had distinguished himself by his studies of William Pitt the Younger and of modern English foreign policy, taught Western European History in Leipzig. Liebermann, the brother of the famous painter Max Liebermann and a specialist in medieval documents, never held a university position but worked as a private scholar. To pursue their archival studies, both Salomon and Liebermann lived in England for several years and established close contacts with British colleagues. Liebermann especially felt almost as much at home in England as he did in Germany. In 1903 his *magnum opus*, *Die*

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[27] See Jacob Raphael, 'Die jüdisch-historische Gesellschaft von England', in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden*, 7 (1970), pp. 187–191.

[28] See Lucien Wolf, *Essays in Jewish History* (edited by Cecil Roth and published posthumously), London 1934, pp. 1–35.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 51–59.

[30] For a bibliography of Jewish historical writings by Lucien Wolf see *ibid.*, pp. 37–47.

[31] See Charles E. McClelland, *The German Historians and England. A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 61 ff.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 193 ff., 225 ff.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 196 f.

Gesetze der Angelsachsen (three volumes), appeared, to be followed by his study of *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period* in 1913. In recognition of his achievements both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge awarded him honorary doctorates, and he was also a member of the Royal Historical Society and the British Academy.[35]

Refugee Historians after 1933

Turning to historians who became victims of the racist persecution of National Socialism and who escaped to England, I will first characterise the group as a whole, their reception in British academic life, and their achievements in the various fields of historical research; then I will have a closer look at the works of certain refugee scholars and their interpretation of German history; finally, I will evaluate the German-speaking historians' impact on British historiography.

A few statistics will illustrate the dimension and the specific profile of the historians' immigration to the United Kingdom. According to the *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés*[36] and the lists of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL),[37] the number of professional historians who came to England as refugees after 1933 amounted to approximately 46, or, excluding those scholars who arrived after 1945, 41.[38] This number includes all historians who stayed in Great Britain for at least two years, or who only became historians after their immigration and worked in England for a longer period. However, as the links between history and such related fields as sociology or political science cannot be exactly drawn, and, furthermore, as information on some scholars has so far not been available, the number is not beyond question.

Most remarkable about this group is their heterogeneity. What they had in common was their being victims of crude racism. All of them had Jewish backgrounds, but Jewishness meant completely different things to each of them. Some, like Samuel Krauss or David Herzog, had dedicated their lives to the study of Jewish history, while others, such as the legal historian Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, were descended from a family Protestant for several generations. Again, others were Socialists or agnostics, for whom religion had no meaning at all. Admittedly, it raises problems to call all of them Jewish, but this is an old and well-known difficulty. At any rate, to ascertain general cultural and scholarly influence, religious attitudes may generally be neglected, perhaps with the exception of Jewish history itself. Refugee historians also differed in age, and thus in the degree to which they embodied German culture and German academic traditions. Francis Pribram, for

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 193f., 198; Ernst Heymann, 'Felix Liebermann', in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germanistische Abteilung, 46 (1926), pp. xxiii–xxxix, this ref. p. xxvi.

[36] Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933 / International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 3 vols., München –New York–London–Paris 1980–1983.

[37] Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), Bodleian Library, Oxford, Department of Western Manuscripts.

[38] See Appendix: Badian, Jacobson, Koebner, Laqueur and Paucker came to the United Kingdom after 1945.

example, was nearly 80 years old, when he finally decided to follow his sons from Vienna to London in 1939, while Peter Pulzer, who arrived at the same time, was only a boy of nine. As for their professional qualities and their fields of historical specialisation there were again differences among the immigrants. Not all of them had actually lectured on history or even studied history at a university in Central Europe. Some of them were amateurs or unaffiliated scholars who had either already written history before they came, or would do so following their emigration. In analysing the group, it seems useful to classify the members according to their academic training. All historians, regardless of age, who concluded their academic education in their native countries will here be termed the older generation; those who started their university training only in their country of settlement, in this case Great Britain, will be called the younger generation. In between are those who studied in Germany or Austria as well as in Great Britain; they will be called the middle generation. According to this grouping, more than half (twenty-seven) of the 41 scholars belong to the older, only a few (three) to the middle, and about one quarter (eleven) to the younger generation.

To test the question of cultural and scientific transfer through emigration, it will be interesting to see to what extent the older generation obtained regular positions in British universities. Of the fourteen professors or *Privatdozenten* of history who came to England only seven managed to attain positions in universities, most of them only temporarily. Arthur Rosenberg, for example, had to leave Liverpool University for the United States after three years as a visiting fellow in the Department of Modern History. The same happened to Hans Rosenberg and Martin Weinbaum, who were research fellows at the universities of London and Manchester respectively. Francis Pribram at the age of 80 started teaching at the London School of Economics (LSE), and Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, from 1933 Senior Research Fellow at Balliol College, Oxford, concentrated totally on private international law and did not write history any more. He died in 1936. Thus, only three historians out of the fourteen professors of the older generation found permanent appointments and were able, therefore, to have had an impact as university teachers in the United Kingdom. They were two historians of antiquity, Victor Ehrenberg and Fritz Heichelheim, and the medievalist Hans Liebeschütz. After various appointments at schools and universities, Ehrenberg became a member of the academic staff of the University of London. From 1949 until his retirement in 1959 he was Reader in Ancient History at Bedford College. In addition, he was co-founder and *spiritus rector* of the London Classical Society. His works on the history of Ancient Greece were influential well beyond the confines of the subject.[39] Heichelheim, a specialist on ancient economic history and papyrology, managed at least in the beginning to support himself with the help of several research grants. Between 1938 and 1942 he worked on the Greek numismatic collection at Cambridge University. From 1942–1948 he lectured on Ancient History at the Univer-

[39] See Hans Schaefer, 'Victor Ehrenbergs Beitrag zur historischen Erforschung des Griechentums', in *Historia*, 10 (1961), pp. 387–408; *Ancient Society and Institutions. Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford 1966; Gert Audring, Christhard Hoffmann and Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg (eds.), *Victor Ehrenberg und Eduard Meyer. Ein Briefwechsel (1914–1930)*, Berlin–Stuttgart 1990.

sity of Nottingham until he took an appointment at the University of Toronto.[40] Liebeschütz, who already in Hamburg had maintained close relations with the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*, continued those in England. His important study *Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury* appeared in a series of the Warburg Institute in 1950. From 1946 until 1959 Liebeschütz taught medieval history at the University of Liverpool, in addition to which he devoted himself to the study of German-Jewish intellectual history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[41] It is remarkable that not one single scholar of modern history of the older generation managed to secure a major position in a British college or university. Even Veit Valentin – who as a non-Jew does not belong to the group under discussion – had to continue his journey to the United States after four years of lecturing at London University.[42]

Aside from the fourteen professors, there were five scholars of the older generation who had not held chairs in their native countries but were offered lectureships in England. They were highly specialised and – in the majority – did not work in the more general or central fields of historical research: Gertrude Bing concentrated on the history of the classical tradition, Erwin Rosenthal dealt with oriental languages and medieval history, and Hirsch Zimmels specialised in Talmudics and Jewish religious history. Only Walter Ullmann, who taught medieval and ecclesiastical history, and Nicholas Rubinstein, an expert in early modern Italian history, represented a more general field of historical scholarship. True, some scholars of the older generation, like the Bismarck biographer Erich Eyck,[43] the historian of the German labour movement Gustav Mayer,[44] or the medievalist Wilhelm Levison[45] were temporarily invited to guest lectureships at universities, but regular appointments were very rare and the great majority of the historians of the older generation did not find an academic position in their new country.

A number of factors seem to have been responsible for this fact. First of all, despite considerable efforts by the SPSL, both the absorptive capacity and the financial resources of British universities were very limited. Especially in the field of history, chances of success were poor. Esther Simpson, then secretary of the SPSL summarised the disappointing result of her own endeavours as follows in 1939:

"Next to law, history is the most difficult of all categories to place and we have not succeeded in finding a permanent position here for a single historian. We gave one of our research fellowships to one of the most eminent of the displaced German historians [i. e. V. Valentin, C. H.] as we were confident that if any historian could find a permanent berth he

[40] See Hans Georg Gundel, 'Fritz M. Heichelheim', in *Gnomon*, 41 (1969), pp. 221–224; Karl Christ, *Römische Geschichte und deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft*, München 1982, pp. 193–195.

[41] See Alexander Patschovsky, 'Nachwort', in Hans Liebeschütz, *Synagoge und Ecclesia. Religionsgeschichtliche Studien über die Auseinandersetzung der Kirche mit dem Judentum im Hochmittelalter*, Heidelberg 1983, pp. 237–244.

[42] See Elisabeth Fehrenbach, 'Veit Valentin', in Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *Deutsche Historiker*, vol. I, Göttingen 1971, pp. 69–85.

[43] See Klaus Hildebrandt, 'Erich Eyck', in Wehler (ed.), *Deutsche Historiker*, vol. II, Göttingen 1971, pp. 98–119.

[44] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, 'Gustav Mayer', *ibid.*, pp. 120–132; Gottfried Niedhardt, 'Gustav Mayers englische Jahre. Zum Exil eines deutschen Juden und Historikers', in *Exilforschung*, 6 (1988), pp. 98–119.

[45] See *In Memoriam Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947). Reden und Grussbotschaften bei der Gedenkfeier der Universität [Bonn] zum 100. Geburtstag am 31. Mai 1976*, Köln–Bonn 1977. Levison was invited to be Ford Lecturer in English History in Cambridge 1942/1943.

would; now after about five years in this country he is almost exactly where he was in the beginning."[46]

Often, the only token help the SPSL was able to extend to historians upon their arrival in England was to issue them a ticket, give them good advice and encourage them to continue their journey to America. In addition to the individuals already mentioned these included Hans Rothfels, Fritz Epstein, Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Hans Baron, Felix Gilbert, Georg Wolfgang Hallgarten, and Adolf Leschnitzer. Indeed, it should not be forgotten that some historians could not be helped at all: Siegmund Hellmann, for instance, until 1933 full professor of medieval history at the University of Leipzig, attempted in the summer of 1936 to find a job and start a new life in the United Kingdom – to no avail. He returned to Germany and died in Theresienstadt.[47] Other younger historians, who had received their doctor's degree in Germany and in some cases had been employed as lecturers at universities, were unable to continue their careers in England; they were forced to enter other fields such a library work, school teaching, work at radio stations etc. Among them were Elsbeth Jaffé, Jenny Schwarz, Ellen Littmann, Victor S. Frank, and Erich Langstadt.[48] Others such as Heinrich Benedikt or Hans Ludwig Gottschalk returned to Austria immediately after the end of the war, because this provided the only opportunity for scholarly activity.

The age of the immigrants was another cause of the relative failure of the older generation of immigrants in England to obtain adequate employment: six out of fourteen history professors were over sixty when they entered Britain. Their knowledge of the English language was not always sufficient for lecturing at university level. Thus, most of them turned to private studies in libraries and archives, if they were lucky enough to obtain financial support. Finally, English reservations about the typical German academic and historiographical tradition might have been another reason for the failure of these scholarly careers. It seems that it was easier to gain admission to the more internationalised areas of historical research, like classical studies, ancient and oriental or even medieval history than to modern history, where national styles and differences played a greater role. In any event, the major impact some modern German historians trained by Friedrich Meinecke had in the United States was without parallel in the United Kingdom.

Looking at the middle and the younger generation, i. e. at those historians who were partly or totally influenced by British academic traditions, we get a different impression. Most representative of the middle generation of refugee historians is Francis L. Carsten.[49] His academic education began in Heidelberg and Berlin where he studied law and passed the examinations in 1933. At the same time he was an active member of the Left-wing underground group *Neu Beginnen*. From 1936 he turned to research on early Prussian history at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam, where he was in close contact with Norbert Elias. He

[46] Esther Simpson to W. E. Wolff, 24th April 1939, SPSL, 469/3.

[47] See SPSL, 498/2.

[48] See SPSL, 254/6 (Jaffé); *ibid.*, 258/3 (Schwarz); *ibid.*, 255/4 (Langstadt); *ibid.*, 253/3 (Frank).

[49] See Volker R. Berghahn, 'Francis Carsten. Politics and History in Two Cultures', in *idem* and Martin Kitchen (eds.), *Germany in the Age of Total War. Essays in Honour of Francis Carsten*, London 1981, pp. 7–22.

continued these studies in Oxford and concluded them in 1942 with a doctoral thesis. After the Second World War, Carsten lectured on German and Central European history at London University, from 1961 to his retirement 1978 as Masaryk Professor for Central European History. His field of interest is Prussian or German history not only of the early modern period, but also contemporary *(Zeitgeschichte)*. To his major works in this area belong his studies on *The Reichswehr and Politics 1918–1933* (1966), *Revolution in Central Europe 1918–1919* (1972), and *Fascist Movements in Austria. From Schönerer to Hitler* (1977). With his contributions, Professor Carsten has set new standards in research on German history in Great Britain. Through his long teaching experience, especially the training of graduate students, Carsten has had considerable influence upon the study of Central European history in Great Britain.[50]

The concentration on German history and the use of new sociological and social-history approaches and methods are also apparent in the work of the two other representatives of the middle generation. Under the influence of Karl Mannheim, Ernest Kohn-Bramstedt wrote a pioneer study on *Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany. Social Types in German Literature 1830–1900* (1937), and Eva Reichmann's analysis, *Hostages of Civilisation. The Social Sources of National Socialist Anti-Semitism* (1950) became a classic in research on antisemitism.

Finally, with regard to the younger generation; they are no longer committed exclusively to German history. True, many of them work in the field of modern (or early modern) German history and German-Jewish history, to name but a few: Frank Eyck, Edgar Feuchtwanger, John Grenville, Helmut Koenigsberger, Walter Laqueur, Werner E. Mosse, Arnold Paucker, Peter Pulzer and Walter Simon. However, these contributions are often integrated into general European history and, consequently these historians are also experts in British, Russian, French or Italian history. Thus, the younger generation of refugee historians helped to raise the subject of European history in England to a very respectable level. The majority of the younger immigrants, who had received their education at British universities, ended up choosing themes for their work from British history.[51] But no one has been as successful and effective in this respect as Sir Geoffrey Elton. Son of the late Victor Ehrenberg, and, through his background, familiar with professional techniques of detailed philological and historical work,[52] Elton studied the sources of the Tudor period more thoroughly than any one else and put the historical interpretation of this epoch on a completely new footing. While his pointed theses were certainly far from being undisputed, Elton on the strength of his brilliant scholarship still became the authority on early modern British history and has achieved everything that is attainable in academic life in Great Britain: from 1983 to his retirement in 1988 he was Regius Professor of Modern History in Cambridge, and in

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[50] *Ibid.*, p. 50; Joseph J. Lee, 'Britische Forschungen (1945–1975) zur modernen deutschen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte', in Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *Die moderne deutsche Geschichte in der internationalen Forschung 1945–1976*, Göttingen 1978, pp. 46–63, here p. 56.

[51] See Berghahn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19 f.

[52] There were quite a number of refugee historians whose fathers had already been historians besides Ehrenberg/Elton; Erich Eyck & Frank Eyck, Ludwig Feuchtwanger & Edgar Feuchtwanger and Hans Liebeschütz & Wolfgang Liebeschütz.

1986 he was knighted.[53] Aside from Elton and the above-mentioned scholars, Sidney Pollard and Eric Hobsbawm also worked in the area of British history. Pollard concentrated on modern British and European economic history and Hobsbawm, who as a British citizen is not an immigrant in the technical sense, but who spent his youth in Vienna and Berlin before he got to England in 1933, became one of the leading Marxist historians and gained international recognition.[54] Others specialised in certain areas of historical research: Ernest Badian and Wolfgang Liebeschütz in the history of antiquity, and Gerd Buchdahl in the history and philosophy of science.

Historical scholarship can be found not only at universities, but also at private research institutes and special libraries. Those institutes which were either transferred to England by Central European Jews, or were newly founded by them there, should at least be mentioned. There is, first of all, the "Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek Warburg",[55] that most famous library collected by Aby M. Warburg, which served the study of the classical tradition in European history. It was incorporated into the newly-founded University of Hamburg in 1920. The remarkable thing about this research institute was that it represented an interdisciplinary institution which sought to combine questions of and approaches to philosophy and the history of art with intellectual and cultural history. After the *Machtergreifung* the continuance of the institute in Germany was no longer secure. Thus, at the end of 1933, the whole library, including 60,000 volumes and about 25,000 photographs, and the entire academic staff with Fritz Saxl and Gertrude Bing, were successfully transferred from Hamburg to London. In 1944, it became part of the university, and was renamed the Warburg Institute. Its influence on British cultural and academic life is mainly in the field of art history, and in intellectual and cultural history.

There was another library which enriched historical scholarship in Great Britain. Already by 1933 Dr. Alfred Wiener, one of the leading representatives of the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*, which had dedicated itself to combating antisemitism, had started a collection of material on the Nazi dictatorship and the condition of the Jews. In Amsterdam he opened an information centre, the Jewish Central Information Office, and, within a brief period of time, his became the most complete collection of books, pamphlets and newspaper clippings on the subject. In 1939, the library was transferred to London. As the Wiener Library, it has become one of the most important archives for those branches of

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[53] See Keynon, *The History Men*, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–213; Christopher Coleman, 'Professor Elton's "Revolution"', in *idem* and David Starkey (eds.), *Revolution Reassessed. Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*, Oxford 1986, pp. 1–11.

[54] See E. P. Thompson, 'Eric Hobsbawm' (Interview), in Henry Ablose *et al.* (eds.), *Visions of History*, New York 1984, pp. 27–46.

[55] See Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists 1933–1952*, The Hague 1953, pp. 42–48; Dieter Wuttke, 'Die Emigration der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg und die Anfänge des Universitätsfaches Kunstgeschichte in Großbritannien', in *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 7 (1984), pp. 179–194.

contemporary historical research which deal with the Third *Reich*, the persecution of the Jews, and antisemitism.[56]

Finally, there is the Leo Baeck Institute: it was founded in 1955 since when it has dealt with the history and culture of German Jews since the period of emancipation. With its working centres in Jerusalem, New York and London, the Leo Baeck Institute has contributed to the revitalisation and establishment of the scholarly tradition of German-Jewish historiography, which had been terminated so brutally in Germany.[57] Since the beginning of the 1970s, the Institute has increasingly moved away from being an association of emigrants, which recruited its contributors predominantly from among its own ranks and subsequently also included laymen and *Zeitzeugen*, to forming a research institute which specialises in one area of historical scholarship and which principally includes all specialists who work in the field. In this process of "professionalisation" the London branch of the Institute has played a pioneering role. It is there that the *Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute*, the most important scholarly periodical of the Institute, is published, edited initially by Robert Weltsch and now by Arnold Paucker. The Institute has organised important academic conferences and has published a series of major symposia on problems of German-Jewish history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in co-operation with West German scholars. Moreover, the Institute has succeeded in attracting outstanding British scholars from various fields to devote time and effort to problems of German-Jewish history, for example, Richard Koebner, Hans Liebeschütz, Werner E. Mosse, Peter Pulzer, John Grenville, and Julius Carlebach. Thus, the Institute has greatly contributed to a revival in research on German-Jewish history, both in England and West Germany.[58]

The Refugee Historians' Interpretation of German History

Looking at the work of the refugee scholars in Great Britain as a whole, it is an interesting question to what extent they were influenced by the experience of expulsion and exile. Erich Eyck's work is most revealing in this regard.[59] Only late in his life did Erich Eyck become an historian. Drastic political and personal changes, above all the Nazis' seizure of power and consequently the loss of his job and emigration to England, made Eyck, the Liberal Jewish lawyer, commit himself

[56] Walter Laqueur, 'Dr. Wiener's Library 1933–1960', in *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, Special Issue, *50 Years of the Wiener Library* (1983), pp. 3–9.

[57] See Herbert A. Strauss, 'Die Leo Baeck Institute und die Erforschung der deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 9 (1983), pp. 471–478; Ismar Schorsch, 'The Leo Baeck Institute. Continuity Amid Desolation', in *Year Book XXV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1980, pp. ix–xii; Arnold Paucker, 'Die deutsch-jüdische Geschichte im Jahrbuch des Leo Baeck Instituts', paper delivered at a seminar on 'Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte. Zur Entwicklung der historischen Forschung und Darstellung seit 1945. Ergebnisse, Kritik, Aufgaben', organised by the Leo Baeck Institute, London and the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, at Schloß Ringberg, 25th–28th November 1987 (unpublished).

[58] See Christhard Hoffmann, 'Deutsch-jüdische Geschichtswissenschaft in der Emigration. Das Leo-Baeck-Institut', in Herbert A. Strauss *et al.* (eds.), *Wissenschaft in der Emigration* (forthcoming).

[59] For Eyck see Hildebrandt, *loc. cit.*; William H. Maehl, 'Erich Eyck', in William Halperin (ed.), *Some 20th Century Historians*, Chicago 1961, pp. 227–253; Joachim H. Knoll, 'Werk und Methode des Historikers Erich Eyck', in *Neue Deutsche Hefte*, 6 (1959/1960), pp. 729–736.

completely to the study of history. In the realm of historiography Eyck was not a complete beginner: he had studied history along with law and political science in Heidelberg and Berlin, and obtained his doctoral degree in 1904 with a treatise on the history of the German labour movement. In a career of more than thirty years as a lawyer at the Superior Court of Justice of Berlin, and as a part-time journalist, he had kept up his interest in historical topics. Because of his Liberal political orientation, he had welcomed the Weimar Republic, and as city councillor for the German Democratic Party had actively supported it against its opponents from the Right and the Left. He was deeply affected by the failure of the first German Republic. Deprived of his job by the racist policy of the Nazis, he emigrated to England in 1937 at the age of 59 together with his family. It was an almost classic opportunity for creative historical scholarship: he was an exile and his cause had been defeated. In England, Eyck started to rethink the course of German history and to explore the reasons for the disastrous development it had taken. This resulted in major studies, written in his British exile: the monumental three-volume Bismarck biography, the study on the "personal rule" of Wilhelm II, and the two-volume history of the Weimar Republic. Yet, in every case, before dealing with German history, Eyck wrote about modern British history, preferably in the form of political biography. Eyck dealt first with the life of Gladstone, then with Bismarck. He wrote a double biography of the Pitts and the Foxes, then on the personal rule of Wilhelm II. First he composed a more popular political history of England, then he published his history of the Weimar Republic. This pattern in Eyck's historiographical work is by no means accidental. It seems as if Eyck by dealing with British history tried to derive a standard for evaluating German history, or as Hildebrandt in his essay on Eyck puts it: "The British example, politically regarded as a model, is Eyck's basis for his judgement on the unfinished German nation state."[60] From Eyck's point of view, the superiority of Britain could be seen in her completed development into a Liberal constitutional state and her strong parliamentarianism. In contrast, Germany remained "nationally, socially, and parliamentarily incomplete".[61] When finally national unification was achieved through Bismarck's superior statesmanship, this could only happen by disregarding and deriding Liberalism, through contemptible methods and internal repressions, thus poisoning the political climate in Germany for many years and blocking the way for a liberal and democratic development. Because of his liberal and moralistic point of view, Eyck had much sympathy for the great Liberals in British history, such as Peel and Gladstone, and he warmly described Charles Fox's uncompromising resistance to George III who attempted to establish an absolutist "personal" rule. In comparing Bismarck and Gladstone, Eyck, on the one hand, admitted that Bismarck, as a practical statesman, had superior qualities, while completely lacking Gladstone's deep commitment to right, morality, and idealistic principles.[62] In his view, Bismarck unscrupulously pursued his *Realpolitik* by immoral methods.

Eyck's idealisation of British history and his critical view of German history

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[60] See Hildebrandt, *loc. cit.*, p. 103.

[61] Erich Eyck, *Der Vereinstag deutscher Arbeitervereine 1863–1868. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin 1904, p. 99.

[62] Erich Eyck, 'Bismarck and Gladstone', in *The Contemporary Review*, 152 (1946), pp. 343–348.

could be interpreted as a direct consequence of his situation as an immigrant, yet this would be too simplistic an explanation. Eyck's critical treatment of modern German history clearly strove for objectivity and was free of anti-German bias or emigrant resentment.[63] Moreover, Eyck's characteristic view of English history and his positive evaluation of British political institutions had already crystallised as early as 1904 when he wrote his doctoral thesis. In this, Eyck was influenced by the Anglophile tradition of German Liberalism that had been upheld by determined Liberals like Theodor Barth and Max Weber even after the *Reichsgründung*, and the general decline in German-British relations before the First World War.[64] It was with his works on German and not on British history that Eyck achieved his greatest impact on the academic community. His studies of Bismarck were welcomed by British historians and praised for their wealth of material. In their basic assessments, there were no differences between Eyck and Liberal British historians, such as G. P. Gooch.[65] As was to be expected, the reaction in post-war Germany was not as positive. Above all, professional historians were extremely critical of an historian who did not belong to the tribe. Eyck's book provoked an intense debate on the traditional views on Bismarck in German historiography, and it can be said that, in the end, Eyck's point of view basically prevailed.[66] That Eyck's studies on British history met with hardly any response among English experts was due to their popular biographical form aimed at a more general reading public. Moreover, Eyck's Liberal point of view followed the traditional "Whig Interpretation of History" which was not very popular at that time. On a younger generation of West German historians, however, Eyck's approach and his Western perspective did have a stimulating effect. By presenting British history as a model, and by comparing it with the imperfect German development, Eyck was one of the first historians who interpreted the so-called German *Sonderweg*, i. e. conceived the peculiar pattern of German development in the modern period as an historical aberration.[67] As for Eyck's methodological approach, its impact was limited: his concentration on political, constitutional, and diplomatic history, as well as on the biographical genre, was replaced by the "critical school" of West German historians and their preference for social and structural history.[68]

A second example is Arthur Rosenberg.[69] He too was politically active during the

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[63] See Maehl, *loc. cit.*, p. 251.

[64] See Wolfgang J. Mommsen, 'Zur Entwicklung des Englandbildes der Deutschen seit Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Lothar Kettenacker, Manfred Schlenke and Hellmut Seier (eds.), *Studien zur Geschichte Englands und der deutsch-britischen Beziehungen. Festschrift für Paul Kluke*, Munich 1987, pp. 375–397, here pp. 382ff.

[65] See Manfred Messerschmidt, *Deutschland in englischer Sicht. Die Wandlungen des Deutschlandbildes in der englischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Düsseldorf 1955, p. 111.

[66] Hildebrandt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 108f.

[67] See Bernd Faulenbach, 'Der "deutsche Weg" aus der Sicht des Exils. Zum Urteil emigrierter Historiker', in *Exilforschung*, 3 (1985), pp. 11–30.

[68] See Hildebrandt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 98f., 116ff.

[69] For Rosenberg see, Helmut Schachenmayer, *Arthur Rosenberg als Vertreter des historischen Materialismus*, Wiesbaden 1964; Helmut Berding, 'Arthur Rosenberg' in Wehler (ed.), *Deutsche Historiker*, vol. IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–96; Francis L. Carsten, 'Arthur Rosenberg. Ancient Historian into Leading Communist', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 8 (1973), pp. 63–75; Luciano Canfora, *Il communista senza partito*, Palermo 1984; Rudolf Wolfgang Müller and Gert Schäfer (eds.), *"Klassische Antike" und moderne Demokratie. Arthur Rosenberg zwischen alter Geschichte und Zeitgeschichte, Politik und politischer Bildung*, Göttingen –Zürich 1986.

Weimar Republic, and also for him, political defeat gave as decisive an impulse for the historiographical assesment of contemporary German history[70] as it did for Eyck – but this was the extent of the similarity of their interests. Rosenberg came to politics and modern history only late in life. He had begun his academic career as a historian of antiquity during the *Kaiserreich*. In 1911 he received his doctorate from the University of Berlin, to be followed by his *Habilitation* three years later. His works on Roman history were entirely grounded in scholarship and did not reveal any traces of his later Marxist outlook. During the First World War, Rosenberg – obviously following in the footsteps of his academic teacher Eduard Meyer – joined the Right-wing and chauvinist *Deutsche Vaterlandspartei*. Thus it was only the revolutionary situation of the autumn of 1918 which turned this a-political scholar into an active politican. He became a Marxist and devoted himself henceforth with great enthusiasm – and initially little realism – to the struggle for Socialism and Democracy. Rosenberg became a member of the USPD (Independent Social Democrats), later changed to the KPD (Communist Party of Germany), was made municipal councillor in Berlin and received responsibilities on the *Reichsleitung* of the KPD, even becoming a member of the Executive Committee and the Presiding Committee of the Comintern (Communist International) in 1924. Between 1924 and 1928 he was a member of the German *Reichstag*. As a member of its Foreign Affairs Commission, and especially through his activity in the committee of inquiry which investigated the causes of the German collapse in 1918, he made a name for himself and gained considerable respect well beyond his party. In reaction to the increasing domination of the Communist International by Moscow's leadership Rosenberg left the KPD in 1927, and withdrew completely from politics at the end of that legislative period, 1928. He remained an independent Socialist and critical Marxist without ever joining a political party again.

His disappointment over the failure of the revolutionary movement in 1918/1919, and over the development of the Communist International – not only the National Socialist *Machtergreifung* of 1933 or his emigration – gave Rosenberg the decisive impulse to deal with the most recent German and Socialist history. The first results of this work appeared when he was still in Germany: *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Republik 1871–1918* (1928) and the *Geschichte des Bolschewismus von Marx bis zur Gegenwart* (1932). Rosenberg continued this work in exile without major interruption: in Zürich beginning in early 1933, in Liverpool until 1937 and in New York from 1937 to his early death in 1943. During his stay at the University of Liverpool, he completed his *Geschichte der deutschen Republik* (1935) and wrote the largest part of his treatise *Demokratie und Sozialismus. Zur politischen Geschichte der letzten 150 Jahre* (1938). These four major works on modern history by Rosenberg were relatively quickly translated into English.[71]

Part of Rosenberg's self image as a historian was the idea that historiography "without principle and *Weltanschauung*" was impossible and that it could only reach its pinnacle "if the historian is carried by a higher societal principle and is conscious

[70] See Berding, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[71] Arthur Rosenberg, *The Birth of the German Republic, 1871–1918*, London 1931; *A History of Bolshevism from Marx to the First Five Years' Plan*, London 1934; *A History of the German Republic*, London 1936; *Democracy and Socialism. A Contribution to the Political History of the Past 150 Years*, London 1939.

of that".[72] This task, according to Rosenberg, applied particularly to émigré historians because of their experiences: it was their duty to develop "in undogmatic and critical study [...] a positive new principle of the German future based on the negation of the Third Reich"; an inquiry "in the old style of pseudo-objectivity lacking any principle" could no longer be considered an option.[73] "Negation of the Third Reich" – this meant for Rosenberg the democratic and social republic – and it was this model which also moulded his studies in England.

This approach was characteristic of Rosenberg's historiography: while it was orientated on general principles of Hegelian-Marxist historical theory, it did not fall prey to the dogmas of historical materialism. Instead, he sought to ascertain the real constellations of power (class relations) in a society using empirical methods, not the slogans of Marxist historical materialism. He wanted to determine the scope of the options available to those who carry political responsibilities, and he tried to point out alternatives. Thus Rosenberg considered it to be a decisive shortcoming of the young Weimar Republic that the Social Democratic Party had not been able to disassociate itself from its traditional policy of revolutionary rhetoric and reform policy – that is, the practical acknowledgement of the existing capitalist conditions – while after the Revolution of 1918/1919 it also lacked the will to really change the existing social order – that is through the expropriation of landed property and the banks. The Social Democrats might have liked to accomplish this feat, "to build up a revolutionary State with the Civil Service and judicial apparatus of a vanished regime",[74] but they were bound to fail. False alternatives like "Bolshevism or the Weimar system" also contributed to the fact that the positive approaches of the *Rätebewegung* were quelled and revolutionary power therefore weakened.

We could name many more examples which would demonstrate that Rosenberg was by no means blinded by his own political involvement, but rather the contrary. Precisely because he had devoted himself to the goals of the Socialist Labour Movement, and because he knew that only the Labour Movement had been in a position to enforce a democratic system, he recognised the errors and failures of their policy even more sharply. Indeed, he sometimes seemed to have overestimated the real possibilities for action of the SPD in its confrontation with the enemies of the Republic.[75] Rosenberg detested especially the "empty political slogans, the illusion and political lie of life"[76] which he thought to be particularly prominent in German politics – both on the Left and the Right of the political spectrum.

As far as the fall of the Weimar Republic is concerned, Rosenberg thought of "the death of the Weimar Republic" as being rooted not only in the National Socialist seizure of power but already in Brüning's emergency laws of October 1930. The National Socialist regime seemed to him only a radical variety of the already existing dictatorship, not something that was principally novel:

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[72] Arthur Rosenberg, 'Die Aufgaben des Historikers in der Emigration', in Emil Julius Gumbel (ed.), *Freie Wissenschaft. Ein Sammelbuch aus der Deutschen Emigration*, Strasbourg 1938, pp. 207–213, quotation p. 208.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[74] Rosenberg, *A History of the German Republic*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[75] See Adelheid von Saldern, 'Arthur Rosenbergs "Geschichte der Weimarer Republik" – noch immer aktuell?', in Müller and Schäfer (eds.), *"Klassische Antike"*, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–153, esp. p. 145.

[76] Arthur Rosenberg, *Entstehung und Geschichte der Weimarer Republik*, Frankfurt a. Main 1955, p. 16.

"The work itself proves that I am justified in bringing my narrative to a close with the year 1930. From the standpoint of historical evolution the events of January, 1933, did not effect any fundamental change in Germany, but only an extraordinary intensification of the tendencies that had shown themselves to be possessed of decisive influence ever since Brüning issued his emergency decrees in 1930."[77]

His attitude in the 'Epilogue', which concludes the English edition of 1936 and which offered an overview of the events of the years 1930 to 1935, is not fundamentally different. Yet Rosenberg saw very clearly how successful the Nazi government had been in uniting the Right-wing parties under its leadership, and in forming a close alliance with the old élites – military, civil servants, capitalists and big landowners – after the defeat of its Left wing in June 1934. He also realised that in the totalitarian state the working class was robbed of practically all instruments of power – nevertheless he was ultimately convinced that the National Socialists could not stay in power in the long term:

"In the long run, however, it is impossible that a Government which eliminates entirely the influence of the masses will be able to maintain itself."[78]

At this point we probably have to judge from hindsight that Rosenberg – despite his personal fate as an emigrant – had not recognised the new quality of National Socialist dictatorship and its measures of persecution.[79]

Rosenberg's studies on the rise and history of the Weimar Republic roused widespread interest in England in the years after the *Machtergreifung*, and met with positive responses among experts. His expertise, impartiality and the form of his presentation were especially praised in many reviews.[80] In the Federal Republic of Germany, Rosenberg's works have been considered quite intensively only since the sixties; they gave decisive impulses for research on the Revolution of 1918/1919 and the *Rätebewegung*. In West Germany, Rosenberg's *Geschichte der Weimarer Republik* is now among the classics of historiography and appeared in its twentieth edition in 1980.[81]

Of course, neither Erich Eyck nor Arthur Rosenberg were representative for all German-Jewish émigré historians in Great Britain. But we may ask how far their approach and their questions were characteristic for other refugee scholars. Owing to their experience with Nazi Germany, quite a number of refugees, even non-professional historians or scholars from related disciplines, turned to a critical re-evaluation of German history. However, they differed significantly in their methods and results. Eva Reichmann, for instance, stressed the social and Peter Pulzer the political sources of German antisemitism, while Hans Liebeschütz approached the subject entirely on the basis of intellectual history. And while for Eyck political and diplomatic history were the centre of interest and Bismarck the crucial turning point in the course of German history, Carsten concentrated on the

[77] *Idem*, *A History of the German Republic*, *op. cit.*, pp. viii f.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[79] See von Saldern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.; Carsten, *loc. cit.*, p. 74.

[80] See e. g. *The Times Literary Supplement*, 7th January 1932, p. 3; *ibid.*, 22nd February 1936, p. 149; *The Spectator*, 26th July 1935, p. 156; *History*, 18 (1934), pp. 71 f.; *International Affairs*, 11 (1932), pp. 127 f.; *ibid.*, 15 (1936), p. 611.

[81] See von Saldern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.; Berding, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 f.; Carsten, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

social conditions of early Prussian development and stressed the powerful position of the Junkers, while in other studies he pursued Rosenberg's approaches and explored the position of the *Reichswehr* in German politics as well as the Revolutions of 1918/1919 in Central Europe in great detail.

These examples prove that we cannot possibly speak of a homogeneous school of émigré historians. Even though similar questions seem to have presented themselves as a result of their similar fates as refugees and victims of National Socialist politics, answers and historical interpretations of the course of German history have differed considerably, depending on the political attitude and *Weltanschauung* on the one hand and the approaches and concepts of scholarship on the other.

Conclusion

To sum up, the following can be said about the contribution and the cultural and scholarly impact of Central European refugee historians in the United Kingdom: in comparison with other disciplines, such as psychoanalysis and art history, the impact historians had on British academic life was less spectacular and rather heterogeneous. To a great extent this was due to the role history occupied as an academic discipline. In 1933, history was an internationally well-established scholarly enterprise. There no longer existed any fundamental differences in methods between German and British historiography as had been the case a hundred years earlier. Consequently, the influence of refugee historians on the British academic community could not be based on the introduction of new paradigms or fundamentally new approaches – this was only true for "young" disciplines – their impact was restricted to contributions in specialised fields of historical research. The immigrants left their traces on British academic life not as a homogeneous group or as representatives of a certain school, but as individual scholars and specialists. The willingness to accept immigrant colleagues from the Continent in departments of history obviously depended on the refugee's field of specialisation. Taking into consideration the limited absorption of the older generation, one is led to conclude that even accounting for financial restrictions and obstacles of age and language there existed some reservations about permanently appointing scholars who were not native to the British university system. Some scholarly approaches were considered typically German, for example, intellectual history, and were less well regarded in England than in the United States. For those historians who did take root in British academia, it is characteristic that they, to a large extent, adopted the British style, above all British historical empiricism.[82] Soon there was no difference between the works of immigrant historians and those of their British colleagues. This is especially true of the younger generation. Some of them had a major impact in their special area of research; the most striking example is Geoffrey Elton, whose studies revolutionised the traditional view of Tudor history. But nobody who reads Elton's books would trace his approach, his arguments, and his results back to the author's German roots. To this extent, the term "cultural transmission" does not

[82] See Berghahn, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19f.

apply to the younger generation. The most characteristic contribution of émigré historians in Great Britain seems to be in the field of German and German-Jewish history. It was their experience of persecution and emigration that caused them to rethink the course of German history. The impact of their studies on modern German history was two-fold: in England, they opposed clichés about the German "national character" or on the "demonic" Prussian state, while in West Germany they set critical standards which became a model for younger historians. To this extent, refugee historians acted as important mediators between British and German historiography.

Appendix

List of German-speaking Jewish historians who emigrated to the United Kingdom after 1933 (and stayed at least for two years)★

Bach, Hans I. (1902–1977), German-Jewish History.
Badian, Ernest (born 1925), Ancient History.
Baron, Hans (1900–1988), Medieval and Renaissance History.
Beer, Max (1864–1944), History of Socialism.
Benedikt, Heinrich (1886–1981), Modern History.
Bing, Gertrude (1892–1964), History of the Classical Tradition.
Bramsted (until 1945: Kohn-Bramstedt), Ernest (1901–1978), Modern European History.
Buchdahl, Gerd (born 1914), History and Philosophy of Science.
Carsten, Francis Ludwig (born 1911), Central European History.
Ehrenberg, Victor L. (1891–1976), Ancient History.
Elton (until 1944: Ehrenberg), Geoffrey Rudolph (Sir) (born 1921), British Constitutional History, Modern History.
Epstein, Fritz Theodor (1898–1979), East European History.
Eyck, Erich (1878–1964), Modern History.
Eyck, Frank (born 1921), Modern History.
Feuchtwanger, Edgar Joseph (born 1924), Modern History.
Goldmann, Emil (1872–1942), Legal History.
Goldschmidt, Julius Hans (1879–1940), Modern History.
Gottschalk, Hans Ludwig (1904–1981), Islamic History.
Grenville (until 1948: Gubrauer), John (born 1928), Modern History.
Heichelheim, Fritz Moritz (1901–1968), Ancient History.
Herzog, David (1869–1946), Jewish History.
Jacobson, Jacob (1888–1968), German-Jewish History.
Koebner, Richard (1885–1958), Modern History.
Koenigsberger, Helmut Georg (born 1918), Early Modern European History.
Krauss, Samuel (1866–1948), Jewish History.
Laqueur, Walter (born 1921), Contemporary History.
Levison, Wilhelm (1876–1947), Medieval History.
Liebeschütz, Hans (1893–1978), Medieval History, German-Jewish History.
Liebeschütz, Wolfgang (born 1927), Ancient History.
Lowenthal, Ernst Gottfried (born 1904), German-Jewish History.
Mayer, Gustav (1871–1948), History of Socialism.
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Albrecht (1874–1936), Legal History, Modern Diplomatic History.
Mosse, Werner Eugen Emil (born 1918), Modern European History, German-Jewish History.
Paucker, Arnold (born 1921), German-Jewish History.

★ For further details see Strauss and Röder (eds.), *Biographisches Handbuch*, *op. cit.*

Pollard (until 1944: Pollak), Sidney (born 1925), Economic History.
Pribram, Alfred Francis (1859–1942), Modern History.
Pulzer, Peter George Julius, (born 1929), Political Science, German-Jewish History.
Reichmann, Eva Gabriele (born 1897), German-Jewish History.
Rosenberg, Arthur (1889–1943), Ancient History, Contemporary History.
Rosenberg, Hans (1904–1988), Modern History.
Rosenthal, Erwin Isak Jacob (born 1904), Oriental History.
Rubinstein, Nicholas (born 1911), Medieval and Modern History.
Simon, Walter Michael (1922–1971), Modern European History.
Ullmann, Walter (1910–1983), Medieval and Ecclesiastical History.
Weinbaum, Martin Albert (born 1922), Medieval History.
Zimmels, Hirsch Jacob (1900–1974), Jewish History.

RUDOLF MUHS

Jews of German Background in British Politics

The first Jew to enter British parliamentary politics had a distinctly German background. For Lionel Nathan Rothschild (1808–1879), although born in London, was the son of an immigrant bond dealer, stockbroker and banker from Frankfurt.[1] His father Nathan Mayer Rothschild had first come to England in 1797, but did not finally settle in London until 1803, quick as he subsequently proved in establishing himself in the host community. Having obtained naturalisation as a British subject in 1804, Nathan further buttressed his position by marrying Hannah Cohen, the daughter of one of the leading notabilities of old-established Anglo-Jewry. On the other hand, the London branch of the Rothschilds always retained close links with Frankfurt, and did this not just out of a fond affection for the ancestral home, but because the network of family ties, carefully cultivated and variously renewed over generations, provided valuable business connections. Their position in the world's leading money market soon made them indispensable to continental rulers in financial difficulties, the reward being, in Nathan's case, the post of Consul-General for the Habsburg Monarchy and a baronial title for himself and his descendants. So it was Lionel "de" Rothschild who went to Göttingen in 1828 to complete his education before going on to marry the daughter of his uncle in Naples. Both choices would seem most appropriate, in particular that of Göttingen, given the fact that English universities did not yet admit Jews. For a graduate of Göttingen to dominate the City of London was indeed less odd than it might seem at a time when the Rector of that university (the King of Hanover) was, as Heinrich Heine quipped, moonlighting as King of Great Britain and Ireland himself.

This is not the place to recount the protracted struggle for Jewish political emancipation in Britain.[2] Suffice it to say that in 1847 Lionel de Rothschild decided to champion the controversial cause and put himself forward as a candidate for Parliament. His subsequent election for the City of London represented a considerable achievement, even though he had to wait for eleven years and get himself re-elected four times before, in 1858, the required oath was finally amended so as to enable him to take his seat in the House of Commons. Nor was this the last time a Rothschild pioneered the penetration of a bastion of the British political establishment. In 1885 Lionel's son, Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild

[1] Cf. Stanley D. Chapman, 'The Establishment of the Rothschilds as Bankers', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (TJHSE)*, 29 (1982–1986), pp. 177–193; cf. also the entries in *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, 63 vols., London 1885–1900, and 3 vol. supplement, 1901, supplements covering 1901–1911, 1912–1921, 1922–1930, and thereafter for each decade until 1971–1980, 1981–1985, vol. XVII, pp. 304–306 for Lionel, and pp. 306–309 for Nathan Mayer Rothschild.

[2] For the most recent treatment cf. Martin C. N. Salbstein, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Britain. The Question of the Admission of the Jews to Parliament, 1828–1860*, London–Toronto 1982; Abraham Gilam, *The Emancipation of the Jews in England, 1830–1860*, New York–London 1982.

(1840–1915) whose German background as a third-generation "Britisher" was far less distinctive, if still recognisable, became the first professing Jew to be elevated to the House of Lords.[3]

So from 1858 Britain's Jewish citizens had the right to participate fully in Parliament and thus in all spheres of government. But the removal of religious disabilities did not automatically effect the political integration of that varying but always sizeable proportion of the Jewish community in Britain who were immigrants or the children of immigrants. Before the onset of the mass influx from Tsarist Russia in the 1880s this minority in a minority consisted predominantly of German speakers from Central Europe, and it did so again after the beginning of the Third *Reich*.[4] Under the Act of Settlement of 1701 any "person born out of the Kingdom of England Scotland or Ireland... (although he be naturalised and made a Denizen) (except such as are born of English parents)" was barred from membership of the Privy Council and either House of Parliament and from "any Office or Place of Trust either Civil or Military". These provisions were not repealed until 1870; but their repeal was a necessary, not a sufficient condition for wider political participation by recent immigrants. Citizenship, while a prerequisite for political integration, is no guarantee of electoral success.[5] The latter depends on not just the passive concession of a civil right but the active endorsement of a constituency, and that can be assumed to be doubly difficult for a double outsider.

For that reason, in contrast with art and scholarship, business and industry, and most other professions, there is no chance of continuing a political career in a different country.[6] There were, in fact, at various times both in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries German politicians of Jewish origin living in exile in Britain, in the post-1848 period, under Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws and during the Nazi regime, but none of them ever succeeded in, or even aspired to, playing an active role in British politics. Some, Eduard Bernstein for instance, still had a political future in Germany before them when they came to Britain, but the majority of arrivals in the years after 1848 and again after 1933 were never to return to their home country, let alone re-enter its political life on an institutional level. However rewarding though it would be, these German-Jewish exiles and their involvement in German émigré politics in Britain can only be touched on in passing here.

It cannot, therefore, come as much of a surprise, that those German-born Jews who made their way into the Westminster Parliament were children or adolescents when they first stepped onto British soil. And wherever descendants of immigrants and refugees from German-speaking Central Europe embarked on a career in politics, they were not identifiably "German" Jews, applicable as this designation may be in other fields of activity. That is why, contrary to most of the contributions to the present volume, this essay will only talk, more cautiously, about Jews of

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[3] Cf. Albert M. Hyamson, 'The First Jewish Peer', in *TJHSE*, 17 (1957), pp. 287–290.

[4] For a survey of the available literature and the direction of current research, cf. Colin Holmes, 'The Promised Land? Immigration into Britain 1870–1980', in D. A. Coleman (ed.), *Demography of Immigrants and Minority Groups in the United Kingdom*, London 1982, pp. 1–21; Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers. Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, London 1989.

[5] Cf. J. M. Ross, 'Naturalisation of Jews in England', in *TJHSE*, 24 (1974), pp. 59–72.

[6] This, of course, does not apply to ministers and diplomats in pre-national absolutist monarchies or, for that matter, to Court Jews.

German background. It ought to be further understood that the term "German" is employed here to refer to the entire German-speaking area of Central Europe which includes large parts of the Habsburg Monarchy and its successor states. So, what is implied by identifying someone who was, or is, active in British politics as being of "German background" is, simply, that the person(s) concerned are immigrants from German-speaking Central Europe.[7]

The aim of this essay is thus to resolve the question to what extent and under what conditions it has proved possible for outsiders to gain access to the political élite of Britain through an electoral mandate. To assess their individual and collective impact on British politics, it will be necessary to inquire how far this German background formed part of anybody's identity as a British politician or whether they saw it as just an antiquarian detail without practical relevance. However, self-perception is only one aspect of this particular problem, and the way they were perceived by the general public is equally important for their political fate. So the question of whether, when and to what extent the German background of many Jews was an issue in British politics will also have to be examined.

First of all, though, it is necessary to introduce individually all elected Members of Parliament with a German-Jewish background since the days of Lionel Rothschild. As this has never been attempted before, the list may well be incomplete.[8] A more cursory glance will then be cast over the elevation of Jews of German background to the House of Lords and the calling of some of their number into the Privy Council. Next, the Civil and Diplomatic Services require some attention, as does local government. Finally, some evidence will be assembled on the role of German-Jewish elements in British journalism as well as in extra-parliamentary mass movements and in sectarian activities. This should enable us to give at least a provisional answer to some of the questions raised earlier.

Altogether it has been possible to identify some thirty men (and not a single woman) of German-Jewish background who were elected Members of Parliament since the middle of the nineteenth century. In terms of closeness to their German background and to Judaism they can be classified in three different categories. First there are those Jewish MPs who were not natural-born British subjects but immigrants from German-speaking Central Europe. Understandably, this group contains the smallest number of cases in the three categories and only one person who was not a refugee from Nazism.

He was Arthur Strauss (1847–1920), a native of Mainz, who first came to England with his parents as a boy, but later returned to Germany temporarily for his university studies. By the time he was naturalised in 1884, Strauss had already grown rich as a metal broker and owner of several mines and smelting works (for instance as a partner in the metal merchanting and smelting firm of A. Strauss & Co.). He first stood for Parliament, unsuccessfully, in 1892 when he contested the

[7] When it seemed necessary or expedient to mention someone from the third generation, i.e. the grandchildren of Jewish immigrants from Germany, they are generally dealt with in the footnotes rather than in the main text.

[8] Unfortunately it has proved impossible to get hold of a copy of Gary Zimmerman, *Jewish MPs*, M. A. thesis, University of Essex 1976, quoted by Geoffrey Alderman, *The Jewish Community in British Politics*, Oxford 1983, p. 173.

Camborne division of Cornwall as a Liberal Unionist. It was also on this platform and for the same constituency that he was eventually elected to the House of Commons in 1895. However, in 1900 Strauss lost his seat and failed to regain it in a by-election three years later. He subsequently got himself adopted as the Conservative and Unionist candidate in North Paddington, where he had been residing for decades, and after coming second in 1906 Strauss finally re-entered Parliament in 1910. He sat as an MP throughout the First World War, but in the general election of December 1918, this time standing as an independent Labour candidate, Strauss finished bottom of the poll.[9] His son George, who also served as a member of Parliament for many years, will be dealt with in more detail below.

Though he was born under the surname of Hoch and speaks German fluently, it is questionable whether Robert Maxwell (born 1923) should be included in this list. The sub-Carpathian Ukraine where the publisher and sometime Labour Member of Parliament began his life was historically part of Hungary, although it had been incorporated by then into the newly-created state of Czechoslovakia. More importantly the region, though part of the Habsburg Monarchy until 1918, was only marginally in the German cultural orbit, with Ruthenian, Slovak and Yiddish the languages of everyday life and the medium of higher culture tending to be Hungarian rather than German. On the other hand, there is an indirect German element in Maxwell's career, in that Nazism fundamentally altered the course of his life. Not only did he lose most of his family in the Holocaust, but he himself was catapulted from Eastern Europe to Britain during the Second World War from which he emerged decorated with a Military Cross. Also, it was in Berlin where, in the immediate post-war period, Maxwell laid the foundation for what was to become a veritable media empire by using his post as head of the press section in the British administration to establish close links with German publishers. However, in his political ambitions Maxwell has been considerably less successful than in his business career. First adopted as Labour candidate for Buckingham in 1959, he was not elected until 1964 and lost his seat in 1970. Having twice failed to regain it in 1974, Maxwell's last foray into the world of institutionalised politics came in 1979 when, albeit in vain, he sought nomination as a Labour candidate in the first elections to the European Parliament on a pro-EEC ticket.[10]

Peter Rost (born 1930), the son of Friedrich Rosenstiel and Elisabeth Merz, is a Berliner by birth whose life was saved by his parents' timely escape to Britain. A graduate of Birmingham University, Rost started his professional career as a financial journalist before going on to join the Stock Exchange. In 1966 he was adopted as the Conservative candidate for Sunderland North, but failed to win the seat. Four years later his second bid to get into Parliament was successful. After thirteen years as Member for Derbyshire South-East Rost has, since 1983, represented the constituency of Erewash.[11]

Clemens Raphael Freud (born 1924, knighted 1987), the grandson of Sigmund

[9] Michael Stenton and Stephen Lees (eds.), *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament (WWBMP)*, 4 vols., Brighton 1976–1981, vol. II, *1886–1918*, p. 342; *Who Was Who (WWW) 1916–1928*, p. 1008; obituary in *The Times*, 3rd December 1920, p. 10.

[10] *WWBMP*, vol. IV, *1945–1979*; Joe Haines, *Maxwell*, London 1988; Tom Bower, *Maxwell, the Outsider*, London 1988.

[11] *WWBMP*, vol. IV, p. 323; *Who's Who (WW)*, London 1990, p. 1575.

Freud, has been living in Britain since 1938 when, after the incorporation of Austria into the Third *Reich*, his parents came to London to organise suitable accommodation for the terminally ill psychoanalyst, who was still waiting for his emigration papers back in Vienna. Young Clement, as he now was, soon found himself serving in the British Army, and as a liaison officer he was later present at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. His entry into the House of Commons as a Liberal came after a spectacular by-election victory in 1973. He represented the Isle of Ely which was renamed Cambridgeshire North-East in 1983.[12] But while his parliamentary career was brought to an end by defeat in the general election of 1987 Sir Clement Freud, to quote from his entry in *Who's Who* continues to entertain the British public as "writer, broadcaster and caterer",[13] his latest feat being the redesigning of the "limp, insignificant, infinitely forgettable British Rail sandwich".[14] It should be noted that Freud could also be counted as belonging to the third category of MPs, that of Christians of German-Jewish background (he is in fact Catholic).

The second category of Jews of German background in British politics comprises those members of Parliament who, while natural-born British subjects themselves, grew up in families where at least the father and in some cases both parents were German-Jewish immigrants from Central Europe. Altogether there seem to have been twenty people whom this description fits. However, in some cases it has not been possible to establish definitely a person's place of birth, so they might in fact qualify for inclusion in the first category, while others were possibly baptised and would thus be better dealt with under category three below. But their German-Jewish background is indisputable.

After the triumphant completion of his protracted fight for admission to Parliament in 1858, Lionel de Rothschild sat for the City of London until he was defeated in 1868.[15] After a comeback less than one year later, his second spell in the House of Commons lasted until 1874 when he lost his seat again, this time not to regain it before his death.[16]

From the beginning of Lionel's political campaign his younger brother by ten years, Mayer Amschel de Rothschild (1818–1874), who, by special permission, had been enabled to take a degree at Cambridge, was actively supporting the cause of emancipation, standing for Parliament himself at Hythe in 1847. Although not successful then, he did win the seat in 1859 and as Liberal MP represented the constituency of Hythe without interruption until 1874 when he retired, shortly before his death later in the same year.[17]

Albert Grant (1831–1899), next to the unsurpassed Trebitsch-Lincoln, the most colourful character in this survey, started life as Abraham Gottheimer in Dublin, where his father, who had come over from Prussia some years earlier, eked out a precarious existence as a pedlar. At the time of Abraham's birth he was apparently so poor that neighbours had to provide the swaddling clothes. From these humble

[12] *WWBMP*, vol. IV, p. 126.
[13] *WW*, 1990, p. 642.
[14] Cf. 'Freud's filling the BR food gap', in *Evening Standard*, 8th June 1990, p. 3.
[15] *WWBMP*, vol. I, *1832–1885*, p. 334.
[16] *WWBMP*, vol. I, p. 334.
[17] *Ibid.*

beginnings Grant, having changed his name by deed poll in 1863, rose to become "the pioneer of modern company promoting".[18] In 1865 he was elected Member of Parliament for Kidderminster, sitting as a Liberal until he suddenly retired only three years later. Also in 1868 an Italian barony was bestowed on Grant "the market quotation of which at the time was as low as that for the currency of the country", as Paul Emden, the historian of international finance, drily remarked.[19] Nevertheless, the public was impressed, and "greedy to take up companies quicker than he could bring them out". When some of his more dubious, and in any case heavily over-subscribed, flotations began to lose his investors a great deal of money Grant tried to restore confidence by making a "big display as a public character". But buying a picture for the National Portrait Gallery when the government did not make the required funds available was no longer enough and when, in 1874, he donated to the people of London a public garden in the redeveloped Leicester Square area Grant was lampooned as having made the gift "solely because he wished his name for once at least to be connected with 'something square'".[20] One day after the opening ceremony his re-election at Kidderminster was duly declared void because of evident bribery, and when contesting the seat again in 1880 Grant failed to win it.[21] By this time there were already dozens of court actions for fraudulence and other offences pending against him and he eventually died a relatively poor man.[22]

Baron Henry de Worms (1840–1903), as he was known when he entered the House of Commons in 1880, was born in London in 1840.[23] Like the Rothschilds, to whom his family was related by marriage, his father had come to Britain from Frankfurt during the Napoleonic Wars. Worms was the first ever professing Jew to sit on the Conservative benches after his election for Greenwich.[24] In 1895 he was raised to the peerage as the first Baron Pirbright.

Sir Alfred Jacoby (1852–1909, knighted 1906) was a son of the Nottingham lace manufacturer Moritz Jacoby. Married to a lady by the name of Lippmann from Glasgow, he was elected Liberal MP for Mid-Derbyshire in 1885, returned five times at subsequent general elections and held the seat until his death.[25]

Sydney James Stern (1845–1912), whose Frankfurt-born father was one of the founders of the London firm of Stern Brothers, had no fewer than four unsuccessful attempts behind him when he was finally elected to Parliament for Stowmarket (Suffolk) in 1891. A Liberal, he sat in the Commons for only four years before being elevated to the Lords under the title of Baron Wandsworth, which was decidedly one up on his inherited Portuguese viscountcy.[26]

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[18] *DNB*, supplementary vol. ii, pp. 338–339.

[19] Paul Emden, *Money Powers of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, London n. d. [1937], p. 141.

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

[21] *WWBMP*, vol. I, p. 163.

[22] Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Year 1910*, London–Jerusalem 1972, pp. 103–104.

[23] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 95.

[24] Bertram B. Benas, 'Genealogical notes upon the family of Baron Henry de Worms, sometime Member of Parliament for East Toxteth', in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 91 (1940), pp. 143–158.

[25] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 190.

[26] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 338; *WWW 1897–1915*, pp. 544–545; cf. also Paul H. Emden, *Jews of Britain. A Series of Biographies*, London n. d. [1943], pp. 542–543.

Sir Sigismund Ferdinand Mendl (1866–1945, knighted 1918) was Liberal Member of Parliament for Plymouth from 1898 to 1900.[27] From 1909 to 1912 and again from 1915 to 1919, Mendl served as President of the London Corn Trade Association. When he stood in Plymouth a letter emanated from Chief Rabbi Adler in London urging the Jews of Plymouth not to vote for Mendl but for the non-Jewish Conservative candidate.[28]

Sir Maurice Levy (1859–1933, knighted 1907) was born in Leicester, the son of Jewish immigrants. He was educated privately and at London University. His wife Elise was the daughter of Max Zossenheim of Leeds. In 1900 he was elected Liberal MP for Mid-Leicestershire and represented this constituency until he retired in 1918.[29]

When Alfred Mond (1868–1930, baronet 1910) was born, his father had been living in Britain for only six years and was not yet naturalised as a British subject.[30] He was Liberal MP for Swansea from 1910 to 1918 and Swansea West from 1918 to 1923, when he was defeated, having previously fought Salford South and Chester. After his election for Carmarthen in 1924 he switched to the Conservative Party. He was knighted in 1910 and created Lord Melchett in 1928. Though a prominent Member of Parliament, he is best known for his role in the creation of Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI).

Edward Anthony Strauss (1860–1939)[31] was Managing Director of the Southwark-based hop and grain merchants Strauss & Co., established by his father Joseph. He was Liberal MP for Abingdon from 1906 to 1910 and then in 1910 was elected Liberal MP for Southwark. He sat for Southwark North as a Coalition Liberal and then National Liberal from 1918 to 1923, as a Liberal from 1927 to 1929 and again as a National Liberal from 1931 until his death in 1939.

Bertram Stuart Strauss (1867–1933)[32] spoke out against aliens legislation as a candidate in 1905, lost and later changed his views. He was Liberal MP for Mile End from 1906 to 1910. He was a leading Jewish spokesman in Parliament,[33] and active in London politics.[34] His father was one of the leading lights of the German colony in Manchester, moving an address to the Frankfurt parliament in 1848 and collecting money to support it.

Sir Charles Solomon Henry (1860–1919) was returned unopposed for the redesigned Wrekin division of Shropshire in 1918 as a Coalition Liberal, but died less than a year later.[35]

Sir Arthur Levy Lever (1860–1924, baronet 1911), who had received part of his education in Germany, was the brother of Sir Maurice Levy and adopted the additional surname of "Lever" on his marriage to Beatrice Falk in 1896. A Liberal in politics he, like quite a few men with similar backgrounds, first entered the House

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[27] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 248; *WWW 1941–1950*, p. 786.
[28] Alderman, *Jewish Community*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[29] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 217.
[30] *WWBMP*, vol. III, *1918–1945*, p. 247.
[31] *WWBMP*, vol. III, p. 344.
[32] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 341–342.
[33] Alderman, *Jewish Community*, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72, 79.
[34] Geoffrey Alderman, *London Jewry and London Politics, 1889–1986*, London–New York 1989, pp. 40–44.
[35] *WWBMP*, vol. III, p. 160.

of Commons after the general election of 1906. Having lost his Harwich seat in 1910, Lever withdrew from politics but, in spite of his advanced age, served with the British forces in France during the First World War. In 1922 he re-entered Parliament as National Liberal MP for Central Hackney, but ill health forced him to retire the following year and he died shortly afterwards.[36]

Charles Sidney Goldman (1866–1958) was born in the Cape Colony to Jewish immigrants from Germany. After attending university in Freiburg im Breisgau he returned to South Africa and acted as a war correspondent during the Boer War. He was Unionist MP for Penryn and Falmouth from 1910 until his retirement in 1918.[37]

Details about the German background of Major Frank or, as he is listed in the Commons Members handbook, Francis Benedict Hyam Goldsmith (1878–1967) have been difficult to ascertain. Though there appears to be a family tradition that his "German origins forced him to flee Britain at the start of the First World War",[38] he served as Conservative MP for Stowmarket from 1910 until his retirement in 1918 and chose to live in France afterwards where he subsequently became a leading figure in the hotel business. He was also director of the Savoy Hotel Co. and founder of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem.[39]

Baron Maurice Arnold de Forest (1879–1968) grew up in Paris as the adopted son of the Munich-born finance magnate, railway entrepreneur and philanthropist Baron Moritz Hirsch.[40] He belonged to the circle around the future Edward VII, having been introduced to the Prince of Wales by Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria. He was a Radical Liberal with pro-Labour tendencies. He sat on the London County Council from 1910 to 1913. Having failed to secure election for Southport in 1910, he entered Parliament the following year after a by-election in West Ham North. After retiring from Parliament at the general election of 1918, de Forest renounced his hereditary Austrian title in 1920. He was naturalised as a citizen of Liechtenstein in 1932, created Count Bendern in 1936 and spent most of the rest of his life in Biarritz.[41]

Edward Albert Lessing (1890–1964), the London-born son of Albert and Augusta Lessing, was educated at Marlborough and Oxford. A qualified barrister, he went into business, joining the firm of Strauss & Co., grain merchants, then chaired by Edward Anthony Strauss whom he was eventually to succeed. After his war service with the Grenadier Guards, Lessing tried to enter politics. He fought Abingdon as a Liberal in 1922, was its MP from 1923 to 1924 and failed to regain it in 1929. His professional career was considerably more successful. He became Director of the Baltic and Mercantile Exchange.[42]

Sir Frank Cecil Meyer (1886–1935), Conservative MP for Yarmouth from 1924

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[36] *WWBMP*, vol. III, p. 207; *WWW 1916–1928*, p. 625.

[37] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 140.

[38] Cf. Fred Pearce, 'Here, there and a bit of eternity', in *The Guardian*, 13th July 1990, p. 27.

[39] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 140; *WWW 1961–1970*; obituary in *The Times*, 17th February 1967, p. 14. In 1974 Sir Frank Goldsmith's older son Teddy (born 1928), the founder and editor of *The Ecologist* magazine, stood as a Green candidate in his father's old Suffolk constituency only to lose his deposit, *WW*, 1990. His second son is the billionaire financier Sir James Goldsmith (born 1933), *WW*, 1990.

[40] On Hirsch cf. *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Berlin 1953ff., vol. IX, pp. 207–208.

[41] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 93; *WWW 1961–1970*, p. 86.

[42] *WWBMP*, vol. III, pp. 206–207; *WWW 1961–1970*, p. 669.

to 1929, was the son of Carl Meyer from Hamburg,[43] a highly successful banker and company director who, as a young man, had come to England via South Africa. Married to the daughter of another German-Jewish immigrant (Adele, daughter of Julius Levis of Belsize Park), he was a generous benefactor of the then nascent project of an English National Theatre. In 1910 Carl Meyer, who sent his son to Eton and Oxford, was awarded a baronetcy to which Frank Meyer succeeded on his father's death in 1922.[44] Incidentally Sir Frank Meyer's son, Sir Anthony Meyer (born 1920) also became an MP. After his war service and a career in the Foreign Service he first entered Parliament as MP for Eton and Slough in 1964. In the autumn of 1989 Sir Anthony Meyer unsuccessfully challenged Mrs. Margaret Thatcher for the leadership of the Conservative Party and was subsequently de-selected by his Clwyd North-West constituency association as their candidate at the next election.[45]

George Russell Strauss (born 1901), the first son of Arthur Strauss MP, was educated at Rugby. He was first elected Labour MP for Lambeth North in 1929. After his defeat in 1931 he regained the seat in 1934 and held it, and its successor Vauxhall, until 1979. With his wife Patricia he was active in local government in London.[46] In 1931 he visited the Soviet Union together with Aneurin Bevan and John Strachey and published a highly favourable, if not entirely uncritical, account.[47] A supporter of a popular front, Strauss was expelled from the Labour Party in the spring of 1939, but re-admitted one year later. He was Minister of Supply from 1947 to 1951 and was made a life peer on his retirement in 1979 as Baron Strauss of Vauxhall.[48]

Sir Alfred Lane Beit (born 1903), educated at Eton and Oxford, is the son of Otto Beit. He was Conservative MP for St. Pancras South-East from 1931 until his defeat in 1945.[49]

Finally, the third category of parliamentarians to be studied in the context of this essay, is made up of Christians, but of German-Jewish background, irrespective of whether they were British-born or not.

Henry Drummond Wolff (1830–1908) was the son of the Reverend Dr. Joseph Wolff, who had been a bit of a celebrity himself in his day. Henry Drummond Wolff embarked on a diplomatic career. He first stood for Parliament as a Conservative at Christchurch in 1868, but it was only at the next general election in 1874 that his candidature was successful.[50] From 1880 he represented Portsmouth until defeated five years later. During this period he was associated with Lord Randolph Churchill's short-lived "Fourth Party". In his last public office Sir Henry Drummond Wolff served a spell as British Ambassador to Spain, from 1892 to 1900.

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[43] *WWW 1916–1928*, p. 726.
[44] *WWBMP*, vol. III, p. 242–243; *WWW 1929–1940*, p. 935.
[45] *WWBMP*, vol. IV; *WW*, 1990.
[46] Cf. Alderman, *London Politics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–83.
[47] A joint account of this journey is contained in Aneurin Bevan, E.J. Strachey and George Strauss, *What We Saw in Russia*, London 1931.
[48] *WWBMP*, vol. IV, p. 356; *WW*, 1990, p. 1749.
[49] *WWBMP*, vol. III, p. 25; *WW*, 1990, p. 126.
[50] *WWBMP*, vol. I, p. 416.

Farrer Herschell (1837–1899)[51] was the son of the Reverend Ridley Haim Herschell and he was educated in London and Bonn. He entered Parliament as a Liberal in 1874 and represented Durham until he was defeated in the election of 1885. He was Solicitor-General in Gladstone's second government from 1880 to 1885. He was raised to the peerage as the first Baron Herschell in 1886, on becoming Lord Chancellor in Gladstone's third government and served in the same capacity in the Liberal government of 1892–1895. He died in office.

Gustav Wilhelm Wolff (1834–1913), a native of Hamburg, whose Jewish parents, Moritz Wolff and Fanny Schwabe, had opted for baptism,[52] came to Belfast at the age of twenty-four in 1858. Working as a draughtsman in a shipbuilding firm he and his workmate Edward Harland bought out their employers in 1862, and subsequently extended the shipyard of Harland & Wolff. He was Conservative MP for East Belfast from 1892 until his retirement in 1910.[53]

The "self-made villain"[54] who went down in history as Trebitsch-Lincoln (1879–1943) used more than a dozen different names, with official permission or illegally. He certainly cheated a great many people out of a lot of money. The ink on his naturalisation documents was hardly dry when he was elected Liberal MP for Darlington in January 1910, but he served only until the December 1910 general election.[55] In March 1920 the Jewish-born former Liberal MP from Hungary emerged as press spokesman for the short-lived reactionary and, among other things, antisemitic *Kapp Putsch* government in Germany. He offered his spying services indiscriminately, although it is doubtful whether he had much to tell. He joined a Buddhist monastery and, in his last incarnation as Abbot Chung Khao, died near Shanghai, amid rumours that he had been collaborating with the Japanese after their invasion of China.

Sir George Ernest Schuster (1881–1982) was the son of Dr. Ernest Joseph Schuster, a native of Frankfurt. The father had been taken to England by his parents, who had joined the English branch of his family and their well-established banking business after 1866 when his home town was taken over by Prussia,[56] so that the children would be spared conscription. In London Ernst Schuster married Hilda, the daughter of the physician Sir Hermann Weber and the children of this marriage were baptised and brought up as Christians. George Ernest served in France during the First World War, reached the rank of Colonel and was decorated with the Military Cross. He was National Liberal MP for Walsall from 1938 until his defeat in 1945.[57]

The admission of Jews into the House of Lords, a question not of civil rights and electoral support, but of royal favour and prime-ministerial patronage, came one

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[51] *WWBMP*, vol. I, p. 190.
[52] Hyman, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
[53] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 380; *WWW 1897–1915*, p. 572.
[54] David Lampe and Laszlo Szenasi, *The Self-Made Villain. A Biography of I. T. Trebitsch-Lincoln*, London 1961; see also Bernard Wasserstein, *The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln*, New Haven–London 1988.
[55] *WWBMP*, vol. II, p. 219.
[56] *WWW 1916–1928*, p. 938.
[57] *WWBMP*, vol. III, pp. 318–319.

generation later. Ten years after the elevation of Nathaniel de Rothschild had created a precedent, Baron Henry de Worms became Lord Pirbright in 1895, the cousins Sydney and Herbert de Stern,[58] in 1895 and 1905 respectively, became Lords Wandsworth and Michelham. In 1907 Samuel Montagu, a member of Edward VII's entourage, became Lord Swaythling.

There would be little point, in an essay devoted to assessing the political dimension of the German-Jewish contribution to British life, in trying to trace meticulously every person of such background to become ennobled after 1911, when the House of Lords in effect lost most of its powers. The inter-war period, however, saw the elevation of two pioneer entrepreneurs of Britain's modern chemical and electrical industries. In 1928, two years after the formation of ICI, its founder-chairman Sir Alfred Mond was created Baron Melchett,[59] and in 1934 he was joined in the House of Lords by the co-founder and managing director of the General Electric Co. (GEC), Sir Hugo Hirst (1863–1943, baronet 1925).[60] Born near Munich as Hugo Hirsch, he had migrated to Britain and, resentful of the Prussification of his native Bavaria, had taken the surname Hirst on his naturalisation in 1883. He was President of the Federation of British Industries from 1936 to 1937.

Since 1945, and in particular with the introduction of life peerages in 1958, the House of Lords has lost even more of its strictly political character. While some peerages are awarded to strengthen the House of Lords as a legislature, others are a mark of social distinction. George Strauss, who had been "Father" of the House of Commons, i. e. the longest serving MP, from 1974 to 1979, falls into the first category; he was made a life peer in 1979. An example of the second category is the one-time radio journalist and well-known publisher George Weidenfeld (born in Vienna in 1919) who was made a life peer in 1976. For others the House of Lords is a platform for speaking out on political issues, e. g. Sir Immanuel Jakobovits (born in Königsberg in 1921).[61] He was Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth of Nations from 1967 to 1990 and frequently speaks out on political issues. He is reputed to be Mrs. Thatcher's favourite "cleric".

The Privy Council plays an even more decorative role than the House of Lords; membership confers the title "Rt. Hon.". The first Jew to be called to the Privy Council was Henry de Worms, Baron Pirbright, in 1896, to be followed by three more Jews of German background before 1914 – Sir Alfred Mond, Sir Edgar Speyer and Sir Ernest Cassel. The right of Speyer (1862–1932, baronet 1906, Privy Councillor 1909) and Cassel (1862–1931, knighted 1899, Privy Councillor 1902, "the last Court Jew")[62] to membership of the Privy Council was challenged

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[58] Herbert de Stern, Lord Michelham (1851–1919), a son of Hermann de Stern, the second of the Stern brothers, was an Alderman and Deputy Lieutenant of the City of London. He also sat on the London County Council for a number of years but never became an MP; *WWW 1916–1928*, p. 728.

[59] For his achievements as an industrialist, cf. the entry in David J. Jeremy (ed.), *Dictionary of Business Biography (DBB)*, 4 vols., London 1984–1985, vol. IV, pp. 270–280.

[60] *DNB 1941–1950*, pp. 395–396; *DBB*, vol. III, pp. 275–283.

[61] *WW*, 1990.

[62] Kurt Grunwald, '"Windsor-Cassel" – The Last Court Jew. Prolegomena to a Biography of Sir Ernest Cassel', in *Year Book XIV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1969, pp. 119–161.

in a spectacular court case in 1915, but upheld. Speyer nevertheless resigned from the Privy Council and moved to the USA.

The large number of Privy Councillors, knights and baronets of German-Jewish background, especially after 1918, would make a comprehensive list tedious. The same applies to municipal office holders, though the following Lord Mayors and Mayors in Victorian Britain are worth singling out: Lewis Heymann in Nottingham (1857), Charles Semon in Bradford (1864), Philip Goldschmidt in Manchester (1883 and 1885), Otto Jaffé in Belfast (1899 and 1904), Jacob Moser in Bradford (1910) and Siegfried Bettman in Coventry (1913).[63] To this impressive list must be added the name of Joseph Jonas who served as Lord Mayor of Sheffield in 1905 and on whose sad history a little more will have to be said later in the present article.

Of post-1945 councillors it is worth mentioning Margaret Hodge, leader of Islington Borough Council for many years and, since 1986, chairperson of the Association of London Authorities, the nearest the British capital comes to having one single spokesman since the abolition of the GLC. She came to England in 1949, as a five-year-old, from Egypt where her parents had found refuge during the Nazi period. In spite of her background – her father, Hans Oppenheimer being a steel stockholding millionaire – she pursued policies which led her detractors to caricature her borough as "The People's Republic of Islington".[64]

In the career civil service there is a conspicuous absence of top-ranking officials with German-Jewish associations. The only known case is that of Hermann Michael Kisch (1850–1942), the London-born son of an immigrant surgeon, who joined the Colonial Service in 1873 and, through a series of Indian appointments, rose to become Postmaster General of Bengal in 1888.[65]

As for the professional Diplomatic Service, the case of Sir Francis Oppenheimer (1870–1961, knighted 1907), whose mother and two married sisters continued to live in Germany, seems to be unique.[66]

A few persons of German-Jewish origin were either recruited to high civil service positions from outside or acted as advisers to governments. Alfred Eichholz (1869–1933) was the Manchester-born son of Adolph Eichholz, a cotton merchant formerly of Hildesheim, and Babet Praeger from Amsterdam. A medical doctor, trained at Cambridge, he was married to one of the daughters of Chief Rabbi Adler. In 1898 he became H. M. Inspector of Schools and was the Chief Medical Inspector for the Board of Education from 1919 to 1930.[67] Sir Claus Moser (born 1922, knighted 1973) is another who falls into this category. Among the many offices he has held, he was Director of the Central Statistical Office and head of the Government Statistical Service from 1967–1978.[68]

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[63] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, p. 325; for more information on Semon and Moser, cf. also *idem*, 'German Jews in Nineteenth Century Bradford', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 53 (1981), pp. 111–117.

[64] John Cunningham, 'Big City Sisters under the Skin', in *The Guardian*, 4th June 1990, p. 17.

[65] *WWW 1941–1950*, p. 646.

[66] Sir Francis Oppenheimer, *Stranger Within. Autobiographical Pages*, London 1960.

[67] *WWW 1931–1940*, p. 409.

[68] *WW*, 1990, p. 1298.

Sir Alfred Zimmern (1879–1957) was descended from the Heidelberg banking family whose members played a prominent part in the struggle for the emancipation of the Jews in Baden. After the abortive Revolution of 1848, his father had migrated to England where he made his fortune. Sir Alfred was heavily involved in the educational work of the League of Nations during the inter-war period, and was knighted in 1936. He also served as Secretary General of the Constituent Conference of UNESCO in 1945 and subsequently became the first Executive Secretary of the organisation.[69]

A number of German-Jewish immigrants have also been prominent in informal and extra-parliamentary politics. Baron Julius de Reuter, born Israel Beer Josephat in Kassel, moved his news bureau from Aachen to London in 1851. His baronial title was awarded by the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in 1871.[70] During and after the Second World War, both Richard Loewenthal and Sebastian Haffner were leading contributors to the *Observer*. Better known than any of these was the cartoonist Vicky (1913–1966), born Victor Weisz in Berlin of Hungarian-Jewish parents – a man of strong but non-doctrinaire Socialist convictions.[71] Among activists in extra-parliamentary politics, it is worth mentioning Frank Loeser (1924–1990) and Canon Paul Oestreicher. Loeser, who arrived in Britain with a children's transport and settled in Manchester, was involved in pro-Communist causes, including "Let Paul Robeson sing". This prevented his gaining British citizenship, despite his war-time army service. In 1956 he moved to East Germany, where he became Professor of Philosophy at the Humboldt University in Berlin, but defected to the West in 1983.[72] Oestreicher is the son of a Jewish doctor from Meiningen and a Christian mother who emigrated to New Zealand in 1939. After coming to Britain he became active in a number of ecumenical causes and has served as Vice-Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and Chairman of the British Section of Amnesty International.[73]

These various British politicians of German-Jewish descent had widely-differing self-identifications, whether as Germans or as Jews and were in turn perceived differently, whether by their fellow-politicians or the general public. In this respect they may be divided into four categories:

1. International financiers, mostly hailing from Frankfurt. Of these, the Rothschilds, Wormses and Sterns were the earliest arrivals, coming during or soon after the Napoleonic Wars. But while they all spoke German, hardly any of them had had a German national identity. None the less, British members of the Rothschild, Worms and Stern families continued to make generous donations to charitable institutions in Frankfurt, both Jewish and municipal.
2. This was in marked contrast to the manufacturers in the Midlands and the

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[69] *WWW 1951–1960*, p. 1206.

[70] Cf. Paul H. Emden, 'Baron Paul Julius de Reuter', in *TJHSE*, 17 (1953), pp. 215–223; Graham Storey, *Reuters' Century, 1851–1951*, London 1951.

[71] Cf. *Vicky. A Memorial Volume*, with an introduction and commentary by James Cameron, London 1967.

[72] Franz Loeser, *Die Abenteuer eines Emigranten. Erinnerungen*, Berlin 1980; *idem*, *Die unglaubwürdige Gesellschaft. Quo Vadis DDR?*, Köln 1984.

[73] Paul Oestreicher, *The Double Cross. Christianity in a World That's Dying to Live*, London 1986.

North, mid-nineteenth century immigrants mostly of humble, small-town or rural origins in Germany.

3. German origins were less marked, but still traceable, in the merchants and traders, many of whom had made their fortune in the Empire, often in South Africa, rather than in England itself. For this group, too, the time of departure from Central Europe tended to be the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century.

4. As immigration into Britain from Germany was legally restricted during the Weimar period, so the last category are the post-1933 refugees.

Members of the first three groups, unless of the first generation, got the best education money could buy. In many cases that meant being sent to the German universities, though this was generally quite common before 1914. These educational privileges mark them off from the post-1933 émigrés who, united not by social or regional origins but by the common fate of persecution, often attended grammar schools and redbrick universities.

How British these public figures appeared depended both on how far removed they were from either their German or their Jewish origins, and also on the period in which they sought office. The great majority of them belong to the Victorian or Edwardian age. At a time when popular politics and mass media were not yet fully developed, accent and appearance probably mattered less. Alfred Mond's achievement was not, apparently, prejudiced by his being, in the words of the *Dictionary of National Biography* "a typical Jew in appearance, with a half-German voice and accent".[74] In part, these men illustrated the cosmopolitanism of pre-democratic British politics. There were also non-Jewish German-born MPs, Henry William Ferdinand Bölchow and Colonel Sir Robert Ropner,[75] MPs of German descent – Rudolf C. Lehmann, George Joachim Goschen (Chancellor of the Exchequer 1887–1892) and C. E. Schwann, later Sir Charles Swann, Bt. – as well as two Indian MPs. Opinion had evidently moved on since Sir Robert Inglis opposed Jewish emancipation in 1830 on the grounds that Jews were foreigners "who had more in common with Jews of Berlin and Vienna than with the Christians of their own country".

Whether German Jews stood out more as Jews or as Germans varied with time. Rothschild's German background was not brought up during the controversy over his bid for the admission of Jews to Parliament. As the 1914 crisis approached, the relative importance of these two factors was reversed. It was the German-ness of German Jews that was resented. German-Jewish businessmen considered it natural to act as mediators between their original and adopted countries. Sir Otto Jaffé, a native of Hamburg and Lord Mayor of Belfast, was also honorary German Consul;[76] the steel manufacturer Sir Joseph Jonas was German Consul in Sheffield. The attempts by Sir Ernest Cassel and the German-Jewish shipping executive Albert Ballin to bring about an improvement in Anglo-German relations are the best-known examples of all. In December 1912, Sir Edgar Speyer was overheard to remark: "It will be a terrible thing if we English go to war with us Germans."[77]

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[74] *DNB 1922–1930*, p. 604.

[75] *WWBMP*, vol. III, p. 310.

[76] Hyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–210.

[77] Sir Almeric Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, London 1925, p. 499. Aronsfeld who first quoted this statement

Though the nationalist Right-wing campaign against Jews as Germans began before 1914, its impact was greatest after the outbreak of war. Leo Maxse, the editor of the *National Review*, referred to the German-Jewish element in England as "the Potsdam party" who allegedly had "constituted themselves a sort of advance guard of the Prussian Junker and devote their energies, their talents and their fortunes to furthering German aims at British expense".[78] In October 1913 the *National Review* issued "A warning to German Jews" in Britain, accusing them of "working overtime to prevent an effective entente between Russia and England for the simple reason that such an entente does not suit Germany's book". And Maxse concludes with the prediction that "the unpatriotic section of British Jews – there is fortunately a patriotic section who make splendid citizens from every point of view – will have a poorish time".[79] This "poorish time" came indeed with the outbreak of war in 1914, although Maxse's accusation and those of scare novels like F. E. Eddis's *That Goldheim*, i. e. that they were letting the Germans into England, had no substance.

As in the United States, and for the same reasons, the First World War led to the collapse of the German-Jewish community in Britain. Spectacular events like the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 and the torpedoing of Lord Kitchener's vessel, were attributed to a sinister collusion of the Jews with the Germans. The same goes for the Bolshevik Revolution which seemed, from a military point of view, to favour the Germans in the West. In general it seems that these outbursts against the Jews were a function of British anti-Germanism.

The charge against Jews was no longer that they were a nation apart, rather that they were Germans in disguise. The result was enhanced pressures on the German-Jewish community to emphasise its Englishness. Hugo Hirst recalled: "I felt I was no more one of them. That is why I never had an inclination to mix in German circles in this country. I never belonged to a club or society or attended any dinner or festival connected with a German society or German aims... I wanted to be English and I thought I was until recently some people raised queries."[80]

All this was in great contrast to the prominent role Jews had once played in the institutionalised social life and the cultural activities of the German colony in England, even though that was not always to the liking of their non-Jewish fellow-countrymen. As early as 1852 Engels complained to Marx that Gottfried Kinkel – the poet, art historian and democratic exile who did not meet their requirements under any of these headings – was being feted in Manchester by "a rabble of local German Jews".[81] And when, in 1859, the centenary celebrations of Schiller's birth led to the foundation of the Manchester *Schiller-Anstalt*, the Communist entre-

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('Jewish Enemy Aliens in England during the First World War', in *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 [1956], p. 277) is keen to discredit it as "an example of the more subtle gossip" generated by the jingoistic press. But not only are Sir Almeric's memoirs in fact diaries, it seems to me a genuine and poignant expression of Speyer's predicament and does, of course, in no way reflect adversely on his loyalty to Britain.

[78] From the July 1912 issue of the *National Review*, reprinted in Maxse's collection of his anti-German articles, *"Germany on the Brain" or the Obsession of "A Crank". Gleanings from the National Review, 1899–1914*, London 1915, p. 324.

[79] From the October 1913 issue of the *National Review*, reprinted *ibid.*, pp. 350–351.

[80] Hugo Hirst, 'Two Autobiographical Fragments', in *Business History*, 28 (1986), pp. 124–133, the quote is on p. 129.

[81] Engels to Marx, 31st October 1852, quoted from Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany. German Refugees in Victorian Britain*, Oxford 1986, p. 155.

preneur immediately nicknamed it the "Jerusalem Club" and soon stopped frequenting its premises because they attracted far too many Jews for his mildly antisemitic taste.[82] As late as 1913 prominent members of the London German colony contributed generously to the *Kaiser's* Silver Jubilee Fund, of which much was made later.

There is an interesting parallel in the war-time careers of Alfred Mond in Britain and Walther Rathenau in Imperial Germany – both of them the sons of industrial pioneers and close collaborators before the war. From 1915 until its dissolution after the end of hostilities Mond was a member of the War Office Advisory Commission on Army Contracts. It was on account of this that he was knighted in 1918, certainly one of the first post-war honours bestowed on a British Jew of German background.

Others suffered considerably as a result of their German origins. Two cases may be singled out; those of Sir Joseph Jonas and Sir Edgar Speyer. Jonas, a native of Bingen on the Rhine, had come to Britain in 1866, aged twenty-one, and had been a naturalised British subject since 1875. Having, as *The Times* put it, "for many years occupied a leading role in Sheffield", he was convicted in March 1918 by the Central Criminal Court in London of "misdemeanour in that he aided and abetted Charles Alfred Vernon unlawfully to obtain information respecting Messrs. Vickers' rifle works at Crayford, Kent, which was calculated to be useful to an enemy", and received a fine of £2,000. Jonas was, however, able to ward off the attempt to have his naturalisation revoked and be "repatriated". After the war Speyer was accused of having engaged in arbitrage in 1915 that involved traffic with Germany. Both his naturalisation and his membership of the Privy Council were revoked. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "It may well be that he was guilty of no more than minor technical offences against the laws of his adopted country."[83]

Antisemitism and Germanophobia went different ways in inter-war Britain. Before 1918 antisemitism on the British Right went along with Germanophobia, while after 1933 British antisemites tended to be pro-German. Even within the realms of political paranoia, where tales of a Jewish conspiracy still abounded, it now became utterly incredible that this should play into the hands of the Germans.[84]

The First World War also initiated a trend towards the anglicisation of surnames, though this was not restricted to Jews: the Battenbergs became Mountbatten and the Saxe-Coburg-Gothas became Windsor. Whether voluntarily or under pressure, Jews of German origin withdrew from politics after 1918. It would seem that their German associations, however vague, were against them, the more so as with the introduction of near-universal suffrage public prejudice became electorally far more important. The subjective commitment of a candidate to be British was no longer enough, "objective" facts like foreign birth were dug up and used against him. At least some of the retirements may be put down to this. Arthur Strauss failed to secure the Unionist nomination in his St. Pancras constituency; according to *The*

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[82] Engels to Carl Siebel, 4th June 1862, quoted from Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740–1875*, Manchester 1976, p. 260.

[83] *DNB 1931–1940*, p. 829.

[84] A possible exception is present-day Poland where resurgent Right-wing Nationalism is spreading tales of a German and Jewish menace.

Times his foreign origin was "a circumstance which in these days cannot fail to prejudice a candidate".[85]

His namesake Edward Anthony Strauss, who had represented Southwark since 1910 and was seeking re-election as a Coalition Liberal, encountered similar problems. "Though he was born at Highbury, his name and descent are proving a stumbling block",[86] observed *The Times*. While he enjoyed official party endorsement, a number of his constituents invited someone else to stand against him as an Independent. He did, however, prevail in the end.

Those who have entered parliamentary politics or the public service since the Second World War belong to the 1933 refugee generation, and therefore resemble the earliest Victorian group in being recent arrivals. It is significant that some of them have played a role in Anglo-German reconciliation. Peter Rost has been chairman of the Anglo-German group of parliamentarians. He and Sir Claus Moser have received West German decorations.

What may we conclude from this investigation apart from unearthing some deliberately buried or long-since forgotten facts and telling some more or less interesting stories? There is no evidence of a distinct collective contribution made to British politics by Jews of German background. The number of people concerned is too small for that in relation to the political class as a whole, and the time span covered too extensive. They are distributed fairly evenly among the different parties and not notably identified with any particular issue, except the promotion of international understanding, whether the avoidance of war before 1914 or the advocacy of European union and British membership of the EEC after 1945. Rather, one should discuss all this in terms of the integrative capacity of the British political system, which gave access to a considerable number of outsiders and which, in return, was rewarded by their often substantial contributions. The fact that, ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, a succession of Jews of German background have been able to make it into Parliament and, for better or worse, to leave their individual mark on British politics testifies to a notable openness of the indigenous political élite. The degree of openness does not match that of the United States, a society explicitly based on immigration, but it is all the more surprising within an old-established system like that of Britain.

Undoubtedly the First World War marked an aberration from this pattern, at least a temporary one. The German-Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz did not live to learn that he had been somewhat premature when he envied his British co-religionists their unconditional freedom: "You had not to give solemn assurance that you are good patriots, that you love your native country as much as your fellow citizens."[87] Not only did they, too, have to give this assurance, they also had to show it in deeds which they willingly performed. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that those Jews of German background discussed in the present article would have stood far less of a chance of success in British politics had they not, leaving aside the refugees from Nazism, been almost without exception quite extraordinarily rich. The

[85] *The Times*, 13th December 1918, p. 10; cf. also *ibid.*, 9th December 1918, p. 1.
[86] *The Times*, 12th December 1918, p. 10.
[87] Quoted (approvingly) by Salbstein, *op. cit.*, p. 245, note 1.

German-Jewish immigration to Britain was distinguished from almost all the others by being high status. But such reservations notwithstanding, the degree of openness to outsiders revealed in this case study is unparalleled in the European context.

Uwe Westphal

German, Czech and Austrian Jews in English Publishing

Any preliminary enquiry into the work of publishers of Jewish origin who came to the United Kingdom from Germany and countries once part of the Habsburg Empire would tend to show how quickly legends are formed around flamboyant personalities – usually with scant regard for historical detail – as some recent controversies in the British media have clearly demonstrated. Men and women who have been more or less successful in building up publishing houses – and publishing empires – or have played a prominent role in the trade, some of whom had already been active in publishing in their countries of origin, so easily become the centre of attention. The role of publisher contains something of the impresario and memoirs of the publishing world often deal with outsize characters. On the other hand, unjust neglect has been shown to those who ran smaller publishing firms, often for limited periods and have also made a contribution to the culture of their country of adoption.

This initial outline of the subject does not pretend to be comprehensive; but deals mainly with the areas of work and the influence of the émigrés both in their countries of origin and the country to which they emigrated, in this case Britain.* Basically the situation encountered in Britain by publishers or potential founders of publishing houses coming from abroad differed according to the time of their arrival. Two publishers, Rosenstiel and William Heinemann – both companies still play a leading role today in British and international publishing – are clear examples for the period preceding the turn of the last century. Although Britain possessed a publishing industry with a rich tradition, which made outside competition no easier, Rosenstiel, and Heinemann (who was born in this country), unlike those who followed after 1933, were not motivated to come here by necessity. It should also be mentioned at this point that the division between the Continent and Britain rested on entirely different political premises from those which prevail today. Britain, not least because of its global significance as a colonial power, represented a potential attraction for new businesses. And despite the number of emigrants who chose America (the New World), the strong appeal Britain exerted in the area of innovation should not be overlooked.

Felix Rosenstiel, who left Germany in 1870, repelled by Prussian-German militarism, founded his enterprise ten years later in London with his Romanian-born wife Josephine. What started life as a business for selling picture frames and

* I wish to thank Pauline Paucker and Ilse Wolff who provided the stimulus for this essay. It owes much to their patient research and the wealth of information they so kindly provided. I would also like to express my gratitude to those who have given so generously of their time; Lord Weidenfeld, Anthony Blond, Marianne Calmann, Peter Foges, Ernst Hecht, Dr. George Hill and Elsie Hill, Lotte Horovitz and Moira Johnston. I would also like to thank Joanna Newman for her invaluable help and John Harrison for his translation.

mirrors, gradually developed into a publishing company producing printed greetings cards and calenders. In Britain, the period after the First World War created the economic necessity for a higher diversification of products. The Rosenstiel business, continued by their children, now specialised in printing quality pictures and reproductions. This marked a return to a tradition of fine art printing that had blossomed particularly in Austria and which until now had been little known, if at all, in this form in Britain. By the thirties, exploitation of the market with the aid of new methods and knowledge had won the publishing company a dominant position in the field of fine art printing in Europe. Today the private company, now in the hands of David Roe, sells its prints in 73 countries, having gained the highest respect of artists and dealers alike. The history of the William Heinemann publishing company, founded in London in 1890, reveals German contacts of a different sort. Heinemann himself,[1] born in 1863 in Surbiton in Surrey, had a German-Jewish father, Louis, from Hanover, and an English-Jewish mother from Manchester. Although British by birth, William Heinemann received his schooling in Dresden, and was also fluent in Italian and French. The German education arranged by his father led William to embrace distinctly nationalistic German sentiments which remained with him until his eyes were opened by the First World War. His cosmopolitan attitude was reflected in his work as a publisher. Following in the footsteps of Henry Vizetelly in the 1880s, whose attempt to publish Zola in English had landed him in jail, Heinemann, faring rather better, realised that the time was now right for the publication of numerous translations of European novels, giving the English reading public the opportunity to become familiar with the work of important writers on the Continent. The International Library and Literature of the World series were edited by the influential critic Sir Edmund Gosse. A businessman with experience of the European market, Heinemann himself dealt with the distribution of his books. This knowledge of the foreign market gave his business a distinct advantage over British competition and he was almost the only British publisher at the Leipzig book fair, which was of central importance for the whole of Europe.

Acting on the suggestion of James Loeb, whom he met on one of these trips, Heinemann launched the very successful Loeb Classical Library with its format of Greek or Latin text on the left-hand page, English translation facing. Still highly-prized, these are now published in conjunction with Harvard University Press. This was "one of the most important and enduring of Heinemann's achievements".[2] The profits from best-selling novelists such as Hall Caine were used to finance less profitable, more worth-while authors. Heinemann could drive a hard bargain but was always keen to seek new talent. Today part of a large group, William Heinemann is one of the leading British publishers with its colophon of a windmill in full sail (drawn by the artist William Nicholson, whose graphic work Heinemann had printed) still on display. Tom Rosenthal, himself the son of German-Jewish émigrés, is among those who have served as its chairman.

Something of a curiosity on the edge of the publishing world is Joseph Asher,

[1] *Mumby's Publishing and Bookselling in the Twentieth Century*. Sixth Edition by Ian Norrie (hereafter quoted as Mumby/Norrie), London 1982, p. 53.

[2] John St. John, *A Century of Publishing 1890–1990. Heinemann*, London 1990, p. 151.

who began to print and sell humorous picture-postcards, greetings cards and so on in London in 1906.[3] Born in Germany, then home of the picture-postcard trade, Asher possessed not only the surprising ability, for a non-Englishman, to appreciate the ribald cartoons of Donald McGill but also the foresight to publish them. McGill's cartoons were typical products of a sense of humour that pointedly satirised the life of the British lower-middle class, as George Orwell pointed out in his well-known essay.[4] In the First World War Asher was interned, afterwards returning to Germany. With the advent of Nazism he returned to London, re-established contact with McGill and in 1936 founded the firm of D. Constance Ltd. Writing in 1942 Orwell had noted (unaware of the origins of McGill's publisher) the "complete absence of the anti-Jew joke" which had "disappeared abruptly soon after the rise of Hitler".

The oddity of Asher apart, the publishing houses founded by German-Jewish owners show one clear tendency. For the most part they introduced something new for Britain which filled a gap in the market that the native publishers were failing to exploit, or unable to recognise. In many cases the contact with the German-speaking area, and with European printing skills and techniques, helped to break new ground, whether initially, through translations, or through their own particular knowledge of methods of book design and colour printing new to Britain. This becomes clearer still, in the case of the publishing houses founded, for the most part, after 1933 by émigré Jews in Britain. In some instances I will draw attention to those who, though they may not be managing directors and owners of publishing companies, nevertheless feature prominently and have provided important stimuli for British publishers.

Pride of place here goes to Wolfgang Foges, who was born in 1910 in Vienna, son of a gynaecologist. The Foges family, who came originally from Bohemia, sent Wolfgang to be educated in schools in Sweden and Germany. Following his studies, Foges returned to Vienna, where he worked as a journalist, involved in the founding of the journal *Die neue Jugend*. Whilst still in Vienna he became editor and director of the fashion magazine *Neue Welt*, which was printed in Czechoslovakia. From Vienna he made trips to Britain to win orders, and remained in London with his Lutheran wife from 1934, fearing the worst from political events in Germany. With the sponsorship and financial backing of Lord Glenconnor, he founded the publishing company Adprint. One of Wolfgang Foges's ideas – how far he was initially responsible for it is hard to say – was the development of so-called "book-packaging". Knowledge of the market supplied the idea for a particular book; an author was then found, along with a designer to create an appealing format, and economical printers to produce it. The colour reproductions, in particular, were often printed in other countries. Foges adopted Austrian techniques, which he greatly admired, for using pictorial methods to convey ideas. Amongst the designers who at one time worked with him was the distinguished émigré graphic artist F. H. K. Henrion.[5]

Walter Neurath, who also came from Vienna to London, and was later to found

[3] See Elfrida Buckland, *The World of Donald McGill*, Poole, Dorset 1984.
[4] George Orwell, *Selected Essays*, London 1961, pp. 167–185.
[5] See note 17.

Thames and Hudson, was Foges's partner for a long period after 1943. Together, they brought out the *Britain in Pictures* series, which ran to a total of 142 titles. During the war Foges also worked for the British Ministry of Information. He served as a printing and publishing adviser to the Colonial Office, for whom he prepared the Corona Library series covering the last of the British colonies – by no means a dull task during the immediate post-war period. It also led to Foges receiving contracts as an adviser to institutions in Ghana and Nigeria. Nevertheless, owing to his precarious financial situation, Foges had to hand control of the publishing house over to the British Printing Corporation, which in turn was later bought by Robert Maxwell. Again with borrowed capital, Wolfgang Foges managed both to re-found Aldus Books and to found Rathbone Books, which published splendidly illustrated books under the collective title *Wonderful World*. With the growing concentration in the publishing trade, both publishing houses were sold to Doubleday, today a division of Transworld Publishers. Wolfgang Foges, who died in 1983, was without doubt one of those publishers who, although he never really owned a publishing house, left his mark on the history of British publishing, not least through his personality and strength as an innovator.

The career of Tom (Thomas Gabriel) Rosenthal, born in London, son of the Judaist and Orientalist Erwin Rosenthal, who had come from Germany, is an interesting example of the second generation. He joined Thames and Hudson early, at the age of twenty-four, and became managing director at Martin Secker & Warburg when he was thirty-six. After serving as chairman with Heinemann from 1981 to 1984, he moved to André Deutsch, where he became chairman and managing director. Although Rosenthal does not number among the émigré publishers, his work in the British publishing industry has close links with the concerns built up by Jewish publishers.

Another member of this second generation group is Tom Maschler, born in Berlin, the son of Kurt Leo Maschler, who had emigrated from Germany to Britain and built up a publishing house here. Doubtless inspired by his father, Tom Maschler has also devoted his energies to publishing, though not to his father's company. As a very lively chairman at Jonathan Cape (77 titles in 1989) he has become one of the most influential figures in British publishing today.

Turning back to those publishers who emigrated from Germany and Austria, Kurt Maschler himself, born in Berlin in 1898, had a very different start in the publishing trade. His father was the Jewish businessman Benno Maschler. The son completed his *Abitur* and began work at the age of twenty as a book wholesaler in one of his father's firms. He worked for a time as a branch manager in Frankfurt, before returning to Berlin in 1924. A passionate bibliophile, Maschler had long had the ambition of becoming a publisher. The basic conditions for this were favourable in the Berlin of the twenties. Hundreds of publishing houses mushroomed in the soil created by the liberal climate of the Weimar Republic. In 1927 he became owner of the Josef Singer publishing company, which had belonged to the *Schlesische Verlagsanstalt*, and before that, to Rudolf Schottländer (who had also published fashion journals). Before long Kurt Maschler also acquired ownership of the Junckers publishing company. With the growing political and physical threat from the Nazis after 1933, he bought the Williams publishing company in Berlin at the

request of the publisher who was in difficulties, thereby saving it from certain closure by the Nazis. Only too aware of the danger posed by the new rulers, he secured his position as a publisher by founding the Atrium publishing house in Basel in 1934 and becoming a member of the *Schweizer Buchhändler- und Verlegerbund*. Maschler was both the friend and publisher of Erich Kästner, whose rights he administered for Atrium in Switzerland from 1935. In 1937, now under more acute threat, Maschler decided to emigrate to Austria. In spite of the danger, he made repeated journeys to Berlin to settle his transactions, and showed considerable skill in successfully transferring the firm's entire assets to Switzerland under the guise of payments to authors. He was devoted to his authors, particularly to Kästner. Maschler left Austria in March 1939, and then went to Holland before settling in London in 1939, from where he continued to oversee production of his books, and, as far as possible, to publish authors who had been banned in Germany. At first dealing with foreign rights helped him to keep his head above water. A photocopying service for books and documents under threat of destruction during the war-time bombing then guaranteed Maschler a regular income in his new homeland. Politically active, he penned anti-Nazi pamphlets for the British news service. In London he also became co-founder of the publishing house Lincoln Prager Ltd. Interestingly, Maschler was also clearly aware of a gap in the art book market in Britain. During the war he started, together with R. H. Wilenski at Faber & Faber, a highly successful series of art books. Edited by Wilenski, they were written in clear, simple prose and showed that art history had no need to cloak itself in esoteric language. The illustrations satisfied all the requirements for good reproductions. This series continued to be published successfully until after the war. Maschler ran his Atrium publishing company in Switzerland from London, where he also founded the Atrium Press Ltd. The old connection with Erich Kästner was again in evidence, in English translations of his works, and Kästner became particularly well known for his children's stories, in particular *Emil and the Detectives*. These continued to be illustrated, as in Germany, by Walter Trier, another close friend of Maschler. After the war Maschler sold the foreign translation rights to Kästner's books. Through his co-operation with Faber & Faber, he was again able to pursue his interest in producing high quality illustrated art books. Under the imprint of Fama Ltd., Maschler brought out, together with Richard de la Mare, the ex-president of Faber, a series of reproductions of paintings by renowned old masters.

During his latter years as a publisher – in 1975 he sold the shares of his publishing house to Dressler in Hamburg – Kurt Maschler played a predominantly philanthropic role in publishing. His desire to promote books for children and young people was expressed in the so-called "Emil Award", a prize for authors writing books for this group, named after Kästner's famous character. Maschler died in England in 1986.

The publishing house Thames and Hudson Ltd., founded in London by Walter Neurath in 1949, provides a clear illustration of how attractive the area of art books must have been to emigrants. Today, the company has 1,625 titles in print and brought out 195 titles in 1988. Its success still derives to some extent from Wolfgang Foges's exploitation of the possibilities of international publishing/

book-packaging. Although the business essentially has a much broader programme now, this method of book publishing was, more or less, a novelty in the history of publishing.

Walter Neurath's link with art was already established in Vienna where he was born (in 1903) and where he studied philosophy and art history at the university. Even after the First World War Vienna continued to be one of the centres for painting, theatre and the arts. Neurath already had contacts with Harry Fischer (later founder of the Fischer Fine Art Gallery in London) for whom he had worked for a while. Hitler's annexation of Austria forced Neurath to flee to London early in 1938. There he met Wolfgang Foges, who gave him a job. Foges's publishing company Adprint profited from Neurath's work as production manager. The concept he evolved for illustrated books quickly found recognition in Britain both on the level of design and treatment of content. The best known series to result from it were *Britain in Pictures* and the New Naturalist Library, both published by William Collins. In contrast to those publishers coming from Europe to Britain who concentrated on translations of literature, for example, Neurath put the emphasis on expounding the British way of life, commissioning well-known authors to write the text for the pictures. His combination of adapted English objectives and European, Viennese know-how bore success. Viola Garvin wrote in the *Observer* in 1941 that the *Britain in Pictures* series "manage to distil 'the glories of our blood and state'".[6] Such, for the British, an enthusiastic outburst of feeling is none the less typical of the reception and recognition Neurath's work enjoyed. The critics were to react in a similarly positive way to the publication of Martin Hürlimann's book *English Cathedrals* (in Neurath's first list in 1950, and still in print) and to the *World of Art* series.

Neurath's ambition had been to intensify book packaging in a publishing house of his own, for he realised that the opportunity to print more cheaply abroad, and to sell books simultaneously in different countries, created a completely new, world-wide variant in distribution, enabling him to carry out his ambition of putting the world of scholarship and academic research in the arts within reach of people whose education was more limited.[7] One look at the American market revealed that, on the whole, books were produced more economically in Europe than in the United States, which promised new possibilities for turnover overseas. Acting on this, Neurath, who was now independent, opened one office in London and one in New York. The new concern was accordingly named "Thames and Hudson" after the rivers which run through the two cities.[8] As a trademark Neurath chose two dolphins, symbols of friendship and intelligence. Neurath acquired the starting capital of £7,000 from John Jarrold, the director of a printing firm in Norwich. He did not have to concern himself with establishing a reputation, after having already achieved this with Adprint. His swift success was due in no small measure to the work of Eva Neurath (his wife, later the company's chairman) who, with her great

[6] *The Observer*, 21st March 1941.

[7] Mary Blume, 'An Art Publisher and his Paris Dream' (interview with Thomas Neurath), *International Herald Tribune*, 12th June 1989.

[8] See Trevor Craker, *Open Accounts and Closing Memories. Thirty Years with Thames and Hudson*, London 1985.

skills as a designer and her ability to negotiate, particularly with picture researchers, took care of book design. (Eva Neurath had also worked previously at Wolfgang Foges's Adprint.) The expanding publishing concern made numerous contracts to bring out books in Europe and America, and Neurath broadened the scope of book packaging by means of international co-publishing. This meant other publishers taking on the selling and, to some extent, the centralised printing of books, which in turn led to substantial savings, particularly on large editions with colour prints. Co-publishing and much of its development can essentially be traced back to Walter Neurath. Areas in which Thames and Hudson is active today include architecture, religion, philosophy, literature, psychology and sociology, history, science and technology, the stage and music. Photographic and art books of outstanding quality point to the company's origins and the permanent list had about 1,600 titles. Walter Neurath died in 1967, his son Thomas, who had played a leading role in the firm, then took over and the company's major strength is now in its co-productions with European publishers, working with most of the major houses abroad.

Dr. Bela Horovitz, born in Vienna in 1898, had a wealth of experience in the publishing trade behind him when, after emigrating, he re-founded his publishing house in Oxford at the beginning of the forties. Already in Vienna he had belonged, with the enterprise he had started there in the 1920s, to the group of those publishers whose output was recognised throughout Europe. His reputation was based on the quality and importance of the prose and plays he published in the face of competition from big German publishers. The books were well-designed and elegantly bound, easily recognisable as products of the Phaidon publishing company. Widely noted at the time was the high standard Horovitz set for the scholarly level of his books. Under the management of Ludwig Goldscheider (who also later moved with the publishing company to Britain) they brought out, starting from the mid-twenties, the collected works of Plato and plays by Shakespeare, Calderon and Kleist; de-luxe editions priced to be within the reach of a middle-class public. In keeping with Phaidon's Viennese tradition of superbly produced illustrated volumes, Horovitz began anew in Britain with a series of reasonably priced, well-produced art books and anthologies. Like Neurath, he found that his experience in book design helped in the British market. The transfer of the company to Oxford brought large financial losses, which must have been very distressing to a professional publisher like Horovitz. (After the *Anschluß* he had lost the firm's entire photo and film archive in Austria, which included some irreplaceable documents.)

Apart from illustrated books, the British Phaidon company concentrated on publishing philosophical literature and Judaica, within the framework of the East and West Library, a new departure. It also published religious literature in Hebrew. As Robert Weltsch wrote: "Bela Horovitz was a passionate Jew and anxious to contribute to the preservation of Jewish cultural heritage... one of his most cherished ambitions was the publication of Jewish classical works."[9]

Credit is also due to Bela Horovitz and his wife Lotte for publishing the *Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute* under the East and West imprint (the first volume appeared in 1956), thereby assisting its founder-editor Robert Weltsch to anchor the publica-

[9] Robert Weltsch, 'Preface', in *Year Book XVII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1972, p. IX.

tion firmly in the United Kingdom. The *Year Book*, now edited by Arnold Paucker, which continues the tradition of German-Jewish scholarship in the English language, was taken over by Tom Rosenthal in 1972 when he was still with Secker & Warburg and they remain its publishers. In 1946 Phaidon diversified its output, and was very soon reaching new markets in Europe and overseas. After the death of Dr. Bela Horovitz in 1955, his wife Lotte Horovitz carried on the firm; later his daughter, together with her husband Harvey Miller, took over the business. (Today the Phaidon Press is a member of the Musterlin Group in Oxford, after several changes of ownership.)

Another prominent figure in British publishing to come from Vienna was George Weidenfeld. George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd. (Chairman Lord Weidenfeld) was founded in 1949. With an annual turnover of approximately £10m., it is one of the largest publishing concerns in the country today. George Weidenfeld was born in Vienna in 1919. The son of an insurance representative, with his passion for books (particularly European novelists) and world politics, he was a born publisher. After arriving in London in July 1938, at the age of nineteen, Weidenfeld had to abandon his ambitions of entering the diplomatic service. He was also unable to continue with the law degree he had begun in Vienna, though this was a willing sacrifice since he was more interested in working at the BBC. A regularly broadcast series: "The Axis Conversation" pursued the fight against Nazism, as did the book he wrote, *The Goebbels Experiment* (1942). It must be a reflection of the personality, work and openness of Weidenfeld that he very soon made important and influential friends in Britain. One of these was Israel Sieff, of Marks and Spencer, for whom Weidenfeld brought out a series of "annuals for distribution" after the war. At the same time he published *Contact*, a magazine which appeared at irregular intervals. The idea behind it was to have a European and perhaps multi-lingual periodical which would further communication and mutual understanding, and provide a platform for new European ideas. Though under central control, production would take place in a variety of European countries. The magazine idea soon gave rise to the Contact Books series (which included a contribution by the young future prime minister Harold Wilson, on the future of the coal industry). In 1949 Weidenfeld's collaboration with Nigel Nicolson, son of Sir Harold, led to the founding of the publishing house that bears both their names. Instead of devoting all his energies to publishing, however, Weidenfeld pursued his old dream of a diplomatic career. Not long after the founding of the new company he left for Israel, to work as a mediator for the first president of the state, Chaim Weizmann. In Israel, as in his publishing career, Weidenfeld's principal aim was to encourage communication between different cultures and those of differing views. After returning to Britain at the beginning of the fifties, he worked mainly at finding new directions for his company. One involved the idea he had developed of international co-publishing: a book appearing simultaneously in various languages in different countries; another was wide-ranging specialisation in the sciences. Contributing to this was the company's 39% involvement in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. By the sixties, Weidenfeld & Nicolson had become one of the most highly regarded publishing companies in Britain. Today they have an impressive and varied list comprising approximately 220 new titles yearly, including fiction by many authors of distinction. The Ameri-

can publisher Victor Weybright said that "he had never known any entrepreneur in publishing quite so perceptive and interested in good books in such a wide areas of scholarly disciplines"[10] and Ian Norrie thinks he could be seen as a late-twentieth-century William Heinemann.

In the context of potential or actual publishers who emigrated from Austria, mention should also be made of Andor Kraszna-Krausz, who had already worked in Vienna as a publisher of specialist and non-fiction books. Like many other specialised journals and books at the time, *Technik*, the journal he published in Germany in the twenties, filled a gap in the market created by the generally more sophisticated publishing structure which developed after the First World War. Kraszna-Krausz, who was half-Jewish, wisely foresaw the course of events and came to England. The publishing company he built up in London, the Focal Press, was well suited to realising his earlier aims.

Anyone interested in photography is aware of the Focal technical guides familiarising the use of the camera. Kraszna-Krausz sold out to Pitman in 1962 but ran Focal Press till 1978 and at an award ceremony was declared to have had more influence on the art and science of photography than anyone else in the world.[11] The business, today in Guildford, Surrey, is still one of a group of leading specialist presses in Britain – Butterworths have a series appearing under its imprint – and it produces professional, academic and technical books which cover the following areas: photography, broadcasting, film, television, radio, audio-visual and communication media.

Alongside the publishing of illustrated books with high quality print and design, translations, book-packaging and international co-publishing, specialisation had an important part to play, from the perspective of the emigrant, in the building up of a new publishing enterprise. On the whole they trusted less to (anyway barely available) market analyses than to their feel for the new market, the skills they had acquired, and their own cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the unusually successful careers of some publishers acquired a dynamism all of their own, once their business had been founded, through the internationalisation of the publishing trade. Apart from Weidenfeld, other examples are the publishing companies of Paul Hamlyn and Robert Maxwell.

Paul Hamlyn, born in 1926, whose father, Professor Richard Hamburger, was a doctor, left Berlin, with his family, as a child in 1933 and was educated at St. Christopher School in Letchworth, Herts. He began work as an assistant in Zwemmer's Bookshop in London's Charing Cross Road. Later he sold remaindered books on his own account and moved on to selling books which he had printed, at low cost, in Czechoslovakia. Under the imprint of Spring Books he made available interesting out-of-print (and out-of-copyright) books at bargain prices. His *Books for Pleasure* series of 1949 was financed by means of a modest inheritance. The rapid success of the books, also on a financial level (with the support of W. H. Smith, who sold the publications in all their branches) very soon won Paul Hamlyn a prominent position in British publishing. He has targeted particularly the areas of entertainment and leisure, with such series as *Prints for Pleasure* (always an enthusiast for art books) and

[10] Victor Weybright, *A Life in the 20th Century Book Revolution*, London 1968, p. 244.
[11] Mumby/Norrie, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

Music for Pleasure, an issue of classical long playing records for EMI, which shows how much the publishing trade had changed. By the seventies Hamlyn had become Director of News International, Chairman of Octopus Books, and Chairman of Mandarin Books. Hamlyn responded to the extension of publishing activities in general to include other media, such as radio and television, by becoming director of TV AM-London from 1981–1982. He retained his position as director of News International until 1986, and has, since 1980, been director of News America. The Paul Hamlyn Publishing Group plc (now Reed Books), founded in 1986, comprises William Heinemann Ltd., Martin Secker & Warburg. The Octopus Group, Brimax Books Ltd., Ginn & Co., Mitchell Beazley Ltd., George Philip Ltd., Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., and Heinemann Professional Publications Ltd. Today Paul Hamlyn is without doubt one of the most influential of British publishers to have made the leap into the international media business. At the same time his progress reveals the complete restructuring in the communications media that has been taking place at a rapid pace since the beginning of the seventies.

Still stronger proof of this is provided by Robert Maxwell, whose business today operates on an international scale. He was born in 1923 in a small village on the Czech border, his father being a cattle dealer, as were many Jews in that area. Under Hungarian rule during the war, the fate of the Jewish community was particularly cruel. Maxwell (whose family name was originally Hoch) was fortunate enough to have escaped in time. Via an adventurous war he ended up with the rank of Captain in the British Army and holder of the Military Cross. Contacts he made while on occupation duty in post-war Germany with the scientific publisher *Springer-Verlag* led to his founding the Pergamon Press in London immediately after the war. He gradually extended his publishing programme, which initially had concentrated mainly on scientific journals, to educational material for schools and universities. He entered Parliament, took over the British Printing Corporation and began to buy newspapers. Ultimately the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Mirror*, both with circulations in the millions, became part of his enterprise. In addition to his long-standing chairmanship of the Pergamon Press Robert Maxwell is now involved in large-scale television projects which compete internationally for a share in satellite television. The Maxwell enterprise includes the following sub-groups belonging to the Maxwell Foundation:

Mirror Group Newspapers, the Pergamon Media Trust (with 25% of the shares in MTV), Pergamon Professional and Financial Services and the Maxwell Communication Corporation (a 52% holding). The Pergamon Press plc has branches in New York, Toronto, Beijing, Frankfurt, Sao Paulo, Sydney and Tokyo. In the spring of 1990 he brought onto the market a new paper, *The European*, which is published in different languages throughout Europe.

In contrast to Maxwell or Paul Hamlyn, the great corporation builders, or to Dr. Bela Horovitz and Walter Neurath, the example of André Deutsch, another émigré, who was born in Hungary in 1909, shows that a successful publishing house does not necessarily have to become a large concern. Deutsch came to England in 1939, and made the acquaintance of Arthur Koestler whilst an internee on the Isle of Man in 1941. After his period of internment Deutsch pursued various activities, but was particularly interested in publishing. His first jobs were with the

publishers Ferenz Aldor, whom he also knew from the camp, and Nicholson and Watson. As a result he grew familiar with the basic concepts of publishing work. Immediately after the war he developed, with his partner Anthony Gibbs, the idea which led to the founding of Allan Wingate Publishers. Their first big success, *The Naked and the Dead*, by Norman Mailer, which they published in 1949, immediately made press headlines because of its alleged obscenity and, as a direct result, 150,000 copies were sold.

Deutsch's luck was not to last, however. His partner Gibbs manoeuvred him out of the company, and took over its running. Learning from the experience, André Deutsch now founded his own publishing company with modest capital in 1951, André Deutsch Ltd. Known amongst publishing colleagues for his dogged persistence and frugality, he soon built up an impressive list of authors. André Deutsch publishes in the following areas: art, biography and memoirs, children's books, politics, travel and photography. The company has 650 titles in print and publishes approximately 140 titles yearly. Tom Rosenthal has been the chairman and a director since 1984. A passionate and successful producer of books, he, too, has adhered to traditional, tested principles of the publishing trade.

Another Hungarian, Paul Elek, born in 1906, was the son of a printer in Budapest. In London with little money, he set up as a printer during the war, printing Yearbooks (e.g. Boilermakers', Architects'). Post-war he branched out as a publisher, Elek Books Ltd., later Paul Elek Ltd. In the 1950s he published the Camden Classics, English classics illustrated by contemporary English artists he admired such as John Minton, Edward Burra. The *Cities of Art* was one successful series; another venture was the entire *oeuvre* of Emile Zola in new translations and the Logos Press, a scientific list. He published some modern fiction but was not able to afford authors he would have liked. He too, tried his hand at book-packaging; outsize picture books on *Coaching* (with Time Life) and *The Grand Tour*, both splendidly produced. On his death in 1976 the firm was sold to Granada. Elek was appreciative of the freedoms he found in English life; his small firm retained its individual stamp but had he had more financial leeway, his ideal would have been a house like Faber & Faber whose style and output he admired. A publisher with a printing background, he cared for the look of his books.

John Calmann, born in Germany, trained with Paul Elek before joining Phaidon as editor/director. In 1979 he founded his own firm John Calmann and Cooper (now John Calmann and King). After his death in 1980 his sister, Marianne Calmann, who had worked with Mary Glasgow Publishers as editorial director and publisher, took over the directorship of the firm and it is now one of the leading book-packagers on a large scale with books on the fine arts, design, music, architecture and photography.

Other independent publishers who, since their founding, have resisted the process of amalgamation in the media are Peter Owen and Ernest Hecht in London. Peter Owen, who was born in Nuremberg in 1924 under the name of Offenstadt, was the son of an English mother and a German father. He was sent to London immediately after Hitler had seized power and was educated there. Like André Deutsch he founded his publishing company after the war, in 1951. With a small office and one editor, Muriel Spark, during this early period he produced a few

books on commission, with help from James Laughlin in America (New Directions Publishers). From these modest beginnings there eventually developed an impressive, respectable publishing business. At the end of the sixties, the new English translation of Hermann Hesse's *Siddartha* became the cult book of a new youth movement and had a steady sale. Peter Owen's aim has been to publish books of literary quality which would distinguish him clearly from other publishers and appeal to a discriminating readership.

Ernest Hecht's lively and quirky Souvenir Press with its list of successful allsorts is often cited to show that no great capital was needed to set up as a publisher in the 1950s. Hecht was born in 1930 in Prostejov, Moravia; his father, originally from Vienna, was a clothing manufacturer in Brno. A chance business contact led to the choice of England as a country of refuge and his young son went to local schools and studied economics and commerce at Hull University – acquiring a passion for sport and athletics on the way. (The father had played for *Hakoah*, a first-rate Jewish football team in Vienna.)

Hecht's earliest efforts as a publisher, working from a room in his parents' home were a couple of books on a cricketer and a footballer, and from these beginnings to what Ian Norrie calls "quiet bestsellers about sportsmen and pop singers".[12] The list went on to include the best-selling fiction of Arthur Hailey (with Michael Joseph), books on education, on hobbies and the Condor quality paperbacks of neglected foreign writers such as Neruda, Borges, Wilhelm Reich, and a series of some 70 titles aimed at helping those with physical and mental disabilities (*Human Horizons*). Like many other publishers of émigré origin, Hecht is a competent linguist; this, together with their background, enables them to move more freely, perhaps, in Europe, and to enter the era of the Common Market with confidence.

It is Hecht who recounts the ironic anecdote of an International Publishers' Congress held in Vienna in the late 1950s when amongst the group wearing badges labelled *Großbritannien* were Hamlyn, Weidenfeld, Deutsch, Foges, Neurath, Kraszna-Krausz and Hecht himself – this in a city where not so long before Jews had been hounded to exile and to death.[13]

One who returned to Europe was Paul Zsolnay. A publisher of marked distinction in his native Austria he was, by reason of his Jewish origin, forced into exile and arrived penniless in London, in 1938. There he was offered a modest job at Heinemann's and soon his skills led, with the firm's assistance, to the setting up of the imprint Heinemann & Zsolnay. At the end of the war he went back to Austria, to find his property in ruins; he revived his firm and also set up *Heinemann & Zsolnay Verlag* in gratitude to the London firm, for whom it became a small but not unprofitable venture.[14]

The name of Bruno Cassirer was also well-known in Britain amongst admirers of finely-printed and illustrated books and for the part played by the brothers Cassirer in promoting the appreciation of modern French painting in Germany. The family came to Oxford to be near Cassirer's brother-in-law, the Greek scholar and Orientalist Richard Walzer. (It was he who, via the University, contacted Faber & Faber

[12] Mumby/Norrie, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
[13] 'Alex Hamilton talks to Ernest Hecht', interview in *The Guardian*, 1972.
[14] St. John, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–305.

who very helpfully took over distribution, a link which remained.) After Cassirer's death, his son-in-law Dr. George Hill carried on, even when serving in the army, in his off-duty hours preparing a book of Cézanne's watercolours and one on the drawings of Delacroix. The firm's list is a very select one, mainly aimed at art historians and connoisseurs, though a beautiful book such as the illustrated edition of Gauguin's *Noa Noa* surely has an appeal for a wider public. There are also books on Oriental subjects produced originally under the auspices of William Cohn, founder of the Oriental Museum in Oxford, later supervised by Richard Walzer. Culminating with the 3-volume edition of an illustrated catalogue of French sculptures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the firm closed down (in May 1990), rather than sell the imprint to a larger group, on the retirement of George and Elsie Hill.

Amongst those who tried to pave the way for a new understanding between Britain and Germany after the war, particular mention should be made of Dr. Oswald Wolff and the publishing house he founded in 1958, Oswald Wolff Publishers Ltd. The firm was preceded by a book import and export business Wolff ran from 1949, "Interbook". The new company's first titles were devoted to translations of books on contemporary history but the scope was rapidly expanded to include essays and monographs by British scholars on German literature.

Oswald Wolff, born in Berlin in 1897, came to London in 1939. His aim as a publisher was to promote a deeper understanding of all aspects of German culture in the English-speaking world and show the true face of German culture, as opposed to that distorted by the Nazi propaganda machine. After the death of Oswald Wolff in 1968, his wife Ilse Wolff took over the running of the company. As the former librarian of the Wiener Library, her knowledge helped the publishing house to establish itself further. By now its programme included studies on German art and culture. In July 1985 Oswald Wolff Books joined together with Marion Berghahn's Berg Publishers (now of Oxford, Munich and New York).

There are also those of German-Jewish origin who, though not themselves publishers, are part of the history of recent British publishing, such as the art historian Nikolaus Pevsner who came, as a refugee, in 1936. (Dieter Pevsner, his son, has himself made a career in publishing.) The attractive King Penguin small-format art books, marketed at a very low price – and now fetching a higher one in the second-hand book trade – were an imitation of the German *Insel-Bücherei*; the series was initiated and supervised by Pevsner and often rather better than the original.

Nikolaus Pevsner's links with the publisher Allen Lane led to some of Penguin's most outstanding achievements; asked by Lane what he would most like Penguin to publish he suggested a series of architectural guides to the British Isles (this became the wittily-written *Buildings of England* etc., referred to as "Pevsner") and a library of world art: *The Pelican History of Art and Architecture.*[15] For the excellent design and lay-out of these books another German-Jewish émigré was responsible. Penguin books owed a lot to the Berlin-born Hans Schmoller[16] who for over a quarter of a

[15] Mumby/Norrie, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[16] Gerald Cinamon, 'Hans Schmoller 1916–85', in *Hans Schmoller, Typographer. His Life and Work.* A special issue of *The Monotype Recorder*, New Series, 6 (April 1987), pp. 1–13.

century was typographer, later production director, and was responsible for the elegant and stylish Penguin "look", applying his high standards of book design and meticulous typography to the production of books for the masses. Berthold Wolpe was another German-trained typographer-designer whose work at Faber & Faber was equally distinctive.[17]

Peter Mayer, born in London in 1936, son of German-Jewish émigrés, made an important career in the American publishing world, before moving to Penguin Books. He was president of Pocket Books from 1976 to 1978. As head of Penguin Books from 1978 he was without doubt partly responsible for the current success of the company, which now brings out about 3,000 titles each year. He is now Chief Excutive of Penguin USA.

This still incomplete list of publishers and individuals who have been active in British publishing might be supplemented by others who, though they have been less prominent, continue to exercise an influence. This can, however, only be achieved through further research and a work of greater scope. Those who have been mentioned here – a lively and varied group, for the most part expelled from Central Europe by the advent of Nazism – have made their distinctive contribution to the history of publishing in the United Kingdom.

[17] On the work of F. H. K. Henrion, Hans Schmoller, Berthold Wolpe and other refugee designers in the United Kingdom see Justin Howes and Pauline Paucker, 'German Jews and the Graphic Arts', in *Year Book XXXIV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1989, pp. 467–473.

Peter Alter

German-speaking Jews as Patrons of the Arts and Sciences in Edwardian England

Talking about patronage means talking about money, generosity, farsightedness – and patrons. But what do we mean when we speak of a patron? The most famous definition is, of course, Dr. Johnson's. In a letter to Lord Chesterfield, written in February 1755, Dr. Johnson asked: "Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with his help?"[1] There is no doubt that Dr. Johnson's quip was also meant as a reproach. Nowadays, the definition of patrons is much kinder and more appreciative of their benevolence and support, either for those who are "struggling for life in the water", or for a good cause that benefits the community as a whole. As far as this special topic is concerned, the definition of a patron is quite simple: anyone who promotes the arts or the sciences, financially, institutionally or organisationally, may be called a patron. In this sense, Jews from Central Europe played a prominent role as patrons of the arts and sciences in Britain during the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign, and then, more conspicuously than ever before or afterwards, in the reign of Edward VII.[2]

It is true that, over the centuries, widespread philanthropy has been a well-established tradition in Jewish communities all over the world, especially among prosperous businessmen and bankers who have made a fortune. As a rule, however, philanthropy has always concentrated on specific, well-known areas – welfare and charity institutions, orphanages, schools, old people's homes and hospitals; that is, relief institutions in the broadest sense. Jewish religious law requires wealthy men and salary-earners to give a tenth of their income to charity, philanthropic and public purposes, though it is of course impossible to ascertain how many Jews obeyed this obligation strictly. In Britain, London in particular, whose Jewish population had risen to 35,000 in 1871 and was 60,000 ten years later,[3] has always been the seat of numerous Jewish charities for the poor and indigent, some of whose origins go back as far as the eighteenth century. Examples are the Jewish Board of Guardians, the Bread and Coals Society, the Sabbath Meals Society, the Soup Kitchens for the Jewish Poor, and the Jewish Lodging House in Gun Street.[4] "Anglo-Jewish philanthropy", writes Eugene Black in his recent study, "was

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[1] James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. by R. W. Chapman, London 1970, p. 185.

[2] This is a rather cursory and incomplete outline of a much neglected aspect of the history of Anglo-Jewry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This essay is a slightly revised and annotated version of the original conference paper.

[3] Stephen Brook, *The Club. The Jews of Modern Britain*, London 1989, p. 21.

[4] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914*, London 1960, pp. 163ff.; Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880–1920*, Oxford 1988. For Manchester see Brook, *op. cit.*, p. 267. See also Stephen Aris, *The Jews in Business*, London 1970, esp. chap. 10, 'The Business of Charity', pp. 183–197.

renowned for the scope of its beneficence".[5] The Jewish commitment to philanthropic causes increased dramatically when a new wave of East European immigrants arrived in Britain from the 1880s onwards.

Only in a few cases, however, do we really know who the benefactors of all these institutions were. This is not unusual. Stephen Brook rightly emphasises that in Jewish communities charitable aid is not supposed to glorify the donor, and "rabbinical tradition regards anonymous giving as the most admirable form of charity".[6] Moreover, no evidence exists that Jewish patronage and philanthropy going beyond welfare and charity for the Jewish community and involving large amounts of money took place on a spectacular scale before the end of the nineteenth century. An exception, of course, was the widespread philanthropic activities of the Rothschild family. It is generally known that one of the departments of their firm in the City of London was devoted exclusively to the administration of the large amounts set aside for charitable purposes.[7] The name of Rothschild not surprisingly, therefore, also features early among patrons of the arts and sciences in Britain. The second Lord Rothschild, Lionel Walter (1868–1937), was in fact a scientist himself. A dedicated zoologist since boyhood, who had assembled a unique insect collection, he opened his private museum on his estate at Tring Park to the public in 1892. When he died in 1937 he left the Tring Zoological Museum and all its contents to the British Museum – undoubtedly one of the greatest accessions which that institution has ever received in its long history.[8]

Generally speaking, it is noticeable that, from the early nineteenth century, patrons in Britain became more aware of the sciences and the arts as providing scope for endowments. From the 1830s onwards enthusiasm for art as a valuable component of everyday life increased perceptibly. Industrialists, financiers, wealthy merchants – in short, a class often called "untitled gentlemen of property" – were gradually replacing noble connoisseurs as the country's major art collectors and patrons of the arts.[9] The professional and business classes in London and the provinces were clearly beginning to show an interest in artistic matters, as well as in certain sciences which either possessed entertainment value or had become fashionable, such as geology, chemistry or botany. "Patronage", wrote one contemporary observer, "which had been almost exclusively the privilege of the nobility and higher gentry was now shared... by a wealthy and intelligent class, chiefly enriched by commerce and trade".[10]

Members of these social strata developed an interest in collecting the works not only of the Old Masters, but also of living artists. From the late 1830s, they also patronised the art unions that were being established in British cities modelled on

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[5] Black, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[6] Brook, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[7] Virginia Cowles, *The Rothschilds*, New York 1973; Richard Davis, *The English Rothschilds*, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1983; Derek Wilson, *Rothschild. A Story of Wealth and Power*, London 1988; see also the entry on Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild (1840–1915), in *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, 63 vols., London 1885–1900, and 3 vol. supplement, 1901, supplements covering 1901–1911, 1912–1921, 1922–1930, and thereafter for each decade until 1971–1980, 1981–1985, *1912–1921*, pp. 480–481.

[8] See *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 754–755; Black, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[9] Janet Minihan, *The Nationalization of Culture. The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain*, London 1977, p. 4.

[10] Quoted *ibid.*, p. 61.

the German *Kunstvereine*, and supported the municipal museums for the arts and sciences which, after the passing of the Museums Act of 1845, were set up in the provinces.[11] Many of the new scientific societies and a variety of scientific institutions which were founded at about the same time could probably not have been established, and would certainly not have flourished, without a constant flow of private gifts and subscriptions.[12] The new civic universities, which had been founded outside London and "Oxbridge" since the middle of the nineteenth century, would not have come into existence without munificent and in some cases amazing endowments by the urban bourgeoisie.[13] Their patronage was of such enormous importance for the very simple reason that central and local governments in Victorian Britain only reluctantly provided support for the arts and sciences.[14] Lord Melbourne's memorable plea of 1835, "God help the minister that meddles with art",[15] still applied towards the end of the century. Governmental parsimony and pettiness with regard to the arts and sciences was the order of the day. "The attitude of the State to the National Museums and Galleries", we read in the final report of a Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries as late as 1928, "has for the most part been a passive and mainly receptive attitude. Development has been spasmodic."[16]

What we know for certain is that, contrasting with the indolence of successive governments in this field, broadly-based private patronage thrived in Victorian society. Its importance has been illustrated in a number of detailed studies.[17] It has also been shown that within the spectrum of Victorian philanthropy, patronage of the arts and sciences became increasingly important from the early nineteenth century on. But none of the published studies reveal in any detail whether, or to what extent, Jews, or more specifically Jews of German or Austrian origin, participated in the patronage exercised by the wealthy middle classes in Britain.[18] This is true of books about the history of individual museums, art galleries and universities, as well as of local histories such as Robert Kargon's *Science in Victorian Manchester* (1977) and David Jones's *The Origins of Civic Universities. Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool* (1988). More detailed social analyses of private patronage are needed in order to determine the part that Jews played in it. This applies especially to cities such as Manchester and Bradford, which early on had a population of prosperous Jewish businessmen, engaged mainly in textiles, banking and foreign trade. Any assessment will, however, necessarily take into account that, before 1880, the Jewish community in many British cities, apart from London, was small

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 77, 92–93.

[12] See Peter Alter, *The Reluctant Patron, Science and the State in Britain 1850–1920*, Oxford 1987, pp. 14–22; Gerard L'E. Turner (ed.), *The Patronage of Science in the Nineteenth Century*, Leyden 1976.

[13] See Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry 1850–1914*, London 1972; David R. Jones, *The Origins of Civic Universities. Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool*, London 1988.

[14] Minihan, *op. cit.*; Alter, *op. cit.*; D. S. L. Cardwell, *The Organisation of Science in England*, 2nd edn., London 1972.

[15] Quoted in Minihan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[16] Quoted *ibid.*, p. 182.

[17] See, for example, Sanderson, *op. cit.*; David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660–1960*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964; Brian Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', in *idem*, *Peaceable Kingdom. Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, Oxford 1982, pp. 217–259; Turner (ed.), *op. cit.*

[18] Also in the new book by Stephen Brook, *op. cit.*, this aspect is almost totally left out. A few hints are to be found on pp. 327–328. More informative is Black, *op. cit.*

and often very poor. Only 2,000 Jews lived in Manchester in 1850, about 5,000 in Leeds in 1880, and around 4,000 in Liverpool in 1891.[19] In many cases, therefore, the urban social background for extensive and spectacular Jewish or German-Jewish patronage simply did not exist before the early 1880s.

Around the turn of the century the situation suddenly took on a totally different light. A well-to-do Jewish middle class had arisen by then. Already by the early 1880s, wrote Vivian Lipman, "14.6% of the Jewish population of London were upper or upper-middle class with family incomes of £1,000 or over; 42.2% were middle class with family incomes in the £200 to £1,000 bracket; and 19.6% 'lower' class with family incomes of about £100 a year".[20] At about this time, and in the following years, the names of Jewish, often German-Jewish, millionaires, who owed their enormous wealth to their own efforts, rose like comets in London society. Most of these extraordinary men whose lives and business activities remain shadowy even today had three things in common: they were accepted into the social circle of the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII; their philanthropic activities were strongly directed towards the arts and sciences; and they retained strong connections with Germany, even becoming involved in Anglo-German diplomacy in the years immediately preceding the Great War.[21] The so-called German-Jewish plutocrats of the turn of the century, who left a distinctive mark on Edwardian society,[22] were industrialists like Ludwig Mond, or financiers and bankers like Alfred Beit, Ernest Cassel and Edgar Speyer. Here we shall first describe the remarkable patronage exercised by these men, and then briefly address the difficult question of their motives.

Ludwig Mond (1839–1909) was undoubtedly the best known of the Jewish patrons drawn from the ranks of industry. Born in Kassel in Germany, the son of a silk merchant, Mond did not come to England until 1862, after studying chemistry in Marburg and Heidelberg. He became a British citizen in 1880. Mond gained industrial experience while still in Germany, where he took out his first patents. With John T. Brunner, the son of a Swiss schoolteacher, Mond built up the British ammonia-soda industry, using the newly invented Solvay process. Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co. became the largest producers of alkali in the world, and in 1926, together with three other large chemical concerns, merged to form Imperial Chemical Industries. Mond was not only an extremely productive scientist, with a large

[19] Vivian D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England 1850–1950*, London 1954, pp. 102, 160; Derek Fraser (ed.), *A History of Modern Leeds*, Manchester 1980, pp. 62, 390; Joseph Buckman, *Immigrants and the Class Struggle. The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds 1880–1914*, Manchester 1983; P.J. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism. A Political and Social History of Liverpool 1868–1939*, Liverpool 1981, p. 120; Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England*, London 1987. The total number of Jews in England was estimated at 65,000 in 1880.

[20] Lipman, *op. cit.*, p. 77. "Jews... account for more than 15 per cent of all non-landed millionaires deceased [in Britain] between 1900 and 1914, compared with their 0.5 per cent of the total population" (W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History. Essays in Social and Economic History*, Brighton–New York 1988, p. 133).

[21] Jamie Camplin, *The Rise of the Plutocrats. Wealth and Power in Edwardian England*, London 1978; Giles St. Aubyn, *Edward VII. Prince and King*, London 1979. See also Stanley D. Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, London 1985.

[22] "Socially, the late Victorian and Edwardian age was perhaps the most brilliant Anglo-Jewry had experienced" (Lipman, *op. cit.*, p. 162). Colin Holmes called it "a golden age for Jews in Britain" ('Germans in Britain', in Jürgen Schneider [ed.], *Wirtschaftskräfte und Wirtschaftswege. Festschrift für Hermann Kellenbenz*, vol. III, Stuttgart 1978, p. 583).

number of patents to his credit. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* he also possessed "a genius for divining the industrial possibilities of discoveries in pure science".[23] His exceptional business success in Britain brought him a fortune which was estimated by contemporaries to be worth more than £1 million, an enormous sum by the standards of those days. Mond was active in several scientific societies. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1891 and, shortly before his death in 1909, a corresponding member of the *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Berlin. In gratitude for his admission to the Royal Society, Mond donated a total of £125,000 to the Royal Institution in London for the foundation of the Davy-Faraday Laboratory in 1896.[24] In addition to this grant, Mond also regularly supported the Royal Society and the newly founded British Academy. In his will, he left £50,000 to the Royal Society and the same amount to the University of Heidelberg for the encouragement of research and related purposes.[25] Mond's obituary in the important scientific journal *Nature* described him as "keenly interested in the progress of science in all its branches", and "always ready to help experimenters in carrying out costly researches".[26] Another obituary called him a "princely benefactor of Science, a great patron and lover of Art".[27] Mond bequeathed his important collection of early Italian paintings to the National Gallery in London, and left large sums of money to various foreign institutions, including the *Akademie der Schönen Künste* in Munich and the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* in Rome.[28]

Among the financiers and bankers three men – Alfred Beit, Ernest Cassel and Edgar Speyer – stand out as patrons whose munificence around the turn of the century outshone even that of the Rothschilds. The *Dictionary of National Biography* describes Alfred Beit (1853–1906) as a "financier and benefactor".[29] His career reveals some parallels with that of Ludwig Mond. Born into a family of baptised Jews from Hamburg, Beit soon emigrated and, from the mid-1870s, worked in the diamond trade in Amsterdam and South Africa. In South Africa he acquired gold and diamond mines, and in 1890 he and Julius C. Wernher founded the financial holding Wernher, Beit & Co. in London. Beit and the great imperialist Cecil Rhodes became close personal friends as well as business partners in De Beers Consolidated Mines, which was founded in 1888. As director of the British South Africa Company, Beit gave strong financial support to both the expansion into what was later to become Rhodesia, and the notorious Jameson Raid in the Transvaal in 1895–1896. At the end of the 1880s, Beit, who by now had become a British subject, made London his headquarters. It has been estimated that after the turn of the century his benefactions in Britain and Germany were worth a total of almost £2 million.[30] They included a chair of colonial history at Oxford, funds for the

[23] *DNB 1901–1911*, p. 633.

[24] *The Times*, 3rd July 1894 ('A Magnificent Endowment'); F. G. Donnan, *Ludwig Mond, F. R. S.: 1839–1909*, London 1939, p. 11; John Michael Cohen, *The Life of Ludwig Mond*, London 1956, p. 219.

[25] *DNB 1901–1911*, p. 634; *The Record of the Royal Society of London for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge*, 4th edn., London 1940, p. 145.

[26] *Nature*, 83 (1910), p. 40.

[27] Quoted in Donnan, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[29] *DNB 1901–1911*, p. 127.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 129; George Seymour Fort, *Alfred Beit. A Study of the Man and his Work*, London 1932;

Bodleian Library in Oxford to increase its holdings in colonial history, £135,000 for London's new Imperial College of Science and Technology, founded in 1907, £200,000 for charitable and educational purposes in Rhodesia, the Transvaal, the Cape Colony, London and Hamburg, support for hospitals and South African universities and, finally, a bequest of important seventeenth-century paintings to museums in London and Berlin. This is indeed an impressive list. In 1909 Sir Otto John Beit, Alfred's younger brother, set up the Beit Trust in memory of his brother who had died three years earlier, and endowed it with capital of £215,000. It was primarily intended to promote education and medical research.

Beit's numerous and substantial benefactions to charities, the arts and sciences were overshadowed, however, by the scale of Ernest Cassel's patronage. *The Times* was so impressed that it conferred upon him the title "Prince of Charity".[31] At the turn of the century Ernest Cassel (1852–1921) was one of the most influential bankers in the City of London, although he had only been living in England since 1869.[32] He became a British subject in 1878. According to his biographer, Cassel's life was "one of the most extraordinary success stories of his or any other era".[33] This was true not only from a financial point of view, but also from a social one: Cassel's only granddaughter Edwina married Lord Louis Mountbatten; her godfather was King Edward VII and she had only narrowly escaped being christened Edwardina in tribute to the King. Born in Cologne, the son of a Jewish moneylender, Cassel acquired his fortune by means of extensive financial transactions in Europe, America and the Middle East, as well as through industrial and railway interests in Sweden, England and North America. After 1896 Cassel was a close friend of the Prince of Wales and became his financial adviser and private banker. Among friends and journalists this earned him the nickname "Windsor Cassel".[34] Cassel's patronage which began, characteristically, with Edward VII's accession to the throne was directed in the main towards philanthropic organisations in England, Sweden, Germany and Egypt – all countries, of course, with which he had close personal or commercial ties. But he also made large grants to scientific and medical research institutions. He gave £200,000 towards researching and finding a

Camplin, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–169. On Beit's activities in Southern Africa and his collaboration with Rhodes see Robert I. Rotberg, *The Founder. Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, New York–Oxford 1988; also Charles Wilson, 'Beit, Alfred (1853–1906). Diamond merchant and mining financier', in David J. Jeremy (ed.), *Dictionary of Business Biography*, vol. I, London 1984, pp. 253–255.

[31] Quoted in Camplin, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[32] *DNB 1912–1921*, pp. 97–100; Brian Connell, *Manifest Destiny: A Study in Five Profiles of the Rise and Influence of the Mountbatten Family*, London 1953, pp. 53–87; Pat Thane, 'Cassel, Sir Ernest Joseph (1852–1921). Merchant banker and international financier', in Jeremy (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 604–614; Youssef Cassis, *Les banquiers de la City à l'époque Edouardienne (1890–1914)*, Geneva 1984, esp. pp. 51–52. On Cassel's part in Anglo-German relations before the First World War, see Connell, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–78; and Alfred Vagts, 'Die Juden im englisch-deutschen imperialistischen Konflikt vor 1914', in Joachim Radkau and Imanuel Geiss (eds.), *Imperialismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Gedenkschrift für George W. F. Hallgarten*, Munich 1976, pp. 113–143; Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff. His Life and Letters*, 2 vols., London 1929, gives an insight into Cassel's business transactions. A small number of Ernest Cassel's private papers were kept at Broadlands, Romsey, the country seat of the Mountbatten family, and have now been transferred to the University of Southampton Archives. They are largely Cassel's private correspondence and contain practically no references to his activities as a benefactor.

[33] Connell, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[34] St. Aubyn, *op. cit.*, p. 367; Connell, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–66; Kurt Grunwald, '"Windsor-Cassel" – The Last Court Jew. Prolegomena to a Biography of Sir Ernest Cassel', in *Year Book XIV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1969, pp. 119–161; Camplin, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

cure for tuberculosis (1902), which had killed both his wife and daughter, £10,000 to London's Imperial College of Science and Technology when it was founded in 1907, and £46,000 to the new Radium Institute in London (1909). Many years before his death the Countess of Warwick had noted: "I found him kind-hearted, always eager to help the poor, and lavish in support of hospitals."[35] In addition to his major donations Cassel financed university scholarships, and chairs in foreign languages, political economy and business law at various British universities. In 1919 he provided £500,000 for the further development of the London School of Economics and Political Science into the Economics Faculty of the University of London. Earlier, in 1911, he had established a foundation, endowed with £200,000, to help British subjects residing in Germany and German subjects in Britain who required assistance.[36] From 1913 the King Edward VII British-German Foundation also provided scholarships for British students in Germany. Cassel's numerous benefactions are said to have totalled more than £2 million; the largest of these were made in the last years of his life.

Compared with patronage on this grand scale, that exercised by Edgar Speyer (1862–1932) was relatively modest. In financial terms it was almost exclusively centred on music. Speyer was born in New York, the second son of a banker from Frankfurt. Following a family tradition he was educated in Frankfurt and, at the age of twenty-two, became a partner in his father's three associated companies in Frankfurt, London and New York. In 1887 Speyer moved to London as director of Speyer Brothers, which specialised in international banking and railway finance. This connection with railways brought Speyer, who was naturalised in 1892, into prominence in London's business life, and contributed to his great fortune. His firm was instrumental in financing large tracts of the London Underground, which was then under construction.[37]

As a patron of philanthropic and cultural causes, Speyer was on the board of the King Edward's Hospital Fund; he was president of Poplar Hospital, and a trustee of the Whitechapel Art Gallery. But, as already mentioned, music was by far his main interest. He gained the reputation of a patron of musicians and composers, especially as the chairman and indefatigable sponsor of the Queen's Hall concerts in London. This institution, a forerunner of the "Proms" in the Royal Albert Hall, in fact goes back to Speyer. In 1895 he had invited Henry Wood to establish a nightly season of Promenade Concerts at the Queen's Hall which soon achieved great popularity. For many years Speyer supported the annual season of "Proms" to the tune of some £2,000 a year. His London home in Grosvenor Square, moreover, became a meeting place for musicians and composers such as Edvard Grieg, Claude Debussy and Richard Strauss. Interestingly enough, Strauss dedicated his opera

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[36] The Foundation's second annual report (1913, p. 4) reads: "The Foundation has... been established by Cassel in memory of the late King Edward VII, with headquarters in Berlin and London... The British section is intended to assist Germans residing in the United Kingdom, whilst the German section is for the assistance of British subjects in Germany. For each section the income from a capital sum of £100,000 is available". This report and several other pamphlets about the Foundation can be found in Cassel's papers (see note 32).

[37] A. Moreton Mandeville, *The House of Speyer*, London 1915; Camplin, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–158; *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 828–829.

Salome to Speyer,[38] who had helped him so much in making his works known in England.

Given his enormous wealth, Speyer's endowments to art (as far as they are known) were comparatively modest. Beyond this, they were distinguished by their single-mindedness and their concentration on a particular art form: music. Speyer's patronage has this in common with that exercised by a few German-Jewish scholars, scientists and artists who should at least be mentioned in this context. Their patronage attracted the attention of contemporaries and later historians, not because of the amounts of money they donated, but because of the determination and success with which they sponsored specific arts, sciences or scientific projects. This group of patrons, which completes this rather sketchy picture of German-Jewish patronage of the arts and sciences in Britain at the turn of the century, includes Arthur Schuster, Israel Gollancz and Otto Goldschmidt. Within the constraints imposed by their individual circumstances, of course, they also provided financial assistance, but the main service that they rendered art and science was on a different level.

Arthur Schuster (1851–1934), for example, who was born in Frankfurt, the son of a well-to-do textile merchant and banker, became a leading member of the Royal Society of London. For years he served on its Council. As its Secretary he not only proved to be an exceptionally able administrator, but he personally provided large sums of money to enable several scientific projects to get off the ground. A physicist and mathematician by training, Schuster was a distinguished professor at Owens College Manchester (1881–1907) and played a prominent part in the organisation of international science.[39] He represented the Royal Society in the negotiations which led to the formation of the International Association of Academies in 1900, an association which did much to promote international co-operation in science, especially in the years before 1914.[40]

Israel Gollancz (1863–1930), another example, was born in London, the youngest son of Samuel Marcus Gollancz from Bremen.[41] Israel Gollancz lectured at Cambridge for some years and later became Professor of English at King's College London. He was associated with the British Academy, as one of its founding Fellows, from its institution in 1902. Serving as the Academy's Secretary until his death, Gollancz was personally responsible for procuring many of the private grants made to the Academy in the first difficult years of its life, when it neither possessed official quarters nor received funds from the government.[42]

Otto Goldschmidt (1829–1907), the third name mentioned above, was the son of a Hamburg merchant who had connections with England. Goldschmidt came to England in 1856.[43] Himself a pianist and composer, Goldschmidt is better known to

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[38] Camplin, *op. cit.*, p. 157; See also C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, p. 319.

[39] G. C. Simpson, 'Sir Arthur Schuster 1851–1934', in *Obituary Notices of the Fellows of the Royal Society, 1932–1935*, London 1932–1935, vol. I, pp. 409–423; *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 791–793. See also Schuster's *Biographical Fragments*, London 1932.

[40] Peter Alter, 'The Royal Society and the International Association of Academies 1897–1919', in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 34 (1980), pp. 241–264.

[41] *DNB 1922–1930*, pp. 851–852.

[42] Frederic G. Kenyon, *The British Academy. The First Fifty Years*, London 1952, pp. 17–20.

[43] *DNB 1901–1911*, pp. 123–124.

posterity, however, as the husband of the celebrated Swedish singer Jenny Lind. He used the opportunities provided by his wife's career to establish himself as a patron of music. During the last decades of the Victorian era, Goldschmidt was a chief officer or honorary member of most of London's musical institutions. The moral support provided by Goldschmidt combined with his unfailing energy helped to keep many of these institutions alive and flourishing.

Patronage on a large scale for the arts and sciences, particularly when exercised by émigré Jews, inevitably raises the question of underlying motives. In the case of men such as Otto Goldschmidt, Israel Gollancz and Arthur Schuster the motives are fairly obvious. Personal enthusiasm for, or dedication to, a specific science or art and close contact with its world seems to have been the driving force behind their continued patronage. This form of moral and organisational support was often accompanied by financial support.[44] Although it may have involved only modest sums, in individual cases it could be extremely helpful and effective. This contributed to Schuster and Gollancz as well as Goldschmidt becoming well-known patrons both in their respective professions and among their contemporaries. Recognition by colleagues was usually soon followed by public recognition in the form of honours and knighthoods. Both Arthur Schuster and Israel Gollancz were knighted in due course, as were the millionaires Ernest Cassel and Edgar Speyer – but Alfred Beit was not, for reasons which are unknown.

It is true that British society traditionally, and the growing Jewish community in particular, expected generous philanthropy in the widest sense from wealthy industrialists and bankers, who were often only too happy to fulfil this expectation. In his book on philanthropy and society, Ben Whitaker writes: "In early 18th-century England... the failure of a merchant to settle some substantial and conspicuous charitable trust or gift was generally regarded as little short of shocking unless his estate had suffered some exceptional misfortune."[45] The German-Jewish plutocrats whose patronage has been briefly outlined here understood this obligation. The biggest donors, quite obviously, received the most prestige. And it also brought them publicity which, according to David Jones, was a vital part of philanthropy.[46] Even relatively small endowments were brought to the notice of newspaper readers. In January 1912, for example, *The Times* wrote: "Sir Ernest Cassel has sent a special donation of £700 to the Prince of Wales's General Hospital, Tottenham, this sum being in addition to a grant of £800 allocated from the recent gift of Sir Ernest to the King Edward Hospital Fund."[47] The generosity of donors was thus repaid, as a rule, by a greatly enhanced social position, often expressed in a knighthood, and sometimes in the friendship of a king. Some contemporary observers suggested, therefore, that the real motive behind the large grants made by the plutocrats at the turn of this century was not a "quasi-aristocratic sense of obligation" to society, as David Owen, the late American historian, supposes in his excellent book, *English Philanthropy*.[48] Instead, they maintained, these men had simply recognised that

[44] See, for example, Schuster's donations to the Royal Society of London in *The Record of the Royal Society*, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–147.

[45] Ben Whitaker, *The Foundations. An Anatomy of Philanthrophy and Society*, London 1974, p. 47.

[46] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[47] *The Times*, 4th January 1912.

[48] David Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 470. On the motives of American patrons in the early twentieth century, see

patronage was the key to rapid advancement in Britain's social hierarchy. A modern economic historian, Donald Coleman, who has examined the biographies of nineteenth-century entrepreneurs, has come to a similar conclusion. "Social advancement", he writes, "was one of the most prized possessions to be bought by an English business fortune".[49] In its generality this statement is probably true. But here, too, there were notable exceptions. One of them was Ludwig Mond, who refused the knighthood offered him, pointing to his German origins and religious affiliations.[50]

We should also note that in the course of their business lives, some men of wealth who were potential patrons were confronted with specific scientific problems or needs. Or perhaps they gained some sort of insight into the work of scientists or artists in particular disciplines. This experience could generate a will to exercise patronage, which in many cases provided the impetus to innovate in the area of science organisation. The best examples of this are perhaps the benefactions made by Ludwig Mond, Ernest Cassel and Alfred Beit. Sometimes one can trace a powerful influence within the family to exert patronage in a particular field. Thus, in Speyer's case, it may have been significant that his wife Leonora, daughter of a Silesian count, was a professional violinist.[51] One must also consider that there are always trends, or areas, which happen to become fashionable at a certain time, and which then influence patrons' ideas and determine who and what will benefit from their benefactions. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that as the arts and sciences became more popular in the nineteenth century, not least because of their entertainment value, they also attracted the attention of potential donors. Thus in later Victorian and Edwardian England endowments for the arts and sciences seem to have increased in number and size at the expense of purely humanitarian endowments, without, of course, ever approaching their level.

To sum up: it is extremely difficult to identify the often intertwined and overlapping motives of a patron. Any discussion of motives remains more or less guesswork. It will never be possible to explain satisfactorily the extraordinary patronage of men such as Ludwig Mond, Ernest Cassel, Alfred Beit and Edgar Speyer, undoubtedly representing the climax of German-Jewish patronage in Britain. It is highly unlikely that unequivocal answers will ever be found to the questions we have raised. According to W. K. Jordan, author of one of the most important studies of English philanthropy, the motives of acts of patronage remain "buried deep in the recesses of our nature, immune, perhaps happily, from the fumbling probing of the historian and, certainly happily, from the too arrogant enquiry of the psychoanalyst".[52] Perhaps we should leave it at that.

After the disastrous Great War, German-Jewish patronage for the arts and sciences on the spectacular scale of Beit or Cassel was a thing of the past. The so-called

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Frederic Cople Jaher, 'The Gilded Elite. American Multimillionaires, 1865 to the Present', in W. D. Rubinstein (ed.), *Wealthy and the American Wealth in the Modern World*, London 1980, pp. 210–214.

[49] D. C. Coleman, 'Gentlemen and Players', in *Economic History Review*, 26 (1973), p. 95; see also Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 13–15 and 127–154.

[50] Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[51] Camplin, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[52] W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660*, London 1959, p. 144.

plutocrats and successful entrepreneurs of late Victorian and Edwardian England, who had never made a secret of their origins, but had fully adopted their new country, died either before the war or shortly after. During the war itself prominent individuals with German connections, such as Sir Ernest Cassel, had been constantly hunted down by the press and boycotted by former friends.[53] Their patriotism was called into question. In some cases the suspicions which were directed against them were of the utmost absurdity. Sir Edgar Speyer, for example, was accused of signalling to German submarines from his home on the Norfolk coast.[54] Although Herbert Asquith, the Prime Minister, defended him vigorously Speyer left England and took up residence in the United States, filled with bitterness towards his adopted country which had cast doubt upon his loyalty. The disappearance of the German-Jewish plutocrats from England thus marked the sad end of a remarkable epoch of exceptional patronage.

Another variant of German-Jewish patronage of the arts and sciences, however, prevailed after 1918, particularly in the early 1920s and then again in the 1930s. It was the kind of intellectual patronage which was best epitomised by men such as Sir Arthur Schuster, Sir Israel Gollancz and Otto Goldschmidt. Schuster served as vice-president (elected 1919) of the Royal Society and as its foreign secretary (elected 1920) until 1924. Gollancz remained secretary of the British Academy until his death in 1930.

In the 1930s, finally, the influx of émigré scholars, scientists and professional people from Nazi Germany had an influence on the arts and sciences in Britain which has not yet been fully assessed. Knowledge of their intellectual contribution to developments and innovations in the cultural and academic fields is still rather shadowy. Some outstanding examples of patronage are, of course, well known. Thus, the Warburg Institute was transferred by Fritz Saxl from Hamburg to London in 1934. The Wiener Library, a large collection of books and pamphlets on German and Jewish affairs, was brought to London in 1939 by Dr. Alfred Wiener. Further exploration of similar activities by Jewish emigrants from Germany and Austria to Britain is urgently needed – but that is another chapter.

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[53] Panikos Panayi, 'The Hidden Hand. British Myths about German Control of Britain during the First World War', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, 7 (1988), pp. 253–272; Stella Yarrow, 'The Impact of Hostility on Germans in Britain, 1914–1918', *ibid.*, 8 (1989), pp. 97–112; C. C. Aronsfeld, 'Jewish Enemy Aliens in England during the First World War', in *Jewish Social Studies*, 4 (1956), pp. 275–283; Camplin, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–290.

[54] *DNB 1931–1940*, p. 829.

KURT LIPSTEIN

The History of the Contribution to Law by German-speaking Jewish Refugees in the United Kingdom

To speak of the influence of any one lawyer upon the law and society of the country where he exercises his profession immediately raises a difficulty: unlike scientists, manufacturers and traders, lawyers leave no clear trace of their work and achievements. Some may live in their writings, but even then their influence is difficult to assess; some may influence the direction in which the courts interpret and apply the law, but even then their impact can often only be guessed; others may have toiled without any outward signs of their thoughts and exertions.

There exists another difficulty. As a result of the birth of modern national states, law and its practice have become closely linked to national and territorial boundaries, and the attempt to bridge this gap by immigrants from abroad, where different legal systems operate, has always met – and even does so now within the European Economic Community – with obstacles which can only be surmounted by dogged persistence coupled with a period of frugal apprenticeship. Therefore it is not surprising that in modern times the migration of lawyers – as distinct from books on law – who were able to continue to exercise their old craft in the new surroundings has not been significant. Scholars have remained more prominent than have pure practitioners, and it is noteworthy that in England, too, this phenomenon can be observed, stressed by the prominence of practitioners who engaged in extensive literary activities.

Before turning to the events after 1933 it may be proper to point to the careers of three prominent lawyers of foreign Jewish descent in the nineteenth century who obtained high office – Jessel, MR; Herschell, LC and Benjamin, QC. Two of these were born in England, one (Herschell) of immigrant parents. Sir George Jessel, MR (1824–1883) was the son of a substantial Jewish merchant in London. He quickly acquired a flourishing practice at the Bar as a member of Lincoln's Inn, became a Queen's Counsel in 1865 at the age of 41, a Liberal Member of Parliament in 1868, Solicitor-General in 1871 and Master of the Rolls (i. e. President of the Court of Appeal) in 1873 without having held judicial office previously. Widely read, especially in law, practical, quick in decision and impatient of delay, he bequeathed to posterity the saying: "I may be wrong, and sometimes I am, but I never have any doubts."

Farrer Herschell, first Baron Herschell (1837–1899) was born in England, the son of a Jewish immigrant whose parents lived in West Prussia (now Poland) and who converted in England and founded a Nonconformist congregation. Called to the Bar in 1860, aged twenty-three, by Lincoln's Inn, he took silk in 1872, became a Liberal Member of Parliament, Solicitor-General in 1889 and was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1886 and again from 1892–1895 in Gladstone's last two governments.

His contribution is regarded as formal, adverse to the play of equitable principles, encouraging legislation instead.

Judah Philip Benjamin (1811–1884) was the first of the modern line of refugee lawyers trained in another legal system. Born of British Jews who had emigrated to the West Indies, but had settled in North Carolina, he could therefore claim to be a British subject. He was called to the Bar in New Orleans in 1832 where the legal system was made up of an amalgam of Spanish, French and English law as applied in the United States. After a successful practical and political career, he became Attorney-General of the Confederation upon Secession in 1861 and subsequently Secretary of State for War. Upon the collapse of the Confederation, he fled to England, entered Lincoln's Inn in 1866 as a student, was dispensed from the obligation to seek a pupillage for a period of three years and was called to the Bar in the same year at the age of fifty-five. During his lean years he wrote his celebrated treatise on *Sale* (1868), now in its eleventh edition. He became a Queen's Counsel in 1872 and acquired a big practice,[1] especially before the Privy Council where his knowledge of other legal systems benefitted him greatly.

During the first part of the twentieth century, two experts on public international law exercised a decisive influence on the development and application of that subject in England. Lassa Francis Oppenheim (1858–1919) was born near Frankfurt a. Main. Having taught criminal law in Freiburg and Basle, he settled in England in 1895. After having been a lecturer at the London School of Economics from 1898 until 1908, he succeeded Westlake in the prestigious Whewell Chair of International Law at Cambridge. As author of what became for a long time the leading textbook on international law, as co-author of the *Manual of Military Law* (6th edn. 1914) and as a frequent consultant to the Foreign Office, his position was one of authority. So was that of Hersch Lauterpacht (1897–1960), born near Lwow (now in Poland), a graduate of Vienna and the London School of Economics. His LL.D. dissertation entitled *Private Law Sources and Analogies of International Law* (1927) is a classic. After lecturing at the London School of Economics he succeeded his teacher, Arnold (later Lord) McNair as Whewell Professor at Cambridge, where he built up a school of his own. After having acted as counsel in a number of famous international cases, and having published several books, the most influential of which was the seminal work on *International Law and Human Rights* (1950) in addition to editing a new edition of Oppenheim's *International Law. A Treatise* (8th edn. 1955), he was elected a Judge of the International Court of Justice as McNair's successor.

Those who came to England later in the twentieth century, especially after the Great Depression, found the going more difficult. Refugee scholars of high repute could hope to enjoy hospitality which would enable them to continue their studies, especially in Oxford and Cambridge. Martin Wolff (1872–1953), formerly professor in Berlin, an expert *inter alia* in private international law and comparative private law was given the opportunity to write a treatise on English *Private International Law* (2nd edn. 1950) treated from a comparative point of view, and in collaboration with

[1] See e. g., *USA v. McRae*, 4 Eq. 327; affd. (1867) 3 Ch. App. 79; *USA v. Wagner* (1867) 3 Eq. 724; affd. (1867) 2 Ch. App. 582; *The Franconia* (1876) 2 P. D. 8, (1877) 2 C. P. D. 173; *Debenham v. Mellon* (1880) 6 App. Cas. 24.

Arminjon and Nolde on comparative law in general (*Traité de Droit Comparé* [3 vols. 1950/1951]). His writings stimulated a less insular approach to the study of conflict of laws in England. Fritz Schulz's (1879–1957) *History of Roman Legal Science* (1946) introduced in England the recent trend of German students of Roman law to view its development in the social setting of individual jurists. Hermann Kantorowicz (1877–1940) continued his prolific output, culminating in his *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (1938) written in collaboration with W. W. Buckland, preceded by four articles between 1937 and 1939 which, together, completed his prolegomena to a planned *History of Legal Science* in Europe. Posthumously his discussion of *Bractonian Problems* (1941) showed his ability to extend his expertise to early English legal history. Fritz Pringsheim (1882–1967), the eminent scholar of Roman and Greek law, was similarly given the opportunity to continue his researches and contributed articles on 'Roman and English Law',[2] 'The Character of Justinian's Legislation'[3] and on 'Legal and Equitable Interest in Roman Law'.[4] Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy continued his studies in private international law and published a short book on *Renvoi in Modern English Law* (1937). Max Grünhut, who had held a chair of criminal law, offered a few contributions. Hermann Mannheim, who had to abandon an outstanding career as a member of the prestigious Faculty of Law in Berlin coupled with membership of the equally prestigious Court of Appeal in that town, turned to criminology, abandoning his previous interest in criminal law and procedure. He became a lecturer, and subsequently a reader in Criminology at the London School of Economics. The modern flowering of this subject owes much to his activity, subsequently taken up with immense vigour by Leon Radzinowicz (born 1906 in Poland), who founded the Institute of Criminology in Cambridge.[5]

Unlike the older legal scholars whose reputation preceded them to England and opened up for them the possibility of following their academic pursuits, the younger generation of lawyers, whether with an academic or a practical background, had to seek integration into the local legal system which differed *toto coelo* from that in which they had been brought up. New professional qualifications had to be acquired, often preceded by a course of academic studies. The number who followed this arduous course was small.

Legal historians and specialists in public international law formed the exception, but their number is probably limited to three: Arnold Ehrhardt, formerly a professor of law in Frankfurt, who became a lecturer in theology and ancient philosophy, David Daube (born 1909) and Georg Schwarzenberger (born 1908). Daube's meteoric career led him from a Fellowship at Gonville and Caius College and a lectureship at Cambridge to the Chair of Roman Law at Aberdeen, the Regius Professorship of Civil Law at Oxford and finally to the directorship of an institute in Berkeley (California). His publications straddle Roman law, classics and rabbinics in a dazzling presentation. His influence as a teacher throughout the world is borne

[2] *Cambridge Law Journal*, 5 (1935), p. 347.

[3] *Law Quarterly Review*, 56 (1940), p. 229.

[4] *Law Quarterly Review*, 59 (1943), p. 244; see also articles in *Tulane Law Review*, 19 (1944), p. 132; *Journal of Roman Studies*, 34 (1944), p. 60; *Seminar*, 4 (1946), p. 21.

[5] Radzinowicz is the author of *A History of English Criminal Law and its Administration from 1750*, 5 vols., London 1948–1986.

out by the *Festschrift* devoted to *Daube Noster*, recalling the admiration expressed by the jurists of the late Roman Empire for the law teacher in the time of Hadrian. Georg Schwarzenberger's reputation as a scholar versed in public international law was soon established through his writings and his editorship of a journal.

It is noteworthy that in the early years after their arrival, those keen to promote their progress by literary means still concentrated on expositions of the legal system in which they had been brought up, or one which was akin to it, thus introducing a comparative element, unusual at the time, slowly expanded to include English law. Among these feature prominently Ernst J. Cohn, Frederick Honig (born 1912), Fritz A. Mann (born 1907), Otto Kahn-Freund, Clive M. Schmitthoff (1903–1990) and Wolfgang G. Friedmann. Within two or three years the scene had shifted, and the same group of lawyers, enlarged by some others, had turned their attention to English law by focussing on aspects of particular current interest and by contributing annotations to recent decisions. The newly created *Modern Law Review*, administered mainly by teachers at the London School of Economics, provided the best forum. During and immediately following the war years the spheres of interest became marked, while annotations of judgments continued. W. Friedmann paid special attention to jurisprudence, public corporations and international law without abandoning his interest in the law of tort; F. A. Mann concentrated on matters of international, monetary and choice of law; J. Unger on English law in general; Kahn-Freund on labour law, family law and private international law; and E. J. Cohn on civil procedure and arbitration. Mann's fundamental *Legal Aspects of Money* (1938, 4th edn. 1982) and Breslauer's *The Private International Law of Succession in England, America and Germany* (1937) were the first major works in book form by members of this group to appear before the war.

The end of the war witnessed the publication of works on a larger scale by these and some others, some of which were either seminal or became standard works of reference. Among these authors figure Martin Wolff,[6] Schmitthoff,[7] E. J. Cohn,[8] O. Kahn-Freund,[9] F. A. Mann,[10] W. Friedmann,[11] Otto Prausnitz (Otto Charles

[6] Martin Wolff, *Private International Law*, 2nd edn., Oxford 1950.

[7] Clive M. Schmitthoff, *English Conflict of Law*, 3rd edn., London 1954; *Export Trade. The Law and Practice of International Trade*, 9th edn., London 1990; *Sale of Goods*, 2nd edn., London 1966; *Palmer's Company Law*, 23rd edn., London 1982; *Palmer's Company Law Cases*, London 1985; *Charlesworth's Mercantile Law*, 12th–14th edns., London 1972–1984; *Sources of the Law of International Trade*, London 1964; *Commercial Law in a Changing Economic Climate*, 2nd edn., London 1981; 'Agency in International Trade Law', in *Recueil des Cours, Académie de Droit International*, 129 (1980), pp. 109–203.

[8] Ernst J. Cohn, *Manual of German Law*, 2nd edn., New York 1968–1971.

[9] Otto Kahn-Freund, 'Legal Framework', in Flanders and Clegg, *The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain*, Oxford 1954; *idem*, *Law of Carriage of Inland Transport*, 4th edn., London 1965; *Labour Relations and the Law* (1965); *Law against Strikes* (1972); *Labour Relations, Heritage and Adjustment*, London 1979; *Labour and the Law*, Hamlyn Lectures 1972, 3rd edn. (1984); *idem* and Carl Renner (eds.), *Institutions of Private Law and their Social Functions*, London 1949; *Growth of Internationalism in English Private Law*, Jerusalem 1960; 'Delictual Liability and the Conflict of Laws', in *Recueil des Cours, Académie de Droit International*, 124 (1968), pp. 1–166; *General Principles of Private International Law* (1976); *Recueil des Cours, Académie de Droit International*, 143 (1974), pp. 141–474.

[10] F. A. Mann, *Legal Aspects of Money*, 4th edn., Oxford 1982; *Studies in International Law*, Oxford 1973; *Foreign Affairs in English Courts*, Oxford 1986; 'Money as a Matter of Domestic Jurisdiction', in *Recueil des Cours, Académie de Droit International*, 96 (1959), pp. 1–148; 'Conflict of Laws and Public Law', *ibid.*, 132 (1971), pp. 109–186; 'The Doctrine of International Jurisdiction Revisited after Twenty Years', *ibid.*, 186 (1984), pp. 12–115.

[11] Wolfgang G. Friedmann, *Law and Social Change in Contemporary Britain*, London 1951; *Law in a*

Giles)[12] and the prolific specialist in public international law, Georg Schwarzenberger.[13]

The ensuing decades are characterised by the increased activity and influence, through their writings, of this small band of lawyers who had persisted in turning their legal skills to new fields. Their output of articles, notes and reviews is impressive. Their participation in the development of English law became more marked. Otto Kahn-Freund and Kurt Lipstein[14] joined a team headed by J. H. C. Morris in editing and recasting Dicey's classical work on conflict of laws. Kahn-Freund, having re-worked Disney's *Law of Carriage by Inland Transport*, is principally remembered for what is probably not only his contribution to, but in fact the introduction of, labour law in the United Kingdom and its practical application, as a member of the Royal Commission on Labour Relations (Donovan Commission). He also devoted his talents to the exposition of private international law by his outstanding Hague lectures, to the theory and practice of comparative law by his inaugural lecture at Oxford (where he had been elected to the Chair of Comparative Law with an extended tenure beyond the retiring age) and to a casebook on French law, not to forget his contribution to the philosophy of law by his translation of Renner's *Institutions of Private Law and their Social Functions*.

Wolfgang Friedmann's activity in England came to an end when he moved to Australia, Canada and finally New York. He and Kahn-Freund introduced elements of sociology and economics into their legal research. Ernst Joseph Cohn combined a busy international practice with a highly sophisticated literary activity, especially by being one of the first to approach civil procedure comparatively.

Fritz Mann's impact is greatest on the treatment of money in an international context, followed by his elaborate and ingenious attempts to determine the practical aspects of the operation of foreign public law in the light of public international law. His influence was partly indirect through his writings and partly direct by his active conduct of cases involving an international element. This resulted in decisions of the House of Lords which constitute milestones in the development of English private international law;[15] admittedly he also suffered defeats.[16]

Changing Society, London 1959; *Legal Theory*, 4th edn., London 1960; *Changing Structure of International Law*, London 1964; *idem* (ed.), *State and the Rule of Law in a Mixed Economy*, London 1971; *Public and Private Enterprise in Mixed Economies*, London 1974.

[12] Otto Charles Giles (Prausnitz), *Standardization of Commercial Contracts in English and Continental Law*, London 1937; *idem* and Robert Samuel Theodore Chorley, *Shipping Law*, 7th edn., London 1980; *Slater's Mercantile Law*, 17th edn., London 1977; *Leading Cases on Mercantile Law*, 4th edn., London 1962; *Uniform Commercial Law. International Conventions in National Courts*, Leyden 1970.

[13] Georg Schwarzenberger, *International Law and Totalitarian Lawlessness*, London 1943; *Power Politics*, 3rd edn., London 1964; *International Law I*, 3rd edn., London 1957; *International Law II*, London 1968; *International Law III*, London 1976; *International Law IV*, London 1986; *Frontiers of International Law* (1962); *Inductive Approach to International Law*, London 1965; *Economic World Order. A Basic Problem of International Economic Law*, Manchester 1970; *Foreign Investment and International Law*, London 1969.

[14] See also, Kurt Lipstein, 'General Principles of Private International Law', in *Recueil des Cours, Académie de Droit International*, 135 (1971), pp. 99–229; *General Principles of Private International Law, National and International*, The Hague 1981; *The Law of the European Economic Community*, London 1974.

[15] See in particular, *Bank von Handel v. Slatford* (1953) 1 Q. B. 248; *National Bank of Greece v. Metliss* (1958) A. C. 508; *Adams v. National Bank of Greece* (1961) A. C. 255; *United Railways of Havana v. Regla Warehouse* (1961) A. C. 1007; *Carl Zeiss v. Rayner & Keeler* (1967) 1 A. C. 853; *Black Clawson v. Papierwerke Waldorf-Aschaffenburg* (1975) A. C. 591; *Williams and Humbert v. W. & H. Trademarks Ltd.* (1986) A. C. 368.

[16] *Wilson Smithett v. Teruzzi* (1976) Q. B. 703; *The Hollandia, The Morviken* (1983) A. C. 565.

Clive Schmitthoff's broad experience of commercial law and practice enabled him to occupy a leading position in the development and exposition of that subject. As a barrister Andrew Martin (born 1906) made a name for himself in arbitration; as a writer he was interested in the control of restrictive practices and monopolies and in law reform. This resulted in works written in collaboration with Gerald Gardiner (Lord Gardiner, LC) and in his appointment as a Law Commissioner. The present author's own activities were set out in his valedictory lecture.[17] They include participation in the elaboration of two international conventions – the United Nations Convention on the Recovery Abroad of Maintenance (1956) and the Hague Convention on the Administration of Estates of Deceased Persons (1973), the incorporation of the Maintenance Convention and its counterpart agreed upon in The Hague (1965) into the law of the United Kingdom and the introduction of EEC law into the curriculum of an English university long before the British Treaty of Accession.

It is difficult to make a complete assessment of the work of those who turned mainly to the practice of law. Not only E. J. Cohn and F. A. Mann combined scholarship with practice. Rudolf Graupner also contributed useful studies and Erwin Loewenfeld, who after a successful career in Berlin passed his English professional examinations in his late fifties, carried out a local practice until his international connections led him back to work of an international character.

Among the generation who received their higher education in England the most prominent are Sir Michael Kerr (born 1921) who, after having been the head of the most prestigious commercial chambers in London, became a member of the judiciary and as a Lord Justice of Appeal now presides over a division of the Court of Appeal; Brian Grant (born 1917) (Konrad Levin Goldschmidt), who was seriously wounded as a member of the Commandos and, after a career at the Bar (during which he published a useful little book on family law), became a County (Circuit) Court Judge; and Judge Honig whose literary work was mentioned before. Until his recent retirement, Karl Newman (born 1919) was a prominent member of the Lord Chancellor's Department. Günter Treitel (born 1928) occupies the Vinerian Chair of English Law at Oxford, while the late John Wilmers, QC (Hans Wilmersdoerffer) was a highly respected advocate, Recorder and Judge of Appeal in Jersey.

As stated at the beginning, the integration of foreign lawyers is difficult due to the national or territorial character of legal systems. The old craft and previous experience abroad count less than in the case of other professions. Nevertheless there is a fair measure of consensus that the arrival of lawyers from the Continent has affected English legal thinking. It has brought into prominence the comparative aspects of law among English lawyers whose concerns in the twentieth, as distinct from the nineteenth, century had been confined to the common law as practised in England, the Dominions and the United States of America. This is not to say that legal studies on a broader comparative basis had been entirely neglected. On the contrary, ancient law and legal anthropology had attracted much attention, but the comparison with modern civil law systems was limited to specialised bodies, and in the universities to one post, created in 1930, occupied by my teacher, friend and

[17] *Cambridge Law Journal*, 36 (1977), p. 47.

predecessor Professor H. C. Gutteridge, KC. It is the merit of the small band of immigrant lawyers in the 1930s to have given comparative legal studies a daily currency. The tragedy of this triumph is that they are not followed by a new generation with similar interests and that the ground gained may be lost again.

Paul K. Hoch

Some Contributions to Physics by German-Jewish Emigrés in Britain and Elsewhere

I cannot claim to be a German-Jewish émigré. Nor, as late as ten years ago, could I have claimed to know much about them.* Indeed the only time I recall hearing émigrés alluded to was in Charles Dickens's novel *A Tale of Two Cities*, and the émigrés he was talking about – from the French Revolution of the 1790s – were depicted as a far-from-desirable and not-at-all-creative lot. No doubt I also read Ronald Clark's biography of Einstein, and Robert Jungk's *Brighter than a Thousand Suns*, both describing in passing the contributions of refugee physicists to the war-time atomic bomb project. In the 1960s I also read Perry Anderson's then somewhat scandalous article in the *New Left Review* on 'The components of the national culture'. He insisted that intellectually conservative émigrés like Karl Popper and Isaiah Berlin had dominated virtually every area of twentieth-century British humanities and social sciences, with the exception of economics. The individual people and their political orientations were depicted as not very attractive.

In 1980 I was hired to be the Senior Fellow in Britain on an International Project on the History and Impact of Solid State Physics. This field grew out of the juncture of chemistry, physics, crystallography and metallurgy, starting in the 1930s. This research project had begun at a meeting in the Royal Society of London, at which a group of senior physicists and historians convened by Professor Sir Nevill Mott (himself a Nobel prize winner for his work in this field) outlined its main historical strands.[1] They also drew up a tentative list of the field's most eminent practitioners, and left it to me and my colleagues to undertake oral history interviews with these people, preparatory to writing up an 800-page history, *Out of the Crystal Maze. Chapters in the History of Solid State Physics*, which, after ten years, should be published shortly. In talking to such men as Sir Rudolf Peierls and Professor Hans Bethe, among others, the most amazing thing to me and my colleagues was that many of them spoke with German accents. Despite Anderson's innuendos about the British humanities and social sciences, and Jungk's ruminations on the atomic bomb project, I had never thought of Britain as a country of immigration. To me, as an American, UK universities and their Senior Common Rooms certainly seemed very "British", and I little dreamed that they might be filled with German-Jewish émigrés. But so it seemed to be, at least in relation to the pioneers of British solid state physics, which – in addition to Peierls and Bethe – included others of the stature of Max Born, Denis Gabor, Francis (Franz) Simon, Herbert Fröhlich, Kurt

* The author wishes to express his gratitude to the theoretical physicist Sir Nevill Mott, the social psychologist Marie Jahoda and the sociologist Edward Shils for some particularly valuable insights. An early version of this talk was presented in Tel-Aviv to the Bar-Hillel Colloquium in the History, Philosophy and Sociology of Science.

[1] Nevill Mott (ed.), *The Beginnings of Solid State Physics*, London 1980.

Mendelssohn, Nicholas Kurti, Moses Blackman, E. P. Wohlfarth, Fritz London, Ernst Helmut Sondheimer, Walther Heitler and Kurt Hoselitz. In America, the pioneers of the specialty included Bethe, Felix Bloch, Karl Lark-Horowitz (an early arrival from Vienna), Eugene Wigner, Roman Smoluchowski (a later arrival from Poland), the Hungarian Laszlo Tisza (who arrived by way of Paris) and Egon Orowan (who came from Budapest and Berlin by way of Birmingham and Cambridge).

In writing a history of this field, the immediate questions I had to deal with in terms of the émigrés of the 1930s from Germany and Central Europe were: were their contributions to solid state physics a peculiarity of that field? Or did they represent a creative element which was influential across a large range of disciplines? If the latter, how was one to explain it? Based on the allusions to their work in the consolidation of nuclear physics and in the building of the first nuclear reactors in Jungk's book, and in Margaret Gowing's multi-volume *Britain and Atomic Energy*, I quickly gathered that émigrés had been central in this field as well.[2] They included Bethe, Bloch, Wigner, Edward Teller (and his Soviet émigré colleague Georg Gamow), Victor Weisskopf, Leo Szilard, Otto Frisch and Maria Goeppert-Mayer. Particularly crucial were émigré nuclear theorists. (Apart from the Italian émigré Enrico Fermi's group at Columbia and Chicago, many of the nuclear experimenters were native-born Americans.)

Theoretical physics (especially the new quantum mechanics of Heisenberg, Born and Schrödinger) certainly seemed to fit the model of a specialty that was consolidated first in Germany – and partly German-speaking outposts in Copenhagen and Zürich – before its speeded-up transmission by predominantly German-Jewish émigré theorists after the rise of Nazism in the 1930s.[3] So, was I dealing with a process of cultural diffusion from Germany and Central Europe, in which the later achievement of the émigrés was to be explained simply by the superiority of German and German-speaking specialists even before their migration? Such an explanation seemed to have considerable relevance in explaining the German-Jewish émigré contributions to theoretical physics in Britain and America after 1933; in particular, to their application of their new quantum mechanics to the creation of a theory of the solid state of matter, of the atomic nucleus and to the problem of the origins of stellar energy in the proposed carbon cycle of the stars. But Bethe's incredible solution to this last problem was only made possible by his increasing involvement in nuclear physics – and in the understanding of nuclear reactions – in association with M. Stanley Livingston, one of the builders of the first cyclotrons, after Bethe's migration to Cornell in America. At Munich and Tübingen he had worked mainly with Arnold Som-

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[2] Roger Stuewer, 'Nuclear Physics in the New World', in *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 7 (1984), pp. 23–40; Charles Weiner, 'A New Site for the Seminar', in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (eds.), *The Intellectual Migration. Europe and America, 1930–1960*, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, pp. 190–234; Laura Fermi, *Atoms in the Family*, Chicago 1954.

[3] Paul Hoch, 'The Reception of Central European Refugee Physicists of the 1930s. USSR, UK, USA', in *Annals of Science*, 40 (1983), pp. 217–246; Robin Rider, 'Alarm and Opportunity. Emigration of Mathematicians and Physicists to Britain and the United States', in *Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences*, 15 (1985), pp. 101–176; Weiner, *loc. cit.*; Max Born, *My Life*, London 1978; Rudolf Peierls, *Bird of Passage*, Princeton 1986.

merfeld on a theory of the solid state, and had done little or nothing in the nuclear area.

Robert Olby's remarkable book on the pre-history of molecular biology[4] showed me clearly that, though German émigrés like Max Delbrück had been searching for the physical mechanisms of genetic transmission from the mid-thirties, the way had been immensely complicated. In his review of the Olby book, the Austro-Czech-Hungarian émigré Mikulas Teich pointed out that the eventual success of the double helix model required not only the knowledge of the Delbrück-Luria group, generated in Berlin and after, but also other crucial contributions generated at Columbia, California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech), the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and Cambridge, among other places, by biochemists, crystallographers, geneticists and others.[5] There was simply no single path to the double helix: the knowledge required for its solution was generated in many different places, and only gradually came together, culminating in the work of Watson and Crick in Cambridge in the 1950s. Watson was of course Salvador Luria's research student, had attended the "phage group" summer schools organised by Delbrück and Luria at Cold Spring Harbour.[6] Crick was a physicist who had turned to crystallography, working in the same laboratory in which J. D. Bernal and his student, the Austrian expatriate Max Perutz, who had pioneered the techniques of X-ray protein crystallography to unravel the structures of complex organic molecules. With the aid of their occasional visits to Rosalind Franklin's laboratory at King's College London – where these techniques were being applied to the experimental examination of DNA – the main building blocks of an explanation suddenly became available. But neither the result, nor the underlying theory, could in any sense be held to have been simply transmitted.[7]

Upon reflection, the same seemed to be the case in the overwhelming majority of the post-1933 discoveries in which German émigrés had been involved. No doubt, many of these owed a considerable debt to their intellectual formation in Germany and other centres of continental Europe. But other pieces for the eventual solution of their puzzles were usually gathered by many other people in diverse places, including Britain and America. Quite often I found that it was only in direct face-to-face interaction with some of the these people – like Stanley Livingston in Bethe's case, or Thomas Hunt Morgan's genetics group at Cal Tech in Delbrück's – that the émigrés were able to make their stupendous contributions.[8] The necessity for such face-to-face interactions for the transmission of knowledge from one scientific generation to another was pointed out in the 1960s by a Hungarian refugee from Budapest and Berlin, Michael Polanyi.[9] He took up a chair in physical chemistry at

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[4] Robert Olby, *The Path to the Double Helix*, London 1974; Donald Fleming, 'Emigré Physicists and the Biological Revolution', in Fleming and Bailyn (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 152–189.

[5] Mikulas Teich, 'A Single Path to the Double Helix?', in *History of Science*, 13 (1975), pp. 264–283.

[6] Salvador Luria, *A Slot Machine. A Broken Test Tube. An Autobiography*, New York 1984.

[7] Pnina Abir-Am, 'Themes, Genres and Orders of Legitimation in the Consolidation of a New Discipline. Deconstructing the Historiography of Molecular Biology', in *History of Science*, 23 (1985), pp. 73–117.

[8] Paul Hoch, 'Migration and the Generation of New Scientific Ideas', in *Minerva*, 25 (1987), pp. 209–237.

[9] Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge. Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy*, London 1958; *idem*, *The Tacit Dimension*, London 1967.

Manchester in 1933 and after the Second World War applied his previous experience to developing a theory of tacit knowledge. This was based on a view of science, both theoretical and experimental, as a kind of craft that apprentices learn at the benches (and on the blackboards) of their masters. I was eventually able to apply this to the face-to-face interactions of scientists of the same generation, including their communication to one another of the various pieces of scientific (including tacit) knowledge necessary to create a new scientific synthesis,[10] a change in the scientific *Gestalt* (as the philosopher Norwood Russell Hanson called it).[11] This is more than a transmission or diffusion of knowledge – as the Soviet émigré Petirim Sorokin conceived it in his monumental four-volume account of cultural diffusion, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. This is because such interactions create the possibility of a new scientific synthesis, not present in the prior knowledge of either of the parties to the interaction. Such a possibility is tremendously enhanced – though still only a remote eventuality – when the two interacting scientists have been trained in different scientific cultures, which have perhaps created different pieces of foundational scientific knowledge. In many of the examples I was able to examine from the 1930s, the key interactions – such as that between Bethe and Livingston at Cornell, or between the theoretical physicist Rudolf Peierls and his colleague in nuclear experiments Marcus Oliphant at Birmingham – represented a synthesis between "German" theory and a strongly developed Anglo-American tradition of experimentation. This was also important in the social and behavioural sciences – for example in the interaction of the German gestaltists with American experimentally-orientated behaviourists.

The Emigré as Bridge-builder

There seem to be at least four reasons for the importance of the émigrés of the 1930s in some key scientific specialties – including some they helped create (like solid state, nuclear and the new astro-physics) in the early years after their emigration. Firstly, in most disciplines, particularly those involving broad theoretical perspectives – such as theoretical physics or chemistry – continental European scholarship (particularly in the German language) was still pre-eminent right up to the Nazi dismissals of 1933. Secondly, in their interactions with their new native colleagues, the émigrés – in order to function in their new environments – had to translate their previous approaches into the scientific idiom of their new surroundings. This quite often involved them in combining different approaches – for example, "German" theory with "Anglo-American" experimentalism – which occasionally paved the way for important new syntheses.

Thirdly, in order to obtain academic posts in Britain and America, especially in the depressed conditions of the 1930s, refugees often had to side-step the established disciplinary hierarchies. Quite often they found themselves in interdisciplinary

[10] Hoch, 'Migration...', *loc. cit.*; *idem*, 'Institutional versus Intellectual Migrations in the Nucleation of New Scientific Specialties', in *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science*, 18 (1987), pp. 481–500.

[11] Norwood R. Hanson, *Patterns of Discovery. An Inquiry into the Conceptual Foundations of Science*, Cambridge 1958; Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago 1962.

areas for which they had, or developed, unique qualifications. In this way they could frequently avoid the charge that their appointment was excluding a native applicant. For example, the physicist turned physical chemist (e. g. James Franck) or "applied mathematician" (e. g. Peierls), or the chemistry student turned crystallographer (e. g. Perutz).

Finally, established research specialities and disciplines are usually constrained by notions of what it is and is not permissible to do. It has been argued by Mulkay that major innovations are usually brought about by the "migration" of outsiders into the new subject areas.[12] These migratory outsiders are occasionally eminent practitioners in their own right, perhaps sprung loose by political upheavals, and with slightly different cultural and disciplinary orientations. In this case some of them may have been uniquely qualified to help initiate the far-reaching changes necessary for the growth of new ideas in their adopted countries. Major scientific changes, often associated with the growth of new technologies, hence seem to arise not just by small increments of discovery, but by the development of a new speciality often between disciplines: a new approach, allowing a problem to "recrystallise" in a new way.

In 1928 the sociologist Robert Park described the potential contributions of the "cultural hybrid" (or "marginal man") who is partly inside and partly outside the scope of the dominant social norm.[13] A parallel may perhaps be drawn with the potential contributions of the émigré or expatriate scientist or scholar, who belongs partly to a universal scientific culture and partly to the different national scientific cultures which he must then combine. Few perhaps are capable of making such a bridge, but the potential contributions of those who can are sometimes enormous.

New Frameworks

This impetus for newly emerging conceptual frameworks from the colonising forays of émigré theoretical physicists and mathematicians is seen most obviously in Delbrück's successful invasion of biology. It is also evident in physicists taking into their own discipline problems and subject matters which would previously have been considered, if at all, by mathematicians (in the case of Anglo-American theoretical physics itself) or by chemists (in the case of the bulk of what became solid state physics). There was in the 1930s also a significant movement of refugee chemists into biology, with many being forced to take jobs as biochemists in medical research (in some cases in hospital laboratories), which was to help make biochemistry virtually a new discipline separate from either chemistry or biology.

The rise of various key and newly emerging interdisciplinary specialities in the natural sciences was thus in part the result of attempts by Central European émigrés to carve out niches for themselves by demonstrating the mathematical basis of

[12] *Ibid.*; Michael Mulkay, 'Conceptual Displacement and Migration in Science. A Prefatory Paper', in *Science Studies*, 4 (1974), pp. 205–234; *idem*, *The Social Process of Scientific Innovation*, London 1972.

[13] Robert Park, 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man', in *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (1928), pp. 881–892; Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man. A Study in Personality and Culture*, 2nd edn., New York 1961.

physics, the physical basis of chemistry, and the physical and chemical basis of life. This led on through biochemistry and the phage group and Perutz's protein crystallography to molecular biology, biotechnology and genetic engineering.

Something similar happened in the social sciences, though it was not quite as successful. For example, there was the post-emigration foray of the mathematical physicist John (Johann) von Neumann and his Austrian economist colleague Oskar Morgenstern into political theory. Their "game theory" became the framework for an influential and widely used approach to political decision-making and international strategy. Likewise, Karl Deutsch, originally trained in mathematics and optics, eventually became the prime exponent in America of "systems theory" as applied to political science and social communication. Even more influential was the synthesis created by the Austrian applied mathematician Paul Lazarsfeld, who virtually became the founding father of American quantitative social research. In Britain the major 1930s exponent of the application of mathematics to the social sciences was the Soviet (and later German) refugee Jacob Marschak, who was to pioneer the synthesis of mathematics and economics popularly known as "econometrics". (He later emigrated to America.) More recently, the most successful British practitioner of the synthesis of statistics and sociology has been another refugee who came to England as a child and is now Warden of Wadham College Oxford, Sir Claus Moser. From the 1920s, efforts to place both the natural and the social sciences on a more mathematical basis were strongly supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Some Unrealised Contributions

Of course in pointing to the contributions of the most successful émigrés I may have misleadingly given the impression that it was all plain sailing. It also gives the false impression that the German-Jewish refugees were welcomed with open arms, which does less than justice to the difficulties of their position and that of the numerous others who were prevented by social barriers and discrimination from making significant contributions. Nevertheless, and despite all the various obstacles in their path, as the American intellectual historian H. Stuart Hughes has noted, the migration of continental European émigré intellectuals "has finally become visible as the most important cultural event – or series of events – of the second quarter of the twentieth century".[14] The same might of course be said for the migration to Britain, both with regard to the refugee scholars absorbed into British universities – and also for those who were not absorbed and went on to make their contributions elsewhere, especially in America. For example, a partial listing of the most outstanding émigré or expatriate physicists holding for the most part short-term visiting posts in Britain, at one time or another in the 1930s, might include:

Hans Bethe	Kasimir Fajans	Bruno Rossi
Max Born	Otto Frisch	Erwin Schrödinger
Richard Courant	Maurice Goldhaber	Francis Simon
Max Delbrück	Gerhard Herzberg	Leo Szilard

[14] H. Stuart Hughes, *The Sea Change. The Migration of Social Thought, 1930–65*, New York 1975, p. 1.

Albert Einstein	Leopold Infeld	Edward Teller
P. P. Ewald	Fritz London	Victor Weisskopf
Immanuel Estermann	Rudolf Peierls	Eugene Wigner

Of these twenty-one particularly outstanding physicists no fewer than seventeen (all except Born, Frisch, Peierls and Simon) were to re-emigrate from Britain, for the most part because they were simply unable to obtain permanent British posts. Subsequently, no less than fifteen obtained such posts in America. Moreover, of the seventeen re-émigrés from Britain, no less than thirteen were primarily orientated towards the development of mathematical or theoretical physics rather than the rigours of laboratory experiment (during a period in which British physics as a whole had a predominantly opposite orientation). Without dwelling too much on the percentage of re-émigrés – since with a different list it would undoubtedly change – it is undeniable that the re-emigration of people of this calibre had permanent effects on the scientific community in this country, and was to be part and parcel of a general transfer of the main centres of world science from Europe to America. In the end, the crucial difference between Britain and America in this respect may be that, for whatever complex historical reasons, the rising American industrial capitalism of the 1920s and 1930s possessed the resources and the inclination to expand greatly its higher education system, physics departments and outside industrial laboratories to a degree far beyond our capacity (and inclinations), thereby making possible as part of this general expansion process the permanent absorption in America of far larger numbers of Central European scientists than any other country. The Soviet Union in this regard did even worse than Britain, expelling almost all of its refugee scholars in the Stalinist purges of the later 1930s.[15]

One of the most outstanding refugee theorists to be absorbed into this country, Sir Rudolf Peierls, has recalled for me the university environment which he associates with the conditions of economic depression of the thirties. He remembers it as a time "when it was hard to get support for new schemes. The universities, at least in Britain, were static and there were very few new posts, so that vacancies occurred [almost] only through resignations, retirement or death." In an interview with the American Institute of Physics, Sir John Cockcroft pointed out that even at the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge, "there was a very limited number of jobs... [and] whenever positions became vacant, there were a lot of [local] young people about who'd be appointed... So it wasn't very easy to fit a large number of refugees into the Cavendish at that time. I think that was part of the trouble."[16]

Nevertheless, with the help of outside charitable funding, channelled principally through what was then called the Academic Assistance Council (AAC), a large number of refugee scholars obtained temporary research fellowships at Cambridge and at other British universities. The UK, perhaps more than any other country, was thus able to provide short-term support to large numbers of intellectual émigrés,[17] including physicists, even if lack of permanent employment oppor-

[15] Hoch, 'The Reception...', *loc. cit.*, pp. 219–222.

[16] Peierls to the author, 6th November 1982; American Institute of Physics (hereafter AIP) interview with Sir John Cockcroft, 28th March 1967, p. 9, available at the AIP's Niels Bohr Library in New York.

[17] William Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning*, Oxford etc. 1959; Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists 1933–1952*, The Hague 1953; Helge Prösse, *Die deutsche akademische Emigration nach den Vereinigten Staaten*, Berlin 1955; Gerhard

tunities eventually encouraged a majority to move on elsewhere. Many were too discouraged by the limited job prospects to come to Britain at all. Both groups included in their ranks many of the most prominent German, Spanish, Italian, Austrian, Czech, Polish and Hungarian physicists who, one would have thought, would have been the first to be accepted into British physics. As we have seen, those re-emigrating from Britain at various times in this period included Albert Einstein (who was at Christ Church, Oxford in 1932 before going on to the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton); Erwin Schrödinger (who left a five-year post at Magdalen College, Oxford[18] after only three years to take up a professorship at the University of Graz in Austria, before going on to the newly-founded Dublin Institute for Advanced Study); Hans Bethe (who was able to obtain only short-term visiting posts at Manchester and Bristol, before taking up what was to be a permanent post at Cornell in America); and Fritz London (possibly the most prominent low temperature theorist of the day, who in 1936 left Oxford for Paris upon the termination of his Imperial Chemical Industries [ICI] supported fellowship, quickly obtaining a permanent American post at Duke). A much larger number of dismissed Central European physicists appeared on AAC lists of "availables" but were not successful in obtaining any British post. Of a total of 165 refugee physicists appearing in the refugee organisation's files, indicating that the AAC was at some point contacted about the possibilities of their obtaining British posts, only 67 (about 40%) are definitely known to have come to this country; only three (about 2%) obtained permanent academic posts here before the Second World War, another 43 (about 24%) obtained various temporary (mostly research) posts in this period; of whom another sixteen (about 10%) obtained permanent academic posts in this country after the war. Of the 67 who came here in the 1930s, no less than 32 (almost 48%) subsequently re-emigrated to posts abroad.

One of these re-émigrés, at least indirectly, was a man who would develop into one of the most outstanding theoretical physicists in America, Victor Weisskopf. In the thirties he held a succession of temporary posts at Copenhagen, Cambridge and the *Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule* in Zürich, before going on to Rochester in America. He later told an interviewer for the American Institute of Physics[19] that if he had received an offer with any degree of permanence, he would happily have stayed in Britain, "simply because it was nearer and it was a big transition to go to America". Indeed he insisted, "the English had a very short-sighted policy toward refugees. Gosh, what they could have gotten at that time for nothing."[20] Even so, he obtained only a temporary instructorship at Rochester initially; "this was a period when Jewish refugees hadn't much to choose from". The nuclear physicist Leon Rosenfeld, who worked in Niels Bohr's group at Copenhagen, recalled that: "The English were unable to absorb people", and attributed this to "a lack of imagination of the administrators of the universities".[21] Maurice Goldhaber, who worked as a

Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain, Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Span, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1984.

[18] Paul Hoch and Edward Yoxen, 'Schrödinger at Oxford. A Hypothetical National Cultural Synthesis which Failed', in *Annals of Science*, 44 (1987) pp. 593–616.

[19] AIP interview with Weisskopf, 21st September 1966, pp. 12–14.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] AIP interview with Rosenfeld, 3rd September 1968, p. 32.

research fellow with Ernest Rutherford at Cambridge in the mid-thirties, remembers that his next post "would have had to be a real job – either a lecturer or demonstrator (as they called it) and they just didn't have these positions... [T]hey didn't have enough room. Maybe they were a little blind."[22] Another who sought a post in Britain was the Director of the Institute of Metals in Warsaw, Roman Smoluchowski, who in late 1939 wrote to Professors W. L. Bragg, C. G. Darwin and G. P. Thomson about various British possibilities. Bragg was quite willing to admit him to the Cavendish Laboratory, but a grant request to the British Iron and Steel Institute was turned down, apparently because, as one industrialist wrote to Bragg, "we do not regard these Central Europeans as entirely reliable from the National point of view".[23] Within a few months Smoluchowski had gone on to an appointment at Princeton.

Integration into the top ranks of British physics was generally much easier for those foreign-born scholars who were English-speaking members of what has since been called the White Commonwealth. Ernest Rutherford himself was a New Zealander who obtained his first professorship in Canada, and his successor as Director of the Cavendish Laboratory, W. L. Bragg, was born and raised in Australia. Others originally from Australia moving into British professorships in the 1930s include Marcus Oliphant at Birmingham and Harrie Massey at University College, London. Of course, until the Commonwealth Immigration Acts of the 1960s, such men were regarded simply as "British subjects", entitled to all rights of what we would today call citizenship, including more or less equal treatment on the academic employment market. But this, unfortunately, worked to the disadvantage of any continental refugees who might wish to be considered. Integration into British physics was, if anything, most difficult in the lower teaching ranks, where there were few posts and much competition from British students. The AAC (and its successor the Society for Protection of Science and Learning [SPSL]) strongly discouraged the established refugee scholars it dealt with from competing for such junior posts. A case in point was Fritz London, who at the end of his fellowship at Oxford was considering applying for a post at the University College of Hull. The AAC contacted his friend and sponsor Szilard and pointed out in no uncertain terms that, "if German scientists with senior qualifications compete for these junior posts it will be regarded by British graduates and other members of staff as unfair competition... an abuse of the displaced scholar's circumstances and would be an unfair act against younger British competitors".[24] In the face of such reasoning, London did not apply for the Hull post, and in fact left the country shortly thereafter. Schrödinger, whom Sir Karl Popper in his memoirs recalls as being very unhappy with the level of theoretical physics at Oxford, also left Britain in the same period. Szilard followed not long after.

Both London and Schrödinger had been supported under a special ICI programme for refugee scientists which, according to the memorandum establishing it, had "a view to their expert knowledge being applied in English laboratories and

[22] AIP interview with Goldhaber, 10th January 1967, p. 20.

[23] Industrialist's letter to Bragg, 22nd February 1940, in Roman Smoluchowski file, Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (hereafter SPSL), Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[24] AAC General Secretary to Leo Szilard, 19th December 1935, in Fritz London file, SPSL.

universities where their particular specialties are inadequately represented".[25] By 1935 the programme involved at least eighteen prominent refugee scientists in physics and chemistry at several British universities. At Oxford, F. A. Lindemann, who had interested ICI in the first place, argued strongly for the programme's extension, noting that several of the men involved had been offered senior appointments abroad, including Schrödinger who had been offered a professorship at Princeton. Others "would have no difficulty in finding similar positions", he insisted, adding: "Indications are not wanting that other countries are waking up to the importance of highly scientific guidance as a factor of efficiency, and if we wish to retain the services of those whom we are now assisting, it would seem necessary to increase to some extent the security of tenure"[26] (and suggested fellowships of at least five years duration). Not only was this not acceptable, but the whole scheme was gutted. Moreover, although a number of refugee scientists obtained posts in British industry – including most notably Denis Gabor at Thompson-Houston – in the latter part of the decade, because of what was seen as government sensitivity to employing foreigners (and especially "enemy aliens") comparatively few were able to maintain continuous industrial employment.

I do not believe the major barriers to British integration of the refugees stemmed from racial or religious prejudice, though the idea that first preference for jobs should be given to natives (and other British subjects) may well have played a role. Peierls in one of his interviews recalled that both he and Bethe in 1933 were passed over for a fairly low-ranking demonstrator post at Cambridge (though he emphasises that Trinity College established a special fellowship for refugees, which went to the mathematician Hans Heilbronn). After Bethe subsequently obtained a one-year replacement post at Manchester, Peierls also received a very encouraging note from the professor there, then W. L. Bragg, about his chances for a second post. Bragg, however, then wrote a second letter noting that Peierls could not be given this other post because "there was too much resistance in the University to giving jobs to foreign nationals when there was in fact so much unemployment amongst academic people in England", an argument Peierls recalls being voiced in the newspapers when Manchester earlier gave a chair in physical chemistry to another refugee, Michael Polanyi.[27] Such arguments against the hiring of refugees were indeed quite common during the whole Depression period both in Britain and America, and Bethe even recalls them being mobilised a year later (without much effect) to try to block his appointment at Cornell.[28] Peierls subsequently obtained a temporary research fellowship at Manchester under the sponsorship of a local academic refugee organisation.

Unfortunately, it is all too clear from the debates of this period that support for this kind of temporary fellowship did not necessarily imply support for permanent positions. Selig Brodetsky, Professor of Applied Mathematics at Leeds University, who served on the executive committee of the ACC and also served as Chairman of

[25] 'Memorandum on the employment of foreign scientists', pp. 2–4, in file D. 96, Cherwell Papers, Nuffield College, Oxford.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] AIP interview with Peierls, 13th August 1969, pp. 5–6; Imperial War Museum (IWM), Refugee tape 4772-04, interview with Peierls; Peierls to the author, *loc. cit.*

[28] Katherine Sopka, *Quantum Physics in America, 1920–35*, New York 1981, pp. 4.30 and 4.105.

the Board of Deputies of British Jews, recalls, in his *Memoirs*, a meeting of the Council of the Association of University Teachers (AUT) during that period at Exeter:

"I moved a resolution from the Leeds branch welcoming academic refugees at British universities. Some members of the Association saw that as a danger to themselves. They were afraid of sacrificing their own chances of promotion out of charity to others."[29]

And in the end only a resolution emphasising the specifically temporary nature of the accommodation was passed:

"That the AUT is ready to co-operate with a view to the temporary accommodation... for teachers deprived of their posts in German universities... it being understood that such facilities be provided of our moneys made specially available and that the usual channels of promotion in the profession be not thereby affected."[30]

Bethe, in his various interviews, has recalled that though he felt very welcome in England, he found integration much easier in America. In particular, "England had been used to having Englishmen and Commonwealth people in its universities. So we refugees were a rather foreign element... whereas America had been a country of immigrants from the beginning." In a 1934 letter to the director of the physics laboratory at Bristol, Bethe noted that he felt he had to accept the Cornell offer because, "although I would have preferred to remain in England, I believe it would be very difficult to get a permanent post in your country".[31]

Max Perutz, an Austrian expatriate who worked in J. D. Bernal's crystallography laboratory at the Cavendish in this period, remembers being somewhat surprised at the number of his fellow scientists who were avowed Communists. On the other hand, he told an interviewer for the Imperial War Museum refugees project, "in the colleges and among the wealthy people, Hitler was regarded as a bulwark against Communism and Jewish stories of Nazi atrocities as propaganda". Perutz, along with the young Hermann Bondi, was also to be one of the almost 27,000 overwhelmingly Jewish refugees interned in camps as "enemy aliens" in 1940, a number which included a very high percentage of the refugee scholars. Peierls, whose brother was interned on the Isle of Man, recalls the general internment as "a panic measure done with remarkable insensitivity and pointlessness".[32] Another not insignificant result of the internment was the transportation of the young Austrian refugee, Walter Kohn, to a camp in Canada, from where he resumed his studies, later becoming among the most prominent of American solid state theorists. Another sent to Canada, amidst much bitterness, was a then member of Max Born's group at Edinburgh, Klaus Fuchs.

Granting the special anxieties caused by the war and the earlier Depression, it is clear that the main barrier against large-scale permanent integration of refugee physicists in Britain, at least as compared to America, was structural and sociologi-

[29] Seelig Brodetsky, *Memoirs. From Ghetto to Israel*, London 1961, p. 161.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Bethe to the author, 22nd December 1961; Jeremy Bernstein, 'Master of the Trade', in *The New Yorker*, 3rd December 1969, p. 100; AIP interview with Bethe, 27th–28th October 1966, p. 16; Bethe to A. M. Tyndall, 10th September 1934, in Bristol University Physics Department Archives, kindly made available to me by Professor Norman Thompson.

[32] IWM, refugee tape 4645-03, interview with Max Perutz; and 4772-04 (Peierls).

cal. The British university physics community and the university community generally were quite small in Britain compared to America. This was a situation reflecting not a law of nature, but the relatively circumscribed social functions of British universities in what was then quite openly proclaimed to be an élite society. The universities of that period saw it as their main function to condition that élite, and there was comparatively little of the creed – then coming in at American state universities – of higher education for the masses. The percentage of Britons aged, say, between eighteen and twenty-two in higher education was (and is) small compared to America and the Soviet Union. Even today – after the fiercely debated Robbins expansion of the sixties – it is only about one third of that in the USA, USSR or Japan. In a climate like that of the thirties, geared much more exclusively to the social conditioning of the élite (and not necessarily in any narrow academic terms), it was implicitly clear that foreigners had comparatively little to offer. It is only with the belated hindsight of our present-day much more meritocratic and research-orientated rationales for the university that the non-integration of the world's most eminent scholars seems somewhat astounding. At the time it was regarded as a matter of course: though they might be regarded as objects of pity, the magnitude of their potential contribution took a very long time to penetrate. Indeed physics itself was only able to bring home to the public the magnitude of its own contribution to national welfare with the radar and atomic weapons programmes of the war-time forties.

It should also be remembered that, back in the early 1930s, British physics was still heavily concentrated in Cambridge and – despite Rutherford's nominal presidency of the AAC – the Cavendish Laboratory's Director consistently opposed increasing the concentration of refugee physicists at any one centre (including his own) because of the possibility of arousing an antisemitic backlash. (Then, as now, the main cause of anti-immigrant sentiment was assumed to be the presence of immigrants.) For example, when the refugee Walter Heitler proposed taking up his AAC fellowship at Cambridge, he was advised by the AAC that this would be impossible as they had heard from Rutherford that "some of the Cambridge departments are rather anxious to avoid the dangers which may come from too great a concentration of foreign scholars in one place".[33] The AAC even went so far as to warn the Bristol physics laboratory which employed Heitler that, except for a postgraduate seminar in his speciality for which no suitable British candidate might be found, refugee scholars on AAC fellowships were in general to be excluded from teaching "in order not in any way to injure the interests of British university teachers whose work might be injured if German scientists supported from outside sources undertook duties which they themselves would otherwise have to discharge".[34] Though the coming of the refugees did a good deal to strengthen the British physics community in important new centres, especially low temperature physics at Oxford, and mathematical physics at Bristol, Edinburgh and Birmingham, the high degree of centralisation still present in the 1930s, as well as the predominant orientation towards experiment, both worked to retard the absorption of greater numbers (at least in contrast to the much greater opportunities

[33] Letters in the Walter Heitler file, SPSL.
[34] *Ibid.*

offered at geographically diverse American state universities and technological institutes, as well as such up-and-coming new physics centres as Duke, Stanford, Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT], Purdue, George Washington and Notre Dame).

Remarkably enough, the Academic Assistance Council – which included such leaders of British physics as Rutherford and Sir William Bragg – actively encouraged the re-emigration of many eminent academic refugees, including physicists, to what they saw as more permanent posts in America. The AAC even went so far as to pay their travelling expenses for lecture tours designed to make job contacts, sometimes in direct opposition to the main American academic refugee committee (the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars) which was often wary of attracting too many European competitors onto the American job market. In a 1939 article in *Queen's Quarterly*, the General Secretary of the SPSL openly proclaimed that, "Great Britain, in this matter, is one of the several clearing-house countries: the United States is the main terminal country".[35] And this is indeed the way it worked out, with serious consequences for the subsequent development of British science and technology which we are only just beginning to grasp. To this day, Britain (despite some honourable exceptions like Peierls and Nevill Mott) remains seriously deficient in relation to both the USA and the USSR in theoretical physics. If only those refugee theorists passing through Cambridge in the spring of 1933 had been given permanent appointments, the whole balance of world physics could have been substantially different.

[35] David C. Thomson, 'The United States and the Academic Exiles', in *The Queen's Quarterly* (Summer 1939), p. 215.

PAUL WEINDLING

The Contribution of Central European Jews to Medical Science and Practice in Britain, the 1930s–1950s

Although Great Britain received substantial numbers of medical refugees from Central Europe, there has been no study of the medical practitioners and scientists who emigrated and of their impact on British society. It has been estimated that between 1,080 and 1,200 Jewish doctors emigrated from Germany (and Austria) to Britain as a result of Nazism, but exact numbers are not known.[1] We lack an analysis of the medical migration by specialism, age, gender and locality. Although there has been some research on medical antisemitism in Germany and Austria, there have been no attempts to assess the migration of German-speaking Jews from other Central European countries (notably Czechoslovakia) to Britain. The experience of family dependants has been overlooked, and it is necessary to establish how many of the younger emigrants embarked on a medical or medically-related career. While there have been accounts of scientific refugees in the physical sciences, equivalent studies for the life sciences and medicine have not been undertaken, even though major areas of scientific activity such as physiology, psychiatry, pharmacology and microbiology received substantial numbers of refugee researchers.[2] Studies have given extensive prominence to research scientists. It is necessary to reconstruct the experiences of the greater numbers of medical and dental practitioners, as well as professional and public responses in the receiving country.[3] Just as the medical emigration has been approached through analysing social tensions within Germany, professional and public attitudes in Britain of the 1930s have to be taken into account in evaluating the reception of the refugees.[4]

Since the mid-nineteenth century, German and Austrian medicine gained an outstanding reputation as leading the world in standards of scientific excellence, clinical diagnosis and therapy. Jewish doctors contributed much to advances in medical science.[5] Despite difficulties in obtaining an academic post, unless one converted, there was a particularly high proportion of Jewish practitioners in public

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[1] For the statistics of refugee Jewish doctors and their scientific interests, see Hans-Peter Kröner, 'Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Mediziner im Nationalsozialismus', in *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 12 (1989), *Sonderheft*, pp. 22*, 27*, 42*.

[2] A less substantial quantitative study focusing on the academic élite is: P. Schneck, 'Zur Frage des Exils von Wissenschaftlern deutscher medizinischer Fakultäten in der Zeit des Faschismus. Eine quantitative Untersuchung', in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Hygiene*, 31 (1985), pp. 306–309.

[3] I know of no study on German dental practitioners as refugees. For Austrian dentists see Michael Hubenstorf, 'Österreichische Ärzte-Emigration', in Friedrich Stadler (ed.), *Vertriebene Vernunft I. Emigration und Exil österreichischer Wissenschaft 1930–1940*, Vienna–Munich 1987, pp. 359–416.

[4] Stephan Leibfried and Florian Tennstedt, *Berufsverbote und Sozialpolitik 1933*, Bremen 1979; Michael H. Kater, 'Physicians in Crisis at the End of the Weimar Republic', in Peter D. Stachura (ed.), *Unemployment and the Great Depression in Weimar Germany*, Basingstoke 1986, pp. 49–74.

[5] Bruno Kisch, 'Forgotten Leaders in Modern Medicine. Valentin, Gruby, Remak and Auerbach', in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, vol. XLIV, Part 2, Philadelphia 1954, pp. 141–317.

health and related areas such as paediatrics, venereology and occupational health. Sigmund Freud, who began as a researcher in physiology, and moved via neurology into psychotherapy, is a classic example of how Jewish practitioners were able to adapt scientific approaches to develop new specialisms.[6] Alfred Blaschko exemplifies how a radically-minded Jewish doctor combined scientific and professional aims; he was a venereologist in Berlin, who, after working in the Anatomical Institute during the 1880s, applied experimental biology to clinical practice and preventive medicine.[7] That Blaschko's son has made an outstanding academic career in Oxford moving from physiology to pharmacology, provides a representative example of how certain scientific skills cultivated in Germany were at a premium in the British post-war growth of medical research and drug-based medical practice.[8] New academic specialisations and career opportunities in medicine provided a blend of status, security and humanitarianism which was attractive to Jews seeking an alternative to the vagaries of commerce and yet encountering discrimination in certain secure careers such as the civil service. Relative to their percentage of the population, Jews became prominent in medicine. While one can only apply the blanket term "Jewish" with many reservations, it was pointed out – not least by antisemites – that by the 1930s over half the medical profession in Berlin and Vienna were Jewish.[9] In Berlin in July 1933 of 6,558 doctors, 3,423 (that is 52%) were classified by the Nazis as "non-Aryan".[10] Of 4,900 doctors in Vienna in 1938, 3,200 were classified as Jewish under the Nuremberg Laws.[11] Academic overcrowding combined with a muted antisemitism to pressurise Jews into fringe medical specialisms – hence 70% of dental surgeons in Vienna were Jewish.

During the nineteenth century, London with its relatively large Jewish community offered the best opportunities for Jewish medical practitioners. The formation of Jewish communities in such provincial cities as Edinburgh and Glasgow meant that opportunities for practice arose for the graduates of the more liberal Scottish universities.[12] There was only a handful of German-Jewish medical immigrants. Noted examples at St. Thomas's Hospital were the ophthalmologist, Richard Liebreich from 1871–1878, and Sir Felix Semon, the laryngologist from 1882–1897.[13] But there were greater numbers of the sons of immigrant German merchants and

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[6] Frank J. Sulloway, *Freud. Biologist of the Mind. Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend*, London 1979.

[7] Florian Tennstedt, 'Alfred Blaschko – das wissenschaftliche und sozialpolitische Wirken eines menschenfreundlichen Sozialhygienikers im Deutschen Reich', in *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform*, 25 (1979), pp. 513–523, 600–614, 646–667.

[8] Hermann Blaschko, 'Early Meetings', in *Trends in the Neuro Sciences*, 1 (1978), pp. ix–x.

[9] 'Jewish Doctors in Berlin', in *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1936), p. 1295 pointed out that in October 1933 59.7% of Berlin doctors (i. e. 3,423 of 6,558) were Jewish. For their fate see: Stephan Leibfried, 'Stationen der Abwehr. Berufsverbote für Ärzte im deutschen Reich 1933–1938 und die Zerstörung des sozialen Asyls durch die organisierten Ärzteschaften des Auslands', in *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts*, 62 (1982), pp. 1–3.

[10] Leibfried and Tennstedt, *Berufsverbote, op. cit.*, p. 74.

[11] Michael Hubenstorf, 'Österreichische Ärzte-Emigration 1934–1945', in *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 7 (1984), pp. 85–107, esp. p. 93.

[12] Kenneth Collins, *Go and Learn. The International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland*, Aberdeen 1988, pp. 81–97.

[13] Henry C. Semon and Thomas A. McIntyre (eds.), *The Autobiography of Sir Felix Semon*, London 1926. For Liebreich see A. Hirsch (ed.), *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte*, Munich–Berlin 1962, vol. III, p. 782.

Eastern European migrants embarking on medical studies in Britain from the 1890s. Medicine became one of the most popular subjects among Jewish university students during the inter-war period.[14] The census of 1921 indicates that there were only two Austrian and six German physicians or surgeons out of 207 foreign doctors, and one Austrian and six German dentists out of fourteen male foreign dentists.[15] Certain British clinicians rejected the scientificity of continental medicine as lacking in humane respect for the patient.[16] Until the 1930s, ambitious British medical students rounded off their medical education with a short period as a visiting researcher in a German laboratory. Indeed, some took a German or Swiss MD, which provided a brief introduction to scientific research methods. Medical researchers such as the physiologists Sir Henry Dale or A. V. Hill had extensive intellectual contacts with German researchers, which were later transformed into vital networks for placing refugee researchers during the 1930s.

A comparison of German and Austrian medicine to British medicine in the inter-war period reveals a number of striking differences. On the Continent the blend between scientific research and clinical practice was of greater importance than in Britain where there were only a very few clinical research centres like the Hammersmith Postgraduate Medical School.[17] While there were certain areas of excellence in British medical research as in physiology, which greatly benefited from the establishment of the Medical Research Council, there was also a deep rift between the small number of university researchers and leading representatives of the élite of clinicians such as the Royal College of Physicians.[18] Yet there was one striking similarity between the British and Central European medical professions – both were financially hard-pressed in the context of the harsh economic conditions of the inter-war period. In Britain a highly conservative élite, dominating the voluntary hospitals and royal colleges, successfully restricted the numbers of women practitioners and were distrustful of any innovations that might disturb traditional professional hierarchies. The mass of general practitioners were overworked and underpaid under a panel system which compared poorly to the more advanced continental insurance schemes.[19] The Depression resulted in many smaller practices falling into debt: this prompted antisemitic resentment of Jewish money lenders and bankers among the Medical Practitioners Union. This radical pressure group became bitterly opposed to Jewish immigration.[20] Many dentists had gained their qualifications by apprenticeship and the treatment they provided consisted of only rudimentary extractions and dentures. On the Continent there was a much greater interaction between universities and clinical practice. New specialisms such as paediatrics and chairs of dentistry had been fully institutionalised as academic sciences in the post-war political turmoils, and practitioners gained scientific qual-

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[14] G. Black, 'Health and Medical Care of the Jewish Poor in the East End of London 1880–1939', Ph. D. diss., Leicester University 1987. My thanks to Lara Marks for this and further references.

[15] *Census of the Population of England and Wales*, 1921.

[16] Frank Honigsbaum, *The Division in British Medicine*, London 1979, pp. 313–314.

[17] 'Clinical Research under the London County Council', in *The Medical Officer* (1938), p. 84.

[18] J. Austoker and L. Bryder (eds.), *Historical Perspectives on the Role of the MRC*, Oxford 1989.

[19] N. R. Eder, *National Health Insurance and the Medical Professions in Britain*, New York–London 1982.

[20] Honigsbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 274–278.

ifications and held honorary academic titles to a much greater extent.[21] The Depression meant that a number of German medical researchers who would make outstanding careers in Britain were either unemployed or in marginal posts.[22] Within both the Austrian and German medical professions there were strands of antisemitism that were to result in a rapid and vicious onslaught on Jewish colleagues after the Nazi seizure of power.

Considerable social barriers had to be surmounted by medical refugees during the crucial period between 1933 and 1941. Jewish refugee practitioners found attitudes in Britain ambivalent. Medical researchers such as the physiologists A. V. Hill and Gowland Hopkins took a lead both nationally and internationally to support Jewish refugee scientists. As a high proportion of dismissed academics were from medical faculties, Hill and his colleagues established the Academic Assistance Council (AAC) in 1933, and mounted an impressive initiative in securing the emigration and placing of medically qualified academics. While medical researchers welcomed refugee scholars in their laboratories, they believed that refugees should not be allowed to practise medicine, partly because of an alien psychology and partly because of the sensitivity of relations between medical researchers and clinicians. This can be seen in the case of the epidemiologist, and Treasurer of the AAC, Major Greenwood. On the one hand he was unstinting in his praise of refugee scholars and provided a number with research facilities; he also appealed for funds for the AAC in the pages of the *British Medical Journal*.[23] But on the other hand he strongly opposed refugees being allowed to practise, and he referred to "a psychological difficulty with Jews" because he detected an excessive sense of self-importance among such as the renowned paediatrician Emanuel Nobel and the expert in social medicine, Ludwig Teleky.[24]

The issue of medically qualified professional immigrants has to be considered in the context of generally restrictive policies on immigration to Britain. From December 1935 pressures increased with the imposition of controls on immigration to the Mandate of Palestine.[25] A superficially liberal British policy was underpinned by severe restrictions arising from professional pressure groups. The Home Office policy was that it had no objection to German-Jewish immigrants providing that they did not need employment and had a source of financial support.[26] As refugees were only allowed to emigrate without financial resources, they sought to exercise their professional skills. The Home Office devolved not only its policy on immigration but also the making of decisions on individual cases to a handful of conservative-minded leaders of the profession such as the Chief Medical Officers Sir George Newman and Arthur MacNalty, and to Lord Dawson of the Royal College of Physicians. Dawson lobbied the Home Secretary in 1933 in order to limit the

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[21] For dentistry as an academic discipline see H. H. Eulner, *Die Entwicklung der medizinischen Spezialfächer an den Universitäten des deutschen Sprachgebietes*, Stuttgart 1970, pp. 397–420.

[22] Such as Krebs.

[23] M. Greenwood, 'Foreign Medical Scientists in Distress', in *British Medical Journal*, 1 (1939), p. 303.

[24] Bodleian Library, Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (hereafter SPSL), 532/2.

[25] Doron Niederland, 'Deutsche Ärzte-Emigration und gesundheitspolitische Entwicklungen in "Eretz Israel" (1933–1948)', in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, 20 (1985), pp. 149–184.

[26] Public Record Office (PRO), HO 45/21069.

number of admissions: in a memorable phrase he affirmed that: "The number [of foreign medical scientists] who could teach us anything could be counted on the fingers of one hand."[27] Leading physicians and surgeons adopted a hard line in resisting Central European practitioners just as they had combatted the intrusion of women or of laboratory-based medical research into clinical practice. In February 1932 a tightening of restrictions occurred against medical immigration, when English licensing bodies insisted on an examination in anatomy and physiology and two years' study. Lord Dawson stated the case to the Home Office in 1933, and the *British Medical Journal* hinted that "the official procedure might conceivably change if large numbers of applications came from one country".[28]

In accordance with the Aliens Act, students were allowed to study provided they had a place in a medical school and financial support. It meant that admission of students depended on the readiness of medical schools to make places available. Admission to practise was not automatic, but depended on the General Medical Council which also enforced a highly restrictive policy. It was argued that Jewish practitioners who had relatives in Britain might "settle down in a practice in a Jewish district", or perhaps seek a career in the Colonies or Dominions or even Japan. For the remainder Britain could, at most, be a temporary refuge until a place had been secured in another country. Geman-Jewish practitioners were unwelcome because continental manners and customs should not be admitted into British homes. The policy had been tightened up in 1928 in consultation with the Chief Medical Officer, Newman, and again in October 1932 (when a Berlin urologist, Stefan Balogh, applied for registration).

Newman's complacency regarding the improving health of the British population was matched by prejudice that the British public would find foreign practitioners unacceptable.[29] The Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons successfully led the opposition to recognition of foreign qualifications, and made it as difficult as possible for a qualified German doctor to settle. Such protectionism was reinforced by the Medical Practitioners Union. The *Daily Express* in September 1933 protested against "dumped labour" in general and fabricated an image of the massing hordes of Jewish doctors. Otto Schiff of the Professional Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews protested to Lord Beaverbrook that there were in fact very few new arrivals, because the Jewish Refugees Committee accepted that owing to unemployment in Britain "it is quite impossible for refugees to be given employment here".[30] Prospective immigrants had to overcome strong British prejudices against admitting foreign Jews to medical practice not only among the waspish élite of the British profession, but also among settled Jewish professional leaders.

The only way around such professional protectionism lay in the hands of the medical scientists, who provided a number of places in laboratories and stipends for medical researchers. Here the Home Office had no objection, as it accepted that foreign researchers were not taking away places from British medical researchers

[27] PRO, HO 45/15882, Dawson, 14th November 1933.
[28] 'Jewish Doctors in Germany', in *British Medical Journal*, 1 (1933), p. 757.
[29] PRO, HO 45/20156.
[30] PRO, HO 45/15882, Otto M. Schiff to Lord Beaverbrook, 25th October 1933.

but had unique qualifications and would enrich the country. Home Office policy was to reject "the rank and file" of doctors and dentists, while considering the cases of "leading persons". Professional interests determined a policy of restricting immigration to the scientifically better-qualified refugee doctors.[31] Britain provided refuge for only approximately twelve per cent of the German-speaking refugee doctors.[32]

These restrictive immigration policies affected education, professional admission and research. It should be kept in mind that whereas in Germany the state regulated professional standards through qualification by *Staatsexamen*, in Britain the profession has been self-regulating, and during the 1930s there were marked differences between competing examining authorities. The increasingly restrictive policies of the better established English medical schools contrasted with the more liberal policies of the private Scottish schools. The Scottish Conjoint Board granted exemption from an examination and required only one year's study. In 1933 Lord Dawson was alarmed that of 160 German-Jewish doctors seeking British qualifications, 140 of these were seeking the Scottish diploma.[33] The Home Office supported, via the Scottish Secretary, efforts to pressurise the Conjoint Board to raise admission requirements.[34] Kenneth Collins has pointed out that the medical élites of Glasgow and Edinburgh disdained the commercialism of the private medical colleges in Scotland, because their open door policy to American-Jewish students was extended to continental immigrants.[35]

The Home Office policy of admission only "in the most exceptional circumstances" meant that by May 1937 183 doctors and 78 dentists were permitted to practise.[36] That it was a privilege to be allowed to retake examinations was misunderstood, as by the Breslau paediatrician, Bruno Leichtentritt, who despite the intervention of such as Henry Dale with the Home Office, declined the opportunity of requalifying in Britain. In May 1936 the Home Office further tightened up restrictions. Mounting public sympathy for the victims of Nazi persecution in 1938 meant that the Home Office was surprised by the professional leaders' attitude that "British medicine has nothing to gain from new blood, and much to lose from foreign dilution".[37]

The *Anschluß* provoked a wave of public sympathy for the persecuted Austrian doctors and dentists.[38] Seventeen leading medical researchers signed a letter in the *British Medical Journal* of 26th March 1938 and in *The Lancet* expressing concern for 'Our Colleagues in Austria'. *The Lancet*, which was more scientifically orientated, ran leading articles which were critical of the belief that the profession was so

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[31] A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933–1939*, London 1973, pp. 48, 91, 123–124, 260.

[32] Kröner, *loc. cit.*, p. 39*.

[33] PRO, HO 45/15882.

[34] PRO, HO 45/15882, Dawson to Home Secretary, 21st November 1933.

[35] Collins, *Go and Learn*, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–158.

[36] *British Medical Journal*, 1 (1937), p. 1237.

[37] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 123–124.

[38] Hubenstorf, 'Österreichische Ärzte-Emigration', *loc. cit.* (note 3); J. Merinsky, 'Die Auswirkungen der Annexion Österreichs durch das Deutsche Reich auf die medizinische Fakultät der Universität Wien im Jahre 1938', Ph. D. diss., Vienna 1980.

overcrowded that no refugees could be absorbed.[39] But after a meeting with the Home Secretary and the representatives of various colleges, it was agreed that only "a limited number" of refugees could be admitted, and "that any such admissions must be the subject of careful selection".[40] A committee selected fifty Austrian doctors and forty dentists who were to be allowed to requalify.[41] Those Austrian dental surgeons with established academic or social contacts with Britain were at an advantage in being included on this scheme.[42] Faced by professional obstructiveness, an alternative was for a doctor to gain entry as a domestic servant, provided that a sponsor could be found.

With dentistry one was dealing with what in Austria was a postgraduate medical specialism, whereas in Britain it was regarded as a low-grade profession which still retained the aura of a craft skill. It was pointed out that the large numbers of extractions in Britain contrasted to the more frequent treatment at an earlier stage made possible by the German sickness insurance system.[43] The professional insecurities of the British Dental Association (which for years had resisted rival apprenticed dentists) were turned against the prospective continental immigrants who despite their often superior academic qualifications were stigmatised as untrained in "national methods", "traditions" and "language".[44] Indeed, the British Dental Association continued to send an official representative to the Nazified German professional association, and an article in the *British Dental Journal* welcomed the *Anschluß* as a triumph of a separate profession over the Austrian convention that dentistry was a postgraduate medical specialism. Although in Britain there was a mechanism for admitting those with foreign dental qualifications through the General Medical Council, only a tiny proportion were successful. In 1938 twelve out of 312 foreign applicants were admitted.[45] It was difficult to absorb the better qualified Austrian dentists who for their part felt frustrated at the lower quality British standards. While Harriet Chick championed the cause of an Austrian, Bustin, who had an interest in nutrition and children's orthodontics,[46] most of the lecturers and university assistants from Vienna could not find an academic niche.[47] Yet when they sought to open up a practice, they found that their rights as to where to practise were severely limited. Membership of the British Dental Association remained impossible for those without British citizenship.

The Home Office policy of turning to the conservative élite of the profession for advice on whether to admit individual cases meant that anyone with a taint of unorthodoxy was at a severe disadvantage. Records of individual cases in the Public Record Office show that applicants with expertise in such fields as psychotherapy, physical culture, massage, birth control as well as most commercial areas such as the

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[39] 'An overcrowded profession', in *The Lancet*, 1 (1938), p. 951; 'As others see us', in *The Lancet*, 1 (1939), p. 47.

[40] *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1938), p. 47.

[41] PRO, MH 58/332. I have not located a list of names.

[42] In the case of the author's father, Dr. Emerich Weindling, contacts with the Raphael family, who were benefactors of Guy's Hospital, were decisive.

[43] 'A Panel System in Germany', in *British Dental Journal*, 59 (1935), p. 399.

[44] 'Admissions and Removals from the Register', *British Dental Journal*, New Series, 61 (1936), p. 724.

[45] *British Dental Journal*, 65 (1938), p. 714.

[46] SPSL, 772.

[47] Eg. Franz Peter and Otto Pick – assistants to Pichler in Vienna – see SPSL, 372.

manufacturing of drugs and medical equipment were rejected.[48] Clinical disciplines were especially problematic. The AAC, renamed the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), dealt with only a handful of surgeons, in comparison to the small army of physiologists on its books. The case of paediatrics exemplifies a discipline with a high standard of clinical practice and scientific research which had much to offer a less well-developed British specialism. Pupils of the noted German paediatrician Arthur Schlossmann, such as Stefan Engel who had directed the Children's Hospital in Dortmund, were absorbed with difficulty. Engel benefited from funds provided by Mrs. Sebag-Montefiore permitting him to research at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, and from 1942 he received support from the Medical Research Council for research on lung development. But as his obituary noted, the emigration ended his work as a clinical paediatrician.[49] L. G. Parsons accepted Heinrich Baar in Birmingham, and after the Sebag-Montefiore funds ceased, his haemoglobin research was supported by the hospital from 1941. The renowned Austrian paediatrician, Emanuel Nobel, came with outstanding recommendations from such as the British Ambassador in Paris and the British Passport Officer in Vienna. After a brief period researching at the Hammersmith Hospital, he decided at the age of 57 to requalify. He worked at another London County Council hospital in Hackney in 1941, before going into private practice.[50] Other cases were Heinrich Baur, the ex-pupil of the Nobel Prize winning medical researchers Emil von Behring and Paul Ehrlich; he became a GP's assistant in Blackburn. Uffenheimer, a distinguished Magdeburg paediatrician who had initially made a reputation in dealing with infectious diseases, moved with the times, and found a niche in psychotherapy for children.[51] One might characterise the situation as one of high regard for continental models, but the sharp distinction between practice and research blocked the career and intellectual development of immigrant paediatricians. A nucleus of British researchers attempted to offer hospitality to scientifically distinguished immigrants. These included Samson Wright at the Middlesex Hospital, and Major Greenwood at the London School of Hygiene. Of 524 academics placed by the SPSL, were 142 in medicine and two in dentistry.[52]

While the War Office from 1939 clamoured for restrictions on medical admissions to be removed, the British Medical Association continued its entrenched opposition until 1941. It successfully opposed private practice as it feared that aliens might "take the bread away" from British doctors away on war service.[53] A high proportion of medical refugees were interned and regarded with suspicion.[54] A temporary medical register for the Emergency Medical Services was established in 1940. While to a large degree intended to permit those with medical qualifications

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[48] PRO, MH 58/332 provides details of individual cases.

[49] *The Lancet*, 1 (1968), pp. 929–930; SPSL.

[50] SPSL, 532/2; William Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning*, Oxford etc. 1959, p. 64.

[51] SPSL, 413.

[52] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[53] PRO, MH 58/335 Anderson to MacNalty, 23rd Sept 1939.

[54] For sympathetic views see François Lafitte, *The Internment of Aliens*, London 1940, ²1988, and R. M. Titmuss, 'Aliens and Refugees', in *The Eugenics Review*, 32 (1941), pp. 136–137. British eugenicists supported certain refugees, such as C. Tietze.

from the United States to aid the war effort, the measure benefited those with Austrian, Czech, German and Polish qualifications.[55] Continuing antisemitic pressure and anti-German scare-mongering resulted in a blanket order for dismissal of all alien practitioners and their internment in June 1940.[56] This was relaxed in November 1940 owing to the labour shortage. Practitioners were allowed to work in hospitals provided no troops were treated, and soon this stipulation was removed.[57] By the end of the war it has been estimated that there were 3,000 medical refugees in Britain.[58] There were certain groups such as the Association of Austrian Doctors in Great Britain, wishing to return to their countries of origin.[59] But most refugee doctors stated that they wished to remain in Britain, despite the resurgence of antisemitic propaganda from the Medical Practitioners Union. As many of the refugees were specialists they were in a good position to remedy the shortage of trained staff in hospitals.[60] The dawning of the National Health Service in 1948 was welcomed by the medical refugees. On the one hand they were accustomed to a higher degree of socialised medical services, and on the other they were out of sympathy with the old guard in the British Medical and British Dental Associations. The British professional élite opposed foreign immigrants just as they had opposed women practitioners during the 1920s and 1930s and then the NHS.[61]

That greater numbers of medical refugees could have been admitted is suggested by the manpower shortages that emerged during the war, the post-war expansion of the demand for medical care opened up by the NHS, and the low standards evident in many branches of clinical medicine. The selective admissions policy of the British medical profession can be condemned not only on humanitarian grounds but also as shortsighted from both the scientific and professional angles. One should keep in mind not only the actual contribution of those who were permitted to settle, but also the potential contribution of those practitioners and students not permitted entry.

In the short term, there were missed opportunities in socially relevant areas such as public health. Here, it is relevant to consider the case of experts in public health. For example, no attempt was made to exploit expertise of the pioneer of occupational health, Ludwig Teleky, whose outstanding knowledge of industrial hazards would have been immensely valuable for war-time industrial production.[62] This failure was ironic at a time of reorganisation of British medicine, culminating in the NHS, the planning of which shows virtually no impact of the migration.[63] When social medicine was developed as an academic discipline in Britain during the 1940s, the continental medical refugees could make no substantial contribution.[64] Honigs-

[55] PRO, MH 76/236, Emergency Medical Services.
[56] PRO, MOH Circular 2045.
[57] PRO, MH 58/335 Aliens, Employment at a Hospital, Ministry of Health Circular 2312.
[58] This number includes Czechs, Poles and others of "non-German" origins.
[59] Hubenstorf, 'Österreichische Ärzte-Emigration', *loc. cit.*, (note 3), pp. 388–389.
[60] Honigsbaum, *Division, op. cit.*, pp. 312–313.
[61] For a pioneering study of professional prejudice against social medicine see: Stephan Leibfried, 'Stationen der Abwehr', *loc. cit.*
[62] SPSL, 365/5.
[63] C. Webster, *The Health Services Since the War*, London 1988.
[64] B. Gebhard, 'Alfred Grotjahns soziale Pathologie und sein Einfluss auf die englische und amerikanische Sozialmedizin', in E. Lesky (ed.), *Sozialmedizin in Entwicklung und Selbstverständnis*, Darmstadt 1977, pp. 429–443.

baum's study of the relations between general practitioners and hospital doctors in this crucial period suggests that until 1943 certain antisemitic general practitioners in the Medical Practitioners Union opposed the socialisation of medicine as a Jewish conspiracy.[65] Ministry of Health officials such as Janet Campbell were aware of the such as pioneering quality of German public health administration such as child welfare schemes in Berlin. But virtually all those with qualifications in public health moved on to the USA. Among these emigrants were Georg Wolff, a medical statistician, who gained a post at Johns Hopkins;[66] Gustav Tugendreich, a pioneer of child guidance in Berlin, was taken under the wing of Greenwood in October 1937, but moved on to the USA in the following year;[67] Myron Kantorowicz, after having assisted the German pioneer of social medicine, Alfred Grotjahn, spent only a brief period as statistician for a Jewish medical organisation in London; and the health official, Franz Goldmann, moved directly to the USA,[68] as did Walter Weisbach who had directed the Hygiene Academy at Dresden. Posts in public health were difficult to obtain. In March 1941 the London County Council permitted aliens to be employed in six junior posts. Only a handful of appointments were made in public health, such as that of Leo Hahn in Leicester. When Wilhelm Gross was offered the job of Assistant Medical Officer at Hull, he was prevented from accepting this by the Home Office.[69] When Franz Anton Heimann (sometime *Oberarzt* at the Hufeland Hospital in Berlin) was appointed Assistant Medical Officer of Health in Bournemouth in 1941, he encountered not only antisemitism, but also indifference to research. The Breslau professor of hygiene, Carl Prausnitz, became a general practitioner.[70] He commented: "I have continued carrying out research relevant to my job but generally I find the attitude to research in public administration is rather limited."[71] This indicated a lesser concern with research and academic qualifications among British practitioners.

The selective elitism of official policy bore fruit in Nobel Prizes in medicine achieved by Ernst Chain in 1945, by Hans Krebs in 1953 and by Bernhard Katz in 1970. Scientific success came more easily for the younger generation who could absorb lessons from a research area already thriving in Britain as for example Krebs in biochemistry, or Katz in physiology. Krebs combined the chemical approach to research under Otto Warburg with the more physiological style of Gowland Hopkins; he moved from Cambridge to Sheffield in 1935, and to Oxford in 1954. While in Oxford he became impatient with an academic system giving greatest prestige and financial rewards to those in college teaching fellowships rather than to those in departmental research posts.[72] The achievements of such Nobel prize winners should be seen in the context of numerous other less conspicuous but highly competent teachers and researchers in the life sciences.[73] Relying solely on

[65] Honigsbaum, *Division*, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–280.
[66] SPSL, 420/5.
[67] SPSL, 420/3.
[68] SPSL, 420/1.
[69] SPSL, 124/3.
[70] He changed his name to C. P. Giles.
[71] SPSL, 62, Beveridge questionnaire.
[72] J. Alton and P. Harper, *Catalogue of the Papers of Sir Hans Adolf Krebs FRS (1900–1931)*, Contemporary Scientific Archives Centre, Bath.
[73] Lesser figures include Hans Gruneberg, the geneticist, at University College London, and Lewis

scientific indicators leads to a distorted picture because of the difficulties in pursuing a career in clinical research in Britain. Given that a key criterion for success in medicine must be the quality of patient services, official policies until 1941 served to isolate immigrants from patients. There were eight medical researchers appointed FRS by 1953.[74] But those at the peak of their careers were often unable to contribute to teaching. Refugees ended up either in marginal research posts, or as provincial hospital pathologists, or in private practice. Some like Herxheimer returned to academic life in Germany after only having secured low-grade posts while in exile. William Beveridge gave a frank account of the difficulties posed by the British medical establishment. The findings of the Beveridge survey on the impact of the SPSL by 1958 indicated that of 61 doctors who had attempted to settle in Britain: 11 moved on to posts overseas, 31 successfully continued their career in Britain and 19 were unable to research and had a post more marginal than they had previously occupied. A further 41 had been assisted in direct moves to overseas posts. Many of those who fared best were those who were able to embark on something new in Britain. A notable case was that of Ludwig Guttmann, the sometime Director of the Jewish Hospital at Breslau who built up the renowned Spinal Unit at Stoke Mandeville Hospital from 1944.[75]

By 1939 an estimated 1,200 Austrian and German doctors were in Britain, of whom 200 were permitted to practise and a further 50 Austrian doctors were engaged in requalifying. The *Medical Directory* of 1945 shows that the majority were in London: there 88 German doctors and twenty-three Austrians had requalified, mostly with Scottish qualifications, whereas in the provinces there were only thirty German and thirteen Austrian doctors. On the *Foreign List* of the *Medical Register* of 1945 were 243 Austrian doctors of whom 101 were in London and 121 in provincial England and Wales, and 278 German doctors of whom 109 were in London and 144 in provincial England and Wales. Many of the German-Jewish practitioners in London had a high proportion of continental immigrants as their patients. This suggests that they did not take patients away from British colleagues, and that they did not have as great an impact as might have been expected.

In assessing the longer term impact, it is necessary to consider academic and professional career patterns in a number of specialisms. A convenient general indicator of professional esteem is the number of Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians included in Munk's *Role* of obituaries of fellows between 1950 and 1983.[76] (The Fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians [FRCP] is an honorary distinction conferred as a mark of senior professional status, whereas Membership [MRCP] is an examination providing a gateway to a clinical career.) That only twelve refugees out of 1,173 entries gained a fellowship indicates that disappointingly few have penetrated this bastion of opposition to medical immigration. This contrasts with substantially higher numbers of FRCPs among the sons of settled

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Auber, senior scientific officer at the Wool Industries Research Board from 1946 and an expert on feather growth.

[74] Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists 1933–1952*, The Hague 1953, pp. 99–100.

[75] SPSL, 62.

[76] *Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, vol. V, London 1968; vol. VI, Oxford–Washington 1982; vol. VII, Oxford–Washington 1984.

Jewish immigrants – including one President of the Royal College – Max Rosenheim. Unfortunately, one must conclude that many of the first-generation doctors retained their rather marginal status. It is possible that those who could combine their academic experience before emigration with new studies in Britain were the most successful. An example might be Liselotte Frankl, an Austrian child psychologist who qualified in medicine, graduating in 1945, and later becoming Medical Director of the Hampstead Child Therapy Clinic.[77] Pioneers in other ancillary fields such as nursing studies should also be noted. Annie Altschul interrupted her studies of mathematics in Vienna to finish her career as Professor of Nursing Studies at Edinburgh.[78]

The Trades Union Congress was a noted critic of the professional barriers which severely limited the numbers of medical refugees. The TUC argued that in a country with regions of high levels of poverty and disease – exacerbated by the Depression – surely there was work to do for prospective immigrants. Yet ironically the fact that the 1930s were depressed goes far to explain the parochial hostility of the economically hard-pressed rank and file of the British medical and dental professions. At the same time within the medical profession there were competing interest groups, and here the scientific reform lobby emerges as the most far-sighted in predicting the growth of scientific methods in clinical practice. Viewed in the narrow terms of a fruitful transfer of scientific expertise, the SPSL made a valiant effort to facilitate emigration and to publicise the predicament of European medical researchers. Yet, by its own admission, the SPSL had to devolve the placement of the majority of doctors and dentists onto other less well funded and placed organisations. Immigration happened despite, rather than because of, British professional organisations. It was a situation of occasional gestures of hospitality in a generally inhospitable climate. This suggests that historians of emigration would do well to consider the problems less from the point of view of selective transfer of scientific expertise, and more from the aspect of professional protectionism in depressed economic contexts. One is forced to conclude that resulting professional attitudes were inhumane and insensitive to the predicament of their persecuted colleagues.

[77] Obituary notice in *British Medical Journal*, 21st January 1989.

[78] J. Salvage, 'Farewell, Annie', in *Nursing Times*, 2nd November 1983. Another nursing expert who came as a young Socialist refugee was Marion Ferguson. My thanks to Anne Marie Rafferty for information on these nursing careers.

PETER LASKO

The Impact of German-speaking Refugees in Britain on the Fine Arts

British architects in the twenties and thirties, although certainly not unaware of what was going on in Europe, contributed little to the "New World" that was being created there.* Rooted in the traditional vernacular and with little opportunity to experiment in a period of economic depression, they were not all that welcoming to their European colleagues who began to arrive in 1933. But there were also a very few, but notable, exceptions. Outstanding among them was Maxwell Fry. He trained at the University of Liverpool and after working for the Southern Railway from 1927–1930 set up practice in London, where – so he tells us – he became aware of German architecture through magazines. "It fitted exactly what I was trying to work out for myself."[1] Together with Wells Coates, in 1933, he launched the MARS group – Modern Architecture Research – an English counterpart to the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) which had been founded in 1928 on the Continent by Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius of the *Bauhaus*.[2] In 1934, Fry invited Gropius to join him as a partner. That was the easiest way to get a British work permit for him.

Until 1938 the number of refugee architects was very small – by the beginning of 1939 there were only twenty-five with work permits in the whole country. As another 52 from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia had applied for permits during 1938, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) took fright and set up a committee to look into the problem. They reported to the Council on the 9th of January, 1939:

"However small the number of entrants, some element of sacrifice is involved, but we feel that the architectural profession has a moral obligation to meet the situation with maximum goodwill..."

After careful study, they were of the opinion that eighteen of the 52 applicants were men whose admission could be recommended, and after saying that others might later be considered from time to time, went on to state: "... subject of course to the numbers admitted being carefully controlled".[3]

It seems RIBA was not exactly over-generous with its goodwill. Among those fortunate enough to be given permission to practise here were some of the most

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* In addition to architects, artists and art historians, I shall, in one or two outstanding cases, stray into popular journalism, both photographic and graphic. Although these normally hardly qualify as Fine Arts, it may be agreed that they do so in these exceptional cases.

[1] Charlotte Ellis, 'The R.A. Profile, Max Fry', in *RA. The Royal Academy Magazine*, 16 (1987), pp. 40–41.

[2] Maxwell Fry, *Autobiographical Sketches*, London 1975, pp. 138–152.

[3] *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd series, 46 (1939), pp. 826–831. Discussed by C. Wolsdorff, 'Deutsche Architekten im Exil', in *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien 1933–1945*, (exhibition catalogue, Schloß Charlottenburg), Berlin (West) 1986, p. 108.

famous names in European architecture – Gropius, Loos, Breuer and Mendelsohn, – although all four of them were to stay only a relatively short time in Great Britain. They all eventually found the much more generous opportunities in the United States far too tempting. Gropius, perhaps with less than good grace later remarked that England was not a country – only a stopping-over place ("dies ist kein land nur ein aufenthaltsplatz [sic]").[4]

Nevertheless, even in the short time they spent here, they introduced "Modern Architecture" – the "International Style" to this country. Although architectural critics and the architectural magazines were on the whole sympathetic to the new style – J. M. Richards, editor of the *Architectural Review*, was a prominent supporter – competition from more conservative practitioners and from structural engineers and builders so often given commissions in preference to architects, made getting work difficult. This was, of course, as true of the established English partnerships – like that of Fry or Serge Chermayeff (himself a refugee from Russia at the age of eleven in 1900) – as for the newcomers who had joined them. Nevertheless, when the opportunity presented itself, they were able to produce outstanding work. Gropius and Fry, for example, designed a grand scheme for Impington College in Cambridge in 1937 as well as a stunning private house for the playwright Benn Levy in Chelsea in 1936.

Erich Mendelsohn, who had been asked by Chermayeff to join him as a partner as early as 1933, was able to win first prize in the competition for the De La Warr pavilion in Bexhill in 1935. When opening the building, the Mayor of Bexhill, Lord de la Warr, announced: "... that the RIBA had told the Home Office that in welcoming so distinguished an architect as Mendelsohn it would be pleased and proud to consider him for the profession's highest honours if he applied for naturalization".[5] In the same year, Mendelsohn sketched a fine scheme for White City, unfortunately not built, and in the following year, a large house in Old Church Street, Chelsea. In 1939 he left for Palestine, and finally, like so many, settled in the United States in 1941.[6]

Marcel Breuer, Hungarian born, who studied under Gropius at the *Bauhaus*, perhaps now more famous for the ubiquitous "Wassily Chair" designed in 1925, which nowadays no outer office of any prestigious international cartel can afford to be without, also arrived in 1935 and left for Harvard University together with Gropius two years later. In London he worked with F. R. S. Yorke on planning a Civic Centre – which, again, was not built, and on some small private houses – like the elegant "Shangri-La" at Angmering on Sea, Sussex in 1936, as well as on a number of interiors.[7] In Jack Pritchard he found a kindred spirit, and for his firm ISOKON he designed bent plywood furniture that enjoyed some success at Heal's in Tottenham Court Road, where a special exhibition of it was held in 1936. A year later it was even shown at the Ideal Home exhibition at Earl's Court.[8]

Less well-known architects also played their part in bringing the "International

[4] Wolsdorff, *loc. cit.*, p. 110, in a letter to his brother-in-law Max Burchard in 1936.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[6] Arnold Whittick, *Eric Mendelsohn*, 2nd edn., London–New York 1956.
[7] Peter Blake, *Marcel Breuer – Architect and Designer*, New York 1949.
[8] Christopher Wilk, *Marcel Breuer, Furniture and Interiors*, London 1981. For Breuer and ISOKON see J. Pritchard, *View from a Long Chair*, London 1984, pp. 111–121.

Style" to Great Britain, and many remained in Britain for the rest of their lives. Fritz Landauer, for example, brought modern design into the High Street with his shopfronts for Boots and for Montague Burton, the tailoring chain. His splendid, sweeping design for a block of flats for Highgate of 1935 was, yet again, unfortunately never built. Fritz Ruhemann, who had worked with Behrens in Germany, built another of the very few modern private houses in pre-war England in partnership with Michael Dugdale – in Chiswick – in 1937.

There can hardly be any doubt that the small band – probably not many more than some twenty active architects – influenced the course of British architecture after the war to quite a remarkable extent.[9] Although this influence is sometimes seen as disastrous I am convinced that a future re-assessment will be very different indeed. They – more so than Corbusier's work or even his theoretical writings it seems to me – brought British architecture into contact with a vital twentieth-century movement with an awareness of functional needs, technological advance, a humanity and even an elegance of expression, without which English post-war reconstruction would scarcely have been possible. There has been much debate recently about the failure of post-war social housing, which has been said to have grafted an alien style on British traditional life. Be that as it may, the solutions proposed by the post-war generation of architects, who owed so much to their continental forerunners, were accepted readily by planners and politicians and – it must be said – at first by the public too. Their failure, I am sure, is more the failure of maintenance and proper usage. One need only point out that tall blocks of flats in Highgate or St. John's Wood, have never been subject to mindless vandalism – and that is because porters are employed, services, especially lifts, are properly maintained and common areas like entrance halls, stairs and corridors are decently furnished, decorated and maintained.

Architects like Wells Coates, who represented England in 1934 at the first CIAM conference to which England sent an official delegate, were also among the most active men – alongside critics like Herbert Read – in promoting an interest in the modern continental movements in the Fine Arts, as well as in architecture.[10] In the arts also, England in the twenties was a provincial world, dominated by Roger Fry's pre-First World War formalism and a cosy Bloomsbury aesthetic – a kind of conservative and insular modernism. British artists were out of touch with what had been developing in Europe during the twenties and thirties. If they knew anything of Europe at all, they knew about Paris rather than Munich, Hanover or Berlin. And even then, if the reception of the work of Picasso and Matisse in England after the war by the public, and perhaps more surprisingly, by a large number of British artists was anything to go by, such art had even by the late 1930s certainly not succeeded in reaching beyond a small number of committed artists and a very limited public. The example of the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Alfred Munnings – albeit an extreme example – will suffice to make the point. At the Academy banquet, revived for the first time after the war in April 1949, Munnings made his position clear in his address:

[9] See '3. Architekten' in *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien* (exhibition catalogue), *op. cit.*, pp. 169–178.
[10] Sherban Contacuzino, *Wells Coates. A Monograph*, London 1978.

"I find myself the President of a body of men who are shilly-shallying. They feel that there is something in this so-called modern art... Well, I myself would rather have – (excuse me my Lord Archbishop!) – a damned bad failure, a bad, muddy old picture where somebody has tried to do something, to set down what they have seen, than all this affected juggling, this following of, what shall we call it, the School of Paris?"[11]

If such an opinion could still be voiced in the rooms of the Royal Academy at a public gathering well after the war, what then was the artistic world that refugee artists were about to enter after 1933? Was it really quite as ignorant of the artistic *avant garde* of Europe?

The first stirrings of an awareness among "younger" British artists – Paul Nash, then 41, and Ben Nicholson, then 36 – that they were badly out of touch, led to the formation of "Unit 1", announced in a letter to *The Times* by Paul Nash in June 1933.[12] Their later work shows how seriously they took the need to look at European art. Henry Moore, Edward Burra, Edward Wadsworth, John Armstrong, Tristram Hillier[13] and Wells Coates, among others all joined "Unit 1". Their first exhibition had already been held in the newly reopened Mayor gallery in Cork Street two months earlier, and alongside the work of the British members, continental artists were also shown: Braque, Léger, Herbin, Baumeister, Arp, Dali, Miro and Ernst – except for Willi Baumeister, the Purist, and Max Ernst, the Surrealist – all of the Paris School (although even those two had often exhibited in Paris). Such an emphasis on Paris was no doubt due to the long-established British tradition of seeing it as the centre of the world of art, but perhaps also, more immediately, to the contact Nicholson and Hepworth had made with the *Association Abstract-Création* there. The aims of "Unit 1" were explained by Nash in *The Listener*:

"During the last 5 years a very definite change has taken place. The ingenious and agreeable exercises in formalised naturalism, Post-Cézannism and Derainism have ceased to be of the first interest..."[14] A little earlier, Nash had given some evidence of a knowledge of the kind of thinking that had guided the teaching of the *Bauhaus*, led by Gropius.[15] He wrote in March 1932 in an article entitled 'The Artist in the House'[16] that he looked for a sympathetic alliance between the architect, painter, sculptor and decorator... clearly the result of contact with Wells Coates who had, together with his friend Jack Pritchard, visited the Weissenhof architectural exhibition at Stuttgart in 1927, and had certainly known about the guiding principles of the *Bauhaus* since then.

But apart from the fragmentation caused by the aesthetic discussions of the period, there were also the purely economic problems faced by English artists. A somewhat polemic book entitled *Art lies Bleeding* by Francis Watson, published in

[11] Sir Alfred Munnings, *The Finish* (3rd volume of his autobiography), London 1952, p. 145.

[12] Herbert Read (ed.), *Unit 1. The Modern Movement in English Architecture, Painting and Sculpture*, London 1934; see also Charles Harrison, 'Critical Theories and the Practice of Art', in Susan Compton (ed.), *British Art in the 20th Century* (exhibition catalogue), London 1987, pp. 56–57.

[13] Hillier, in a letter to Charles Harrison in 1978, wrote: "We regarded ourselves as the spearhead, as it were, of Contemporary European painting and sculpture, which at that time had scarcely penetrated England."

[14] *The Listener*, 5th July 1933.

[15] Frank Whitford, *Bauhaus*, London 1984.

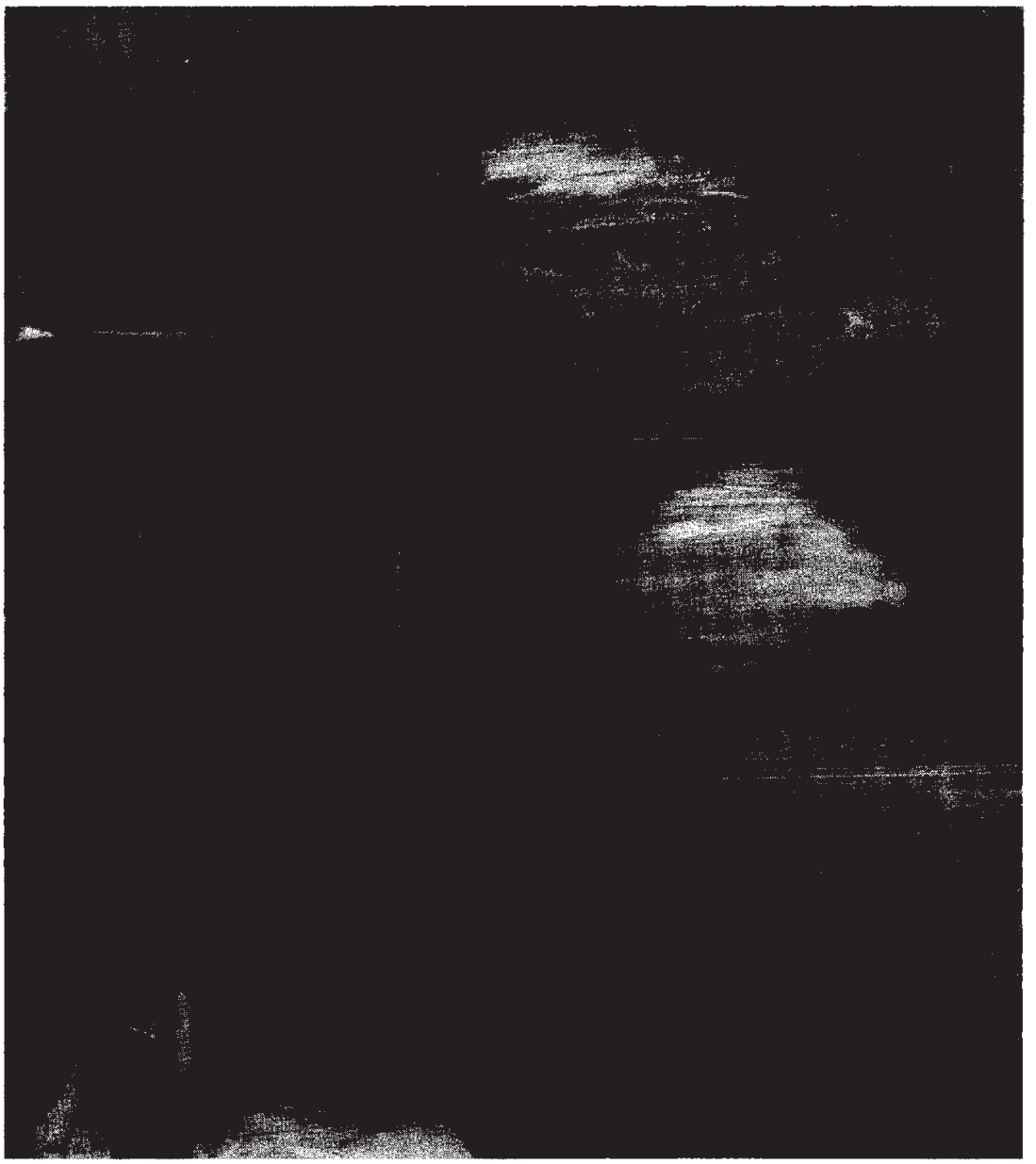
[16] In *The Listener*, 16th March 1932.



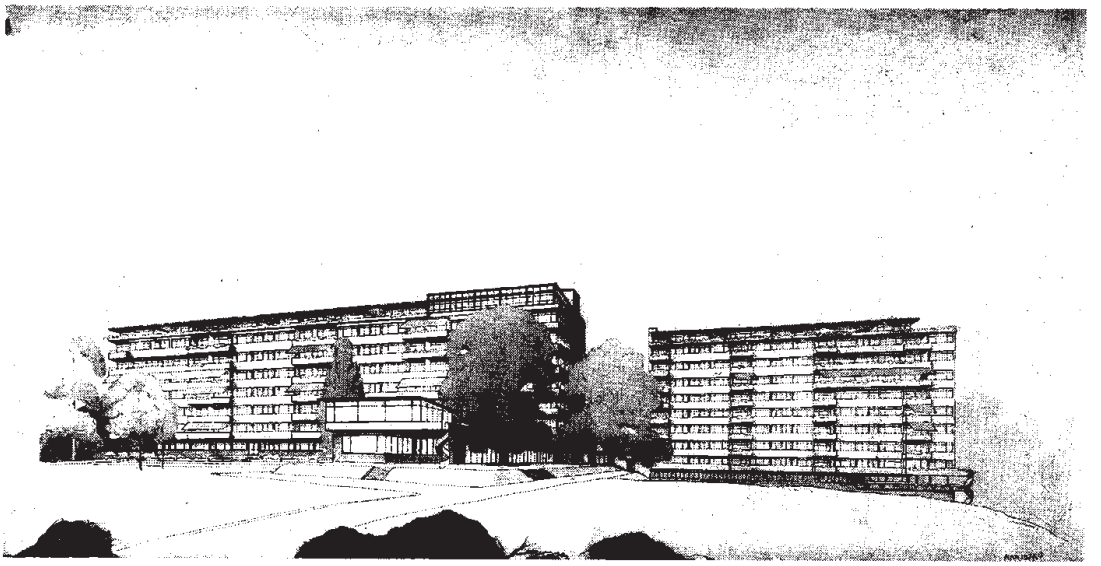
Ludwig Meidner
'Verwundete unter freiem Himmel'
(watercolour) c. 1943

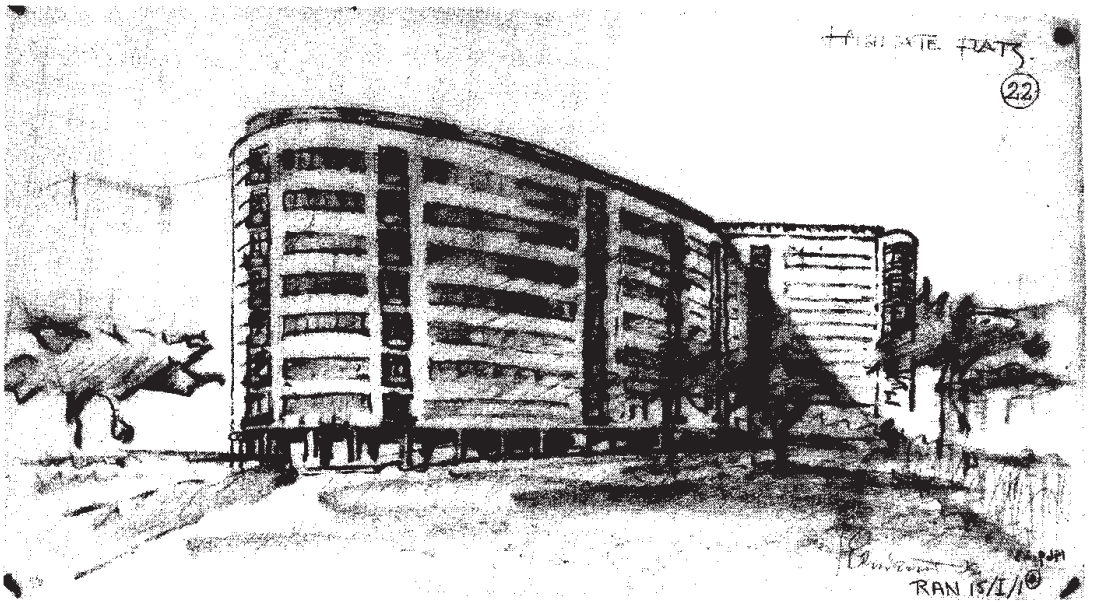


Samson Schames
'Bombed houses in London'
(mixed media on card) 1941



Hilde Goldschmidt
'Landscape Wales'
(oil on canvas) 1947





Architectural designs by Erich Mendelsohn

By courtesy of the British Architectural Library/RIBA

1939, graphically outlines the plight of English artists and gained a wide readership among young artists. The author points out that although de Lazlo may make £120,000 in a year by painting fashionable portraits, those artists, "... who are frequently mentioned and whom the public might suppose to be reasonably well provided for, might well have an average income of about £180 in a good year and in a bad year may earn nil. Only teaching, paid at the rate of 11 to 16 shillings per evening, enables them to survive." Watson goes on to complain bitterly that the government was prepared to spend £350,000 a year on museums and galleries for letting us look at the work of dead artists, but less than £600 on buying what living artists produce. The British Artists' Congress in 1937, organised by the Artists International Association, founded in 1933 to "Fight for Peace and against Fascism", passed the resolution:

> "That in order to advance the status of the profession, and to improve and protect its economic position, and to secure those conditions of work and life necessary to this advance, it is highly desirable that artists should be brought together in the greatest possible unity of organisation and action on a united programme for these ends."

The Imperial Arts League – founded some twenty-five years earlier, had exactly similar aims – and had had very little success in promoting them. Their bi-monthly *Bulletin*, according to Watson, "... makes up a picture of commercial trickery, official indifference and individual insult such as no Trade Union should tolerate for a week".

It is clear – and I think not entirely without substance – that Watson claims the artist as a producer (as he puts it) has fallen on days even more evil than usual. Incidentally he traces English indifference to the visual arts back at least to the nineteenth century and quotes Holman Hunt, who replied to a young man wishing to become a painter and who had asked the great man for advice – "From all experience, I would scarcely regard painting in England as a profession at all."

It was therefore not altogether surprising that refugee artists were not going to have an easy time after their arrival in this country, not only, or even primarily, because they were refugees, but because they were artists. In the thirties, British artists themselves were finding it very difficult to sell their work, and on top of that, these foreigners came from what was, for most people in Britain, an unknown and alien world.

Indeed, the more adventurous the refugee artist, the more outstanding, the more creative his potential contribution, the harder did he find it to take root in Great Britain or contribute to British cultural life. One outstanding example was Kurt Schwitters – an artist of considerable importance, who had first emigrated to Norway in 1937 and had then fled to Britain in 1940. He worked throughout the war on his magnificent collages, first developed as the founder of the MERZ movement in Hanover,[17] without anyone in Britain taking the slightest interest in him. Only once was his work exhibited in London – in 1944 – when that rare and perceptive critic, Herbert Read, wrote an appreciative preface to the catalogue – but Schwitters continued to be ignored, and his work made no impression on the cultural life of this country. He died at Kendal in the Lake District in 1948, and it was

[17] Dawn Ades (ed.), *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed* (exhibition catalogue), London 1978.

not until 1985 that a retrospective exhibition of his work, at the Tate Gallery, paid homage to an outstanding artist who lived the last ten years of his life among us.[18] The explanation is simple – his art was part of a movement that had been created in Germany in the twenties and which was unacceptable not only to the British public, but also – on the whole – to British artists and critics. His work had of course, been included in the large Nazi "Degenerate Art" exhibition in Munich in 1937, and it is ironic that it met with an almost equally negative response in Britain.

Herbert Read had, ever since the late 1920s, been almost alone in recognising the importance of the German contribution to Modern Art. He dedicated his book, *Art and Industry*, of 1934, to Gropius and Moholy-Nagy, both of the *Bauhaus*, and *Art Now*, published in 1933, to his friend Max Sauerlandt, art historian and one of the many museum directors sacked unceremoniously by the Nazis, some for being Jewish and others for buying art Hitler did not like. In *Art Now*, Read devoted two chapters to what he called 'Subjective Realism – the German Expressionist School' and 'Subjective Idealism – the Art of Free Fancy and Paul Klee'. He wrote:

"[Expressionist art is...] frankly a literary art – depending for its subjective appeal, not so much on formal elements as on the emotional content of the objects or events represented... we must therefore give it a place in our survey, in defiance of those critics who are too exclusively wedded to the purist or intellectual prejudices of the Paris school."

He goes on to deal with Edvard Munch, the *Brücke*, Emil Nolde,[19] and the *Neue Sachlichkeit*.[20] In the preface he paid handsome tribute to German achievements, and warned his readers about what was happening in Germany in 1933:

"The Modern artist... is isolated. The general public will not accept him at face value... That such a situation has its dangers is proved by recent events in Germany. Before coming into power of the present dictatorship, modern art enjoyed in Germany an esteem unequalled in any other part of Europe... most of the leading artists held positions as teachers in official art schools or were in more indirect ways supported by the state... a happy state of affairs."

From such a world – even if the picture painted by Read may have been somewhat rosy – artists both of world renown and of lesser stature came to Britain, and the indifference and even outright hostility they met must have been all the harder to bear or even to understand. And yet, at the same time, they experienced the warmth and assistance extended by many individuals and by such organisations as the Artists International Association, who formed a committee to help and even support refugees financially in 1938.

Modern art was at the time frequently equated with a Left-wing – even Communist – commitment, what the Nazis called *Kulturbolschewismus*. Thus for example, Sir Michael Sadler, the eminent academic, and a supporter of modern art and enlightened collector of it, wrote in a pamphlet called *Art and Revolution* published in 1932:

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[18] Stefan Themerson, *Kurt Schwitters in England 1940–1948*, London 1958; John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, London 1985. Also short catalogue of Tate Gallery exhibition, with essay by Richard Humphreys, 1985.

[19] Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1957.

[20] John Willett, *The New Sobriety. Art and Politics in the Weimar Period 1917–33*, London 1978.

"I wish to discuss... whether the tempo of mind and trend of feeling disclosed by the work of many modern artists portend economic and social revolution... Good as they may be, achievements of genius as I for one think that many of them are, these paintings and sculptures of the left are defiant and unsweetened. Many of the young find them instantly congenial. But the first instinctive re-action of most elderly people towards a good deal of this recent sculpture and painting is a feeling of repugnance, anger and alarm."

A little later he adds, a not altogether surprising conclusion: "The left wing movements in modern art, are so various and disparate that they may point only to future confusion." Indeed there was much confusion about art in the politics of the 1930s. Sadler states that his readers should not suspect painters like Cézanne, Gauguin, or Vincent van Gogh, Signac or Matisse of being dangerously "Red" – and moreover, he points out gleefully that their pictures in Moscow are labelled "Taste of the Industrial Bourgeoisie" or "Taste of the Rentier" or even under the general title of "Age of Distorted Imperialism". It was one of the ironies of the period that modern art, in a great many of its facets, was accused of being "Left-wing" by Nazis and at the same time attacked by Communists in Stalinist Russia for being Imperialist. Even in the West, Left-wing critics like Anthony Blunt, writing in the *Left Review* stated:

"The Line of Daumier, Courbet, the early Van Gogh, Meunier and Dalou is that of the real art of the growing proletariat, while that of the bourgeoisie continues the abstraction of the 20th century."[21]

The Artists International Association, certainly Left-wing in political orientation, had some difficulty in combining their fundamental preference for naturalistic social realism as defined in Stalinist Russia, with a belief in freedom of expression and the widely held view that abstract art was Left-wing. Thus in a review of their 1935 exhibition, a political sympathiser who preferred abstract art to social realism – hoping to square the circle – quoted from Herbert Read:

"Abstract art... keeps inviolate (until such time as society will once more be ready to make use of them), the universal qualities of art – those elements which survive all changes and revolution."

It was into this confusing world that the Central European refugee artists came. They had suffered the same political confusions in the 1920s that I have just outlined. The Communists in Germany were as opposed to modern art as were the Nazis. They were attacked by the Nazis for being un-German, degenerate and Bolshevik, and paradoxically by the Communists for being incomprehensible to the proletariat, bourgeois and at best irrelevant to the struggle of the workers – except perhaps, reluctantly, those like Heartfield or Grosz who were active in explicit anti-Nazi propaganda and political satire.

The artistic background of the refugees then – oversimplified in a few words – was formed by the three major trends in Central Europe: Expressionism and *Neue Sachlichkeit*, Dada and Surrealism – both figurative – and the *Bauhaus*, mostly, but by no means totally, non-objective, with a major emphasis on the total environment and the opportunities of the mass-production of good design for all provided by the "Machine Age".

[21] Anthony Blunt, 'Dalou and his Workers' Monument', in *Left Review*, October 1936.

After their arrival the work of one refugee artist or another was shown – albeit rarely – between 1933 and the beginning of the war in some dozen or so galleries, and only in two or three of them more than once – for example in the Arcade Galleries established by Paul Wengraf from Vienna, himself a refugee[22] and especially Reid and Lefèvre and Wertheim's in Burlington Gardens, who put on a group exhibition of German, Austrian and Czech artists in June 1939. Prices ranged from 250 guineas for Max Ernst's *Joie de Vivre* (Ernst was then still in Paris before making his escape to the United States); and *Bathing Girls* by Oskar Kokoschka, lately arrived in London from Prague, for 200 guineas; to a Friedrich Feigl *View of Tower Bridge* for seven and a Heinz Worner for three guineas. Sculpture provided even better bargains – a George Ehrlich for 100 guineas and a *Mask* by Lo Reichenbach for ten guineas. Altogether forty-seven paintings and twenty-one sculptures were shown.

But it was Herbert Read once again who, a year earlier in the summer of 1938, tried to help the growing number of refugees in the most practical way by organising a large exhibition of "German 20th Century Art" in the New Burlington Gallery – in an attempt to open the mind of the British public to the achievements of German artists since the beginning of the century. A photograph taken of the exhibition shows that Max Beckmann's powerful triptych, *Temptation of St. Anthony* dominated the gallery.[23] Beckmann visited London during the exhibition, gave a lecture entitled 'On my Painting', and returned to Amsterdam, where he stayed throughout the war. In 1947, despite several offers from Germany to return, he accepted teaching appointments in the United States, in Washington and in New York, where he died in 1950.

Augustus John, the doyen of English figurative painting, who held the position in England that was held by Max Liebermann in Germany until 1933, gave his name as President to the venture, and thirty-six of the good and the great lent their names as patrons. Among them were Clive Bell, Professor Borenius of Birmingham, W. G. Constable, Director of the Courtauld Institute, Julian Huxley, David Low, the cartoonist, John Rothenstein, Director of the Tate Gallery, Raymond Massey, the actor, Jean Renoir, Pablo Picasso and Aristide Maillol from France, and Sir Michael Sadler and H. G. Wells, both of whom supported refugee artists by a genuine interest in their work and by collecting their work in a serious way. John Harrison and Roland Penrose, the surrealist painter, both collectors of modern art, were members of the organising committee. Herbert Read wrote in the introduction to the catalogue:

"The exhibition has been conceived historically. It begins with the fully developed phase of Impressionism as established about the turn of the century. It follows the stages which correspond in Germany to those generally recognised as Post-Impressionism, Cubism and Surrealism. It is to be observed, however, that the most characteristic type of modern German art demands and has received a special name – Expressionism, and that this type of art is in essential conformity with the historical tradition of German art – the art of Cranach,

[22] Unfortunately I have not the space to deal with the help given refugee artists by German art dealers – like Jack Bilbo, Calmann, Kauffmann and Heinz Roland, who had already come to Britain in 1929. For Jack Bilbo, see Mary Kerr Woodeson, 'Jack Bilbo und seine "Modern Art Gallery". London 1941–1946', in *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien* (exhibition catalogue), *op. cit.*, pp. 49–52.

[23] See Cordula Frowein, 'Ausstellungsaktivitäten der Exilkünstler', *ibid.*, p. 36.

Altdorfer and Grünewald. But in general we may say that the artists represented here are the German equivalents of artists like Degas, Cézanne, Seurat, Matisse and Picasso in France or of Walter Sickert, Augustus John, Jacob Epstein, Duncan Grant, Paul Nash and Ben Nicholson in our own country."

Some of the better known artists that came to live in this country were shown in the "Historical" section, including Kurt Schwitters, Oskar Kokoschka and Ludwig Meidner – but all three had not yet arrived by the summer of 1938. Others less well established internationally, were listed at the end of the catalogue under the heading "Artists now working in this country". Virtually all those exhibited in the historical section in the New Burlington Galleries had been included in the "Degenerate Art Exhibition" held in Munich the year before. The exhibition was, of course, not a comprehensive survey – it depended on loans – although one or two omissions of important and well-known artists are a little surprising. For example, Naum Gabo, the well established Constructivist, who had arrived in 1936 and stayed till 1947, must have been known to Read, more especially because no other refugee artist had a more immediate or a more telling influence on his British contemporaries. He had been active in Paris, where he worked from 1932 until 1936 and because he had been closely involved in the *Abstraction-Création* group he was received warmly by Paul Nash, Ben Nicholson and his wife Barbara Hepworth. He joined them in St. Ives in 1939 and his influence on Hepworth's sculpture was as profound as it was to be after the war on a younger generation of Constructivist artists, like Victor Pasmore, Anthony Hill, Kenneth and Mary Martin and Gillian Wise.[24] In 1937, together with Leslie Martin and Ben Nicholson he edited a "Circle 1" publication,[25] and he was, I believe, the only refugee artist who was given a one-man show before the war, at the London Gallery in 1938.

Another whose absence in 1938 is a little surprising is Arthur Segal, who had arrived in London in October 1936, and whose work developed through phases of Neo-Impressionism, Expressionism and *Neue Sachlichkeit* to a form of personal Constructivism, which has also been described as "German Cubism", although it is closer to the Russian Casimir Malevitch's Cubism than to the Parisian.[26] Also László Moholy-Nagy, who had arrived in 1935 but, it is true, had left for the States already in 1937,[27] and Jankel Adler who did not arrive in Britain until 1940 from Poland via France, and was in Scotland until 1943.[28] His work and that of René Graetz, who did not arrive until 1939 and who was born in Berlin, although both his parents were Russian, show an awareness of Parisian art in general – perhaps even Picasso in particular – unusual among Central European artists.

Also among those listed in the New Burlington Gallery as "now working in England" were Martin Bloch, George Ehrlich, Hans Feibusch, Erna Auerbach, and Fred Uhlman(n), all later to become well established here. Their work was surprisingly un-political as is shown by the subject matter of the paintings exhibited:

[24] Alan Bowness, 'Introduction', *Naum Gabo, Sixty Years of Constructivism* (Tate Gallery), London 1987, p. 5.

[25] *Circle 1. International Survey of Constructivist Art*, London 1937.

[26] Norbert Lynton, 'Arthur Segal and German Cubism', in *Studio International*, 178 (1969). For reproductions, see *Arthur Segal* (exhibition catalogue, Fischer Fine Art), London 1978.

[27] Krisztina Passuth, *László Moholy-Nagy*, London 1985.

[28] D. Farr, 'Artists in wartime Glasgow', in *Apollo*, vol. LXXXVIII, no. 78 (1968), pp. 120–124.

Railway Bridge in Berlin (1933) by Bloch, *Swimming Pool* (1931) by Erna Auerbach were, of course, painted before they left Germany, but even *Death of Narcissus* by Feibusch, and *French Cemetery* by Uhlman – both of 1938, were not exactly aimed, one might say, at a British public. Nor did the work appeal to either the public or the critic – indeed, Herbert Read and his friends must have been horrified by what was written. Although one or two sympathetic comments were expressed by enlightened critics like R. H. Wilenski in the *Sunday Times*, who after pointing out that "England's instinctive sympathies are always with the underdog", also had to admit that their art tended to violence and was somewhat hectic.[29] Long-established artists like Liebermann, Käthe Kollwitz or Ernst Barlach were, on the whole, received favourably. Not altogether surprising when we contemplate examples of their work; like Liebermann's brightly lit and colourful *Seaside* scenes painted with the most liquid of brushes, Kollwitz's vivid, powerful drawings born out of deep human sympathy, or Barlach's gentle sculptures, of rounded and simplified forms.

But the Left-wing periodical *New Statesman and Nation*, published a review that must take the prize for insensitivity – quite apart from an obvious failure of critical acumen or even knowledge. Their resident art critic Raymond Mortimer wrote:

> "... because Hitler has condemned works as degenerate, one is tempted to acclaim them with enthusiasm. But it is the critic's first duty to resist such temptations... in so far as the German exhibition at the New Burlington Gallery is propaganda, it is, in my opinion, very bad propaganda. People who go to see the exhibition are only too likely to say: 'If Hitler doesn't like these pictures, it's the best thing I've heard about Hitler'. For the general impression made by the show upon the ordinary public must be one of extraordinary ugliness."[30]

Despite such a discouraging reception, and with surprising tenacity, the artists that came to England after having established a reputation on the Continent remained, without a single exception, true to their style in their work – and this continued throughout the trials of internment, which most of them suffered, and throughout the war thereafter – although, of course, the subject matter by then often reflected their life in this country.

A great deal of work was produced during internment. Fred Uhlman, a fellow internee, reports details of Kurt Schwitters's life on the Isle of Man that actually suggest that Schwitters enjoyed the peace and quiet of life as a prisoner where he was able to continue to work on his collages and assemblages.[31] Walter Nessler's strong drawings of his surroundings in 1941, in crayon and chalk, often on newspaper for want of better drawing paper, are typical of the need of artists to continue their work under almost impossible circumstances. After their release, the war itself is also reflected in their work, directly, as in Samson Schames's stark *Ruined Houses* of 1941 and more symbolically, in Ludwig Meidner's *Wounded Men under an Open Sky* of 1943. But more personal concerns and scenes from daily London life also continued – like a watercolour of 1945 by Meidner simply showing the interior of a London *Tube Train* or Albert Reuss's *Art Critic* painted in 1943, which continues the simplified forms of Purist figurative composition of *Bauhaus* (perhaps especially

[29] *Sunday Times*, 17th July 1938.
[30] *New Statesman and Nation*, 16th July 1938.
[31] Fred Uhlman, *The Making of an Englishman*, London 1960.

Oskar Schlemmer) parentage. Other European traditions that had hardly penetrated England at the time, like Munch's famous picture *Scream*, seem to have inspired Hilda Goldschmidt to paint her expressive canvas *Wales* – the principality that also made a deep impression on Josef Herman, a Polish refugee who fled to Great Britain from Belgium via France in 1940, and who drew and painted Welsh miners and their surroundings for some ten years in the 1940s and 1950s. Hans Feibusch, who had been well enough established in Germany to have had his work included in the Nazi "Degenerate Art" exhibition held in Munich in 1938, joined the Church of England and has become an eminent painter of Christian murals for English churches – like the vivid Trinity Mural for the Church of St. Alban, Holborn, while Hein (formerly Heinz) Heckroth continued the long established German Surrealist tradition and also worked a great deal as a designer for stage and screen, winning Oscars for *The Red Shoes* and *Tales of Hoffmann*. But the generally accepted head of the artists' community was Oskar Kokoschka. After spending 1934–1938 in Prague, he arrived in London in October 1938. He was a founder member of the *Freier Deutscher Kulturbund* (FDKB) in Uhlman's house in Hampstead in 1938 and served as its President until 1946. His early work in Britain includes some superb landscapes painted in 1939 at Polperro in Cornwall, and two years later a large politically inspired canvas *The Red Egg*. It is a bitter allegory on Chamberlain's Munich. The roasted chicken flying away after laying the red egg represents Czechoslovakia, Prague burns in the background. Hitler, Mussolini and the British Lion, his tail curled into a pound sign and sitting on a pedestal inscribed "In Pace Munich", surround the table set to eat the egg, with the French cat lying below it. The date 1939 refers to the German occupation of Prague on 15th March – Easter – of that year and the "Red" of the egg reminds us of the colouring of Easter eggs.[32] By 1947 Kokoschka had become very fond of his new home, refused offers from America and applied for naturalisation, but six years later he moved to Switzerland, where he died in 1980. Not until 1986 at the Tate Gallery was a major exhibition of his work mounted in England.[33]

How far did the work of refugee artists affect the culture of the country, that became for so many their new home?

At first, their reception – except for the small circles that were sympathetic to their historical position – was, as I have already said, hardly likely to result in having their work influence indigenous traditions. Certainly not in painting and sculpture in a country that had a long relationship with Paris, if it looked beyond the Channel at all. In one area of the visual arts, however, not always accepted as part of the "Fine Arts", the effect was far more immediate: photography – more especially, photojournalism. It was the founding of *Picture Post* by Edward Hulton in October 1938, that gave a number of German photographers a great chance to show their skill. Indeed the paper itself was largely modelled on the *Berliner Illustrirte* and the

[32] On a photograph of this picture in the archive of the *Hochschule für Angewandte Kunst*, Vienna, Kokoschka wrote in pencil the more accurate title: *Das Osterei*. For the few politically inspired paintings by Kokoschka see Diether Schmidt, 'Partisan Oskar Kokoschka', in *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien* (exhibition catalogue), *op. cit.*, pp. 189–194.

[33] Richard Calvocoressi (ed.), *Oskar Kokoschka 1886–1980* (exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery), London 1986.

Münchner Illustrierte. What might be called straight photographers like Wolf Suschitzky, and his sister Edith Tudor Hart, saw English life with the perceptive, and fresh eye of a foreigner. Their influence – and that of others like Gernsheim (who also wrote a standard history of photography), Kurt Hübschmann (Kurt Hutton, as he became in Britain) and perhaps above all Felix H. Man (originally Baumann), who from 1938–1945 was chief reporter of *Picture Post*, as well as having his work published in every illustrated magazine in Britain and throughout the world, until his death in 1985 – was all-pervasive. All of them helped to set a new and higher standard for photojournalism in this country. But two more names must also be mentioned: Moholy-Nagy who, after spending many years at the *Bauhaus*, came to Britain via Amsterdam in 1935 and went on to the United States in 1937. In the two years he spent in London he made two films – *The Life of the Lobster* and *The New Architecture in the London Zoo* – commissioned, significantly, by the Museum of Modern Art in New York and not by any patron in Britain. He also produced three books of photographs, one called *Eton Portrait* showing the lifestyle of England's most privileged public school, and another, perhaps in conscious contrast, entitled *Street Markets of London*, where life on quite another social level is seen with honesty, even harshness, and yet sympathy.

The other artist in this area, perhaps even more immediately influential, was Helmut Herzfeld, – he had already changed his name to John Heartfield in 1916 in protest against the violently chauvinist agitation in Germany during the First World War. He was given the opportunity to publish his photo-montages in exile, which he had already raised to a fine art in Germany – mostly in the cause of resisting the rise of National Socialism. Thus, for example, he designed the famous and witty cover of *Picture Post* on that fateful day 3rd September 1939, entitled 'Kaiser Adolf: The Man against Europe', which showed the *Kaiser* of the First World War, in plumed helmet and imperial uniform against a background of the map of Europe, with the face of Hitler substituted, with only his moustache given the waxed upward points of the *Kaiser*. A far more bitter cover for an anthology of "Free German Poetry" published in London in 1943, shows an ape sitting on the globe, sword in hand, a swastika armband, a tiny human victim in his left hand in the manner of King Kong, with Hitler's head wearing a German steel helmet fitted out with horns. The words added read: "UND SIE BEWEGT SICH DOCH!" (and yet it moves).

In this area of journalism, one more direct and outstanding contributor to British culture must be mentioned, Victor Weisz – better known to a British audience as "Vicky" – who came to London from Berlin via Budapest and Prague in October 1935. He began to make his name with occasional caricatures – like one of Roosevelt on his re-election in 1936 or Ribbentrop on his appointment as Ambassador – for *The Daily Telegraph* in 1936, which followed very much the manner he had established in Berlin in the early 1930s.[34] But soon, especially under the influence of Britain's greatest political cartoonist of the times, David Low, he began to create a niche for himself that he occupied in British hearts and minds until he tragically committed suicide in 1966. No doubt his shrewd political insight while working

[34] See figs. 13 and 15 in Russell Davies and Liz Ottaway, *Vicky*, London 1987.

almost daily for the *Evening Standard* and the *News Chronicle* until 1953, seven years before its own demise, left its mark on British society. Vicky not so much exerted an influence on Britain, but rather became a British institution with an infallible touch, both in humour and in political insight.

What then was the lasting influence of refugees – those that settled, or passed through, or the very few politically committed like Heartfield and Meidner, who returned to Germany after the war? There is no better way of determining any such influence, than to compare English art of the 1930s with English art of the 1960s – from its marginal position in the 1930s to being recognised as one of the major forces in the world of the visual arts in the 1960s. Naturally that difference cannot be put wholly at the door of those few who came here and displayed their strange wares to the British public, but there are a few painters who today enjoy considerable esteem in this country, and who, I would venture to suggest, owe this to the broadening of British taste brought about by the presence of "Central European" artists. It was their pioneering efforts, together with critics like Herbert Read, that made this country aware of the fact that all art is not necessarily French if it is recent, or Italian if it is not. Moreover, among the painters of the generation that followed them, there are two outstanding talents who were refugees themselves – although, coming as children, they were totally trained in England: Lucian Freud and Frank Auerbach. They cannot deny their roots. Freud's portraiture can be compared for example to Christian Schad's of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of the 1920s in Berlin in the precision of their observation[35] – although one must not forget that Freud also knows the work of Stanley Spencer. An excellent illustration of such an influence is Frank Auerbach, who was sent to school in England as an eight-year-old – he was never to see his parents again – and whose portrait of Professor Michael Podro, the art historian, can be compared to Kokoschka's famous early *Self-Portrait* of 1917 or, even more closely with the watercolour self-portrait of Eugen Hofmann, who came to London in 1939 and returned to Dresden in 1946.[36] It is not suggested that Auerbach actually knew Hofmann's work, but rather that both draw heavily on a German "expressive" tradition.

There is also Leon Kossoff, born in London in 1926 it is true, but the son of a Jewish refugee of an earlier emigration – from Russia, before the First World War. His work not only clearly shows his roots in the same "expressive" tradition – Nolde, for example comes to mind – but also proves how much he learned from David Bomberg. Both he and Auerbach studied under that considerable artist, who has been accorded only so very recently the acclaim his work fully deserves, and who himself, although born in Britain in 1890, was the son of a Polish-Jewish refugee.[37] His generation also brought Mark Gertler and Jacob Epstein, of similar parentage, into British art. Men such as these were at least in part responsible for bringing colour and passion, sometimes joyful and often deeply disturbing, into English art – and only now is it beginning to be accepted widely in this country. Their English contemporaries were Stanley Spencer and perhaps Sir Matthew

[35] Willett, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[36] See *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien* (exhibition catalogue), *op. cit.*, illustration on p. 81.
[37] Richard Cork, *David Bomberg*, London 1987.

Smith also, but nowadays there are many more, for example: Alan Davie, who paints with vigour and joyous colour, and Howard Hodgkin's extremely subtle and imaginative use of both colour and design which has led him into decorative and yet intense and expressive forms. John Hoyland's abstract colour experiments remind one surely of the *Bauhaus* – especially Johannes Itten and perhaps Josef Albers – which has proved a powerful influence in Britain both directly and perhaps even more strongly via the New York exploitation of the same stimuli by artists like Barnett Newman or Robert Motherwell. Finally there are the masterly and haunting images of Francis Bacon, whose work both disturbs and deeply moves. Foreign artists have enriched this country in past centuries – Holbein, Kneller or Van Dyck for example. In our century I doubt whether an appreciation of such powerful images could have come about in this country without the arrival of refugee artists, who both in their own work and by the fact of their presence reminded their adopted country of the existence of artistic traditions only rarely considered here.

Finally then, the contribution of refugee art historians. Their influence was perhaps the most significant in the long run and certainly the most direct and immediate. In the academic world of the universities art history was, in the 1930s, hardly known in Britain, and certainly not taken very seriously in academe. That was perhaps not so very surprising, when British historians associated the discipline with Ruskin rather than with, say, Burckhardt. In both Manchester and Edinburgh it was taught only in joint degrees, in the latter since 1879, in a flourishing school of art. Only in the very recent past – 1930 to be exact – had the University of London accepted the benefaction of Sam Courtauld, the industrialist of refugee Huguenot descent, to endow an Institute to teach an honours degree in the History of Art. The endowment included his fine collection of paintings, and was brought about by the persuasion of Lord Lee of Fareham. The founders of the Institute believed that a close, daily contact with real works of art was an essential part of the training of art historians. It is interesting to note that it was not the German model that Lord Lee was determined to emulate – where, after all, the history of art had been taught since the 1780s and the first personal chair established in Berlin as early as 1843, but where he might well have felt the weight of learning obscured the work of art itself. According to Lord Lee's biography,[38] it was the Fogg Museum at Harvard that was in his mind when in 1927, walking in Richmond Park with Lady Lee, the idea first came to him that such an Institute was needed in Great Britain. Also, he knew America better and was married to an American.

The Courtauld's first Director, W. G. Constable, then a Keeper at the National Gallery, was appointed. Alongside him, illustrious names appeared in the Institute's early prospectuses, among them Thomas Kendrick, Kenneth Clark, E. K. Waterhouse, Eric Maclagan – all knighted for their services to the arts later in life, and Kenneth Clark even achieved a life peerage. Soon after 1934 new names began to appear: Rudolf Wittkower, who offered a course on "Michelangelo", Dr. Freyhan

[38] Privately printed biography by Alan Clark, *A Good Innings* in 2 vols., quotes Lady Lee's diary for 20th September 1927. (Courtauld Institute Library, Somerset House, London.) See Peter Lasko, 'L'Institut Courtauld et l'histoire de l'art en Grande-Bretagne', in *Revue de l'art*, 30 (1975), pp. 87–91 (and in English, pp. 114–115).

on "German Gothic architecture", Dr. Walter Friedländer on "Claude and Poussin", and Fritz Saxl, the Director of the Warburg Institute, taught "Renaissance Theories of Art". With these arrivals the Courtauld joined a third and most important strand to its teaching, that of German art-historical scholarship. Until then, the long-established and internationally respected museum and gallery connoisseurship and the venerable and highly scholarly tradition of British antiquarianism, which reached back into the seventeenth century, had had to suffice. With the addition of this vital imported component were laid the foundations for the contribution to the study of art history the Institute was able to make after the war, nationally and even internationally. Immediately after 1945, Johannes Wilde who had arrived from Vienna just before the war, and George Zarnecki who made his escape from Poland via France and Spain during the war, both in turn deputy directors under Anthony Blunt, played roles of outstanding importance in forming the post-war generation of art historians in this country.

Alongside the Courtauld, invigorated by these refugee art historians, it was the arrival of the Warburg Library under its director Fritz Saxl, accompanied by his entire staff of scholars that greatly enriched the study of art history in this country. The Library had been founded in Hamburg by Aby Warburg, a member of the famous banking family, who was prepared to give up any claim to the family fortune in favour of his younger brother Max, if only he would allow him to buy all the books he wanted.[39] Aby Warburg built up a most remarkable library of interdisciplinary humanist studies at a time when the term had not yet been invented. Not only art history was covered, but it ranged over literary and textual history and criticism, philosophy and comparative religion, social, administrative and political history and even astrology and magic – anything and everything that helped in the study of Warburg's abiding passion – the continuity of the classical tradition through the middle ages, "das Nachleben der Antike", as the Director Fritz Saxl described it in 1930, up to the Italian and Northern Renaissance and beyond.

Before the end of 1933, Saxl, with an astonishingly perceptive understanding of what was in store for German scholarship, secretly packed up the entire library and shipped it to London. On its arrival in the port, once again the help of Sam Courtauld was needed. He readily guaranteed £6,000 a year to the University of London, if they would agree to house it. Room was found for it in Imperial College in South Kensington, but not until 1944 was it finally accepted by the University as a Senate Institute. One cannot overestimate the importance of this Institute in promoting the study of art history within the context of a wider cultural history – continuing to emphasise the study of the classical tradition as was always intended by its founder. Sir Ernst Gombrich has been only one in an outstanding succession of distinguished directors of an Institute which has contributed and continues to contribute so much to British scholarship by its teaching at post-graduate level, and by the research of its staff and by visiting scholars from all over Britain and the world working in its incomparable library. The very selection of its volumes and their unique classification are in themselves a work of scholarship.

But others, not attached to either of these institutes in London or who worked

[39] Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography. With a Memoir on the History of the Library by F. Saxl*, London 1970.

there only for short time, made their personal and no less remarkable contributions. Edgar Wind, for example, the first Deputy Director under Saxl, left for the United States in 1942 and stayed there, at Smith College until 1955. In that year he was called to Oxford to be appointed the first Professor of the History of Art in that ancient university. His lectures on the Italian High Renaissance, and especially the iconography of the period, influenced generations of students, although the University did not allow them to read the subject as undergraduates. His lectures became famous – he was said to be both an exceptional performer and a highly stimulating and intellectually exciting lecturer. In another ancient British university, Cambridge, no chair was created in the discipline until very recently.

In Oxford also, another refugee was able to establish himself in the relatively minor position of a Fellow of Oriel College: Otto Pächt from Vienna, who had been a lecturer in Heidelberg till 1933. His major contribution, three catalogues of the illuminated manuscripts in the Bodleian Library were published by him jointly with a young British scholar, Jonathan Alexander (later appointed to a chair at the prestigious Institute of Fine Arts in New York), in 1966, 1972 and 1973.

For a short time, before going on to become the Director of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C. – the Byzantine study centre of the University of Harvard – Ernst Kitzinger, as Thomas Kendrick's guest (and, I believe, largely at his personal expense) worked in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and brought the methods of German art history into the British Museum. The short book he wrote there entitled *Medieval Art in the British Museum*, which covers material in several departments of the museum – an unprecedented experiment – is a classic of its kind. It was first published in 1940 and is still in print.[40]

Others, unable to obtain employment in museums or universities, like Frederick Antal and Otto Demus, continued their researches, often under conditions of real personal hardship. Demus, born in 1902 and fortunately still active in his beloved Vienna where he returned after the war, worked on important books only published after the war on Byzantine art and Romanesque wall-painting in Europe, which remain standard works today.[41] Frederick Antal, who died in London in 1954 at the age of 67, was one of those rare scholars in our discipline who influenced the way we conceive it. He was a gifted student of the Viennese School – perhaps the most important in Europe – where Max Dvořák and Joseph Strzygowski and, a little earlier, the great Alois Riegl had taught. There he absorbed Dvořák's *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*[42] and began work on his *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*. Only with the financial assistance of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning – founded in Britain to support refugees from the German academic world – was he finally able to publish the book in 1948. His book opened up new avenues for art-historical studies in England and perhaps especially in America. He explains his intentions in the preface. He wanted to answer the question of how it was possible for pictures to be painted in Florence at the same

[40] The third edition revised by David Buckton, 1983.

[41] Among them *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1947); *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1950); *Romanesque Mural Painting* (1970).

[42] *Geistesgeschichte*, often translated as "History of the Spirit" is much more than that: "History of Ideas, of the Intellect" gets closer – "Cultural History" is also part of the concept. See Max Dvořák's *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*, Munich 1924.

time and in the same place that were as different as Masaccio's and Gentile da Fabriano's. The answer usually given – that the one worked in the "classical" and the other in the "gothic" tradition – in Antal's opinion (with which I concur) merely described, but did not explain the situation. He went on to say that it was necessary to study the whole of Florentine society, the artists' role in that society, the taste of their patrons and their place and status in society and their political associations. He believed he was merely continuing the work begun in Vienna – particularly that of Dvořák, but others especially among the younger generation in England and in America accepted his ideas with enthusiasm and characterised them as "Marxist" – which seems far too limiting. Antal's great breadth of knowledge was not that dependant on only one dogmatic discipline.

But surely, in any list of German-speaking art historians the most outstanding among them must, by common consent, be Sir Ernst Gombrich and Sir Nikolaus Pevsner.

Ernst Gombrich came to London in 1936 at the age of twenty-seven and at once found a congenial home in the Warburg Institute under Fritz Saxl. But for a short interruption during the war years, when he worked for the BBC in their German Monitoring Service, the Institute remained the centre of his life, which he led as Director from 1959 until 1976. His fame and his position in the academic life of Britain – and indeed of the world, hardly knows an equal. He is more than an art historian – his knowledge encompasses philosophy and psychology (one of his most famous books *Art and Illusion,* published in 1960, deals with the psychology of vision), iconography and history of literature as well as the visual arts, from the earliest times to the present day; he has written sympathetic biographies of Aby Warburg and Oskar Kokoschka – and all of this practised with a sharp and rigorous intellect, encyclopaedic knowledge and above all great originality. His work in England is largely responsible for the fact that the history of art has achieved a considerable standing in the academic world and indeed, that it is now taken seriously in British universities.

But more than that, Gombrich is also the author of what is probably the most popular book ever written on the history of art; his *The Story of Art*, first published in 1950, which has gone through fifteen editions (1990) and is still read avidly. Said by Gombrich to have been conceived as art history for teenagers, it deals brilliantly with the art of all times and throughout the world in less than thirty chapters and has literally opened up an appreciation and a knowledge of art to millions of readers throughout the world.

But despite the importance of *The Story of Art*, I do not think it is too much to claim that it was Nikolaus Pevsner above all, whose influence has been of immense importance in Britain. I say "in Britain" advisedly, because in his case it is not a matter of influence on the intellectual and academic life in this country, but on all sections of society. One may have to admit that somehow the Warburg Institute has always remained a somewhat "foreign" island in British academe, in spite of the fact that the contribution to the Institute's work by British scholars and students since the 1950s – including its present Director, Joe Trapp, born in New Zealand – has

been of ever greater importance.[43] Nikolaus Pevsner, however, became totally assimilated to English life from the start.

Pevsner was born in 1902 and studied at the universities of Leipzig, Munich, Berlin and Frankfurt. After taking his doctorate in 1924, he worked as a curator in Dresden until 1928, and as a lecturer in Göttingen until 1933. Unusually, Pevsner recognised the character of the political situation in Germany almost at once and left for London before the end of 1933. Although he had researched Italian Baroque and Mannerism, the first appointment he could get in England was as research assistant to Professor Philip Sargent Florence in Birmingham, to research into the attitude to industrial design in British industry. The results of his work were published in 1937. He wrote:

> "It seems to me a flaw in some of the publications on art in industry which have been brought out in recent years that, by dealing with good design only, they are compelled to leave out 90% of the national productions."[44]

His trenchant criticism is typical of the man who continued to speak his mind on the many government-sponsored committees and commissions he was called to sit on. In 1936, his *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* appeared in which he traced the development of modern architecture and design from William Morris to Walter Gropius. One might almost see it as homage to his adopted country to recognise in England's "Arts and Crafts Movement" the beginnings of a development that led directly to the *Bauhaus* in Weimar, which to Pevsner stood for all that was good in twentieth-century design. There followed *An Outline of European Architecture*, which, constantly re-edited in his lifetime, has opened up a love of architecture in literally millions of readers. Written in exceptionally clear and articulate English – it has been said that only a foreigner could write the language so well – it deals with English architecture as an integral part of the European tradition – that, and the fact that Pevsner deals with architecture as "space" as was usual in Germany, was seen as highly original at the time.[45]

In 1942 he became the first lecturer and in 1959 the first Professor in the History of Art at Birkbeck College in the University of London, the only college in Britain that teaches undergraduates in the evenings and at weekends, giving those already working a second chance to obtain a university degree. I was one who, during the war, heard Pevsner's first lectures in the History of Art. He was an inspiring teacher and lecturer. In Cambridge also, where he was elected to the Slade Chair (which requires a Professor appointed annually to give eight lectures a year) six years in succession, from 1949 until 1955, which had never happened before and which has not been equalled since. His influence in this ancient university, both on academic colleagues and on students reading all disciplines, was enormous.

More than any other refugee scholar, Pevsner made contact with a wider section of English society. In 1955 he was asked to give the Reith Lectures on the BBC and

[43] See J. B. Trapp, 'The Warburg Institute and its Activities', in *Kunstchronik*, 37 (June 1984), pp. 197–201.

[44] Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Enquiry into Industrial Art in England*, London 1937.

[45] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design*, London 1968, p. 1 (Preface). See also the review of this book of reprinted essays by Francis Haskell, 'The Wholeness of Pevsner', in *The Architectural Review*, 1968.

chose as his title *The Englishness of English Art*. With only the help of a few illustrations, separately published and only obtained by a small number of his audience, he was able by description only to bring the subject to life and to introduce the history of art for the first time to a huge public. His success was almost miraculous and not surpassed until television became available to a wider audience.

In yet another field Pevsner's achievements were monumental. After 1945, Sir Allen Lane, the creator of Penguin Books, the man Pevsner called his "Patron", encouraged Pevsner to devote himself to two great publishing ventures, *The Pelican History of Art* and *The Buildings of England*. In the first, he tried as editor – successfully, I believe – to better the long established German *Handbücher der Kunstgeschichte*, by insisting that the authors wrote comprehensive volumes that were both of scholarly use to students of art history, and readable by a far wider interested public. In the *Buildings of England* he proved that an inventory of English architecture could be produced in a reasonable number of years, something which the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments had been trying to do for well over fifty years. Again his model was a German publication, the *Dehio*, but again, typically, he avoided the almost incomprehensible technical language of his model and wrote each volume in his concise and eminently readable English. The task he set himself turned out to be stupendous. He personally visited all but a handful of the 30,000 buildings described, and with his devoted band of young assistants, mostly his own students, who prepared the ground for him, he published the last volume in 1960. Although he himself called it a "faulty compilation",[46] it is hardly possible today to visit an English parish church without running into other visitors, "Pevsner" in hand. Moreover, the mere fact that other visitors are present is at least in part a tribute to Pevsner's work in making such visits so much more worthwhile. It must be a unique occurrence that an art historian, after his death in 1983, should not only be given the usual obituary in *The Times*, but also a second leader entitled 'The Englishness of Kunstgeschichte'.[47] The piece ends with the following paragraphs, paraphrasing *The Buildings of England*:

> "'[In the little church of St. Mary at Lawford, Essex] A reredos (by *C. F. Hayward*, 1884) seeks to outdo in alabaster the magnificence of the medieval stonework. It needs (*sic*, correctly: needed) all the Victorian self-confidence not to restrain oneself in the presence of so much ornamental carving as the interior of the chancel displays.'
>
> To come upon such wonder in a village church standing among corn fields above the River Stour... that, the record of tens of thousands of other such discoveries, and a way of looking, is Pevsner's gift to his adopted country."

There cannot really be any doubt that among the many scholars who spent their years as refugees in Britain and who returned home after the war or moved on to the United States and elsewhere, and especially those who made Britain their permanent home, none influenced their discipline more than art historians. It had, after all, hardly taken root in Great Britain before their arrival. One need only compare books published after the 1940s with those of the pre-war period, like for example Prior and Gardener's seminal survey of English medieval sculpture with Lawrence Stone's volume in *The Pelican History of Art* dealing with the same topic, published

[46] Pevsner, *Studies in Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 1 (Preface).
[47] *The Times*, 20th August 1983.

in 1954. The first deals with the material in time-honoured antiquarian fashion, while the later volume poses questions that can only be discussed in the broader context of the European tradition of the history of art and even cultural history. In even more precise detail, in the references cited in the three volumes of *The Pelican History of Art* that deal with English medieval art, by Margaret Rickert, Geoffrey Webb and L. Stone, the names that constantly appear and re-appear include Otto Pächt, Otto Demus, Hanns Swarzenski, Fritz Saxl, Rudolf Wittkower, Robert Freyhan, Otto Kurz, George Zarnecki and of course Pevsner. The same can be seen in the later volumes of the series extending from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, like those written by Sir Ellis Waterhouse, Sir John Summerson and Margaret Whinney, where for example the names of Johannes Wilde, Leon Ettlinger and again of course Kurz, Wittkower and Pevsner appear often in the notes. It is in no small measure their achievement, and that of others who came as refugees to this country, that the history of art is today taught in nearly all universities and polytechnics in Britain and that it is recognised as a serious and widely respected academic discipline.

Erik Levi

The German-Jewish Contribution to Musical Life in Britain

Introduction

In order to understand the extent to which German and specifically Jewish musicians influenced the course of musical development in Britain through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is worthwhile making a few general remarks about the nature of musical life in the country prior to these periods. It is particularly important to remember that after reaching a high point of creative development during the later part of the sixteenth century, the quality of English music declined. With the notable exception of Henry Purcell (1659–1695), the country failed to produce a composer of real genius for nearly 200 years. As a further indication of this decline, many musicians sacrificed their national individuality and became increasingly dependent upon stylistic influences from the Continent. At the same time, European composers found that their work received greater appreciation in this country than that of those who were native to England. Thus from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, England increasingly welcomed a steady influx of foreign musicians. At no time were they considered to be a threat to national pride or self-esteem. On the contrary, one can argue that their presence offered irrefutable proof of the vibrancy of the nation's musical life.

At first, Italian musicians and their musical styles were specially favoured, particularly at the end of the seventeenth century. This gradually changed however when the Hanoverians succeeded to the English throne in 1714. The arrival in London of George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) during 1710 marked the beginning of a period in which more German musicians began to dominate the musical scene. Certainly by the middle of the eighteenth century, the most important and influential musical figures working in London were not English composers such as Boyce, Greene or Arne, but the expatriate Germans Carl Friedrich Abel and Johann Christian Bach. They were soon to be followed by Joseph Haydn who took up temporary residence in London during the 1790s composing, amongst other works, his twelve last symphonies for the concerts organised by another German musician, Johann Peter Salomon.

The Nineteenth Century

Although German musicians of specifically Jewish extraction may well have participated in London's thriving concert life during the eighteenth century, there is no evidence to suggest that any single individual achieved more than very temporary recognition. However, two important and closely related musical develop-

ments were to alter this situation within a matter of years. The phenomenal rise in popularity of the pianoforte at the end of the eighteenth century attracted a further influx of musicians from the Continent and initiated a period in which the virtuosity of the individual executant often took precedence over a demonstration of compositional skill. Amongst the numerous virtuoso pianist composers who settled in London during the early part of the nineteenth century, Ignaz Moscheles (1796–1870) occupies an especially important position. Born in Prague, the son of a well-to-do Jewish merchant, Moscheles had studied in Vienna under Albrechtsberger and Salieri. He had also made the acquaintance of Beethoven and prepared the vocal score of *Fidelio* under the composer's supervision. After achieving much success during concert tours of Munich, Dresden, Leipzig and Paris, Moscheles came to London in 1821. He taught at the Royal Academy of Music where Litolff and Thalberg became his most distinguished pupils. Moscheles managed to ingratiate himself into the highest social circles and his concerts attracted large audiences. Eventually, he secured one of the most influential positions in English musical life, that of conductor of the Philharmonic Society in 1832, a post he held until 1841. In this capacity, he gave the first London performance of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* in 1832 and the Ninth Symphony was heard under his direction six years later. His devotion to Beethoven was further exemplified through his complete edition of the master's compositions for the British publisher Cramer, as well as a translation of Anton Schindler's *Life of Beethoven* (1841). During his period in London, Moscheles's own compositions enjoyed much popularity amongst English audiences. The majority of his works were composed as drawing-room trifles and held only ephemeral interest, but his piano concertos, especially the third, became a regular favourite at Philharmonic Society Concerts.

While Moscheles's achievements as a composer and performer were to be superseded by the greater and more daring virtuosity of such men as Chopin and Liszt, his place in musical history was assured through his important relationship with Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847). He met the young composer in Berlin in 1824 and agreed to give him piano lessons. The friendship between teacher and pupil became exceptionally strong. Indeed five years later, Moscheles invited Mendelssohn to make his first appearance in England performing his own compositions at a Philharmonic Society Concert. The success of this event, in which Moscheles joined Mendelssohn for a performance of the latter's Concerto for Two Pianos, proved to be far reaching. Not only did the brilliance and charm of Mendelssohn's performances evoke an immediate and positive response from British audiences, but the composer's reputation within Germany itself was enhanced through the affirmative recognition of his genius in another country. Mendelssohn made no fewer than ten extended visits to Britain and his music was received on each occasion with tremendous enthusiasm. He reciprocated by conducting the first performances of some of his most important compositions in the major English cities. Thus the Overture *Fingal's Cave* and the *Italian Symphony* were heard for the first time in London in 1832 and 1833 respectively, while Birmingham hosted the premières of the Second Piano Concerto in 1837 and the oratorio *Elijah* in 1846.

Mendelssohn's influence upon the course of English music during the first part of the nineteenth century was considerable. Admired by Queen Victoria for its perfect

embodiment of good taste and sentiment, his musical style was held up as an ideal model worthy of imitation by native composers, a practice which recalled the similar veneration for Handel in the previous century. Interestingly enough, it was the oratorios of both these men that cast such a dominance over English choral music of this period. But the relationship extended further, for when Mendelssohn founded the Leipzig *Conservatoire* in 1843, British musicians were actively encouraged to receive their formal musical education in this institution.[1] Moscheles too was drawn to Leipzig by his friend. In 1846, he accepted the post of Professor of Piano at the *Conservatoire* and left London for good.

Another German-Jewish composer who achieved great popularity in Britain during this period but, unlike Moscheles or Mendelssohn, made his permanent home in the country was Julius Benedict (1804–1885). He was born in Stuttgart, the son of a local banker. At the age of eleven he studied piano and composition with Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar and later became a private pupil of Carl Maria von Weber in Dresden. Benedict accompanied Weber to Vienna in 1823, where he participated in the preparation for the first performance of his teacher's opera *Euryanthe*. He remained there for two years and was appointed conductor of the *Kärntnertor Theater*. In 1827, Benedict obtained a similar post at the *Teatro San Carlo* in Naples and, whilst in Italy, made his first attempts at writing opera. Unfortunately, neither *Giacinta ed Ernesto* (1827) nor *I Portoghesi* (1830) achieved much success with local audiences. Disappointed that his talents had not received better recognition, he left Naples in 1833 and, after a year in Paris, made his way to London.

Because of his wide experience in the musical theatre, Benedict was able to secure regular employment as an opera conductor in his newly adopted country. In 1836, he became musical director of the *Opera Buffa* at the Lyceum Theatre and conducted opera at the Drury Lane Theatre from 1838 to 1848. His success as a conductor extended to other spheres of musical activity. In 1848, he gave a performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* with Jenny Lind as soloist and accompanied the singer on her American tour two years later. He served as musical director of Norwich Festivals (1845–1878), the Liverpool Philharmonic Society Concerts (1876–1880) and formed a vocal association in the mould of the German *Gesangverein* which gave regular performances at the Crystal Palace. In addition to his work as a practical musician, he edited the piano works of Beethoven and Dussek for the British publishers, Addison and Hodson, and wrote biographies of Mendelssohn (1850) and Weber (1881), which have proved to be an invaluable source of material for the historian specialising in nineteenth-century music. His easy assimilation into English society was underlined by the award of a knighthood in 1871.

Benedict's geographical progress, from Germany to Italy and finally Great Britain, forms an interesting parallel to Handel's career over a century earlier. As with his predecessor, the Italian influence rather than the German formed the basis of his musical style, this despite his close association with Weber. Of his five operas written in the English language, *The Lily of Killarney* (1862) was the most successful and for a time it rivalled Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* and Wallace's *Maritana* in

[1] Sir Arthur Sullivan and Charles Villiers Stanford were among the most eminent British composers to have studied in Leipzig during the nineteenth century.

popularity. Benedict also composed secular cantatas such as the *Legend of St. Caecilia* (1866), which display his mastery of contrapuntal techniques, and a large-scale oratorio, *St. Peter* (1870), that is more consciously Germanic in style. In comparison to his vocal compositions, his output of instrumental music, which included piano concertos and many salon piano pieces, failed to make much of an impression.

The versatility of Benedict's achievements as composer, conductor and biographer remained unrivalled in the work of any other German-Jewish musician who settled in England during the same period. Certainly, many attained a particular distinction in the field of performance. For instance Louise Dulcken (1811–1850), sister of the famous violinist Ferdinand David for whom Mendelssohn wrote his Violin Concerto, met with brilliant success as a virtuoso pianist and teacher and numbered Queen Victoria among her pupils. Similarly, Jakob Blumenthal (1826–1908), pupil of Herz and Halévy in Paris, obtained an official appointment as pianist to the Queen in 1848. At about the same time, the violin virtuoso Adolf Pollitzer (1832–1900) came to London and was appointed leader of the orchestra at Her Majesty's Theatre. In 1861, he became a professor and later Principal of the London Academy of Music and is remembered today for having given Elgar violin lessons.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, British musical life was enormously enriched by the presence of a number of important German musicians including the conductors Charles Hallé, founder of the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester, August Manns, director of the Crystal Palace Concerts, and later Hans Richter, protégé of Wagner and successor to Hallé. Amongst those of specifically Jewish origin, the most significant were Otto Goldschmidt, Georg Henschel and Carl Rosa. Goldschmidt (1829–1907) was perhaps best known as the husband of the famous soprano Jenny Lind. He was in fact a fine pianist who had studied with both Mendelssohn and Chopin. Goldschmidt arrived in London in 1858 and was appointed Vice-Principal of the Royal Academy of Music five years later. In 1875, he formed the London Bach Choir, an organisation which exists to this day. As a composer, Goldschmidt tried to emulate Mendelssohn by writing an oratorio *Ruth*, first heard at the Three Choirs Festival in 1867.

Georg Henschel (1850–1934) followed a similar career to Goldschmidt, except that he became distinguished as a concert singer. Born in Breslau, he studied in Leipzig and Berlin making his debut as Hans Sachs in a concert performance of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* in 1868. He arrived in London in 1877 and, after securing the post of principal conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra (1881–1884), returned to found the London Symphony Concerts which he directed from 1886 to 1897. Like Goldschmidt, Henschel had pretensions as a composer and his choral works, which include a *Stabat Mater* and a *Requiem*, obtained moderate success. His historical importance, however, rests on his friendship with Brahms whose music he helped to promote in Britain with unceasing devotion.[2] He was knighted in 1914.

In comparison with Goldschmidt or Henschel, the violinist and impresario Carl Rosa (1842–1889) did not dabble in composition, but he played a more crucial role in the development of British musical life. He came from Hamburg, where for a

[2] Henschel's touching memoir of Brahms was reprinted by his daughter Helen Henschel in her biography, *When Soft Voices Die*, London 1944.

time he occupied the position of *Konzertmeister* at the Opera. He toured Europe and the United States before settling in London in 1874. During the following year, Rosa formed his own Opera Company for the purpose of performing opera in English. The Company mounted its first season at the Prince's Theatre with a performance of Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*. Within the next few years, it appeared regularly in London and the provinces, giving the first performances in English of such works as Wagner's *Flying Dutchman* (1876) and *Lohengrin* (1880), Thomas's *Mignon* (1880) and Verdi's *Aida* (1880). Rosa not only introduced Wagner and Verdi to a wider public, but also encouraged native composers who had previously resisted the challenge of writing operas to attempt works in this medium. Although compositions such as Goring Thomas's *Esmerelda*, performed by the Carl Rosa Opera Company in 1883, or Stanford's *Canterbury Pilgrims* (1884) enjoyed only limited success, this initiative proved to be an important step in reviving the confidence of British musicians who had too easily succumbed to the pale imitation of continental styles. More importantly, Rosa's desire to produce opera in English survived his early death in 1889. The company continued to be a vital force in English musical life for many years, giving the first performances in Britain of such well-known works as Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel* and, in 1897, Puccini's *La Bohème*. Its last season took place as recently as 1960, when Mozart's *Don Giovanni* was heard at the Prince's Theatre.

One year before the Carl Rosa Company gave their first *Bohème*, the son of a wealthy Jewish brewer from Mannheim came to Britain to make his fortune as a businessman. His name was Robert (later Sir Robert) Mayer (1879–1982). Passionately devoted to music, he had entered the Mannheim *Conservatoire* at the age of six and his gifts as a pianist were recognised by no less a person than Brahms. Although Mayer soon gave up any practical notions of becoming a professional musician, he wanted to make a lasting contribution to musical life. This ambition was fulfilled somewhat later in 1923 when he initiated and financed an annual series of orchestral concerts for children which began to attract increasingly large audiences. The importance of this venture cannot be underestimated, for it made live music accessible to a wider spectrum of the population, thus improving general standards of musical perception. After the Second World War, Mayer extended his range of activities by founding another organisation, Youth and Music, modelled on the European counterpart *Jeunesses Musicales* and catering for the interests of an older age group. Needless to say, both the children's concerts and Youth and Music continue to play a central role in contemporary musical life.

The 1930s. The Victims of Nazi Oppression. Composers, Musicologists, Performers and Publishers

A. Composers

It would be impossible to make a direct link between the multifarious achievements of individual figures such as Benedict and Rosa who enriched English musical life during the nineteenth century and the 400 or so refugee musicians who came to Britain in the 1930s as victims of Nazi antisemitism. The different situations

of voluntary and enforced emigration are not comparable. Moreover, during the early part of the present century, the whole nature of British musical development had changed. After years in which the influx of foreign musicians had been tolerated to the extent that they were able to dominate the musical establishment, the British began to assert their own national identity. A reaction against the overwhelming influence of German culture, as manifested in the the music of Wagner and Brahms, was reinforced at the outbreak of the First World War. Even during the 1920s, many British composers resisted or ignored musical developments which were taking place in Central Europe.

Given this atmosphere of entrenched insularity, it is hardly surprising that German and Austrian composers who arrived in Britain in the next decade found considerable difficulty in re-establishing their careers in these new surroundings. Indeed, many stayed in the country for a relatively short time. Ernst Toch (1887–1964), for instance, came to London in 1933 primarily to compose music for the films *Catherine the Great* and *The Private Life of Don Juan*, both of which were directed by Alexander Korda. Yet with little prospect of regular employment, he emigrated to the USA in 1935 and eventually became a successful composer in Hollywood. Similarly, Kurt Weill (1900–1950), who had escaped from Germany only weeks after the Nazis came to power, attempted to secure his reputation in the English theatre with the musical *A Kingdom for a Cow*, first performed in London in 1935. But despite positive notices from the critics, the work failed to impress the public and ran for only two weeks. Soon Weill, too, made his way to America, where he was able to assimilate to the style of the Broadway musical without any difficulty.

Two other composers who followed Toch and Weill to the United States, but spent four years in London between 1934 and 1938 were Karol Rathaus (1895–1954) and Wilhelm Grosz (1894–1939). Both had established their reputations during the Weimar Republic, Rathaus with his opera *Fremde Erde*, first heard in Berlin in 1930 and Grosz with the musical comedy *Achtung! Aufnahme!*, performed in Frankfurt during the same year.[3] In exile, however, they pursued very different careers. Rathaus, like Toch, wrote a number of scores for the British cinema including *The Loves of a Dictator* (1935) and *Broken Blossoms* (1936). His ballet *Le Lion Amoureux* was commissioned by the *Ballets Russes* and first seen in London in 1937. A more introspective world is evoked in a series of chamber works such as the Third String Quartet (1936) and Second Violin Sonata (1938), both of which reflect the composer's personal anguish at the inexorable rise of fascism. In contrast, Grosz turned his back on the world of serious music and became a composer of popular songs. Assuming the pen-name of Hugh Williams, he wrote a number of hits such as *Isle of Capri* (1934), *Red Sails in the Sunset* (1935) and *Harbour Lights* (1937). Nevertheless, despite the evident commercial success of these ventures, Grosz decided to leave London after learning about the *Anschluß*. Unfortunately, he was unable to capitalise upon his talents in America, since he died at the age of forty-five in New York at the end of 1939.

[3] Both works by Rathaus and Grosz were singled out for special condemnation by Hans Severus Ziegler in his pamphlet which accompanied the *Entartete Musik* exhibition held in Düsseldorf in 1938. See Hans Severus Ziegler, *Entartete Musik. Eine Abrechnung*, Düsseldorf 1938, p. 20.

Amongst the small number of exiled composers who resided intermittently in Britain before making their way to the United States, Hanns Eisler (1898–1962) was undoubtedly the most important. In January 1933, he had left Berlin to attend a performance of his polemical cantata, *Die Maßnahme*, in Vienna. As he had been an active member of the Communist Party, Eisler realised that it would be impossible for him to return to Germany, since the Nazis would certainly arrest him. Circumstances forced him to lead an itinerant existence in various European and American cities during the next five years before settling in Hollywood at the outbreak of the Second World War. Eisler was faced with the dilemma of having to keep body and soul together without compromising his political ideals. Sometimes, for reasons of financial pressure, he was forced to collaborate on commercial projects which were totally alien to his creative outlook. One such example was his work as musical assistant for the 1936 British produced film of Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* starring Richard Tauber. Two years earlier, he had accepted a commission from the director Karl Grune to write the score for the film *Abdul Hamid*, produced in London in 1934. Although Eisler considered the scenario, which attempted to ridicule the *Führer* in the guise of an Arabian Sultan, to be politically respectable, he found this experience equally uncongenial. On the other hand, the composer at least attained greater recognition from the British establishment than many of his colleagues. In 1935, the BBC broadcast the first performance of his *Kleine Sinfonie* conducted by Ernest Ansermet. It soon became one of his most frequently performed concert works.

One of Eisler's most important protégés was Ernst Hermann Meyer (1905–1989). He too had played an active role in Left-wing politics during the final years of the Weimar Republic, conducting workers' choruses and composing music for the proletarian revue *Der Rote Stern*. In 1933, he fled to London where, with the help of the British Marxist composer Alan Bush, he was able to eke out an existence as conductor of the Labour Choral Union and as an extra-mural lecturer for the Workers' Educational Association. Meyer also composed scores for numerous documentary films such as *North Sea* (1938) and *Guns or Butter* (1940). During the war, he participated in the chorus of the *Freier Deutscher Kulturbund*, an anti-Nazi organisation for which he wrote a number of propaganda songs. One of these, *Radio Moskau ruft Frau Krämer*, was widely broadcast to Germany. Yet beyond the relatively small circle of political activists, Meyer's music hardly reached the wider British public. Like a number of other exiled musicians, his major contribution to British musical life was in the field of scholarship. He published a book on English chamber music from the medieval period to the seventeenth century which remains the most comprehensive work in its field.[4] Because of his political affiliations and the fact that his work had not gained greater acceptance, Meyer was one of the few exiled musicians who returned to Germany after the war. He settled in Berlin in 1948 and became one of the most eminent composers in the German Democratic Republic.

A considerable number of German composers who came to Britain in the 1930s had not achieved the international reputations of Eisler, Toch or Weill. They did not

[4] See Ernst Hermann Meyer, *English Chamber Music. The History of a Great Art from the Middle Ages to Purcell*, London 1946.

have the necessary connections to secure employment in the lucrative area of the film industry, nor could they always supplement their incomes through their expertise in the areas of performance or musicology. Some like Robert Kahn (1865–1951), a friend and associate of Brahms who had been professor of piano at the Berlin *Hochschule für Musik* from 1893 until his retirement in 1930, were completely unknown and were simply too advanced in age to embark upon new careers. Others were at the point of establishing themselves in Germany when the Nazis came to power. Berthold Goldschmidt (born 1903), for instance, had been a pupil of Franz Schreker in Berlin during the 1920s. He secured prestigious conducting positions at Darmstadt and at the *Städtische Oper* in Berlin. When his first opera, *Der gewaltige Hahnrei*, performed in Mannheim in February 1932, attracted favourable response from both the critics and the public, it seemed certain that he would receive further commissions. Indeed, the opera was to have been heard in Berlin. But in the following year, Goldschmidt lost his conducting post after the Nazi Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*, BBG) came into force. In 1935, he emigrated to Britain where he attempted to resume his career as a composer and conductor. Yet, while Goldschmidt's talents as a conductor were appreciated especially through his work with the Glyndebourne Festival Opera and the BBC Scottish Orchestra, his compositions were almost totally ignored. A particularly unfortunate example of this prejudice was manifested in 1951 when his second opera *Beatrice Cenci* was awarded a prize by the Arts Council in connection with the Festival of Britain, but never received a staged performance. Goldschmidt's unaccountable neglect has been rectified only comparatively recently. After a period of nearly 40 years, *Beatrice Cenci* was heard for the first time in a concert performance at London's South Bank in 1987. The conductor Simon Rattle has also proved to be a persuasive advocate of the composer and recently performed his *Ciaconna Sinfonica* of 1936 to rapturous applause at the Berlin Festival.

Another composer whose promising career in Germany was cut short by the rise of Fascism was Franz Reizenstein (1911–1968). He was eight years younger than Goldschmidt and had studied composition with Paul Hindemith at the Berlin *Hochschule* from 1930. By all accounts he was generally recognised as one of the institution's most gifted pupils. However when Hindemith himself came into conflict with the Nazi regime in 1934, Reizenstein left Germany and completed his studies under Vaughan Williams and Constant Lambert at the Royal College of Music in London. Contact with some of the most distinguished of English musicians served to anglicise his idiom. He was also fortunate enough to obtain a contract with the publishers Alfred Lengnick who printed the majority of his compositions. Nevertheless, Reizenstein's finely crafted music held only limited appeal. In preferring the intimate mediums of chamber music and piano miniatures to the writing of large-scale compositions, his work failed to attract the publicity it deserved: A symphony, upon which he worked for many years, lay unfinished at his death. On the other hand, Reizenstein was sufficiently experienced as a pianist to secure a teaching post at the Royal Academy of Music from 1958 to 1968 and at the Royal Manchester College of Music from 1962 to 1968. His most accessible works are probably those like the *Concerto populare* and *Let's fake an Opera*, written for the

Hoffnung Concerts in the 1950s, which demonstrate a remarkable flair for parody and musical ingenuity.

In contrast to the difficulties experienced by Goldschmidt and Reizenstein, composers who worked exclusively in the fields of light and commercial music faced a completely different situation on their arrival in Britain. This can be illustrated by examining the fortunes of three specific musicians. Probably the best-known of these was Mischa Spoliansky (born 1898) who, beside Friedrich Holländer, was the most important composer of cabaret and revue songs in the Weimar Republic. He left Berlin early in 1933 and was invited to work in Britain for the Gaumont British film company. As an extremely versatile and prolific musician, Spoliansky exploited his talents to the full. He embarked upon a second career in Britain which was no less lucrative than his first. During his period of exile, he completed an enormous number of film scores including several for the director Alexander Korda, mounted a successful musical *Who's taking Liberty?* (1939) which ran at the Whitehall Theatre for 54 performances and composed hit songs such as *Idol of Paris*, *Happiest Days* and *Melba Waltz*.

Next to Spoliansky, Josef Zmigrod, who worked under the pseudonym of Allan Gray, achieved an almost equivalent success. Although he had been a pupil of Schoenberg, Gray made his reputation as Musical Director at Max Reinhardt's *Deutsches Theater* and in-house composer for several Berlin cabarets. In Britain, he was invited to write incidental music for various theatre productions at Stratford on Avon and in the West End. He also composed the music for six revues in the German émigré cabarets. But Gray's main income was derived from writing scores for nearly onehundred feature films including *Emil and the Detectives* (1935), *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943) and *A Matter of Life and Death* (1946).

Finally, the British public, which had flocked to see numerous German and Austrian operettas in various West End theatres, responded with enthusiasm to the presence of an émigré composer who had specialised in this field. In 1936, Bernhard Grün (1901–1972) collaborated with the English lyricist George Posford to produce the musical play *Balalaika*. The work, first mounted at the Adelphi Theatre, was so popular that it ran for 570 performances. Its success was further enhanced when the film company MGM released a version of the work in 1939. Three years later, Grün worked with Richard Tauber on a new musical entitled *Old Chelsea*. Although war-time conditions precluded the possibility of this work rivalling Grün's previous operetta in terms of the number of performances, the presence of Tauber's name virtually guaranteed overwhelming public approval.[5]

The German annexation of Austria and worsening conditions in Central Europe brought about a further influx of musicians into Britain in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Second World War. From 1937 to 1940, another nineteen composers crossed the Channel hoping to rebuild their lives in very different circumstances. But unlike some of their German counterparts, they did not have sufficient time to establish themselves before they were interned on the Isle of Man. Fortunately, one of the most eminent of these composers, Egon

[5] After the war, the Austrian refugee Hans May perpetuated the Viennese operetta tradition in his *Carissima* (1948), which ran for 466 performances, *Waltz Time* (1949) and *Wedding in Paris* (1954).

Wellesz (1885–1974) had previously secured connections with the University of Oxford and was offered a fellowship at Lincoln College on his release.

Wellesz had been one of Schoenberg's first composition pupils along with Alban Berg and Anton Webern. His music was performed extensively on the Continent and his theatre works found particular favour in Germany. But in Britain, Wellesz was primarily recognised for his outstanding work as a musicologist and expert in Byzantine Chant. For instance, in 1932 when the University of Oxford conferred an honorary doctorate on Wellesz in celebration of the 200th anniversary of Haydn's birth, his achievements as a scholar were emphasised almost at the expense of his work as a composer. Wellesz's attempts to secure performances of his music in Great Britain during the 1930s met with considerable resistance. His publishers, Universal Edition, tried to persuade Dr. (later Sir) Adrian Boult, head of music at the BBC, to take more interest in his work. Yet a letter, written by Boult during 1934, illustrates both the insularity of the British establishment and a reluctance to take Wellesz's music seriously:

> "Wellesz is a composer who, though a pupil of Schoenberg, is not, we feel, cutting any special ice or writing any works of importance which justifies our taking notice of them, particularly as their impression, as far as I can see, on an English audience is bound to be one of dullness..."[6]

When Wellesz arrived in England four years later as a victim of the *Anschluß*,[7] it took him several years to break down these barriers. The British seemed unable to accept the fact that one could be equally gifted in two different areas of music.

Inevitably, after having been uprooted so suddenly from his native country, it is hardly surprising that Wellesz's creative powers suffered a hiatus. From 1938 to 1943 no composition emerged from his pen, although he found sufficient mental energy to sustain his interest in scholarly work. After the war, his position at Oxford was permanently secured when the Professor of Music, Sir Jack Westrup, created for him a special Readership in Byzantine Music. Wellesz gradually regained his confidence in composition and, as the last great inheritor of the Viennese tradition, embarked upon writing a series of nine symphonies, a genre he had previously ignored. Yet despite the fact that he became a revered figure in British musical life,[8] his later music was more sympathetically appreciated in Austria than in his adopted country. Practically all his symphonies, for example, received their first performances in Vienna. Wellesz had to wait nearly ten years before a British orchestra performed his highly admired Fifth Symphony. Moreover, the first serious biographical study of the composer's life and work was published in Vienna in 1963.[9]

Another exiled Austrian composer, Hans Gál (1890–1987), experienced a similar

[6] Caroline Cepin Benser, *Egon Wellesz (1885–1974), Chronicle of a Twentieth-Century Musician*, New York 1985, p. 98.

[7] Wellesz happened to be in Amsterdam attending a performance of his orchestral composition *Prosperos Beschwörungen*, conducted by Bruno Walter, when Hitler marched into Austria. Although he had converted to Catholicism in the 1930s, the composer was prudent enough not to return. Almost certainly his association with Schoenberg would have precluded any possibility of safeguarding his position in Vienna.

[8] Wellesz received the CBE in 1957.

[9] See Robert Schollum, *Egon Wellesz*, Vienna 1963.

reaction with regard to his critical reputation in the two countries. A much less well-known figure than Wellesz, Gál was a conservative musician whose style remained resolutely uninfluenced by the Second Viennese School. Nevertheless, he wrote remarkably fluent works in all genres and during the 1920s his opera *Die heilige Ente* (1923) was widely performed in Germany. In 1945, Gál became a lecturer in music at the University of Edinburgh and took a lively and constructive interest in musical life in the city. He published a number of musical monographs on composers of the nineteenth century including Wagner (1963), Brahms (1964) and Schubert (1974), but his music made very little impression. On the other hand in Austria, Gál, like Wellesz, was honoured with a biographical study.[10] A 1988 Austrian broadcast recording of his choral work *De Profundis*, written three years after the end of the Second World War and relayed on the BBC, suggests that his comparative neglect in Britain was somewhat inexplicable.

Neither Gál nor Wellesz exerted much influence upon the younger generation of British composers, possibly because their university duties were not concerned primarily with the teaching of composition.[11] A much more significant figure in this respect was the Hungarian émigré Mátyás Seiber (1905–1960). A pupil of Kodály at the Budapest Academy of Music, he had taught composition at the Frankfurt *Conservatoire* from 1926 to 1933, arousing particular indignation from the Nazis for initiating a course in the study of jazz. Although Seiber returned to Hungary after the Nazi take-over, the growing Fascist influence in his own country caused him to move to England. At first, he worked as a freelance musician composing a tutor for the accordion and writing the music for animated films. Then, in 1942, Michael Tippett invited him to teach classes in music appreciation, composition and harmony at Morley College, where he quickly acquired a group of loyal disciples. In the same year, Seiber founded the Society for the Promotion of New Music with the Romanian-born composer Francis Chagrin. This organisation became particularly important in the post-war era for the role it played in changing the climate of musical opinion in Britain away from complacent indifference to musical developments overseas. No less influential was Seiber's own teaching. He had incorporated 12-note procedures in his own compositions at a relatively early stage and his pupils, who included Peter Racine Fricker, Don Banks and Hugh Wood, eagerly followed his admiration for Schoenberg and Bartók.[12] Seiber's music, which includes a particularly fine quartet, the *Quartetto Lirico* (1948–1951), won strong admirers in the 1950s but is almost forgotten nowadays. There can be no doubt that the composer's tragic death in a car accident in South Africa during the autumn of 1960 deprived England of a vital creative force, who would have undoubtedly occupied a prominent position in musical life for many years.

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[10] See Wilhelm Waldstein, *Hans Gál*, Vienna 1965.

[11] Wellesz, however, inspired the warm admiration of a number of pupils including the musicologist Wilfrid Mellers and the composer Peter Dickinson who went to him for compositional advice.

[12] Since the younger generation of British composers became particularly interested in the music of the Second Viennese School during the 1950s, it is somewhat surprising that another émigré composer, Leopold Spinner (1906–1980), one of Anton Webern's most distinguished pupils, remained practically unknown in his adopted country. This was all the more surprising since Spinner himself had published an excellent summary of serial techniques in his book, *A Short Introduction to the Technique of Twelve Tone Composition*, London 1957. Yet even today performances of his work are almost non-existent.

To make an overall assessment of the contribution made by exiled composers who arrived in Britain in the 1930s is somewhat difficult because of the diffuse nature of their activities. No doubt ignorance, prejudice and insularity precluded a fairer appraisal of certain composers. Others were more fortunate in being able to harness their talents for commercial purposes. Certainly, none of the composers described above had the international reputation of a Schoenberg, Bartók or Hindemith. Indeed, whether such men would have encountered similar problems from the British musical establishment had they chosen to emigrate here, must remain idle speculation. Ultimately, the rich diversity of compositional talent from Germany and Austria exercised a positive influence, not least because it prepared the ground for the cosmopolitan and extremely tolerant musical environment of the 1970s and 1980s.

B. Musicologists

While the majority of émigré composers had to struggle to gain wider acceptance for their work, the few musicologists who arrived in Britain during the same period were generally welcomed. Perhaps the major reason for this discrepancy was that many British academics looked upon the musicological achievements of the German-speaking world with a mixture of envy and admiration. Envy, because the tradition of musical research was not as highly developed in their own country. Admiration, because of the multifarious achievements of individual German scholars. Consequently, when Jewish musicologists were removed from universities or dismissed from their positions as journalists, many received invitations to live and work in Britain. On the other hand, the country had neither the resources nor a sufficient number of educational institutions to support those who wanted to emigrate. In some cases, temporary refuge in London was but a stepping stone to more prestigious academic positions in the United States. Thus Alfred Einstein, Manfred Bukofzer, Theodor Adorno and Karl Geiringer spent insufficient time in England for their work to exercise much immediate influence. Others, however, remained. A few were fortunate enough to be able to resume their research and overcome the difficulties of having to master a different language. Alfred Loewenberg (1902–1949), for example, had spent years working in German libraries amassing an enormous amount of data concerning the details of operatic history from its conception to the present day. After his emigration to London in 1935, this material was tabulated in chronological order giving the exact dates of the first performances and important revivals of some 4,000 operas together with illuminating commentary of a bibliographical nature. The resultant publication *Annals of Opera 1597–1940*, printed in Cambridge in 1943, remains the standard work in its field.

Another scholar, whose painstaking research in the area of documentary sources proved to be of seminal influence, was the Austrian biographer and bibliographer Otto Erich Deutsch (1883–1967). He left Vienna in 1939 and worked in Cambridge until his return to Austria in 1951. Throughout his long career Deutsch had concentrated his attention on the music of the Viennese classical composers. Fortunately, conditions in Cambridge allowed him to continue his work and his extensive research into the life and work of Schubert was brought to fruition in two

publications, *Schubert. A Documentary Biography* (1946) and *Schubert. Thematic Catalogue of All His Works in Chronological Order* (1951). Deutsch's other mammoth achievement of this period was the collation of material for a comprehensive survey of Handel's life which appeared in 1955 under the title *Handel. A Documentary Biography*. Like the equivalent studies of Schubert, it has remained the definitive text-book for this particular composer.

Apart from Deutsch, the two most distinguished Austrian musicologists to have worked in Britain were Egon Wellesz and Hans Ferdinand Redlich (1903–1968). At Oxford, Wellesz pursued his scholarly work with a vigour equal to that of his composition. Apart from his numerous publications on Byzantine and early Christian music, including such standard books as *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* (1947) and *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (1949), his range of musical interests was astonishingly wide. Naturally Wellesz published a number of articles on his teacher Schoenberg and in so doing helped to gain greater favour for the composer's work in England. In the 1940s he promoted the music of Bruckner and Mahler at a time when British audiences hardly appreciated their symphonies. Wellesz was also an active contributor to the 4th and 5th editions of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1940 and 1948), writing the entries on a diversity of subjects such as Eastern church music, Cavalli, Mahler, Hofmannsthal (with whom he had collaborated on his opera *Alkestis* and ballet *Achilles auf Skyros*), musicology, opera and musical life in Vienna. In 1946 Wellesz became an editor on the board of *The New Oxford History of Music* together with the leading British musicologists Jack Westrup, Gerald Abraham, Edward Dent and Dom Anselm Hughes. The extent of his participation in this massive project can be demonstrated by the fact that he wrote the chapters on Byzantine music and music for the early church for the first volume in 1957 and was 85 years of age when he collaborated with Frederick Sternfeld on the chapters concerned with the development of the early symphony for Volume VII published in 1973.

Concurrently with *The New Oxford History of Music*, Wellesz was involved in promoting another innovative idea, the *History of Music in Sound* which had been designed to provide recorded rather than printed examples of important trends and styles in music. Released by His Master's Voice originally on 78 rpm discs in the early 1950s and later on LP, it provided Wellesz with the opportunity of bringing his extremely specialised research to a much wider audience. A similar concern surrounded his last substantial publication, a study of the eighteenth-century Austrian composer Johann Joseph Fux which came out in 1965.[13] Nearly 55 years earlier Wellesz had edited Fux's opera *Constanza e Fortezza* for the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*. He felt that this composer's importance as a forerunner of Viennese Classicism had been insufficiently appreciated in his adopted country.

One of Wellesz's strongest proponents as a composer was Hans Ferdinand Redlich. He wrote articles on his music in *The Listener*[14] and the *Music Review*[15] and

[13] See Egon Wellesz, *Fux*, Oxford 1965.

[14] See Hans F. Redlich, 'Wellesz and the Austrian Symphonic Tradition', in *The Listener*, November 1951, p. 945.

[15] See Hans F. Redlich, 'Egon Wellesz, an Austrian composer in Britain', in *Music Review*, 8 (1946), pp. 69–79.

tried to help his fellow Austrians to receive greater attention from the British musical establishment. After working in Germany during the 1930s as a conductor and editor in Mainz and Mannheim, Redlich had settled in Manchester in 1939 before securing the position of Lecturer for the Eastern Division of the Workers' Educational Association and the extra-mural departments of the Universities of Cambridge and Birmingham, a post he held from 1941 to 1955. Redlich's scholarly interests were as far-reaching as Wellesz's. His doctoral thesis accepted by the University of Frankfurt in 1930 was concerned with an examination of Monteverdi's madrigals and he was one of the first scholars to publish a book on the composer in English.[16] Redlich's other substantial publications were in the area of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Viennese music. His biography of Alban Berg (1957) remains one of the most important studies of this fascinating composer. On the other hand, Redlich's efforts on behalf of Bruckner and Mahler, which constituted a single volume for Dent's *Master Musicians* series, attracted considerable criticism because of some unconventional and unsubstantiated viewpoints.[17] Similarly, his work as general editor of Ernst Eulenburg's miniature scores provoked controversy because of his sometimes unorthodox approach to original texts. Nevertheless, Redlich managed to attain great distinction in the British academic world. In 1955, he lectured at the University of Edinburgh and seven years later was appointed Professor of Music at Manchester – the only émigré musician to become head of a music department in a British university.

Not every exiled musicologist continued his research with the help of a university appointment. Some worked as freelance musicians and earned their living as journalists. Mosco Carner (1904–1987) remains the most important example. He had studied musicology under Guido Adler at the University of Vienna and on his graduation, became a theatre conductor in Opava and Danzig. In 1933, Carner came to London, where he wrote musical criticism for a number of newspapers and periodicals including *Time and Tide*, the *Evening News*, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*. In the 1940s and early 1950s, Carner contributed extremely perceptive essays to Gerald Abraham's symposiums on the music of Schubert (1947) and Schumann (1952). He also published a biography of Dvořák in celebration of the centenary of the composer's birth in 1941 and a volume concerned with twentieth-century harmony (1940–1942). But his major contribution to musical literature was his comprehensive critical biography of Puccini published in 1958. It was a work of unrivalled scholarship and was instrumental in re-evaluating a composer who had previously been dismissed by the snobs of the musical world. Carner continued to work productively up to his death in 1987. He published a study of Berg in 1975 and a series of stimulating essays in a collection entitled *Major and Minor* (1980). His final work was an analysis of the songs of Hugo Wolf published in 1982.

Another musician who became a journalist on his arrival in England was Peter

[16] Interestingly enough, Redlich's *Monteverdi*, London 1952, came out almost concurrently with a critical study of the composer by Leo Schrade, himself a refugee from Nazi Germany who had settled in the United States. Both works were enormously important in re-establishing Monteverdi's pre-eminence amongst Baroque composers.

[17] Part of the problem with Redlich's *Bruckner and Mahler*, London 1955, was that the coupling of these two very dissimilar composers in one volume created associations which were very misleading. In any case, Redlich's research was soon to be superseded by much work done in the 1960s and 1970s.

Stadlen. He had studied the piano in Vienna and was closely associated with Webern, having given the first performance of his master's *Piano Variations*, opus 27, in 1937. Stadlen contributed less material to academic periodicals than Mosco Carner, but for many years wrote perspicacious critical reviews for *The Daily Telegraph*, for which he was chief music critic.

Yet for all their impressive achievements none of the musicologists and music critics mentioned above managed to attract as much public attention as Hans Keller. Born in Vienna in 1919, he was considerably younger than many of his colleagues when he became a victim of the *Anschluß*, an episode recalled with chilling power in an essay published many years later. Keller came to England in 1938 and after internment played the violin and viola in several orchestras and string quartets. But he was far too versatile a musician to work simply as an executant. In 1947 he founded the journal *Music Survey* with a colleague Donald Mitchell. Although the magazine ran for only three years, it was of inestimable importance in shaping public taste in post-war Britain. Indeed, it was considered of such significance that its contents were several years later reprinted in book form.[18] Keller's particular interests lay in the field of musical analysis – an area which had hitherto been largely ignored in Britain except by a few specialists. In a series of essays published during the 1950s, he expounded a theory that he called functional analysis which, through application of symbolic logic, attempted to render aesthetic judgment on the value of a given piece of music. His ideas provoked sharp controversy, but they paved the way for the widespread concern with analytical issues which have dominated much of the most recent musicological writing. Yet in contrast with the majority of such work, Keller's astounding mastery of English made this material compulsive reading even for the layman. In 1959 Keller joined the music division of the BBC and in this capacity was able to stimulate listeners on a wide variety of topics in a series of music talks concerned with subjects ranging from musical authenticity to contemporary improvisation. A man of eclectic tastes, he published sympathetic and perceptive essays on many composers including Mozart, Tchaikovsky, Schoenberg, Franz Schmidt, Shostakovich and Benjamin Britten (the latter dedicated his Third String Quartet to him). His last publication, which deals with Haydn's string quartets, completed shortly before his death, provides an eloquent testimony to a great and profoundly original musical mind.[19]

C. Performers

Although London had been considered one of the musical centres of Europe, surprisingly few established German-Jewish performers of international repute chose to settle in Britain after the advent of Hitler. The majority opted to emigrate to the United States probably for the reason that America promised greater financial security and offered more prestigious teaching appointments. In addition, the American establishment was eager to open its doors to Europeans, believing that their presence would help to improve general standards of musical performance.

[18] See Hans Keller and Donald Mitchell (eds.), *The Music Survey 1949–1952. New Details*, London 1981.

[19] Keller died in 1985. His last publication was entitled *The Great Haydn Quartets. Their Interpretation*, London 1986.

One of the very few exceptions to this rule was the great violinist and pedagogue Carl Flesch (1873–1944). He came to London from Berlin in 1934 and taught in the capital for four years before returning to the Continent. Although Flesch was no longer so active on the concert platform, his teaching, expounded with considerable eloquence in his standard treatise on violin playing *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, was extremely influential.[20] Its principles were subsequently maintained in Britain by his Berlin assistant Max Rostal. He remained in Britain during the war and became Professor of Violin at the Royal College of Music from 1943 to 1957.

After his death in Lucerne in 1944, Flesch's memory was honoured at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama through an annual medal awarded to a violinist of outstanding talent. One of the first recipients of this prize was the young Austrian-born violinist Norbert Brainin. He had studied in London with Rostal and together with fellow émigrés, the violinist Siegmund Nissel and viola player Peter Schidlof and the British cellist Martin Lovett, formed the Amadeus String Quartet in 1947. The combination of Flesch's principles of string playing with the Viennese style that was unique to this ensemble proved to be irresistible. In forty years of concert giving and recording, the Quartet achieved a pre-eminence in the performance and interpretation of the great classical composers that is unlikely to be rivalled. Amongst the other refugee violinists who graced the concert scene in the post-war era, the Viennese-born brothers Eli Goren and Erich Gruenberg achieved considerable distinction, the former as leader of the BBC Symphony Orchestra and the latter as a soloist with a special interest in contemporary music.

While artists of this calibre managed to overcome initial difficulties and command respect from the British public, other equally distinguished performers found the musical environment in Britain less conducive to their particular talents. A number of solo pianists for example struggled to achieve the success of their string colleagues. Edith Vogel who made her concert debut in Vienna at the age of ten, but came to Britain in 1938, never really established the international career which she evidently deserved. Yet her performances of the Beethoven piano sonatas were very highly regarded. A similar problem occurred with certain singers. The mezzo-soprano Sabine Kalter (1889–1957) had established a unique rapport with audiences at the Hamburg Opera, a company she had joined in 1915. She had sung many leading roles in operas such as Bizet's *Carmen*, Verdi's *Macbeth*, Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* and Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. Yet in 1935, when Kalter was compelled to leave Germany and decided to emigrate to Britain, she found it difficult to recreate a similar following in her new country. Indeed, despite regular appearances at Covent Garden, she decided to retire from the operatic stage in 1939.

Not every performer experienced Kalter's problems of readjustment. The tenor Richard Tauber was fortunate enough to have secured a phenomenal popularity in England before the Nazi period, even though British audiences never really experienced his voice at its finest. And then there was the creation of the Glyndebourne Festival Opera during the 1930s. Under the direction of the conductor Fritz Busch and the producer Carl Ebert, this company provided welcome and necessary employment for many refugees including Hans Oppenheim, Berthold

[20] See Carl Flesch, *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, Berlin 1923 and 1928, translated into English, Boston 1930.



The Amadeus Quartet
c. 1958

By courtesy of Ibbs & Tillett Ltd.

Goldschmidt and Paul Hamburger who joined the music staff, the General Manager Rudolf Bing, later to become the founder and first Director of the Edinburgh Festival, and countless numbers of singers. They found working conditions which were closely modelled upon those they had experienced in a number of German opera houses. Since Busch and Ebert insisted upon unlimited rehearsal time, they were able to set standards of operatic performance and production that had never been attained in Britain. Moreover, in creating an ensemble company that was devoid of "star" singers, they revolutionised British attitudes to opera which experienced a revival of fortunes in the post-war era.

In the concert hall, only relatively few German and Austrian exiles managed to secure employment in various orchestras up and down the country. Younger and lesser known artists were prevented from accepting engagements until they obtained naturalisation papers after the war. This discrimination extended to the area of conducting for, with the exception of George Szell who left the *Deutsches Theater* in Prague in 1937 to work for two years as principal conductor of the Scottish (later Scottish National) Orchestra, no German or Austrian Jew dismissed by the Nazis was invited to a permanent post in Britain during the 1930s. There were, however, some émigré musicians, particularly composers, who successfully turned to conducting as a means of earning a living. Walter Goehr (1903–1960), a pupil of Schoenberg and close associate of Hanns Eisler, came to Britain in 1933 as Musical Director of the Columbia Gramophone Company, a post he held until the outbreak of war. In 1943 Goehr became the conductor of the Morley College concerts, where he gave the first performances of some of the most important British works in the repertoire, including Britten's *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings* and Tippett's oratorio *A Child of Our Time*. Another example was Walter Susskind (1913–1980). He studied composition with Josef Suk and Alois Hábá and was Szell's musical assistant in Prague. Susskind followed Szell out of Czechoslovakia in the wake of the Nazi invasion and resumed his career in Britain as a conductor with the Carl Rosa Opera Company in 1943 and the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra in 1945. He subsequently took charge of the Scottish Orchestra in 1946 where he introduced a number of new works to Glasgow audiences, including Vaughan Williams's Sixth Symphony and Bartók's *Concerto for Orchestra*.

With the financial restrictions which followed the end of the war, musical life in Britain took a considerable time to recover its equilibrium. As the horrors of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen were exposed to the world, one might have expected the plight of Jewish refugees to have elicited more sympathy from British officialdom. One such victim of the concentration camps was the conductor Rudolf Schwarz (b. 1905). He had worked in the opera houses at Düsseldorf and Karlsruhe, but remained in Germany after 1933 to become music director of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund*. Schwarz was recovering from his ordeal in Scandinavia when he received an invitation in 1947 to make a guest appearance with the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra. The Home Office initially refused to give him a visa and this decision was only rescinded after angry members of the orchestra put pressure on immigration officials. When the concert proved to be an overwhelming success, Schwarz was offered the job of principal conductor of the orchestra. Again the Home Office refused to give him a work permit. Indeed, it was only granted after

the personal intervention of the Home Secretary. Nevertheless Schwarz's appointment proved to be timely, for he was one of the few conductors prepared to build up standards of orchestral playing in the provinces, refusing possibilities of more glamorous positions in the metropolitan centres. From 1951 to 1957, he was chief conductor of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, where he directed performances of nearly fifty twentieth-century works. On the strength of his success in Birmingham, Schwarz was offered the prestigious job of principal conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra in succession to Sir Malcolm Sargent. In his first season with the orchestra, he established a reasonable working relationship with his players. They admired his musicianship and his evident striving for orchestral perfection. The critics and the public were, on the other hand, less attracted to his rather undemonstrative manner on the podium. Savage reviews in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* of a performance he gave with the orchestra of Mahler's Ninth Symphony at the end of 1961 hastened his resignation in 1962. Schwarz returned to the provinces and became principal conductor of the Northern Sinfonia in Newcastle from 1964 to 1973.

It was perhaps somewhat unfortunate that Schwarz arrived in London at a time when the capital was attracting conductors of international repute. Amongst the most distinguished were two refugees from Nazi persecution, Jascha Horenstein (1898–1971) and Otto Klemperer (1885–1973). During the 1920s, Horenstein had been Wilhelm Furtwängler's assistant in Berlin before becoming chief conductor at the Düsseldorf Opera from 1929 to 1933. His subsequent career in the United States and Europe had been less auspicious. But in the wake of the revival of interest in the music of Mahler, Horenstein's reputation in the 1960s grew inexorably. A series of London performances of the Mahler Symphonies were of inestimable importance, since they paved the way for the composer's subsequent popularity in this country.

An even more dramatic reversal of fortune was experienced by Otto Klemperer. Prior to his appearances in Great Britain, his career in the United States and at the Budapest Opera from 1947 to 1950 had been in the doldrums after the brilliant reputation he had earned in the Weimar Republic. But with the deaths of Wilhelm Furtwängler and Arturo Toscanini, he assumed the mantle of the most distinguished conductor of the era. Invited by the recording producer Walter Legge to succeed Herbert von Karajan as principal conductor of the Philharmonia Orchestra in 1955, Klemperer offered his audiences radical insights into the established symphonic repertoire which matched weightiness of sound with an astonishing clarity of texture and ensemble. His recordings of the symphonies of Beethoven, Brahms, Bruckner and Mahler remain in the catalogues as a testimony to a conductor whose quest for fidelity to the composer's intentions was considered of greater importance than any idiosyncratic mannerisms.

D. Collectors and Publishers

In delineating the influence of Jewish refugees upon British musical life from the 1930s onwards, it would seem obvious to give prime consideration to notable achievements in the fields of composition, musicology and performance. Yet Nazi persecution brought to this country specialists in other areas of musical experience whose contributions may, if anything, be of greater permanence.

One cannot, for example, overlook the importance of a man like the industrialist Paul Adolf Hirsch (1881–1951). He had begun collecting music in Frankfurt in 1896 and assembled a library of some 20,000 volumes which he managed to transport to Britain on his emigration in 1936. Ten years later, Hirsch sold his entire collection to the British Museum and its contents have immeasurably strengthened the national holdings of important printed music.[21] Allied to Hirsch's specific interests in antiquarian music, the business of buying and selling historically important music collections and valuable autographs, which had previously been concentrated in Germany, was now transferred to Britain with the emigration, during the 1930s, of the music dealer Otto Haas and his successor Albi Rosenthal.

These particular examples demonstrate that Britain had become pre-eminent in certain fields of musical activity largely through the efforts of German refugees. Nowhere can this be more clearly illustrated than in the area of music publishing in which Germany, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, boasted the largest numbers of individual companies. A considerable proportion of these concerns were owned by Jews. Some, like Ernst Eulenburg of Leipzig, had built up their businesses at the turn of the century through the marketing of a radically new idea – in this case, the publishing of miniature scores of the great classical and romantic composers. Others had taken over an ailing established company and had turned it into a profitable enterprise.

Initially, conditions for the Jewish music publisher were less intolerable in Nazi Germany than those for the individual composer, performer or musicologist. This was largely because the regime used the pretext of the BBG to dismiss the employees of opera houses, orchestras and educational institutions. Small businesses, on the other hand, were not immediately subjected to such pressure. Indeed, it was only in 1938 that the *Reichsmusikkammer* formally issued a decree forbidding music publishers from advertising the works of Jewish composers in their catalogues.

Nevertheless, the atmosphere was sufficiently uncertain for some music publishers to contemplate moving their businesses out of Germany once they realised that Hitler's grip on the country was unlikely to be temporary. Great Britain, rather than the United States, was usually chosen as the most suitable place for emigration probably for two reasons. First, London was geographically better placed for distribution to the major musical centres of Europe. Second, Britain had already built up its own music publishing concerns and was not averse to accepting expansion in this area. Moreover with generous performing rights, these new companies could earn much needed hard currency for the country.

There were in fact three different types of émigré amongst the number of music publishers that arrived in Britain during the 1930s – those who brought their entire stock with them, those who set up entirely new companies and a number of specific individuals who joined established British concerns. Richard Schauer, for instance, brought with him the complete catalogues of the publishing houses of Anton Benjamin, Rahter and Simrock, thus enhancing the British public's access particu-

[21] Amongst the most important items of Hirsch's collection are Francesco Caza's *Tractato vulgare de canto figurato*, Milan 1492 and first editions of Mozart's *Ten Celebrated String Quartets*. The collection is also distinguished by the considerable amount of operatic full scores and a comprehensive number of musical literature books which extend back to the fifteenth century.

larly to Russian music. Similarly in 1939, Ernst Eulenburg's son Kurt moved his father's firm to London and immeasurably improved the distribution of miniature scores in the country. Otto Fürstner had arrived in London three years earlier. His father's company had issued a great deal of salon music, but was mainly recognised for having published the operas of Richard Strauss. Since *Der Rosenkavalier* was one of the most frequently performed twentieth-century operas, Fürstner's company had become extremely profitable. Another publishing house that held the performing rights for one of the most commercially successful of all works, namely Lehar's *Merry Widow*, also moved its enterprise to London after the *Anschluß*, retaining its original name of Josef Weinberger. The old and famous Leipzig publisher C. F. Peters, renowned for its impeccable editions of the classical composers, became a Jewish-owned firm at the turn of the century. Before the company was repossessed by the Nazis in 1940, its proprietor, Heinrich Hinrichsen, dispersed its considerable assets to Britain and America through the emigration of his two sons, Max and Walter Hinrichsen. Max Hinrichsen, who settled in London in 1937, expanded the Peters Catalogue by founding an entirely new company Hinrichsen Ltd. which concentrated its attention upon contemporary music.

Another individual who eventually set up his own music publishing company in London was Alfred Kalmus. He was born in Vienna and had studied musicology under Guido Adler at the University. In 1909 he joined the Viennese publishers Universal Edition who subsequently acquired the rights for the works of an astonishing array of composers including Mahler, Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Bartók, Weill and Krenek. The commercial success of two of the most popular operas of the 1920s, namely Weill's *Dreigroschenoper* and Krenek's *Jonny spielt auf!*, made it possible for Universal Edition to expand its activities by opening branches of the company in several countries. In 1936, Kalmus came to London with the intention of acting as Universal Edition's British agent. However after the *Anschluß*, the Nazis dismissed the entire staff of the company and suppressed the majority of its publications. Kalmus subsequently reached an agreement with the British publishers Boosey & Hawkes for the distribution of Universal's catalogue during the war. In 1949 he founded his own entirely independent company, Universal Edition (London) Ltd. which, like its Viennese predecessor, was committed to the publication of the most radical *avant-garde* music of the period. Kalmus not only promoted the work of the most important European composers such as Karlheinz Stockhausen, Pierre Boulez and Luciano Berio but also helped to nurture the talents of younger Englishmen, including Harrison Birtwistle and Richard Rodney Bennett.

Amongst the staff of Universal Edition who lost their positions after the *Anschluß* were two remarkable musicians who emigrated to London and joined the publishing house of Boosey & Hawkes. The elder of the two was Erwin Stein. He had studied composition with Schoenberg and became one of the composer's most forceful champions. In 1924 he was appointed editor at Universal Edition and was largely responsible for bringing out the publications of the Second Viennese School. Stein continued to promote his favoured composers after emigration and edited Schoenberg's letters which were subsequently translated into English.[22] He was also one of

[22] See Erwin Stein (ed.), *Schoenberg Letters*, London 1964. Stein also completed a collection of essays *Orpheus in New Guises*, London 1953 and a theoretical work *Form and Performance*, London 1964.

the first musicians to appreciate the extraordinary genius of the young British composer Benjamin Britten, with whom he struck up a particularly close relationship. Indeed, Stein was largely responsible for persuading his new company, Boosey & Hawkes, to put their faith in the young man's work. Such foresight proved to be amply fulfilled for after the war, Britten's music was performed with increasing regularity throughout the world. As a token of gratitude, the composer dedicated his opera *The Rape of Lucretia* to Stein.

Stein's younger colleague at Universal Edition, Ernst Roth, was even more of an astute businessman. In fact it would be no exaggeration to state that he was largely responsible for turning Boosey & Hawkes into one of the richest music publishing companies of the post-war era. Through his connections with two of the most celebrated twentieth-century composers, Richard Strauss and Igor Stravinsky, Roth was able to negotiate his company's rights of publication for many of their important works. After the war, the association with Strauss gave the ageing composer much needed financial security. But Roth and his company also drew considerable commercial benefit. They issued the *Metamorphosen* and the valedictory *Four Last Songs*, of which the final song, a setting of Eichendorff's poem *Im Abendrot*, is dedicated to the publisher. At around the same time, Stravinsky revised his ballets *Petrushka* and *Le Sacre du Printemps* for publication by Boosey & Hawkes and began an association with the company that was unbroken up to his death in 1971. Roth's achievements however were not simply confined to these two composers. He worked with tremendous industry translating over 200 *Lieder* texts and many modern opera libretti, made numerous piano reductions and even found time to write a philosophical book entitled *Vom Vergänglichen in der Musik*. His memoirs, *The Business of Music–Reflections of a Music Publisher* (1966), leave us with no doubts as to the importance of this particular profession in giving specific direction to musical taste.

Conclusion

It is clear that over the years, refugee musicians eventually succeeded in becoming integrated into and accepted by the British world of music. In general, it was the composers who found the greatest difficulty in gaining the widest recognition. Yet one may argue that, with few exceptions, their British counterparts experienced similar problems of neglect and misunderstanding. In the areas of musicology and performance, a number of outstanding individuals managed to enliven and enlighten the cultural environment. Certainly the Glyndebourne of the 1930s set standards in the performance and production of Mozart operas by which all future presentations in the country have been judged. The contribution of the refugee music publishers in transforming London into the acknowledged publishing centre of the world also cannot be underestimated. In all these specialised fields, the extraordinarily wide range of talent that reached these shores during the years of Nazi oppression played no small part in paving the way for the rich plethora of experiences which constitute much British musical life during the 1980s.

GÜNTER BERGHAUS

The Emigrés from Nazi Germany and their Contribution to the British Theatrical Scene

Introduction

It has been estimated that, between 1933 and 1945, 420 playwrights and 4,000 theatre artists left Germany, creating no fewer than 724 dramatic works and 800 theatre productions in exile.[1]

Initially, many of the actors fleeing Nazi Germany seem to have regarded London as a favourite city in which to continue their theatrical career. In 1935, the exile journal *Das Neue Tage-Buch* reported:

> "The transplantation of the Berlin theatre of old makes constant progress. After Elisabeth Bergner, Lucie Mannheim, Oskar Homolka, Fritz Kortner, Conrad Veidt, Paul Grätz and others, Ernst Deutsch is now also making his passage to the English stage."[2]

However, only few of these famous actors and actresses stayed in Britain for good. They, as well as their less illustrious colleagues, had difficulties in finding suitable employment, mainly – of course – because of their insufficient command of the English language.

There were fewer than thirty German actors who assimilated well enough to the British theatre to make a living from their acting profession. (I mention only Anton Walbrook, Martin Miller, Frederick Valk, Herbert Lom, Amy Frank, and Lilli Palmer.) Others such as Fritz Kortner, Oskar Homolka or Elisabeth Bergner stayed in London for a short time and then went to America, where they had better chances of finding employment in the theatre and film industry.

In Britain, co-operation between exiled artists and professional theatre institutions was only achieved to a very limited degree. The few German actors who managed to gain access to the West End stage were rarely offered more than small parts and short-term contracts. Often, they had to make a living playing in propaganda films, where they were cast as Nazi officers and Party chiefs. Sometimes, the BBC offered them work on their German Service, but the regular theatre (West End or other) had little use for actors whose English pronunciation was appalling and whose expressionistic acting style ran counter to the British tradition of underacting (or what Kortner called "Ausdrucksanämie" and "Gefühls-Tiefstapelei"[3]).

The gap between German and British theatre traditions was immense. The

[1] See Curt Trepte, 'Archiv Deutsches Theater- und Filmschaffen im Exil', in *Mitteilungen der deutschen Akademie der Künste zu Berlin/DDR*, vol. V, no. 1 (1967), p. 12; *idem*, 'Deutsches Theater im Exil der Welt. Ein Übersichtsbericht über die Tätigkeit deutscher Theaterkünstler in der Emigration von 1933–1946', in Helmut Müssener and Gisela Sandquist (eds.), *Protokoll des II. internationalen Symposiums zur Erforschung des deutschsprachigen Exils nach 1933 in Kopenhagen 1972*, Stockholm 1972, pp. 522–523.

[2] *Das Neue Tage-Buch*, vol. III, no. 51 (21st December 1935).

[3] Fritz Kortner, *Aller Tage Abend*, Munich 1959, pp. 429, 466.

revolutions in European theatre, from Craig and Appia onwards, had had virtually no effect in Britain. Therefore, the works of expressionist playwrights such as Ernst Toller were greeted with consternation, the atonal music of the Viennese school was slated as "sewing machine counterpoint", Jessner's famous *Treppen* were gazed at in disbelief, and Kortner's acting style was considered downright revolting.

In a country, where the "well-made play" variety of theatre was still favoured by the audiences and serious drama rarely questioned the tenets of "controlled naturalism", it would have been illusionary for the exiled theatre artists, who had made themselves a name in Germany with their interpretations of modernist plays and their work in *avant garde* productions, to believe that they could continue their careers unhampered in the West End. The only two theatres with a distinctly modern outlook were the Gate and the Cambridge Festival Theatre (which virtually closed down in 1935). However, despite the continental flavour of their repertoire, these houses did not hold any comparison to the Art Theatres of Moscow or Munich, on which they were modelled. Kurt Schwitters's judgement on the British art scene: "Nobody in London cares about good art. Only a few foreigners know what art is",[4] would have been fully endorsed by the German theatre folk trying to make a living in their country of exile.

Apart from actors and directors, a number of German theatre designers came to England, where they tried to continue their careers, either in the professional theatre or by designing shows their fellow émigrés staged at the exile theatres. For example, Ernst Stern, who had been Max Reinhardt's designer in the 1920s, worked on several West End shows from 1935 onwards. John Heartfield, the photomontagist and one-time designer for Erwin Piscator, worked on several shows in the Little Theatre in Hampstead. Hein Heckroth, who had given many of the 1920s experiments in the genre of Music Theatre their recognisable visual stamp, designed numerous films in England and became a regular collaborator of the Ballets Jooss in London.

One might assume that artists who did not rely exclusively on communicating their ideas through words would have had an easier position in the British theatre than the continental actors hampered by pronunciation problems and over-meticulous rehearsing habits. However, in most cases this was far from the truth. Artistic traditions in Britain were radically different from the modes of expression that had prevailed in the Weimar Republic (expressionism, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, etc.). The artists were, therefore, forced to relinquish their personal style and interests and to conform to a form of realism that had long disappeared in the leading continental theatres. Whenever they tried to exercise some of their artistic beliefs they found that they could not elicit any desired response from their addresses, or that they were, as Leonard Frank put it, "playing on a violin of stone, a piano without strings".[5] A typical example may be quoted from Marion Berghahn's collection of émigré statements, in which a painter remembers how his works were considered too expressionistic and how he was constantly asked to tone down his colours:

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[4] Kurt Schwitters, *Wir spielen, bis der Tod abholt. Briefe aus fünf Jahrzehnten*, edited by E. Nündel, Berlin (West) 1974, p. 272.

[5] Leonard Frank, *Links wo das Herz ist*, Munich 1952, p. 191.

"As much as I have an accent in my language I have an accent in my painting. In German art of our century, expression and feeling comes into it a lot. Whereas mainstream art in Britain is more good taste and playing down feelings. The majority of British people find my paintings too emotive, too direct. English art is a refined understatement."[6]

As a result of this, painters and designers were forced either to conform or turn to some other form of *Broterwerb*. Just as painters worked in china factories, poets wrote advertising slogans, and composers produced little ditties for the radio, stage designers had to acknowledge the craft side of their training and employ this in all sorts of jobs, ranging from shop-window displays to funeral décor. Even famous and respected artists such as Ernst Stern, had to accept (and feel honoured for being offered) the position of "Chief of Design" for Selfridge's decorations for the coronation of George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

The expectation and appreciation levels of the average West End theatre-goer was radically different from those of a typical Berliner who, during the Weimar years, regularly went to visit Reinhardt's *Großes Schauspielhaus*, Jessner's *Staatliches Schauspielhaus*, or Piscator's *Theater am Nollendorfplatz*. The same can be said about the production methods in these houses. Whilst German directors spent months on researching, preparing and rehearsing their plays, a six-day rehearsal period was typical of British theatres of the period. Friedrich Richter, later to become one of the few commercial success stories among German émigrés working in the British theatre, draws a vivid picture of his first experience with this type of production:

"The Oxford Playhouse opens every week with a new play. How is it possible that the actors in Oxford can churn out a play in no less than six days (the seventh day is a Sunday when the theatre is dark and no rehearsals take place)? How is this in the long run possible? Well, first of all these plays are pure conversation pieces, and secondly these actors are incredible *routiniers* and play without a director. True, the programme always mentions a director, and this person is also sitting in the stalls during rehearsals, but he very wisely keeps his mouth shut. He can't afford to hold up rehearsals by giving any hints or advice. There are six rehearsals, each of them lasting four hours, half an hour of which is always taken up by a coffee break, when you go over into the foyer, have a cup of coffee, and become absorbed in conversation with the charming English colleagues."[7]

Dissatisfaction with the lack of artistic opportunities provided by such a system caused many of the London-based theatre artists to take advantage of the growing number of émigrés and refugees from German-speaking countries and to found their own little theatre enterprises catering for these new and rapidly growing audiences.

The London Exile Cabarets

Most actors living in or near London were members of the Free German League of Culture *(Freier Deutscher Kulturbund)*,[8] which had been founded in 1938 with the

[6] Quoted in Marion Berghahn, *German-Jewish Refugees in England. The Ambiguities of Assimilation*, London 1984, pp. 94–95.

[7] Friedrich Richter, 'Auf Theatertour in England', in Renate Seydel (ed.), ... *gelebt für alle Zeiten. Schauspieler über sich und andere*, Berlin (East) 1978, pp. 296–297.

[8] On the activities of the *Kulturbund* see, Alan Clarke, *Die Rolle des Theaters des 'Freien Deutschen*

aim of preserving a free and humanist German culture, of promoting a mutual understanding between the exiles and the British population, and of looking after the social and cultural needs of the émigrés. The League consisted of five sections: those for writers, artists, actors, musicians and scientists. Each section developed its own policy and worked within its medium to fulfil the tasks outlined in the League's general programme.

Initially, the *Kulturbund* did not have its own building. They used Walter Hudd's flat as their office and hired halls, pubs or some society's back room for their meetings. Finally, through the good offices of the Bishop of Chichester, the Church of England provided the League with a house in Hampstead, where a large number of refugees were living at the time. One of the founder members, Gerhard Hinze, remembers the first months in the clubhouse:

"At that time, the house had only two and a half rooms: the hall, a club room and the office, not forgetting, 'The Stairs'. In December 1939, the first meeting of the Executive Committee took place in 'our house', by candle light and freezing temperatures. The house still had to be made habitable (there was neither heating nor furniture), and money was not available...

It was like a 'madhouse', but our club life began to take off. There were cabaret evenings, where – despite paraffin stoves – no-one could say who was colder, the audience or the actors. Despite everything, the cheerful atmosphere remained, and out of these 'mixed evenings' later emerged the highly successful revues of the F. G. L. C."[9]

Within a year, the League's membership rose to 1,226, including 102 British citizens. They organised an exhibition at the Wertheim Galleries, several concerts, lectures etc. The *Kulturbund*'s club house in Hampstead became a favourite meeting place for the exiles. One of them commented on these gatherings:

"Take two Englishmen, and you will have a club. Take two Germans, and you will have a *Verein* (Association). Take three Middle Europeans, and you have a cabaret."[10]

Indeed, the introduction of Central European cabaret traditions was probably the only important contribution these homeless actors made to British theatre life. The first theatre performance organised by the *Kulturbund* took place on 12th May 1939 and included a production of the 'Spy' scene from Brecht's *Fear and Misery of the Third Reich*.[11] But the first proper cabaret venue to be opened by the German-speaking exiles in London was the Austrian *Laterndl*.[12]

Kulturbundes' im Kampf gegen den deutschen Faschismus (1938–1947), Ph. D. thesis, Humboldt-Universität Berlin (East) 1972; Ursula Adam, *Zur Geschichte des Freien Deutschen Kulturbundes in Großbritannien (Ende 1938–Mai 1945)*, Ph. D. thesis, Humboldt-Universität Berlin (East) 1983; Ulla Hahn, 'Der Freie Deutsche Kulturbund in Großbritannien. Eine Skizze seiner Geschichte', in Lutz Winkler (ed.), *Antifaschistische Literatur. Programm, Autoren, Werke*, vol. II, Kronberg/Ts. 1977, pp. 131–195; Birgid Leske, Marion Reinisch and Mathias Hansen, section on 'Exil in Großbritannien', in Ludwig Hoffmann *et al.*, *Exil in der Tschechoslowakei, in Großbritannien, Skandinavien und in Palästina*, vol. V of *Kunst und Literatur im antifaschistischen Exil 1933–1945*, Leipzig 1980, pp. 147–505.

[9] Gerhard Hinze, 'Wir "bauen" ein Haus', in *Freie Deutsche Kultur*, December-January 1942, p. 6.

[10] Egon Larsen, 'Deutsches Theater in London. Ein ungeschriebenes Kapitel Kulturgeschichte', in *Zick Zack*, 2 (1948), p. 13.

[11] Initially the show was to be directed by Berthold Viertel, who left for America during rehearsals (where, in 1942, he produced the play in New York). The production was finished by Heinrich Fischer and later presented again in Liverpool.

[12] On the *Laterndl* see Rudolf Spitz, 'Das Laterndl in London', in *Akademie der Künste* (Hrsg.), *Theater im Exil 1933–1945* (exhibition catalogue), Berlin (West) 1973, pp. 29–30; Franz Bönsch, 'Das österreichische Exiltheater "Laterndl" in London', in Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes und

It was set up with club status at the Austrian Centre in a former rehearsal space of a ballet school in Westbourne Terrace, Paddington. Their first production, premièred on 21st June 1939, was a satirical revue called *Unterwegs* (On the Way). *The Times* (28th June 1938) found that the "entertainment which reflects the grim present and is yet delightfully informed with traditional Viennese gaiety ... made an extremely favourable impression". A long and very perceptive review appeared in *The Spectator* on 7th July 1939, where Goronwy Rees found:

> "We should be grateful to Herr Hitler for the Lantern: Austria's loss has been our gain. The Lantern is the new Little Theatre established in London by the Vienna Theatre Club, an organization of Austrian refugees ... The Lantern, besides being a delightful addition to London's entertainments, can perform a valuable function in this country. I hope that when its players become acclimatised here (though I also hope they will not be exiled for so long) they will turn their wit upon us; no country ever needed satire so much as this or provided such abundant material for it. I also hope that the Lantern will find imitators and create a tradition here before they leave us again. We have no form of theatre so intimate, so direct, as this."

After their first show, the *Laterndl* moved to a defunct music school at Swiss Cottage. For their seventh programme, Carl Zuckmayer's *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (premièred on 13th November 1941), they moved again, this time to their final location at 69 Eton Avenue, N. W. 3.

With the change of venue also came a change of policy. The political, satirical and socially critical tone that had characterised the first cabaret shows of the *Laterndl*[13] gave way to a more literary programme. Old Viennese favourites such as Schnitzler's *Anatol*, Curt Goetz's *Die tote Tante*, Nestroy's *Der Talisman*, Schönherr's *Der Weibsteufel*, or Bahr's *Das Konzert* now dominated the repertoire.

This move towards pure entertainment and a programme that offered "meaty" parts for actors was opposed and criticised by some members of the Austrian Centre, just as before some had disagreed with the Left-wing orientation of the theatre club. Resulting from these political divergences of opinion were several attempts to found break-away enterprises,[14] of which only one proved to be successful: the Blue Danube.[15]

This club was founded in 1942 by the actor Peter Herz and consisted of a 160-seat theatre with a café and a restaurant attached to it. It was situated at 153 Finchley Road, in the same premises that had recently been vacated by the *Laterndl*. Con-

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Dokumentationsstelle für neuere österreichische Literatur (Hrsg.), *Österreicher im Exil 1934–1945*, Vienna 1977, pp. 441–450; Erna Wipplinger, '"Zünden soll d'Latern". Österreichisches Exiltheater in Großbritannien', in *Wespennest*, 56 (1984), pp. 29–38.

[13] For a detailed analysis of these cabaret shows see Hugh Rorrison, 'German Theatre and Cabaret in London 1939–45', in Günter Berghaus (ed.), *Theatre and Film in Exile. German Artists in Britain, 1933–1945*, Oxford–New York–Munich 1989, pp. 47–77; Erna Wipplinger, '"Von Adam bis Adolf". Die politisch-satirischen Kleinkunstprogramme der österreichischen Exilbühne "Laterndl"', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, vol. XL, no. 1/2 (1985), pp. 30–34.

[14] An attempt to form a *Lessingbühne* together with some actors from the *Kulturbund* company never came to fruition. On 30th January 1942 the London exile newspaper *Zeitung* carried an announcement that a fortnight hence an "Oesterreichische Bühne" was going to open its doors in the 300-seat Stern Hall at 33 Seymour Place near Marble Arch. Of the twenty-five plays announced, only two were actually produced: Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* and Friedrich Wolf's *Professor Mamlock*.

[15] On the Blue Danube see, Peter Herz, 'Die Kleinkunstbühne "Blue Danube" in London 1939–1945', in *Österreicher im Exil*, *op. cit.*, pp. 451–458.

ceived as a "Gegengründung" to the "Communist Austrian Centre",[16] it nevertheless sought to "expose the full horror, the brutality, the reign of terror and the manipulation of the law under the brown Nazi hordes".[17] Herz's policy, "to entertain on the one hand and to arouse the audience into action against inhumanity and barbarity on the other",[18] proved to be a successful formula. Until 1954 he produced a large number of cabaret shows, which usually ran over a period of three to four months and were performed on five evenings and two matinees every week, except in July and August. Some of these also went on tour and were presented to refugee audiences in Nottingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, Belfast and Edinburgh.

The *Reich*-German actors presented their first cabaret show on 21st July 1939 at the Arts Theatre in Great Newport Street. *Going, Going, Gong* was performed for a fortnight by a group who called themselves Four and Twenty Black Sheep.[19] The founder of the company, Egon Larsen, wrote about their aims:

> "We wanted to show the Germany of the philistines and Nazis, but also the other Germany, the peaceful country, the land of love- and folk-songs, of the workers. And of course we were poking fun at ourselves, laughing at our desperate attempts to come to terms with the mysteries of English language and life."[20]

The show was a great success, attracting more than 5,000 spectators. The *Daily Worker* commented:

> "Songs, sketches, burlesques, dancing, were presented with a wealth of wit and satirical force, subtlety and fire very rarely combined in a show of this kind. Indeed, a show of quite this kind has never been seen in London." (24th July 1939)

In March 1940, the company was offered a room in the *Kulturbund*'s club house on Upper Park Road as a permanent venue for their productions. The Little Theatre, as it was called, just about managed to accommodate eighty spectators facing a stage measuring twenty foot square. Despite enormous difficulties they mounted no fewer than twelve major productions between 1940 and 1946.[21]

Owing to the limited facilities the company had at their disposal, sketches and revue shows were performed more frequently than full-length plays with large cast lists. The artists drew heavily on the traditions of cabaret and "agit-prop", although some reviews indicate that even within the limitations of small budgets and restricted technical apparatus, attempts in the direction of psychological naturalism were undertaken. Experiments with new dramatic forms or innovatory theatrical languages are never mentioned.

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 452.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

[19] See Max Zimmering, 'Vierundzwanzig schwarze Schafe', in Helga Bemman (ed.), *Mitgelacht – dabeigewesen. Erinnerungen aus sechs Jahrzehnten Kabarett*, Berlin (East) 1967, pp. 312–316; *idem*. '"4 + 20 Black Sheep". Ein deutsches Kabarett in London', in *Deutsche Volks-Zeitung*, 6th August 1939.

[20] Larsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

[21] For a detailed analysis of these shows see Leske *et al.*, *loc. cit.*; Larsen, *loc. cit.*, Rorrison, *loc. cit.*; Jörg Thunecke, '"Das Hübscheste sind die Lieder". Allan Gray's Contribution to the FDKB-Revue "Mr Gulliver Goes to School"', in Berghaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–97; Uwe Naumann, 'Bühnen-Reise zu den abscheulichsten Wesen. Die Londoner Kulturbund-Revue "Mr Gulliver Goes to School"', in *idem*, *Zwischen Tränen und Gelächter*, Cologne 1983.

The performing of plays fulfilled an important social function within the exile community. It helped the refugees to overcome the feeling of loss inevitably connected with their emigration and to retain a certain cultural identity. But many performances were also aimed at the English audience and sought to communicate the émigrés' concerns to the native population, to enlighten them about the true nature of the Hitler regime, and to make them familiar with the humanist and democratic traditions of the "other Germany".

The majority of visitors to these shows were German-speaking émigrés; but over the years the percentage of English visitors increased, and productions were reviewed in British newspapers as well as in the exile press. Some critics saw it as their political duty to show solidarity with the exiled artists and to give them a positive write-up. But others were genuinely excited by this form of theatre that had never been witnessed in Britain before. "London has no exact parallel to this type of production. The topical Farjeon revues, nearest to its manner, have never had the same depth of feeling", the *Observer*[22] found, and *The Spectator* enthused:

> "Anyone who saw the skill with which the actors used their tiny stage last week realised how much art was in their spontaneity. The theatre is a room on the first floor divided in half by the proscenium and seating 50–60 people. There is little scenery, the simplest of lighting; this necessary economy in equipment is half the charm of the theatre in which the gap between audience and stage is reduced to a minimum and illusion is no more necessary than in a charade." (7th July 1939)

Even seasoned professionals like Dame Sybil Thorndike paid enthusiastic compliments to the productions on the London exile stages:

> "I wanted to tell you what a deep impression the playing of the German company made on me – somehow or other one was not bothered with too much 'Setting', one got the bare bones of the play and what it intended to say in a way that I felt was missed in the West-End performance. The sincerity, the vigour – the brilliant characterisations were so clear and true – and what was done with that tiny little stage is a tribute to any producer."[23]

Internment and War Years

The émigrés' theatrical activities changed drastically after the outbreak of the war and the first wave of internments. Most actors were no longer available for performances. The *Laterndl* had to close temporarily. In the Little Theatre the female members tried to struggle on and performed Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* and Brecht's *The Rifles of Señora Carrar*. But soon all theatre life in London came to a halt.

The men continued their theatrical activities in the internment camps. Those who had bemoaned the primitive facilities of the Little Theatre came to realise that powerful theatre was possible with even less material and equipment. They were determined to stand up to the adversities of their new situation and to use their particular skills as actors, writers, or directors in order to contribute to the cultural life in the camps. For many internees, theatre became an important factor of their everyday life and made it easier for them to bear their loss of liberty.

[22] Undated press cutting in the possession of Egon Larsen.
[23] Letter of February 1944 to Siegfried Zimmering, in the possession of Mowgli Litten.

From the very first days of internment a lively theatrical activity flourished in the camps. Already at Kempton Park, the first gathering point of the interned refugees in London, the artist Jack Bilbo (alias Hugo Baruch) entertained his fellow prisoners with an improvised cabaret performance.[24] "The driving force behind this kind of activity," remembers Max Zimmering, "was not so much a desire for self-gratification, but much more something I would call a sense of social responsibility."[25] The Austrian actor Peter Herz was more specific about the rationale behind such thespian offerings:

> "I tried at the time within my limited radius of activity to fight against the depressing atmosphere in the camp by forming the 'Barbed-Wire Cabaret' ... through which new hope, fresh optimism, and even a little joy could be planted into the souls of the disheartened internees."[26]

The format of these theatrical activities depended on the specific conditions of internment. The transitional camps rarely offered opportunity for more than improvised theatre events. The high fluctuation within the camp population prevented the artists from putting on well-rehearsed, large-cast productions. Short cabaret evenings or "Bunte Abende" were the norm here. But there were exceptions to the rule. At Huyton, for example, one of the biggest transitional camps, we hear of two major productions, Kuba's *Septembertage* and Fürnberg's *Böhmische Passion*.[27]

Conditions for semi-professional theatre evenings were better in the camps on the Isle of Man and, following deportation, in the camps in Canada and Australia. Sometimes, productions were initiated by the camp commandants in order to raise morale amongst the internees. But in most cases the initiative came from the artists themselves. Some of them were lucky enough to possess a copy of a classical or modern play. Others had been involved in the past in a production for long enough to remember an entire play by heart. And, of course, there were the writers, journalists and poets, who produced for their actor friends enough new material or adaptations of old texts to guarantee a varied repertoire in the camp theatre.

As regards the production of these texts, Max Zimmering reports that in some cases he could collaborate with a team of stage manager, property man, dramaturg, scenic and costume designer, composer, musicians and actor.[28] One of the revues he was involved with, *Erinnerung an Europa*, was performed to no fewer than 1,500 spectators.[29] In Douglas, on the Isle of Man, the artists had access to the municipal theatre. Others performed in refectories, large halls, tents or spacious living-rooms. As Richard Friedenthal remembers in his autobiographical novel, *Die Welt in der Nußschale*,[30] theatre life in the camps was not all that different from

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[24] See Michael Seyfert, *Im Niemandsland. Deutsche Exilliteratur in Britischer Internierung. Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der Kulturgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, Berlin (West) 1984, p. 53.

[25] Max Zimmering, 'Kunst hinter Pfählen', in *Aufbau*, 4 (1948), p. 254.

[26] Herz, *loc. cit.*, p. 451.

[27] For a detailed analysis of these productions see Alan Clarke, 'Theatre Behind Barbed Wire. German Refugee Theatre in British Internment', in Berghaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–222.

[28] Max Zimmering, 'Politische Bühne im Exil', in *idem*, *Der gekreuzigte Grischa. Begegnungen mit Zeitgenossen*, Rudolstadt 1969, p. 62.

[29] M. Zimmering, 'Kunst hinter Pfählen', *loc. cit.*, p. 255.

[30] Richard Friedenthal, *Die Welt in der Nußschale*, Munich 1956, pp. 134–142.

that in the outer world. There was first-night fever just like before a West End première, and well-to-do connoisseurs and snobs had to experience the first night in the front row. Seats of honour were reserved for the upper echelons of the camp administration, and complimentary tickets were given to friends of the artists involved in the production. If the event turned out to be a success, tickets for the next performances proved to be difficult to get, and consequently there was a lot of touting and black-marketeering going on in the camp.

On the *Dunera*, the ship that deported internees to Australia, a theatre called *Interndl* was erected on the upper deck, whilst a small platform stage on the lower deck was employed for recitations of texts by Heine, Ringelnatz, Kästner and Tucholsky.[31] In Huddlestone Camp, an artists' café was created and used for *soirées* in the tradition of the Cabaret Voltaire. Here, Kurt Schwitters recited his sound poems and provoked heated debates about whether Dada art was the right answer to the depressing living conditions in the camp.[32]

The range of performances mounted during the internment period is truly astonishing. There were innumerable recitations of plays from memory, but also fully rehearsed productions of *Faust*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Schiller's *Die Räuber* and Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. One cannot quite imagine what Schiller's trilogy *Wallenstein's Lager* might have looked like; but, judging by some spectators's memories, it was as moving and topical as an updated version of Hašek's *Schwejk*, which seems to have been the most popular play on the German exile stage. Cabaret shows played a significant role in keeping up morale, raising hope for the future, and expressing rage or scorn at the English authorities. Friedenthal, in his novel *Die Welt in der Nußschale*, draws a vivid picture of such evenings at Huddlestone Camp. Here, a seasoned *Kabarettist* offered a series of sketches dealing with the reality of everyday life in the internment camp. In a manner which can only be described as "Galgenhumor" he made his jibes at the monotony of food, the appalling hygienic conditions, the bad postal service and the general lack of communication with the outside world. He even took on the camp commandant and skilfully invited his audience to voice their opinion about the man in question. As one can imagine, he had to be very careful not to let audience participation get out of hand, especially when inviting his spectators to resist any chicanery and unfair treatment by the camp authorities.

Of course, not all cabaret performances had such a topical and satirical quality. Some commandants were less liberal than the one in Huddlestone, and open criticism of the state of affairs in the camp was only possible in clandestine gatherings, where under a façade of a "gemütlicher Hausabend" political sketches and satirical recitations were presented. Public performances in the official camp theatre consisted of the typical song-and-dance variety, although the morale-boosting quality of such entertainment revues should not be underestimated.

A similar mixture of serious and comic themes can be detected in the repertoire of full-length or one-act plays performed in the internment camps. On the one hand there were the already mentioned classics, such as Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, Goethe's *Faust* and Schiller's *Die Räuber*; amongst the comedies one must mention

[31] M. Zimmering, 'Politische Bühne im Exil', *loc. cit.*, pp. 61–62.
[32] Friedenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 275–287.

Chekhov's *The Marriage Proposal*, Hašek's *Schwejk*, and Sternheim's *Die Kassette*. The friends of thrillers and mystery stories were offered an adaptation of Chesterton's *The Man Who Was Thursday*; even the English repertory was not neglected, for we hear of productions of Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*, Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Galsworthy's *The Silver Box*, Sherriff's *Journey's End* and an American play, Robert Ardrey's *Thunder Rock*.

By early 1942, most actors had been released from the internment camps and could continue their theatrical activities in London. In Summer 1943, the Little Theatre was even able to enlarge its Lilliputian stage, fit a complete lighting rig and open an orchestra pit. The auditorium now had a seating capacity of 110. The director of the theatre, Erich Freund, vividly remembers the war years:

"The *Little Theatre* had lost a great many actors to English theatre, film companies, or the BBC. A considerable number of them worked day and night shifts in factories. Therefore, casting of any play, but particularly of those with large cast lists, posed enormous difficulties. Rehearsals could only take place in the late evenings, when everybody was exhausted and tired. One also has to bear in mind that the actors received no remuneration for this voluntary work. Expenses were paid in equal amounts to all participants after performances; but often they did not cover the expenditure incurred during the rehearsal period. On top of these handicaps there were interruptions due to illness, Air Raid Precautions Service, or because one or several actors had been snapped up by a film producer or theatre manager. It meant enormous efforts to prevent the edifice, which we had erected with laborious pains, from collapsing."[33]

The Austrian colleagues at the *Laterndl* were no less enthusiastic. Their move towards a more literary repertory was soon copied by the *Kulturbund* troupe. The last cabaret show at the Little Theatre, *My Goodness, My Alibi*, was premièred on 8th January 1944. After that, the fairly sophisticated stage machinery was employed to present polished performances of Goethe's *Iphigenie on Tauris*, Kleist's *Amphitrion*, Priestley's *They Came to a City*, and Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*. The war years not only raised the level of sophistication in the exile theatre; they also had an impact on the repertory of the commercial West End theatre. Following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union many theatres presented plays with a serious and topical outlook; some even took on the topic of war. Since many British actors were unavailable due to their call-up into the armed forces, some of the newly released German actors suddenly found themselves transported from the trestle stage in the internment camp to the boards of a prestigious West End theatre. By 1942, most of them had perfected their English pronunciation and could be entrusted with playing fiendish and sometimes even honourable foreigners, aliens, and similar "strange" characters. To everybody's surprise, some of these continental actors appearing in "serious" West End plays proved to be extremely successful; I mention only Anton Walbrook in Lillian Hellman's *Watch on the Rhine* (Aldwych 1942), Gerhard Hinze in Rattigan's *Flare Path* (Apollo 1942), Martin Miller in Clifford Odets's *Awake and Sing* (Cambridge and Arts Theatre 1942), and Frederick Valk in Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (Phoenix 1943). Robert Ardrey's *Thunder Rock* (first seen at the Neighbourhood Theatre in 1940, then transfered to the Globe and in 1941 to the St. Martin's Theatre) was even turned into a film, starring Frederick Valk, Gerhard Hinze, Milo Sperber, and Lilli Palmer.

[33] Erich Freund, 'Deutsches Theater im Londoner Exil', in *Theater der Zeit*, 4 (1946), p. 23.



Ernst Toller's 'Masses and Man'
Crescent Theatre, Birmingham 1933

By courtesy of the Crescent Theatre Ltd., Birmingham



Ballets Jooss
'The Mirror', 1935

By courtesy of Jooss Archiv, Wiesbaden



ACTORS:
AXI
SENTA BORN
KOKA BRAND
MARION FREY
ERIC FRANK

ILSE GOLDNER
ANNA MARIE HASE
LILLI HARD
FELIX KNUEPFER
CHARLOTTE KUETER
PAUL WITT
BETTY LOEWEN
MOWGLI
LI NOLDEN
EDDIE REGON
FRITZ RICHTER
HANS RITTER
HUGO SCHUSTER
KARL WEBER

LIZZIE WINGER

AN ZWEI FLUEGELN:
HANS BLOCK
HEINZ HOLLITSCHER
FRED MANFELD
EGON LARSEN

DIRECTED BY:
WOLPE-WOOPING
H. C. FISHER

TEXTS:
GOTTFURCHT, HARTL
HEARTFIELD, JOKL
LARSEN, THOEL
WOLPE

MUSIC:
FRED MANFELD, DR. ERNST MEYER

DECORATIONS:
HEARTFIELD, E. E. STERN, WOOPING

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Above: At the Laterndl, 'Von Adam bis Adolf.
Das Spiel von Sodom's Ende' by H. F. Koenigsgarten
Below: Blue Danube Club, 1947

By courtesy of The Wiener Library

The success of these productions eased the German actors' way into the more traditional repertoire. In 1942, the Old Vic invited Julius Gellner to produce *Othello* with Frederick Valk in the lead. The success of this "cultured production" (*Daily Worker*) was due not only to Valk's intense portrayal of Othello as an outsider in Venetian society, but also to Gellner's modern style of direction and his *avant-garde* use of colour, design and lighting technique. The impact of the production was immense:

"It is a sad commentary on the state of our drama that... the best production of Shakespeare (has been) by a foreign director with a foreign lead."[34]

A year later, Gellner produced *The Merchant of Venice*, again with Valk in the lead. Unusually for the time, the play went on tour to the provinces, where it proved to be as popular as in London. Friedrich Richter was now playing the role of Shylock, and he wrote about his interpretation of the part:

"I played Shylock as a man who had been treated unjustly, who had been jeered and insulted by a society of idlers, and in whom a burning hatred for his persecutors has grown. This hatred rules Shylock and directs all his actions. In order to find satisfaction, he insists on his bonds, and he, who loves money so much, refuses it, wanting only revenge. The public understood that: their sympathy was completely with Shylock."[35]

Valk's and Richter's experience as Jews in Germany and refugees in Britain had certainly provided them with a rich background to draw on when it came to presenting characters like Othello or Shylock in the theatre. They could, in a Stanislavskian sense, live through the characters' experiences on stage and translate them into physical actions in a manner that was so forceful and intense, that their audiences became emotionally involved to the point of being moved to tears. As Valk explained in an article for *New Theatre*, this approach was novel for British audiences, because it was so different from the English actors' tendency towards cold detachment in the declamation of Shakespeare's verses:

"Shakespeare's tragedies are born in hell and an actor, who dares to play them, must make a trip to hell. He can't return from there in a very orderly manner! If he doesn't come back with bloodshot eyes, wild, and screaming with agony, he missed Lucifer's bus!

But most of the actors don't go down to hell. Either they don't know the way, or they don't want to go at all. They prefer a temperate ante-room where one can sit and behave like a gentleman, delivering a declamation beautifully, with legs nicely crossed, in well-pressed trousers. Surely they will deliver the poetry – not a word will be lost – but it will be a dehydrated poetry and you will not hear the voices of Macbeth, Lear, or Othello – baked in hell."[36]

It appears that the war experience eased British audiences' acceptance of such an intense and forceful acting style. Whilst Kortner's expressionism had proved to be too much for pre-war theatre sensibilities, Valk's amalgamation of expressionist forcefulness and Stanislavskian truthfulness had apparently become palatable to West End audiences in 1942/1943.

With the Allied victory over Nazi Germany in May 1945 the refugee artists were

[34] *Daily Worker*, 14th September 1942.
[35] Richter, *loc. cit.*, p. 297.
[36] Frederick Valk, 'Acting and Poetry', in *New Theatre*, vol. III, no. 2 (July 1946), p. 10.

free to choose whether they wanted to return to Germany or stay in Britain. Most actors and directors took advantage of the new political situation in Europe and left London for their now liberated countries of origin. The *Laterndl* closed its doors in August 1945, and the Little Theatre had its last première in March 1946.

Dance Theatre

If the situation of the artists working in the spoken theatre was fraught with obvious language problems, how did their colleagues fare who expressed themselves through means which made linguistic proficiency less of an absolute necessity? I have already mentioned the designers who encountered strong opposition to the visual language employed in their production work. Dance is, of course, another medium that transcends all language barriers. Ballet companies have, traditionally, been composed of dancers from a wide range of nationalities; choreographers and company leaders usually had a Russian, French or Italian background; even the terminology and language of dance had been unified and firmly established as being French. One could therefore expect that one of the leading German dance companies who made England their new home, the Ballets Jooss, would have had few, if any, difficulties in continuing their career in the British theatre.

The Ballets Jooss[37] were not only one of the foremost dance companies to emerge from Germany in the 1920s; they also contained a large number of Jewish and half-Jewish ensemble members. Immediately after the Nazi take-over, the municipality of Essen dismissed F. A. Cohen, Heinz Rosen and Ruth Harris from the company. Jooss countered by turning the Ballets Jooss into a private concern, thereby destroying the legal basis for the dismissals. But then a concerted press campaign was waged against the ensemble, which made it virtually impossible for them to continue their performances in Essen and, indeed, in Germany:

"KURT JOOSS A MOSAIC TEMPLE DANCER: Without the Jew Cohen He Can't Fulfill His Artistic Mission.

The outcome of the Kurt Jooss case has been decided, – by the artist himself. Not willing to be separated from his Jewish musical partner he has curtailed his further involvement with the Municipal Theatre . . . We won't cry a tear for Kurt Jooss. We only wish that among his Jewish friends he will find Maecenases as supportive as those – we are appalled to say – he has had in the past."[38]

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[37] On Jooss see, A. V. Coton, *The New Ballet. Kurt Jooss and His Work*, London 1946; Anna Markard, 'Kurt Jooss and His Work', in *Ballet Review*, vol. X, no. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 15–67; *idem* (ed.), *Kurt Jooss* (exhibition catalogue, *La Fenice*), Venice 1981; Anna and Hermann Markard (eds.), *Jooss* (exhibition catalogue, Folkwang-Museum), Essen 1985; 'Das englische Exil der "Ballets Jooss". Kurt Jooss' Tochter Anna Markard in Gespräch', in *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien 1933–1945* (exhibition catalogue, Schloß Charlottenburg), Berlin (West) 1986, pp. 237–244; Leske *et al.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 289–295; Hallie Flanagan, 'Kurt Jooss at Dartington Hall', in *Theatre Arts Monthly*, May 1934, pp. 337–339; Beryl de Zoete, 'The Jooss-Leeder School of Dance at Dartington Hall', in *Dancing Times*, September 1939, pp. 626–628.

[38] Unspecified newspaper clipping in the Jooss Archives in Wiesbaden, reproduced in Anna Markard (ed.), *Kurt Jooss* (exhibition catalogue), *op. cit.*, p. 45.

From April to June 1933, the company went on tour to Switzerland, Paris and London. In August, Jooss noted in his diary that the disputes with the *Gauleitung* were increasing daily. A "tip-off" from a Freemason warned him that he was about to be arrested and sent to a concentration camp. By way of an adventurous escape he managed to leave the country. Two days later the entire company followed its leader, using the pretext of a new tour to Holland to cross the Dutch border near Maastrich.

Through the generous support of Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst a new "Jooss-Leeder School of Dance" was opened, in April 1934, at Dartington Hall in Totnes, Devon. Twenty-two members of the Jooss company and the entire staff of the *Folkwangschule* resumed their work at their new home in England. At Dartington Walter Gropius and some of his pupils from the *Bauhaus* designed their new theatre. Hein Heckroth opened a design class; Hans Oppenheim founded a music school, and Dartington Hall soon developed into an exciting art college, as experimental as the school that existed on the same premises.[39]

The Ballets Jooss gave many performances in London and the provinces. This made their name synonymous with the genre "Dance Theatre", at least to those who had never had a chance to see any of the other companies that had flourished in Germany during the 1920s.

In 1940, when his company was touring in America, Jooss was declared an enemy alien and was forced to leave Dartington. He tried to join his dancers overseas; but before he could board his ship, he was taken into custody and interned on the Isle of Man. After his release he became a director for Sadler's Wells Opera Company and produced two enormously successful choreographies for Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* and *Le Nozze di Figaro*.

Shortly afterwards, many of his dancers managed – with Government support – to cross the Atlantic, and in August 1942 the Ballets Jooss were reunited and started work again, this time based in Cambridge. They toured all over Britain, performed for the armed forces, and opened a new show at the Haymarket Theatre at a time when – as a result of bombing raids – most London theatres had closed their doors.

During the war, the Jooss Company was the only truly international ballet company performing in Britain. This may help to explain why the ensemble's impact on the British dance scene was so immense. The Ballets Jooss's war-time repertoire consisted of the by then classic *Green Table* and *The Big City*, a revived version of *The Prodigal Son*, *A Spring Tale*, *A Ball in Old Vienna*, *Pavane* and *Seven Heroes*. Amongst the new works were *Company at the Manor*, *Sailor's Fancy*, *Pandora* and *Le Bosquet*.[40] These latter ballets can be regarded as a compromise with existing British tastes, for they were less intellectual, more "dancy", and revealed a stronger inclination towards the richness of classical ballet. They also signified a departure from the company's principle that the ensemble had to impress as a whole and that the cult of the individual star dancer was to be discouraged.[41]

Jooss's willingness to adapt to British tastes by including a relatively high

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[39] See Victor Bonham-Carter, *Dartington Hall. The History of an Experiment*, London 1958.

[40] See 'British War-time Ballets. Ballets Jooss', in *Dancing Times*, August 1945, pp. 491–492; 'Ballets Jooss. A Chronological Table of their Tours', in *Ballet*, vol. III, no. 4 (May 1947), pp. 49–56.

[41] See Mary Clarke, 'Ballets Jooss', in *Dance Magazine*, February 1946, pp. 14–15, 32–34.

proportion of classical ballet elements in his choreographies, required him to step up the training of his dancers in the classical technique. He was lucky enough to have Sigurd Leeder as a partner, who released him from the everyday running of a dance school and company. Leeder not only complemented Jooss's leadership, but also provided the dancers with a training that combined creativity and intellectual awareness with a precise and rigorous technique that was so often missing in Continental modern dance companies. As the reviews of the period testify, the results of this method of training were stupefying to British audiences. Fernau Hall, a critic who was not exactly well-disposed to Jooss's expressionist heritage, wrote:

"From a technical point of view results were admirable. At a time when the average level of dance-technique in English companies was very erratic the Ballets Jooss defied criticism in even the smallest details of the minor rôles. The same was true of stage technique: the lighting plots used by Jooss were more complex than those of almost any other theatrical company, yet everything went smoothly at every performance."[42]

After the war, the company entertained the Occupying Forces in West Germany, and in 1949 returned to their old home, the *Folkwangschule* in Essen.

Glyndebourne Festival Theatre

Another medium in which German artists left a lasting mark on the theatrical culture of this country was Music Theatre.[43] The most important contributions in this field were made by the conductor Fritz Busch[44] (formerly General Director of the Dresden Opera House), and the producer Carl Ebert[45] (formerly Managing Director of the Berlin City Opera). Their independence of mind and loyalty towards their Jewish colleagues brought them into an unresolvable conflict with the new authorities in 1933. Both refused to bow to the dictates of the SA and to have the personnel and repertoire of their respective opera houses decided by the Nazi Party. As a consequence, Ebert was dismissed and Busch handed in his resignation. In July 1933 both went into exile, initially to Argentina, where they directed a short German opera season at the *Teatro Colon* in Buenos Aires. In January 1934, John Christie,[46] a rich patron of British music life and a regular visitor to the continental opera and theatre festivals, invited them to England in order to create an "English Salzburg" on his country estate in Sussex.[47] Here, at Glyndebourne, Busch and Ebert set up a production team which included many of their former Jewish collaborators and established an opera ensemble that was to change the history of Music Theatre in Britain.

[42] Fernau Hall, *An Anatomy of Ballet*, London 1953, p. 363.

[43] See Max-Uwe Stieren, 'Glyndebourne. Ein Opernhaus für England', in *Kunst im Exil in Großbritannien* (exhibition catalogue), *op. cit.*, pp. 253–256; Erik Levi, 'Carl Ebert, Glyndebourne and the Regeneration of British Opera', in Berghaus (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 179–188; Leske *et al.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 284–289.

[44] On Busch see, Bernhard Dopheide, *Fritz Busch. Sein Leben und Wirken in Deutschland, mit einem Ausblick auf die Zeit seiner Emigration*, Tutzig 1970.

[45] On Ebert see, Elizabeth Carson, 'Carl Ebert', in *Opera*, 1 (1950), pp. 25–28; Moran Caplat, 'Carl Ebert, 1887–1980', in *Opera*, 31 (1980), pp. 645–646.

[46] On Christie see, Wilfried Blunt, *John Christie of Glyndebourne*, London 1968.

[47] On the history of the Glyndebourne Festival Opera see, Spike Hughes, *Glyndebourne. A History of the Festival Opera*, Newton Abbot 1981.

Until the creation of Glyndebourne Festival Theatre, opera production was much neglected as a theatrical medium in this country. There was only one opera house, Covent Garden, with a director, Sir Thomas Beecham, who paid his star singers phenomenal sums, without requiring them to attend any rehearsals except the dress run. Under Beecham's regime, stage directors had the sole function of securing trouble free entrances and exits for the singers, and not to produce dramatically coherent stage works. The conductor reigned supreme, turning opera into a kind of concert performed in historical costumes.

Since the times of Purcell and Handel no British opera of significance had been written. Opera had no permanent home, no state subsidies, no continuity of tradition. It featured as a rare, and rather expensive, entertainment for select audiences, but it was not a theatrical medium worthy of serious attention. Those productions that were presented to private audiences or at short International Opera Seasons at Covent Garden were of inadequate standard and certainly lagged behind the level of achievement in continental opera houses.

Amongst discerning critics this state of affairs was often deplored, but audiences on the whole did not seem to raise too many objections against the quality of productions they were offered:

"It cannot be said that, as regards stage production, the average Covent Garden performance ranks very high. The task of putting on a dozen or more large-scale works within a short space of time is, of course, an immense one, and the difficulties of rehearsal are very great, particularly in these days of flying prima-donnas, anxious to spend the least possible time between one engagement and the next. Nevertheless the staging and lighting resources at the Royal Opera House are now such that a producer of imagination could work more miracles than we have recently been permitted to see.

There is a regrettable tendency amongst the habitués of Covent Garden to *expect* the productions to be slipshod and second-rate. That Beecham and the Orchestra should be in their usual fine form is much to be thankful for; that Gigli should deal successfully with his much-admired high notes is also a matter for congratulation. But thankfulness and congratulation wilt a little before a stage fight such as we recently witnessed in *Il Trovatore*, or a Triumph Scene in *Aida*, during which the procession of worshipful animals ... was carried so sadly awry as hardly to know whether they were coming or going. These are small matters, but they are symbolic of the prevalent heresy that at Covent Garden, as far as the eye is concerned, almost anything will do."[48]

Some regulars at Covent Garden, such as John Christie, were fully aware of these deficiencies. But whilst most well-heeled and world travelling aristocrats were quite content to satisfy their appetite for "the real thing" at *La Scala*, the *Palais Garnier* or the Bayreuth *Festspielhaus*, Christie was determined to introduce the delights of top quality opera to British audiences.

His dream came true on 28th May 1934 when the first Glyndebourne production, *Le nozze di Figaro*, was premièred. The reviews were more than enthusiastic. The *Observer* (3rd June 1934) found: "This is the first time in this generation and probably much longer that opera has been done *right* under English management", and the *Daily Mail* (29th May 1934) predicted: "This opera house should become a Mecca of musicians."

And indeed, a Mecca of opera lovers it was to become. From 1934 to 1939, Ebert

[48] *Musical Times*, July 1939, p. 497.

and Busch spent every summer in Glyndebourne and made the English music world familiar with a style of opera that had been developed in Germany during the 1920s and was practically unknown in this country.

Among their Jewish collaborators were Rudolf Bing, Hans Oppenheim, Berthold Goldschmidt, Jani Strasser and others, – which meant that the artistic and administrative control of Glyndebourne Festival was firmly in German hands. Busch and Ebert had total autonomy in their choice of singers and musicians. Naturally, they selected those who were prepared to work in a new type of operatic production based on the principles of Music Theatre.

Ebert's and Busch's aim was to create an equal balance between the main components of opera: text and music, voice and orchestra, acting and design. Wagner's notion of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* had found its realisation in the 1920s in the Music Theatre movement,[49] of which Ebert and Busch had been protagonists. Their production of *Un Ballo in Maschera* at the *Städtische Oper* in Berlin was regarded by many as a pinnacle of achievement:

"Ebert made the actors move in a directly understandable and natural way and gave them a musically determined expression. The scene is filled in a convincing manner, the plot becomes transparent without relying on the words and without severing the relationship to the music." (*12-Uhr-Blatt*, 29th September 1932)

"Ebert's use of the actor's craft and range of expression did away with the traditional gestural language of opera. No arm remained in an opera pose; the masks became faces. Ebert knows when to employ visual effects... This is Theatre!" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 28th September 1932)

"It was a success of opera inspired by dramatic theatre. Ebert, Neher, and Fritz Busch started from the dramatic idea of the opera. They not only took the music seriously, but also the text. They created a performance of excellent dramatic truth. The production showed a perfect unity of music and stage performance, which could only result from the reforming efforts of the German operatic theatre." (*Neue Badische Landeszeitung*, 30th September 1932)

When Ebert, Busch and their collaborators presented their first productions in Glyndebourne everybody was enthralled by their musical and theatrical quality. In 1938 the *Musical Times*, in an attempt to summarise the achievements of the Festival, wrote that,

"... the art of producing opera has been carried to the highest point of perfection known in these days. The all-embracing virtue of Glyndebourne productions is that each is a study, both artistic and practical, that draws its inspiration from the opera and makes a blend with it. Thus Glyndebourne opera has a strong and all pervading character. It absorbs its casts, however individual their members."[50]

But how did Ebert and Busch achieve this high level of production quality? It appears that the secret of their work method was their search for a central, unifying idea behind the opera and their discovery of the dramatic potential contained in the composition itself. In order to find this dramatic essence, the rational, intellectual

[49] On 1920s' Music Theatre in Germany see, Walter Panofsky, *Protest in der Oper. Das provokative Musiktheater der zwanziger Jahre*, Munich 1966; Paul Bekker, *Das Operntheater*, Leipzig 1931; Arthur Maria Rabenalt, *Das provokative Musiktheater der zwanziger Jahre*, Munich n. d. [1968]; Hans Curjel, *Experiment Kroll-Oper 1927–31*, Munich 1975; David Drew, 'Musical Theatre in the Weimar Republic', in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 88 (1961–1962), pp. 89–108; Susan C. Cook, *Opera for a New Republic. The Zeitopern of Krenek, Weill and Hindemith*, Ann Arbor 1988.

[50] *Musical Times*, July 1939, p. 542.

analysis of the music was combined with an intuitive response to its emotional quality. For days on end, Busch and Ebert played through the score of an opera and examined every bar for its dramatic and musical meaning, slowly unveiling the secrets hidden within the opera's harmonic structure.

From an early stage onwards they involved the stage designer in developing a unifying theatrical concept for the production. Together, they examined how this central idea was reflected in the individual parts of the work, how it influenced the dramatic development of the story line and how it dominated the musical structure of the composition. The designer then translated this central idea into the visual language of the stage.

The last phase in this process was the scenic realisation of the conception with the performers in rehearsals. Gesture, posture, movement, mime, choreography, blocking etc. gave physical expression to this unifying, central dramatic idea. However, this rigorous and detailed working method required absolutely committed performers who concentrated exclusively on the task in hand. For this reason, rehearsals ran over periods of six to eight weeks. The artists lived together on the premises and shared meals, accommodation and dressing rooms. A proper *ensemble* spirit was created, in which prima-donna-ish airs were banned; singer, musician, director and conductor were of equal standing, and no nationalist or racialist divisions were allowed to hinder their rehearsals or performances.

Glyndebourne's production team set out to render operatic works of the highest standard in a dramatically convincing way and to achieve a perfectly balanced union of the musical, theatrical and visual media. In the classic repertoire, the operas by Mozart lend themselves to this type of production. After *Figaro* there followed *Così fan tutte*, *Die Zauberflöte*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and *Don Giovanni*, all performed in the original language. From the very first night onwards, audiences were spellbound by the productions' high degree of musical and dramatic cohesion, the authenticity of interpretation, the beauty of scenery, costumes and performers, and, not least, the convincing acting style and the vivacity of the stage action. Right from the first season, Glyndebourne proved to be a centre of excellence, whose rise to world fame was only interrupted by the war years 1940–1945.

The post-war development of Glyndebourne is well-known and does not have to concern us here. Suffice it to say that, before the first post-war season was under way in 1948, Christie and Bing had accepted responsibility for organising the first Edinburgh Festival – a plan both had pursued since the forced closure of Glyndebourne in 1940. Rudolf Bing's Glyndebourne experience proved to be indispensable in the organisation of the first Edinburgh seasons, and he remained its Artistic Director until 1949, when he accepted the appointment of General Manager of the Metropolitan Opera in New York.

The import of international opera productions to Edinburgh contributed a great deal to the renaissance of British opera after 1945. But the foundation of this recovery had already been laid between 1934 and 1939 at the Glyndebourne Festival Theatre. Ebert and Busch provided the humus for the growth of national talent by raising the general level of quality in opera production, by setting an example for opera to be taken seriously as a theatrical art form, and by changing people's expectations when going to the opera.

The productions presented at the first Glyndebourne Festival seasons had an immediate influence on the British opera scene. Beecham, in an attempt to improve production standards at the Royal Opera House, engaged Otto Erhardt in 1937 to direct a revival of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* and *Fidelio*, and Emil Praetorius to produce *Der Fliegende Holländer*. At Sadler's Wells, Lilian Baylis broke down traditional barriers to opera and presented dramatically convincing productions at popular prices to audiences who had often never seen an opera before in their lives.

Although interrupted by the war, Glyndebourne Festival gave British opera a boost of confidence which led to a revival of composers' interest in the medium. Britten's *Peter Grimes* (1945) inaugurated a series of modern masterpieces which were unlikely ever to have been written without the support provided by Glyndebourne Festival Theatre. Similarly, Covent Garden would not have dreamt of appointing Peter Brook as Artistic Director in 1949 had there not been the precedent of a theatre-trained and acting-orientated opera producer in the person of Carl Ebert. In fact Ebert's return to Glyndebourne in 1950 spurred other opera companies to find national and international directors dedicated to the principles of Music Theatre. Without Glyndebourne it would have been unthinkable for a director like Peter Hall to work one month at the National Theatre, the next at Covent Garden, and he himself is fully aware of this:

> "True opera is action made out of music and it can only be made by long, close collaboration between conductor and director through shared rehearsals. The atmosphere, the action, the character of the drama affects the nature of the music making. And the music making affects drama. Which comes first? Neither. Opera should be a perfect circle, the drama making music and the music making drama. The ideal was established by Busch and Ebert..."[51]

As regards the post-war development and the reciprocal relationship between British and German theatre, it is impossible to give a clear picture until more research has been carried out on the topic. Some of the émigré actors who had established themselves in Britain stayed on after 1945 (e.g. Frederick Valk, Anton Walbrook, Elisabeth Bergner), and some remained prominent on the stage as well as the cinema screen. But the majority of exiled theatre artists returned to their country of origin. If it was Germany, some settled in the East, others in the West. After twelve years of Nazi government there was a thirst for catching up with recent dramatic developments in other countries, particularly in France, America and Britain. A considerable number of productions of plays from the Anglo-Saxon repertoire were premièred between 1945 and 1960. The works of Maugham, Wilder, O'Casey, Odets, T. S. Eliot, T. Williams, O'Neill and others played a significant part in post-war German theatre, beside French existentialist and Soviet realist imports.[52] How much the refugees from Britain played a part in this, further research will have to establish.

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[51] Peter Hall, 'A Place for Mozart', in John Higgins (ed.), *Glyndebourne. A Celebration*, London 1984, p. 10.

[52] See W. Mittenzwei *et al.* (eds.), *Theater in der Zeitenwende*, vol. I, Berlin (East) 1972, pp. 137–177.

PAULINE PAUCKER

The Image of the German Jew in English Fiction

Sir Walter Scott had the idea of introducing Jewish characters in his novel *Ivanhoe* after listening to anecdotes told him by a friend who, in his youth, had seen the Jews of Germany at a time when "they retained their own dress and manners entire, and were treated with considerable austerity by their Christian neighbours, being still locked up at night in their own quarters by great gates".[1] He was intrigued, but found it easier to set his Isaac and Rebecca in a much earlier period, the feudal England of Richard I. Otherwise, we may speculate, as did one contemporary reviewer of Trollope, that Scott might have written a novel something like *Nina Balatka*, but more weighty, dealing with moral issues, more richly-textured than Anthony Trollope's slight tale, written in 1866, of the old ghetto quarter of Prague. The anonymous reviewer of 1867 speaks of the strong fascination of the subject "... the struggle between that feeling, half of caste contempt, half of religious horror, which used to exist in old times between Christians and Jews".[2]

Trollope is well aware of how times have changed, his characters are a modernising Jew, Anton Trendellsohn, and the Catholic girl, Nina, of the title. He shows not only the problems of intermarriage and the bitter opposition they face from both families but also the likely background of many a German-speaking Jew then arriving in England. "To be a Jew in London, they had told him, was almost better than to be a Christian, provided he was rich, and knew the ways of trade..." So muses Anton. Trollope's usually damning statement when introducing a Jewish or possibly Jewish foreign character into his novels: "none of them knew whence he had come or what was his family" is for once answered here, for he shows the Trendellsohns as a wealthy and respected family in Jewish Prague, living in their ancient high-gabled house facing the synagogue: "so remarkable that all who knew Prague well, knew the house in which the Trendellsohns lived". The picture of the ghetto is not unpleasing, the narrow crooked streets are not offensive, the women, dressed in their best for a High Holy Day, are handsome and picturesque. The novel ends with Anton and Nina leaving for one of the great cities of the West where Jews – true to their religion – "lived among Christians as one man should live with his fellow-men, on equal terms" and "not live immured in a Jews' quarter, like lepers..."

The notion that German-speaking Jews came to England from a mysterious ghetto persists in English fiction long after the ghetto gates were opened, as can be seen in the work of writers as recent as Graham Greene and Somerset Maugham, even when the term "from the ghetto" is used in a vague, symbolic sense meaning the Jewish quarters of the ancient cities of Germany and the Habsburg Empire. But

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[1] J. G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott Bart.*, London 1836, edition of 1893, p. 420.
[2] Unsigned review, *The Spectator*, March 1867.

when, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, distinctive Jews of German-speaking origin enter the range of characters at the disposal of the novelist,[3] they do seem to reflect, even if unsympathetically, types based on more recent arrivals rather than on previous fictional stereotypes of the Jew.

In what way are they different from the native-born Jewish citizen (or what Trollope calls "our traditional Jews") and how can a reader recognise them?

Often they are quite simply defined by the author: he was a German Jew; she was a Bohemian Jewess – or the name itself is the clue.[4] Whereas the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century authors give well-off English Jews names of Sephardi origin such as Manasseh or Montenero, the workaday variety is likely to be Cohen, Isaacs, Levy, Solomon, Moss, Moses; of whatever origin, these are the background figures who form the monotonous frieze of moneylenders, brokers' men, pedlars, pawnbrokers and the rest with whom the honest hero may have dealings. Rarely is anything shown, little is known of their personal lives.

German Jews, when they appear, are given names of a distinctly German cast: Swartz, Sampson, Steinbaum, Goesler, Goldsheiner, Adler, Bischoffsheim, Klammerstein, Bleichroeder and so on. Another clue is the foreign title of Baron, highly suspect in an England which preferred its own aristocracy. The first generation Rothschild in England had dropped it.[5]

For Lady Emily Eden in her witty novel of 1859, *The Semi-Detached House*, Baron Sampson's title suggests the dubious financier, someone up to no good. He has indeed "apparently speculated most of his hair off his head". The Sampsons' rather too open admission of social climbing includes attempts within the Jewish élite itself, lavish entertaining, at their rented Thames-side villa, of businessmen and Radical-Liberal politicians, and dabbling in fashionable charities. "I believe, in these days, a little attention to the poor is not a bad speculation", says the Baroness, who is an amusing variant of Jane Austen's fatuous and pretentious Mrs Elton in *Emma*. She pretends to inside knowledge of diplomatic life in Germany via "my friend Madame Steinbaum", who "writes to me from Berlin" and claims to be a close friend of Baroness Rothschild (the second generation, more securely in the saddle in more ways than one, had resumed their title). This claim of intimacy is based, as the author tartly points out, on the Sampsons having been asked, once, to a "large party at Gunnersbury", famous for lavish Rothschild fêtes.[6] Here Lady Emily seems to be informing her readers that there was a distinct social pecking order even amongst wealthy Jews of foreign origin.

The advent of the Rothschilds and their fairytale wealth had captured the English public's imagination. Cosy moralising tales of the brothers from the Frankfurt ghetto and their dear old mother who remained in the family home – she who might have lived in a palace – appeared in family magazines, and the old Frankfurt ghetto

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[3] In this essay writers themselves of German-Jewish or of Jewish origin are excluded. I have chosen books still read today or lesser-known books by still-read authors.

[4] Wilkie Collins in *Jezebel's Daughter*, London 1880, has, for instance, a Mr. Ephraim Wagner, merchant, formerly of "Frankfort on the Main". The name and origin could point to his being Jewish. A social reformer, he influences the characters in the novel, after his death.

[5] See W. M. Thackeray's caricature of N. M. Rothschild in, *The National Standard* of 18th May 1833, with the lines: "... The first Baron Juif/A greasy-faced compound of donkey and pig".

[6] Gunnersbury Park had been bought by the Rothschilds in 1835.

quarter became a picturesque stop on the English tourist itinerary. In Richard Doyle's *Foreign Tour of Brown, Jones and Robinson*, published in 1854, there is an illustration entitled: "How they visited 'a quarter' of the city of Frankfurt and what they saw there." It is not unlike Cruikshank's offensive plate showing the Jews of Wardour Street in Dickens's *Sketches by Boz*; hideous, hook-nosed Jews pullulate in the narrow street. But Doyle is a little more chivalrous, he has one or two beautiful though very melancholy Jewesses amongst the crowd; no doubt he had read Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

It is to Frankfurt, also, that George Eliot sends Daniel Deronda on his first, though not altogether satisfactory, visit to a synagogue[7] and it is from Frankfurt that so many fictional German Jews are described as having come to England.

The Rothschilds, themselves, thinly disguised, appear fleetingly in many novels. Charles Lever in *Davenport Dunn*[8] has a Baron Glumthal, "the great Frankfurt millionaire", who refers to "our house" which appears to be directing the political affairs of Europe, and whose English has "the very slightest trace of a foreign accent". "You may present your Hebrew friend if you like", says a Lady Grace condescendingly but others are more eager to be presented, in the hope of financial gain.

In Lever's *That Boy of Norcott's*[9] they are the Nathanheimers of Paris, the great "Jew house" who own "all Europe and a very considerable share of America", and the whole financial system of Europe is in the "hands of a few crafty men of immense wealth", who "unthroned dynasties and controlled the fate of nations with a word". They are also the ruin of the Jewish timber merchant of the story, Ignaz Oppovich of Fiume, who has in some way annoyed them. Lever himself had spent dreary years in Fiume as British Consul and in this novel has a vivid description of Oppovich's Jewish employees, seen at the lavish feast in the romantic grounds of his crumbling villa – a generous annual works' outing on his daughter's birthday. Here it seems to be Lever himself who is speaking, giving the idea that Jews in the Habsburg dominions look markedly different from those in the British. Norcott sees "types of the race I had never seen before; fair-haired and olive-eyed... The red Jew was there... the fierce-eyed and dark-browed... greed, craft, determination, even violence... the Christian physiognomy seemed even vulgar when contrasted with those faces so full of vigorous meaning and concentration" and he refers to them as "warriors of commerce". Oppovich's daughter – for here once again is the old Jew and his beautiful daughter – is herself blonde, lovely but severe, an accomplished linguist and excellent businesswoman though barely fifteen. But even this paragon cannot hold out against the might of Baron Nathanheimer. The firm is ruined, her father dies. She becomes the young hero's wife, Lady Norcott, and the "Austrian Jewess" will take her place in English society.

A German Jew appears in a more surprising role in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* of 1848, set in Regency England. There is Rhoda Swartz, described as "the mulatto

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[7] George Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, London 1876, chap. XXXII.

[8] Charles Lever, *Davenport Dunn. A Man of Our Day*, London 1859. Trollope's Melmotte may have been based on a similar character who is here presented as an Irish financial speculator, the Davenport Dunn of the title.

[9] Charles Lever, *That Boy of Norcott's*, London 1869.

parlour boarder at Miss Pinkerton's" and "the Hottentot Venus", an amiable but simple-minded heiress from St. Kitts. "Her father was a German Jew" cries George Osborne, "a slave-owner they say". He refuses to marry her and she becomes the prize of "a young sprig of Scotch nobility", the Honourable James M'Mull. Little Macduff M'Mull will become Viscount Castlenoddy, the mortgaged Scottish estates freed by the Swartz West Indies plantation wealth. This is rapid going in three generations.

Thackeray's Jewish characters are minor walk-on roles. Trollope's attitude to Jews in his novels has been discussed at some length,[10] but why he so often chose them as characters of some significance is unclear. Presumably he met English Jews at fashionable houses (Sir George Jessel, a leading judge and a Jew, was his whist partner at the Athenaeum); he had travelled widely in Europe (*Nina Balatka* was written after a visit to Prague); his brother Thomas Adolphus's first wife, Theodosia, was the daughter of a former Miss Abrams, one of a musical trio of Jewish sisters from Hanover.[11] At the family Trollope's villa in Florence he would have met a wide range of cosmopolitan society. Nearly all the Trollope family wrote and published, Theodosia as well as her husband, Thomas Adolphus, and their mother's never-ceasing pen had once supported the family. In *A Romance of Old Vienna* (written after a visit there which had produced *Vienna and the Viennese*, both published in 1838) Frances Trollope draws a type which would have been unfamiliar but perhaps of interest to her English readers: the salon Jewess. But Ruth Balthazar has taken to the literary life out of boredom with her wealthy older husband, it is mere pretence, the theme is not developed. She and the other Jewish characters become crude and ugly caricatures in the melodramatic story of a wronged wife and her tormentors.

Anthony Trollope was capable of equally crude characterisation of a Jew, such as in *Mr Scarborough's Family*,[12] but he also has a wide range of very interesting, more subtly-drawn types and, in his Palliser series[13] of novels and in *The Way We Live Now*,[14] there are a number of German Jews who play important roles. Although varied in character they have certain marked traits in common. They are accepted in society for their social skills, talents, money and attractive ways of spending it. In moving from their countries to this, they choose the positions they take without the need for an intervening generation marking time living in the neighbourhood of the City, or in Fulham, or Bayswater. Only a few years are needed for Madame Max Goesler, coming as a widow from Vienna, to entertain a select society to excellent dinners in her pretty little house in Park Lane and Mr. Alf, the literary man, said to be a German Jew, very soon has his small house near Berkeley Square with guests to match, is a member of two or

[10] See Edgar Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali. Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction*, Stanford, Cal. 1960; Anne Aresty Naman, *The Jew in the Victorian Novel. Some Relationships between Prejudice and Art*, New York 1980; Pauline Paucker, 'Jüdische Gestalten im Englischen Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Herbert A. Strauss and Christhard Hoffmann (eds.), *Juden und Judentum in der Literatur*, München 1985; R. H. Super, *The Chronicles of Barsetshire*, Ann Arbor 1988.

[11] T. A. Trollope, *What I Remember*, London 1887, p. 151.

[12] Anthony Trollope, *Mr. Scarborough's Family*, London 1883.

[13] The Palliser series comprising: *Can You Forgive Her?*, 1864; *Phineas Finn*, 1869; *The Eustace Diamonds*, 1873; *Phineas Redux*, 1874; *The Prime Minister*, 1876; *The Duke's Children*, 1880.

[14] *The Way We Live Now*, published in 1875.

three good clubs – after being blackballed at two or three others – and has "come up... very thoroughly".[15]

And the vulgar speculator Melmotte, of doubtful but, it is suggested, very likely of German-Jewish origin (his intimate clerk Kroll is a German, as are Madame Goesler's servants) moves into a house in Grosvenor Square to open his campaign with extravagant receptions. At one such party Mr. Alf is asked: "You here?" and answers: "Why not? Melmotte and I are brother adventurers."

We must assume them to be non-observant Jews, willing to eat at Christian tables and so able to take full part in a dinner-giving, country-house weekend society. Only at the level of a Rothschild or a Montefiore could one demand a kosher dish to be served when dining out.[16] (Disraeli's Sidonia makes do with bread and water at a pinch.) The observant Jew would not be within the range of a novelist of social life.

Their speech – and this is constantly stressed in the mid-nineteenth-century novel – displays only "the faintest possible trace of a foreign accent" (Mr. Alf, Madame Goesler, Marie Melmotte), or a "musical foreign tone" in the case of the fashionable preacher, Reverend Joseph Emilius. No attempt is made to reproduce the "lithping" accent believed typical of the English Jew,[17] which Trollope himself uses for the vociferous Mr. Hart, a "native" Jewish moneylender in *Mr Scarborough's Family*, who is given a "dish" and a "dat" accent – described as a "lisping fiendish sound". (There is also Mr Samuel Cohenlupe in *The Way We Live Now*. MP for Staines, something in the City, he is described as "a gentleman of the Hebrew persuasion" – a tired facetious phrase commonly applied to so-called native Jews. However, though fluent, his English is "vilely broken", with a "Vy" and a "Vat". There is no hint as to his origin, perhaps he was "spawned in some estaminet".[18])

A reader is given the impression that nearly all the German-Jewish characters, likeable or not, are people of middle-class origin who have received a sound education in their own countries and have possibly attended something like a Berlitz school. They are reasonably well-read, too, in the literature of their adopted country. Mr. Alf is a critic and editor of a leading journal; Madame Goesler can quote apt snatches of poetry; Reverend Emilius mellifluously reads Byron (*Childe Harold*, Canto IV) to Lizzie Eustace. In smaller matters too, Madame Max Goesler shows her refinement; in the rich subtleties of her dress, the elegant furnishing of her house, and the Duke of Omnium is charmed by her choice of note-paper, lightly-scented, with its delicate and intriguing monogram. Such Victorian social niceties were not acquired overnight. In her letter refusing the duke's offer of marriage she writes: "In this country a woman with a foreign

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[15] Michael Sadleir, *Trollope. A Commentary*, London 1927. Revised edition, 1945, p. 398: "... the wrong Jews came ever more to the right houses".

[16] It is interesting that Lady Montefiore in her cookery book, *The Jewish Manual edited by a Lady*, London 1846, seems to be suggesting an adaptation of Jewish food (home-killed, hand-reared game, mock turtle and mulligatawny soups) when entertaining non-Jews to dinner.

[17] In a BBC Radio 4 adaptation of *The Way We Live Now* (July 1988), Mr. Alf was played with a markedly German accent to match that of Melmotte's guttural German one, pointing up the irony of their fighting for the Westminster seat. Mr. Cohenlupe was played with the standard BBC drama department "lithping" Jewish accent.

[18] T. S. Eliot, 'Gerontion', in *Poems*, London 1920.

name, with means derived from a foreign source, with a foreign history, is specially suspect. I have striven to live that down and I have succeeded." She speaks here for many German-Jewish newcomers.

They are well aware of another path to social advancement, via the hunting field for, as Surtees pointed out in his racy sporting novels of the period; if you could ride and knew what you were about, hospitable houses would be open to you.[19] Mr. Alf keeps his four hunters in Northamptonshire, Madame Goesler arrives to stay at Lord Chiltern's horsey household with two thoroughbreds: "she was a lady who could ride to hounds", Trollope says. (And she could vary her pace to dally with the Duke or gallop alongside Phineas Finn.) A Mr. Goldsheiner, in *The Way We Live Now*, is petulantly described as having, "in some sort of way, got himself in. He hunts, and... he is one of the best shots at Hurlingham." Which has won him a Lady Julia Stuart as wife. Trollope, a keen rider, may have met such types when out hunting. The second generation Rothschilds had taken enthusiastically to the sport; Trollope refers to a character in *The Eustace Diamonds*, the hard-riding Mrs. Carbuncle, as having been "out with the Baron's staghounds". No need to say which Baron, the reader would know.

Trollope shows yet another, more equivocal form of social acceptance. As the aspiring lower-middle class well knew, the Anglican church gave a formal stamp of accredited gentleman to its clergy,[20] but Trollope looks askance at the convert priest (such as Mr. Groschut in *Is he Popenjoy?*). There may be in the character of the Reverend Joseph Emilius an echo of the real-life German-Jewish Anglican clergymen in the public eye, such as Reverend Joseph Wolff, explorer and missionary, son of a rabbi, born in Weilerbach in 1795; he "fascinated rather than charmed" according to the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[21] He married Lady Georgina Walpole – their son was the diplomat Sir Henry Drummond Wolff – and Trollope has a side-swipe at Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, formerly a rabbi, born in Posen, whom he shows as having supposedly converted the fictional Reverend Emilius.

Emilius is a coarsely-drawn character (as even contemporary and other reviewers have remarked).[22] Lady Glencora Palliser thinks he is "some sort of clergyman". It is Madame Goesler who adds, "Oh, yes; he's a clergyman of our church", and when the Duke of Omnium, avid for details of the Eustace Diamonds scandal, asks: "And the man is a cad – is he?" Madame Goesler replies: "A Bohemian Jew, Duke – an imposter." Surely the irony is intended.

At the end of *The Eustace Diamonds* Emilius marries the shifty Lady Eustace, despite having left a wife somewhere in Europe, and in *Phineas Redux* he is reintroduced to become a murderer, disposing of a very tiresome character, Mr. Bonteen. Again, ironically enough, it is Madame Goesler, his fellow-Jew, who tracks him down, playing Sherlock Holmes in Vienna and Prague with the aim of clearing

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[19] For R. S. Surtees's handling of a Jewish sporting character, Sir Moses Mainchance, see Paucker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 122–124.

[20] Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke. Taylor and Poet*, London 1850, p. 105: "If once you are a parson all is safe... from that moment on you are a gentleman... You are good enough for any man's society. You can dine at any nobleman's table."

[21] *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols., London 1885–1900.

[22] Unsigned review, *The Spectator*, October 1872: "coarse painting... not quite complete verisimilitude". See also Michael Sadleir's preface to the Oxford Trollope edition of *The Eustace Diamonds*.

Phineas Finn, accused of the crime – a far-fetched piece of plotting. Emilius slips out of the hanging charge but is caught for bigamy.[23] Marie Goesler marries Phineas Finn. There will be no Nina Balatka-like problems between Jew and Catholic here. Madame Max Goesler is of course that amiable cliché of fiction: the beautiful Jewess, a little older, a more subtle charmer, minus an aged father, but in command of a sizeable fortune (in the form of property in Vienna and Prague) which will further the career of an Irish political adventurer.

It is noticeable that even villainous German Jews such as Trollope's Emilius are well-read or have literary or musical talents which they can turn to account. In George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, Mirah's rascally father Lapidoth, or Cohen, seems to be a German Jew of Polish origin; Mirah says that her father spoke German better than he spoke English. He has been a teacher, an actor, hack-playwright, translator and linguist, at home in the theatrical worlds of London, Hamburg, Vienna or Budapest.

By contrast, the English fictional Jews, apart from the occasional attorney, seem confined to trade or the City; if they are involved in the theatre it is only at the lowest level, as in Thackeray's *Pendennis* or *The Newcomes*. And even in a best-selling late nineteenth-century novel by a mediocre writer, George du Maurier's *Trilby*,[24] the ludicrously sinister Jew Svengali (whose name is still used as a word descriptive of hypnotic power) is described as having been the prize student of his year at the Leipzig Conservatoire. "He had but one virtue – his love of his art" (but his taste in music seems rather Palm Court Orchestra). His real name, we are told, is Adler, his parents Austrian. Du Maurier says that he speaks French with a German accent, making a pretty language ugly. He also has literary tastes: "We have got a poet too, my Drilpy. His name is Heinrich Heine..." and he babbles about Heine's love of Parisian grisettes and "süssen Füssen". He is described as "of Jewish aspect, well-featured but sinister", but in the abundant illustrations he is a repulsive evil bogey-man, the stage Jew-villain which, in the theatrical adaptation, he became, a plum role for Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree.

Like Thackeray, du Maurier, who was a black-and-white artist by profession, illustrated his own books. It is always revealing to see how an illustrator tackles a basic stereotype such as a Jew, an Irishman, a Frenchman, a black. Thackeray's half-Jewish, half-black Rhoda Swartz is one of his usual coarse and vulgar caricatures of a black girl. Anthony Trollope was ill-served by his illustrators with the exception of John Millais and perhaps Marcus Stone. In the feeble contemporary illustrations to *The Way We Live Now*[25] Melmotte is shown as heavy, vulgar-faced, with no special "Jewish" characteristics, Marie Melmotte is insignificant, Madame Melmotte[26] is much as she is described: "she had the Jewish nose and Jewish contraction of the eyes", but a balding and commonplace Mr. Alf is very unlike the "alert good-looking man with well-cut features" of Trollope's description.

Millais, as an artist of note, took great care in the drawings he made for illustra-

[23] Mario Praz, *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction*, London 1954, p. 280: "But Trollope avoids melodrama and offers his readers the *anticlimax* of another Jew, cleverer than Fagin, condemned indeed, but for the least of his crimes."

[24] George du Maurier, *Trilby. A Novel*, with 121 Illustrations by the Author, London 1895.

[25] The work of an amateur artist, army officer Lionel Grimston Forbes.

[26] German women in England were given the courtesy title of *Madame* rather than the inelegant *Frau*.

tions. In *Phineas Finn* Madame Goesler is shown in one plate persuading the Duke of Omnium to come to one of her little dinners. She is here a very pretty "Jewish" type, full-faced rather than thin-cheeked as Trollope describes her, and with the abundant black hair which for the Duke seems to have "something of mystery in its glossiness". In another illustration she is in the background, merely conventionally pretty; Millais is more concerned with the figure of the Duke and of Lady Glencora, who is furious that the Duke of Omnium is considering marriage with Marie Goesler, thinking of her as "a thin, black-browed, yellow-visaged woman with ringlets and devil's eyes and a beard on her upper lip – a Jewess!" (Later, the two women will become firm friends.)

Millais was not available for *Phineas Redux*; the choice was one of the *Graphic* artists (the journal in which the novel was serialised), Francis Montague Holl, a "social-realist".[27] In the often clumsy illustrations, there is no consistency in the figure of Madame Goesler, who appears often; in one scene with the dying Duke she is girlishly youthful and pretty, shortly afterwards she is shown as much older, fatter and quite plain, a heavy-faced "Jewish" matron, then as a heavy-featured stereotypical "handsome Jewess", finally, in the reunion with Phineas Finn, a brunette of no marked characteristics. Holl does not attempt the Reverend Emilius.

For the modern Oxford Trollope edition of the Palliser novels[28] several artists were commissioned. Madame Goesler is now a pouting-lipped luscious Central-European beauty with a hint of the Ealing film studios' actresses of the time in a costume role. T. L. B. Huskinson, working in the late forties, has taken careful note of "her thick black curls... nose not perfectly straight in line" and achieves a very believable characterisation of a foreign charmer. Charles Mozley, who illustrated *The Duke's Children* in 1954, is more careless. Madame Goesler, by now Mrs. Finn, has become a mere fashion-plate beauty with a retroussé nose, looking no older than Lady Glencora's daughter.[29]

The Reverend Emilius is barely visible in the illustrations to the Oxford Trollope edition of *The Eustace Diamonds* of 1950, but T. L. B. Huskinson, who illustrated both *Phineas Finn* and *Phineas Redux*, shows him as distinctly unpleasing, just as he is described, with curved nose, fleshy lips, heavy jowls. The dust-jacket illustration for *Phineas Redux* is of 'Mr and Mrs Yosef Mealyus of Cracow', posed against the background of one of those mysterious Eastern European cities whence came so many Jews; she is wearing a peasant's head-shawl, he is an evil-looking Jew of sinister eye, heavily-bearded, before his translation into the reasonably clean-shaven Anglican preacher Joseph Emilius.

Du Maurier used a not dissimilar type for his dark, bearded, hook-nosed, predatory Svengali; but less fleshy, more hungry than the sleek Emilius. He freely acknowledged that he had taken certain traits of the character, in particular the mesmerising skills, from his old friend and fellow art-student Felix Moscheles. Felix was a son of the German-Jewish pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles, friend of Heine and of Mendelssohn and, like the great violinist Joachim, a leading figure in English musical life for many years until he took up the post of head of the piano

[27] N. John Hall, *Trollope and his Illustrators*, London 1980.
[28] The Oxford Trollope, *Phineas Finn*, 1949; *Phineas Redux*, 1951.
[29] The Oxford Trollope, *The Duke's Children*, 1954.

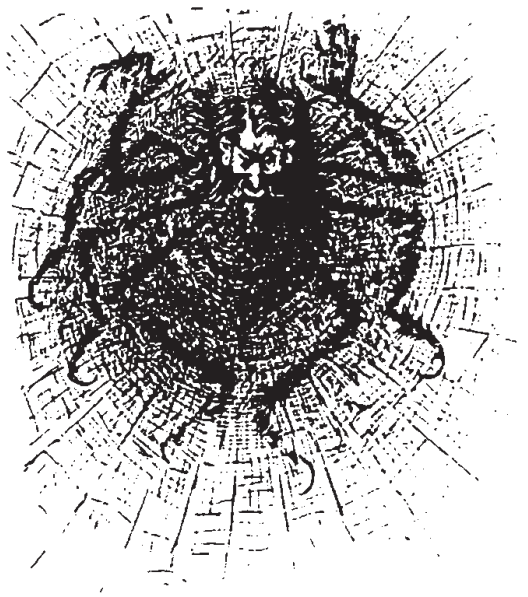


John Everett Millais
Illustration for Anthony Trollope's 'Phineas Finn', 1869
(Mme Max Goesler and the Duke of Omnium in her Park Lane house)

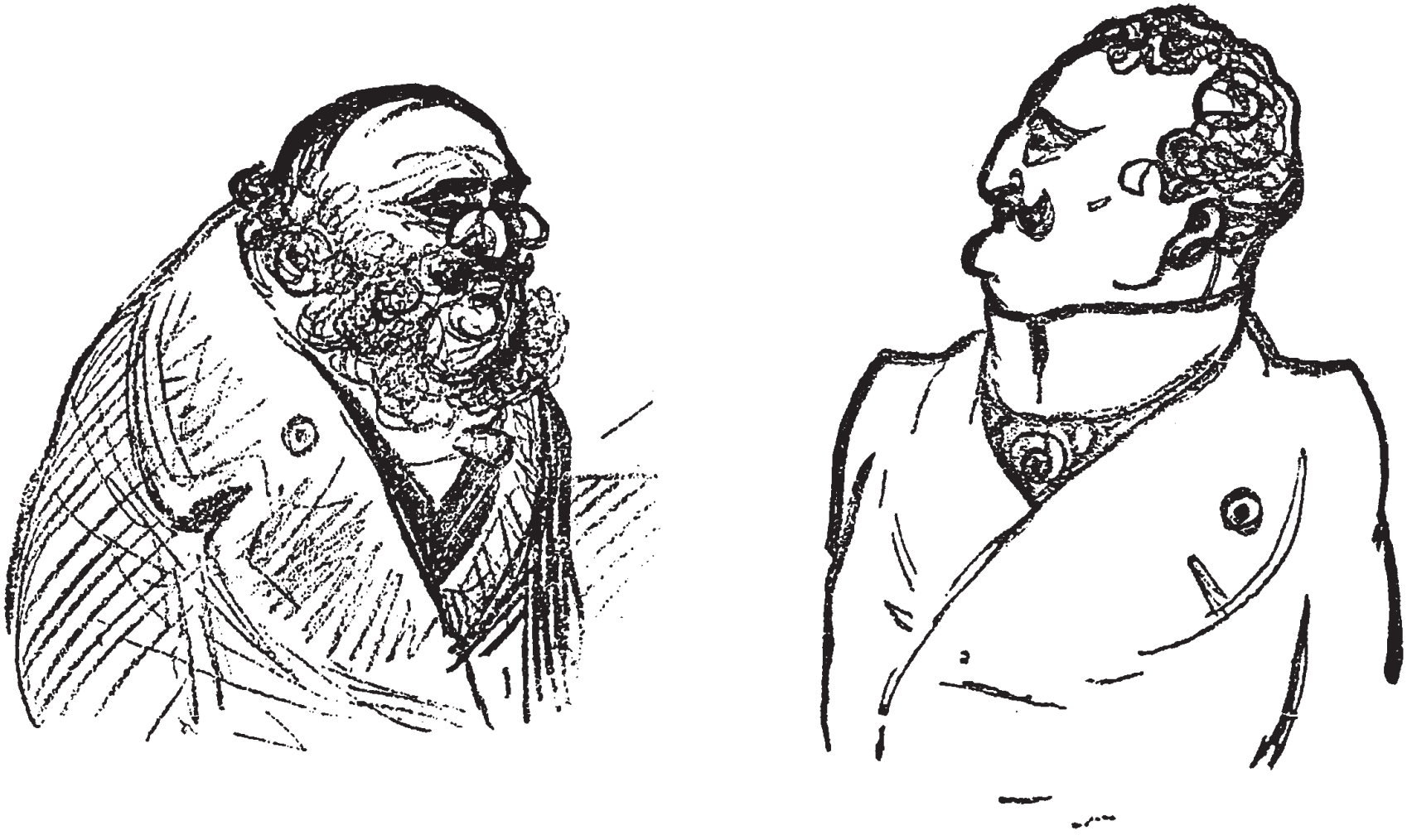


T. L. B. Huskinson
Illustration for Anthony Trollope's 'Phineas Redux', OUP 1951, vol. I, frontispiece
(Mme Max Goesler and Phineas Finn out hunting)





George du Maurier
'Trilby. A Novel. Illustrated by the author'
Svengali at the piano; as a spider



G. K. Chesterton
Illustrations for Hilaire Belloc's 'Emmanuel Burden', 1904
Mr. Barnett; Baron Bloch

department of the Leipzig Conservatoire, the very establishment where the fictional Svengali/Adler began his quite different career. Felix Moscheles good-naturedly responded to du Maurier's confession by publishing it in his own happy book of reminiscences after du Maurier's death: *In Bohemia with Du Maurier*,[30] but he may well have been hurt, above all by the illustrations to *Trilby* – we see that Svengali looks not unlike the drawings du Maurier made of Moscheles himself, reproduced in his book. One of the *Trilby* illustrations would have served for *Der Stürmer*: Svengali depicted as a vile grinning spider crouched in a web, entitled: "An incubus". Yet certainly du Maurier claimed many Jews as friends, apart from the Moscheles family...

However, his is not the crude polemical antisemitism of those authors who, at the turn of the century, attacked the recently-arrived German-Jewish financiers prominent in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. German commercial competition was by then seen as a serious threat and the victors of the Franco-Prussian war as militaristic boors, pushing aside the former image of a tame, cosy Biedermeier Germany, such as Thackeray's little Dukedom of Pumpernickel in *Vanity Fair*. For G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, fictional – and factual – Jews are nearly all German by origin and as such dedicated to furthering German interests.[31] Their accents are no longer "faint" or "fascinating" but heavy, guttural and offensive to an English ear.

In *Emmanuel Burden*, written by Belloc in 1904 (and dashingly illustrated by G. K. Chesterton) we are given a mock biography of an upright British merchant, Burden, entangled in the clutches of an unscrupulous Jewish financier: Mr I. Z. Barnett (name changed), born in "Frankfort a/M", accent, gesture, expression, all German, according to Belloc, who sometimes has a tin ear when imitating German cadence and word order. In a later novel[32] Barnett asks: "Will you listen out?" Startled, his companion asks "Listen what?" "Listen out to me", says the financier, "certain of his idiom". Now German Jews are shown as imposing their version of English on the natives. "It mohst be zo!"

A. N. Wilson in his biography of Belloc[33] writes that *Emmanuel Burden* "stands up well" and "deserves to be better known". Dedicated to the liberal historian H. A. L. Fisher, it is no more than a thin and feeble cartoon replay of Trollope's *The Way We Live Now*. Fraudulent schemes collapse, small savers are ruined, but Barnett the foreign financier starts up again, now with a bankrupt peer in tow, together with the avaricious son of the upright British merchant of the title who gambles with his father's hard-earned fortune. Barnett leaves the Edgware Road for a "considerable mansion overlooking the Park", sets up the usual carriage and has a box at the opera, buys a few newspapers and – a nice touch – an article intended to arouse competitive interest in the new share flotation is placed in a German review by his own second cousin, Baron Bloch, who writes under the pseudonym: "Sympathicus". (Echoing Belloc's contemporary, the Jewish journalist Lucien Wolf who signed: "Diplomaticus".)

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[30] Felix Moscheles, *"I Well Remember". In Bohemia with Du Maurier*, London 1896.
[31] Christopher Hollis, *The Mind of Chesterton*, London 1970, p. 142.
[32] *Mr. Clutterbuck's Election*, London 1908.
[33] A.N. Wilson, *Hilaire Belloc*, London 1984, p. 125.

In later novels, *Mr Clutterbuck's Election*, 1908, *A Change in the Cabinet*, 1909 and *Pongo and the Bull* of 1910 (his last appearance), Barnett rises higher and higher; deep in financial and political scheming, he becomes successively Lord Lambeth and Duke of Battersea. He is known jocularly as the "Peabody Yid" after dabbling in philanthropic housing schemes for the poor from which he extracts a sizeable profit. So Belloc dismisses the generous philanthropy of Jewish magnates.

In *The Missing Masterpiece* (1929) Belloc tackles modern art and art-dealing. Lord Duveen's triumphant and complex transatlantic career as a dealer offered an all too easy target for Belloc's schoolboy wit. (The Duveen family, with its many branches, had originally come to Hull from Holland and Dutch was their common language.[34]) In the novel a French art expert, an Italian, and the English Sir Henry Bensington himself are all unmasked as Germans, and, with a nudge and a wink, as Jews. "Mr Henry Caen of Paris, actually born in Vienna where his parents happened to be residing at the time" and Signor Alessandria "born... in Smyrna to parents of doubtful origin who had German for a common language" and Sir Henry, born in Cologne "where his parents happened to be resident" (though he claims ancestors in the West Riding town of Pagston). All three, under pressure, speak German amongst themselves. "Ach! Der Lügner!" murmurs Monsieur Caen and "Was für eine Genie", says Signor Alessandria when they are outwitted by Bensington. For Sir Henry has had the advantage of "a certain capital provided by his parents in Germany" and enjoys an "inestimable acquaintance with the German tongue". Bensington's career parallels that of Duveen – he is knighted at the age of thirty-five and recommended for a peerage after acquiring a painting for the nation, despite hanky panky with the missing masterpiece. The "picture men" as Belloc calls them, are presented as a uniquely German-Jewish world-wide conspiracy, foisting rubbishy art on the public, their methods fraud, menace and theft.

In G. K. Chesterton's lively pencil sketches for Belloc's novels, Mr. Barnett is shown as a stereotypical foreign Jew, curving fleshy nose and thick lips lurking in a fuzzy forest of beard, a pince-nez defining the little eyes. Baron Bloch has acquired something of the Prussian look, strangled in a high collar, and Sir Henry Bensington has the strong blunt face of a boxer.

Yet another political novel of the period with a Jewish protagonist is *Mr Fleight*, written by Ford Madox Ford in 1913 when he was still Ford Madox Hueffer. A curious novel; a laboured satire on English public life with the naive hero, Mr. Fleight, a half-Scottish, half-Jewish millionaire, standing for parliament. Much discussion of the low position of Jews in Germany is put into the mouth of a boring German beauty, Wilhelmina, who marries Mr. Fleight as a social experiment, and with the hope of becoming a peeress. There is a malicious portrait of "the German Jewish liberal MP for Ealing", a Mr Bleichroeder, as it happens, "one of the intellectual strongmen of his day... the greatest financial intellect of the age", whose German accent is so extraordinarily strong that a fellow-MP asks the Speaker "whether the Honourable Member was in order in addressing the House in an unknown dialect" (did Ford have Trebitsch Lincoln in mind?[35]). For

[34] J. H. Duveen, *The Rise of the House of Duveen*, London 1957, chap. I.

[35] Bernard Wasserstein, *The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln*, New Haven–London 1988.

now the German Jew of fiction speaks with the heavy accent of the obnoxious Hun whose representative he is seen to be.

Saki's (H. H. Munro) fashionable Edwardian antisemitism was flippant and dismissive as opposed to the aggressive malice of the "Chesterbelloc" variety. In his short story, *A Touch of Realism*,[36] a German-Jewish family is the target. The Klammersteins – mother, son and daughter – are invited to a country-house party over Christmas and the New Year. They are known for the extravagance of their gifts on such occasions: Saki is here suggesting that they are buying their way into society – a society that is, of course, up for sale.

The Klammerstein offspring, Moritz and Augusta, play the piano for a couple of hours after dinner, remarkably well, too, says Saki, but they are obviously guilty of imposing on a frivolous audience music of a higher standard than it is able to bear. And they are most cruelly punished. The chosen weekend charade is one of enacting and guessing historical characters. Odious Cyril Skattersley and friend drive the Klammersteins onto the moor in a snowstorm and leave them there, miles from any dwelling. "How dared you do such a thing!" shrieks their hostess, whereupon Bertie van Tahn exclaims "I've got it! Ferdinand and Isabella deporting the Jews! Oh, lovely!"

This appalling practical joke, in an age of cruel practical jokery, jars, and for a sensitive reader of today gives a sharp and painful glimpse of a terrible future, unknown to Saki, who died in the trenches of the First World War. But why, one wonders, did the Folio Society, in 1976, choose this story for a small selection of Saki's many tales,[37] and why was it just this episode that Osbert Lancaster chose to illustrate? He shows a bleak white waste with circling ravens. Skattersley and friend, smirking, are driving away and in the background are a beseeching Rachel Klammerstein with son and daughter, who look rather too old for the piano-playing offspring; in Osbert Lancester's short-hand squiggle, Moritz – pince-nez, moustache, fur-collared coat – looks rather more like one of the German-Jewish friends of Edward VII, "Sir Ephraim Kirsch", say, in his witty cartoons satirising that period.

When William Came,[38] written in 1913, is humourless, untypical Saki. He shows an England occupied by a victorious Germany after a short sharp war. Here the patriotism of the Jews is questioned. A character surveys the scene: "I am a great disliker of Jews myself, but... admit that those of them who were in any genuine sense British have remained British, and have stuck by us loyally in our misfortune... But of the others..." These, it seems, have sided with the hated Hun, a pointer to the Cassels and the Speyers, no doubt. It is the German Jews who are seen as purveyors of the hateful German culture, a culture shown curiously enough in the form of boulevard cafés, luxurious hotels, cosmopolitanism. This is expressed in Saki's glib, man-of-the-world, been-about, seen-a-thing-or-two manner. In the Caravansery Theatre of Varieties, a peer's daughter prances and twists about the stage, Isadora Duncan style, for an audience of Prussian officers and Hamburg Jews,

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[36] Saki (H. H. Munro), 'A Touch of Realism', from *Beasts and Superbeasts*, London 1914.

[37] Saki, *Short Stories*, selected and edited by John Letts [Folio Society], London 1976, illustration opp. p. 161, 'We left them on Slogberry Moor'.

[38] Saki (H. H. Munro), *When William Came. A Story of London under the Hohenzollerns*, London 1913.

and a loud-mouthed Mrs. Monteith-Mendelsohnn (sic), one of "the Mendelsohnns of Invergordon", personifies the blending of races, the "obliteration of landmarks".

The patriotism of the naturalised German Jew is also queried in an early Agatha Christie detective novel published in 1920.[39] Set in war-time England, Dr. Bauerstein, referred to as a "Polish Jew", is arrested for espionage. "Of course he is German by birth", says Hercule Poirot, "though nobody thinks of him as anything but an Englishman. He was naturalised fifteen years ago. A very clever man... a Jew, of course."

"The blackguard!" cries the narrator but, "Not at all", says the Belgian, Poirot, "He is, on the contrary, a patriot... think what he has to lose. I admire the man myself", and so Bauerstein becomes the noble enemy, though the message seems to be: once a German Jew, always a German.

Many Germans and German Jews had hastily anglicised their names in the excitable atmosphere of the First World War, and some obviously attempted a complete camouflage, not always with success. Somerset Maugham's short story, *The Alien Corn*,[40] first published in 1931, was seized on by Nazi literary critics. In an article on 'The Race Question in W. Somerset Maugham', one wrote that "the Jew remains Alien Corn in every country",[41] wilfully misinterpreting the quotation of the title (for is it not the non-Jew, Ruth, who stands amid the alien cornfields of Boaz?[42]).

The family of the story are second-generation Jews from Germany, seduced by the English country gentleman ideal, as were many in real life. They have deceived themselves into thinking that they are truly English and Christian.[43] Kind and generous as landlords, their beautifully kept estate with its Elizabethan mansion is, the narrator thinks, too good to be real. Sir Adolphus Bland is a poor shot and a bad rider, his wife Muriel (ex-Miriam) is described as a big woman fighting corpulence, her fleshy nose, the back of her neck, her exuberant manner "all betray her race", despite her Catholicism, convent education and blond good looks.

The grandmother, Lady Bland, began life as Hannah Rabenstein and married Alfons Bleikogel, who ended his life as Sir Alfred Bland. Coming from a wealthy cosmopolitan milieu, friend of the Italian royal house, she has self-confidently retained her strong German accent and a certain Jewish exclusiveness, sardonically mocking the pretensions of her son and daughter-in-law.

Their hopes for complete and unquestioned acceptance lie in their elder son George: tall, blond, blue-eyed, a thorough sportsman and oh-so-English. But a passion for music, touchingly believed by Maugham and other writers to be an innate characteristic of the German Jew ("It was in their blood!" he says) betrays them. George wants to be a professional pianist – let his younger brother have the estate, marked Jewish looks notwithstanding.

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[39] Agatha Christie, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*, London 1920.

[40] W. S. Maugham, 'The Alien Corn', from *First Person Singular*, London 1931.

[41] Ted Morgan, *Somerset Maugham*, London 1980. He refers to an article by Hans Kruschwitz in a German brochure of 1939: *A Contribution On Interpreting School Literature*.

[42] John Keats, 'Ode to a Nightingale': "... the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home/ She stood in tears amid the alien corn".

[43] The theme is not new. In the early nineteenth century Irish social climbers were mocked for attempting to disguise their origins and pass for English. See Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 1812; W. M. Thackeray, 'On Some Respectable Snobs', in *The Book of Snobs*, London 1848, pp. 28–31.

There is uproar, weeping, papa beats his breast, rocking to and fro – the veneer of English reserve peels off. It is old Lady Bland who offers a compromise: such a choice can only be justified by genius. George is offered two years' study in Munich with a trial of skill at the end of the period. A famous Jewish pianist will be the judge. Will his father keep to the bargain? "I vill see dat he does", says the grandmother.

George tries, fails, shoots himself. The over-contrived story has a false ring. "I loved Eton, and Oxford was a riot but all the same I knew I didn't belong... I've taken the make-up off and the stage clothes" (the ever-suave artist-as-outsider narrator is here in Munich visiting George, who has run to fat and has become a German student of a long-haired beer-swilling raffish kind). "I'm not English", he goes on, "I'm a German Jew. I went to Frankfurt... and looked at the frowzy old men with their hooked noses and the fat women with their false hair... I could have kissed them... I wish to God I knew Yiddish... eat Kosher food... that sort of thing", he raves. "I like the smell of the Ghetto... the dust, the squalor... the romance". Where did he find all this? We are back with *The Tour of Brown, Jones and Robinson* and the certain "quarter" of Frankfurt in the 1850s rather than Frankfurt and its Jewish citizens of the 1920s.

One other character, a fashionable man-about-town of an earlier era, Ferdy Rabenstein, with whom the story opens, is old Lady Bland's younger brother, George's great-uncle, born in South Africa to his German-Jewish parents. He came early to England and rapidly achieved social success; rather like a Trollope character, he has a small, well-furnished house in Curzon Street, and he too plays the piano – as an acceptable amateur, after dinner, tinkling Viennese waltzes. While freely acknowledging his origin, unlike his nephew Sir Adolphus, he is the type of Jew who professes not to like Jews and is a great teller of self-mocking Jewish jokes – sometimes rather to the embarrassment of his listeners. Maugham is more successful in his drawing of this character, set in a milieu he really knew well, but the story, much-praised by those who think highly of Maugham as a writer, has a certain unease. When, at the height of Maugham's popularity, in 1948, this story was filmed[44] as one of a quartet of his tales, the German and Jewish aspect was dropped entirely – it would have been too difficult to handle – and a merely English upper-class family faces the problem of a would-be pianist son with a more genuine stiff upper lip.

Sometimes, one would think that for an English novelist of any period Frankfurt was the only town in Germany with a Jewish population prepared to emigrate. Rebecca West, a far more original writer than Maugham, never completed the semi-autobiographical trilogy which begins with *The Fountain Overflows*. The sequel, *This Real Night*, was published in 1984 and for the most part describes the world as it was before 1914. It has one chapter, a miniature social comedy in itself, which contains nearly every fictional notion of the rich German Jew in English society. One of the exotic ingredients in this rich sticky pudding of a book is the kind and wealthy Mr. Morpurgo, an enchanting Jewish fairy godfather who has "adopted" the fatherless Aubrey family.[45] He wishes to present them to his wife at a luncheon

[44] The film *Quartet*, Gainsborough Studios 1948.

[45] Victoria Glendinning, *Rebecca West. A Life*, London 1987, p. 14, and note p. 21. It is likely that Emil

party in his palatial house near Hyde Park. Mrs. Morpurgo is from a Frankfurt Jewish banking family, the Krossmayers, whose collection of eighteenth-century paintings she has inherited and proudly points to in her drawing room. She is an excellent horsewoman, we are told, handsome, golden-haired, and thoroughly unpleasant. Mrs. Aubrey, formerly a professional pianist of some renown, has happy memories of playing in the houses of rich, artistic, Jewish Frankfurt bankers and nostalgically describes that society as a world which was "infinitely distinguished without being aristocratic". But Mrs. Morpurgo, who has imbibed English social snobberies – and speaks English without an accent – is not at all pleased to hear this, nor that a Frankfurt cousin of hers had once hoped to become a professional pianist. "Oh, surely not professional", she says, smiling coldly. The misunderstandings continue. Mrs. Morpurgo abruptly breaks up the party by saying that she has to go to Gunnersbury Park that afternoon to a charity fête. It is in aid of horses. The Rothschilds, she says, are so fond of horses, and, sounding rather like Emily Eden's Baroness Sampson, she adds that Lady Rothschild has telephoned twice "since she saw in *The Times* that I was back again". Melancholy Mr. Morpurgo is left with the Aubrey family, and his wife makes no other appearance in the novel. We have had Frankfurt, bankers, piano playing, and Rothschilds, Gunnersbury and horses. From the point of view of social acceptance in England, Rebecca West implies, horses good, music bad, if professional.

It is the Jews of Berlin who figure in Christopher Isherwood's novels, which give warning of the coming storm. *Goodbye to Berlin* was published in 1939 and is set in the 1930s before and after the Nazi takeover. The section 'The Landauers' first appeared in John Lehmann's *New Writing* in spring 1938 and describes a rich, cultured Jewish family who own a large Berlin department store. Bernhard Landauer, the nephew, is partly English (which language he speaks "without the faintest trace of an accent"). The character is based on Wilfrid Israel[46] and conveys something of the enigmatic charm of this fascinating man, but presents Landauer as an ineffectual character in the face of Nazi menace, unlike Israel himself, a so much stronger and more positive character in real life. The original version contained what Stephen Spender said were caricatures of German Jews;[47] a scene at a party at Bernhard's villa was altered for the book edition. Spender was also critical of the character of the daughter, Natalie Landauer, who comes across as believable enough, a prickly and sincere eighteen-year-old; but Isherwood's readers were captivated by the frisky Sally Bowles, who has the leading role in the sentimentalised filleted version written for the stage by John van Druten: *I am a Camera*. Of the Landauer family only Natalie is left, thrown into marriage with a jokey fellow-Jew in an invented sub-plot (Isherwood was desperately short of money at the time and had no control over the adaptations). An extended public world-wide is by now familiar with the musical of the play: *Cabaret*, and the film of the musical. (We are

Heinemann, a rich Jew born in Hanover, naturalised Briton, contributed to the character of Mr. Morpurgo.

[46] Naomi Shepherd, *Wilfrid Israel. German Jewry's Secret Ambassador*, London 1984.

[47] Brian Finney, *Christopher Isherwood. A Critical Biography*, London 1974, p. 137.

told by his biographer that Isherwood "never went to see this malformed offspring of his original intention".)[48]

He knew well enough what happened to a script in a film studio. His novel *Prater Violet*, which has a German-Jewish character, Bergmann, in a major role, was first published after the war, in New York in 1946, and is based on Isherwood's association with the poet, film and theatre director Berthold Viertel who was working in the film studios in London in the 1930s. Of their first meeting the narrator says: "I knew that face. It was the face of a political situation, an epoch. The face of Central Europe." Shrewdly, Isherwood shows Bergmann cutting across barriers of class, the advantage of a foreign accent in the mouth of an educated man, making him classless, neutral, in the more sharply class-defined England of before the war. Ebullient and vivacious, he talks to all and sundry. "Nobody seemed to mind, or even to misunderstand his intentions, I envied him his freedom, the freedom of a foreigner."

However, as a character in a slender novel he is too big for the setting; witty, wise, so very much more aware, so experienced, so very knowledgeable, he ultimately overwhelms the reader. The American writer, Randall Jarrell, in his book *Pictures from an Institution* (1959) introduces a similar type in the refugee composer Gottfried Rosenbaum, to much greater effect by presenting him in small doses.

For a glimpse of the refugee as a character in a war-time story, turning the pages of *Horizon* from 1940 on would seem reasonable. In the Britain of that time it was more than a mere literary magazine; it was a witness to a culture being destroyed in Europe. In the first issue of January 1940 is Louis MacNeice's poem of 1939 'The British Museum Reading Room', which ends:

"Between the enormous fluted Ionic columns
There seeps from heavily jowled or hawk-like figures
The guttural sorrow of the refugees"

and in the March 1941 issue is his poem of 1940 'Refugees' describing their arrival in America:

"With prune-dark eyes, thick lips, jostling each other
These, disinterred from Europe, throng the deck".

Alas, this normally sharp-eyed poet reached for a handful of very familiar stale clichés for describing the Jews of Europe. One looks for something fresher, more realistic, amongst the prose, but there is, disappointingly, little or nothing.[49] Those producing the magazine were besotted with French culture, longing for the return of Camembert cheese, tea at Rumpelmayers and holidays in Southern France. Though Kafka and Koestler are tolerated, the Central European Jew as refugee is largely ignored. The only appearance of such a figure is in a malicious short story by Honor Tracy,[50] in which a grotesquely plump ex-Berlin journalist Dr. Kipfer, working for an English newspaper, involves the narrator in an attempt to find a job

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

[49] John Lehmann's *Penguin New Writing* offers nothing of interest here, Christopher Isherwood's Berlin series had appeared in the earlier *New Writing*.

[50] Honor Tracy, 'A Question of Minority', *Horizon* 9 (March 1944).

for his brother-in-law Mr. Laufer, formerly a *Geheimrat* in Dresden; the choice is between being a clerk in a lunatic asylum or managing a cinema in Golders Green. The author finds this predicament funny and Dr. Kipfer is a joke-Jew, who waddles rather than walks, waves fat hands and says "toi, toi, toi".

One novel on internment, *No Such Liberty* (1941), by Alex Comfort, was reviewed in *Horizon* by Tom Harrison. The narrator is a non-Jewish German doctor whose wife is an active anti-Nazi. They suffer harsh treatment in England. In an internment camp he meets former Jewish colleagues from his hospital in Germany; they are shown as robust, sardonic and pragmatic. The viewpoint is the anarchist-pacifist one of the author: had the Germans been left in peace, they would themselves have removed Hitler...

There is a sharp divide between those books written before or early in the war and those written afterwards, dealing with the Nazi period with hindsight and in full knowledge of the fate of the Jews in Europe. Cyril Connolly, editor of *Horizon*, seems to be aware of this in the preface he wrote for a re-issue of his novel *The Rock Pool* after the war. It had been published in Paris in 1936, describing hedonistic life in a small South of France resort patronised by artists and lay-abouts. The two most lovely girls are one dark, one fair; the fair one, Sonia, a student from Vienna, is of "devastating appearance... small tanned face beneath ash-blond hair", and "like most Germans she spoke other languages with a clumsy, passionate accent but unlike them she possessed a certain crispness of form". In the introduction to the 1947 edition (signed Antibes 1946) we learn that the real Sonia "was Jewish and perished in a Nazi concentration camp".

One of the post-war writers most subtle in his treatment of German-Jewish refugee characters is Angus Wilson. *No Laughing Matter*, published in 1967, is a chronicle of family life in a changing England over some sixty years. Early in the novel there is a knowing gesture in the direction of Frankfurt as a place of Jewish origin: a First World War American officer in London, Lieutenant Eispratz, is from a family of immigrants from Frankfurt generations back: "his great-grandmother, scheitel and all, a rare friend of old, old Gutele Rothschild".

The refugee figures are marginal to the latter part of the story; shrewdly-drawn, ill-at-ease with their hosts, they seem designed to make the main characters uncomfortable, to show them as lacking in understanding, an effect achieved by sudden changes of viewpoint.

The sardonic Frau Liebermann "one of those bores who had charm" and her young son with his "swarthy features" are described as physically unappealing and difficult, washed up in an English prep school as matron and unhappy boarder. Sukey, the headmaster's wife, a character of limited sympathies, can only make an embarrassingly fatuous, self-regarding response to Frau Liebermann's bitter account of her experiences in Germany and warnings of inevitable war.

Or, a glimpse of the way in which many refugees were then living; Sukey's sister, a dealer, is negotiating the sale of what proves to be a very valuable painting, property of Mr. Ahrendt, a refugee who has been living off the sale of the few works of art he has managed to bring to England. Gladys calls on him unexpectedly, surprised by the poverty of his North London lodging: "she had thought of the pair as living poorly, but she was not prepared for such a collapsing house in such a

mouldering terrace... the desolation, decay and squalor had made it hard for her to hold on to the image of Mr. Ahrendt the courteous, neat, civilised old gentlemen". Suddenly, "was it a trick of the light?" she asks herself, she sees him transformed: wolfish, predatory, a Fagin. But it is she, under the influence of her crooked boy-friend, who is the predatory cheat, depriving Ahrendt of what, for him, is a fortune, for which she will go to prison.

Most moving is an encounter with a famous German-Jewish writer of books for children, a Matthias Birnbaum, who is one of the speakers at a Kingsway Hall meeting. Rupert, who is a well-known actor, is introduced to him and is irritated by his heavy accent, his pedantry and portentous judgements on English literary life from a man who praises Galsworthy and says that English critics have no training in "Dramaturgie". "Oh none, I am glad to say, none at all", says Rupert, who thinks "and now they must listen to this disagreeable self-opinionated monster" and he mimics him to his sister as they take their seats. But when Birnbaum begins to speak, simply and touchingly, of the fate of the exiled writers, "who must speak in a half-tongue, not our own", and witness the language they used "perverted, strangled, to bring death to the spirit", debased by those in power in Germany, Rupert, the actor, is overwhelmed – and ashamed. Angus Wilson draws from life and he shows the lack of empathy and the insularity of otherwise well-meaning people faced with tragedy beyond their imagining.

Angus Wilson's refugee characters are seen through English eyes; had Philip Larkin in his touching but bleak novella *A Girl in Winter* (1947) chosen to make the main character Jewish, here would be the ideal novel to give the reader a sensitive picture of English life seen from outside, from the point of view of an exiled German Jew. Katherine is a refugee, stranded in a dreary English town in war-time, working in a boring job way below her capacity and qualifications. Direct and abrupt in manner, she finds it difficult to deal with the people she meets, who lead the narrow, blinkered, inoffensive lives of the provincial lower middle class.

But Larkin deliberately chose to make the character's origin unidentifiable and to present her as a generic displaced person.[51] Her only link with England is a pre-war visit she paid to a well-off Home Counties family when she was still a schoolgirl; their cool façade of bland good manners she found puzzling and she has lost contact with them. But who is she, where has she come from? A foreigner in war-time England, free to work, must be in the country on a certain legal footing. The language she speaks can only be German, her surname is an equivocal Lind, she is not (she says when asked) a Catholic, but gives no other alternative, and early in the novel an off-hand antisemitic remark is left hanging uneasily in the air, without comment – is she offended? This very subtle book by a fine poet could stand for the experience of many young German-Jewish women cut off from family and friends, not part of the Jewish refugee community, who found themselves alone in a strange country.

The displaced and the dispossessed are tempting enigmas for a writer and the appearance of German-Jewish refugees as characters in cheap fiction – which can be very potent – should not be entirely overlooked. Not surprisingly they turn up in

[51] Letter to the author from Kingsley Amis, 2nd April 1987.

the cardboard cut-out style characterisations of the thriller; sometimes as a lonely outsider, or a victim with a past seeking revenge, or, uglier, a victim gloatingly re-victimised, or the all-knowing psychiatrist, a *femme fatale* perhaps, or the mysterious tenant in the room next-door in a lodging house full of "characters" or, of course, the secret agent, the spy.

German-Jewish spies are secondary characters in popular novels inspired by the Berlin Wall. In John le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (1963) the German-Jewish spymaster and master-interrogator Fiedler (who with his family has spent a "cushy" war in Canada before returning to the DDR in 1946) is "sleek, slightly animal" in looks and "couldn't have been more than five foot six". The jacket of his suit is too long. He is shown as faintly repellant, despised by both sides in the game (despite condescending expressions of pity from the hero) and he is ultimately expendable.

In contrast, Len Deighton, in his trilogy of spy stories set mainly in Berlin[52] shows his German Jew Volkmann, born 1943 (his father survived the war as gravedigger at Weißensee), as actively working for the British. He is reasonably straightforward, cheerful, stocky (short legs) and reliable; a person much like any other even if, as he says of himself, he resembles a Turkish *Gastarbeiter*. But these are characters of the cold-war period, already second generation. A Jew born in pre-Hitler Europe is no longer of an age to be leaping through windows, gun in hand, nor to play the seductive female agent; these roles are now given to Israelis.

Sometimes, in the thriller or spy genre one finds, used as background or as flashback, a crude and prurient exploitation of the experience of mass murder and the extermination camps, even, recently, to be found in a novel of serious intent; this becomes the stuff of pornography, an ugly and disturbing trend.[53]

However, the German Jew as a character in the contemporary novel is fading away, becoming more marginal. Such survivors are very much older now if they can remember Weimar Germany or they emigrated as small children and can have no recollection of life in Nazi Germany; they have grown up, been educated here, or are themselves children of German Jews, born here, yet by some writers still seen as German Jews.

The narrator of Iris Murdoch's *A Severed Head* (1967) expects the "curious Honor Klein" to speak with a thick German accent and is surprised by her "deep cultured English voice". Her mother Scottish, her father an "awe-inspiring" German-Jewish classical scholar, she seems to have inherited no Scottish traits at all; she has "the slightly oriental appearance peculiar to certain Jewish women. There was something animal-like and repellant in that glistening stare" and so on and so forth until by the end she has taken over both the novel and the narrator with "her demon splendour", "her sallow Jewish mask", triumphant and astonishing. Margaret Drabble in *The Radiant Way* (1987) has Esther Breuer, a more pedestrian version of Honor Klein (Dr. Klein, an anthropologist, Dr. Breuer an art-historian – both seen

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[52] For example, *Berlin Game*, London 1983.

[53] D.M. Thomas, *The White Hotel. A Novel*, London 1981. For critical comments see Alvin H. Rosenfeld, 'Perspectives on the Holocaust in Current Literature', in *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, vol. I, New York 1984; Joan Smith, *Misogynies*, London 1989, the chapter entitled 'Holocaust Girls', esp. pp. 94–96.

as typical German-Jewish professions). Esther has come as a child from Vienna and she "looks perhaps faintly Chinese rather than Jewish", but whatever peculiarities there are in her character they are innate and in no way part of her foreign, Jewish origin; she is firmly set in English life, one of a trio of close friends who met at Cambridge. There is also, in this solid slice-of-life novel, Otto Werner; refugee, lecturer, Socialist, "a domesticated foreigner" whose use of idiom, though correct, "falls oddly from his lips". Dave Gellmann, in an early novel by Iris Murdoch (*Under the Net*, 1954), is a German-Jewish extra-mural lecturer in philosophy with "an imperfect command of English". "I hear you are in a kettle of fish", he says, and "If I would be you". This comedy of the misuse of idiom by the funny foreigner of German origin which English writers so much enjoy is gradually being transferred to a newer and different ethnic influx who mangle the language in other ways.

There will be a few more books, no doubt, dealing with the very old, as in Anita Desai's *Baumgartner's Bombay* (1988), which reconstructs the life of a pathetic near-recluse refugee in India, inspired by a cache of faded postcards from a German camp; or a novelist may deal with those who grew up in England, as in Gillian Tindall's *To the City* (1987) in which the successful anglicised son of Jews who perished seeks their traces in Vienna in an attempt to find "himself"; or – the time-lag seems right – novels are set in a remembered war-time England. Len Deighton's *Bomber* (1970) recreates the last flight of a doomed RAF bomber over Germany. The navigator, "young Cohen", is a German-Jewish refugee whose well-off elderly parents entertain the crew on their last weekend leave. And Maureen Duffy's *Change* (1987), a kaleidoscope of women's war-time experiences, includes an exploited German-Jewish refugee domestic in the household of an overworked Jewish doctor. She is a sardonic and bitter Cassandra, who keeps an introspective journal which punctuates the book. Any further novels of interest here are likely to be retrospective, in the style of Nicholas Mosley's novel *Hopeful Monsters* (1990) which is set mainly in the 1930s. The German-Jewish heroine is shown here as coming from a well-placed, well-off Berlin intellectual family and involved, with her English lover, in most of the major international cultural and political events of the period.

And what image would a general reader retain of the German Jew as seen through the eyes of English novelists over more than a century and a half? Someone of middle-class origin, reasonably well-educated, involved in finance rather than in trade, or in one of the professions: a doctor, a psychiatrist, an academic, someone in the art world; active in political life perhaps; very likely musical, socially adaptable, assimilated, coming from one of the great cities of Europe (as Graham Greene chose to put it in *A Gun for Sale* in 1936 "... a touch of Jerusalem, a touch of St. James's, Vienna or some Central European ghetto"...), but on the whole, rather less of a stereotype, based on closer contact, a little nearer the reality than is the distorted picture of the English Jew which has had a much longer run in the fiction of this country.

Stanley D. Chapman

Merchants and Bankers

There can be no doubt that at the end of the nineteenth century Jewish merchants and bankers were regarded as the richest group of people in Britain, and that these Jews were commonly assumed to be of German origin. Was there any substance in this widely-held view? Or was it simply a popular and perhaps even traditional antisemitic prejudice? This paper attempts to address the basic question of the extent of German-Jewish wealth, power and influence in these occupations, the reasons for it and for public conceptions of it. If the Jews were indeed so rich and influential, it may help to explain some of what followed in European history; if it is not true, we have to explain the persistence and power of a legend.

The prejudices of earlier generations may be thought of as having little consequence, but in our own time the leading authority on the history of wealth in Britain (W. D. Rubinstein) has concluded from his researches that Jews were the only socio-religious group whose fortunes were more numerous than the size of the group in the country would lead one to expect. "Among the 31 millionaire merchant bankers between 1815 and 1939", he writes, "no fewer than 24 were Jews, four Anglicans, while one each belonged to the Church of Scotland, Greek Orthodoxy and Lutheranism". Another frequently-quoted historian writes of an "Anglo-Jewish Gentry" in the City of London, created last century by the intermarriage of wealthy dynasties of Ashkenazim Jews (Cohens, Goldsmids, Rothschilds and Samuels) with Sephardic Jews (Raphaels, Mocattas, Montefiores and Henriques). More recently, an analyst of the thousand entries in the *Dictionary of Business Biography* has shown that "Quakers and Jews were the most successful of 19th and 20th century religious groups in influencing the backgrounds of business leaders". The author of the latest merchant banking history baldly opens his text with the statement, "The Barings were not Jews... If the Barings had been Jews the history of British merchant banking would have been different."[1] The reputation of Jews in this sector of the economy is evidently something to be reckoned with.

At the pinnacle of this great wealth, according to a widely-held view, Jews had privileged access to the ultimate fount of honours and social prestige, the monarchy itself. The popular view was expounded most eloquently by Thomas Hay Sweet-Escott in a best-selling book called *Society in London* in 1885:

"English society, once ruled by an aristocracy, is now dominated mainly by a plutocracy. And this plutocracy is to a large extent Hebraic in its composition... in that kind of society which is known as 'smart' you will soon discover that the Israelites are the lords paramount. The reason is... first, in the increased power attaching to the principle of money, as

[1] William D. Rubinstein, *Men of Property*, London 1981, pp. 92, 155; Youssef Cassis, *Les Banquiers de la City à l'époque Edouardienne (1890–1914)*, Geneva 1984, p. 258; David J. Jeremy, 'Important Questions about Business and Religion in Modern Britain', in *idem* (ed.), *Business and Religion in Britain*, London 1988, pp. 16–18; Philip Ziegler, *The Sixth Great Power. Barings 1762–1929*, London 1988, p. 13.

distinguished from the principle of birth; and secondly in the initiative of the Prince of Wales. The Heir-Apparent is... the King of the social system in London, just as much as the Queen is the constitutional monarch of the realm. His Royal Highness regards the best class of Hebrews with conspicuous favour. In that, as in other matters, he sets a fashion..."[2]

The book was written in the objective matter-of-fact style of Bagehot; it sets the upper-class gossip of the day in pleasant prose for wider consumption, but was not too obviously anti-German or anti-Jewish.

For the most dramatic and far-reaching claims of Jewish power and influence – or at any rate that of Rothschilds and their friends – we can turn to the historians of imperialism and international diplomacy. Hobson started a long debate when, during the Boer War, he identified finance as "the motor-power of Imperialism" and referred to the prime role of Rothschilds and of other (unnamed) Jewish houses in the City of London. In recent discussion, Hobson's radical views, if not particular remarks, have received some sympathy.[3] Rothschilds are known to have been involved in attempts to purchase various colonies for their European clients at one time or another in the Philippines, Mozambique, Zaire (the Belgian Congo) and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The article on Lord Rothschild in the *Dictionary of National Biography* suggests that his house was sufficiently powerful to restrain the power of Tsarist Russia: "largely through his influence the doors of the City of London were closed to anti-semitic powers seeking loans" it solemnly records. If Barings were indeed the sixth great power of Europe at the beginning of last century, it appears from such writing that Rothschilds were equally so at the end, and popular imagination associated the family with Jewish power and influence at large.[4]

What is the reality and explanation of Jewish wealth and power in this sector of the economy?

Bankers

The initial point that must be made is that until the Nazi era, the British were prone to assume that anyone in their country with a German name was Jewish, more particularly if they were engaged in finance or trade. *Society in London* reminds us of the popular view of immigration in the 1880s:

"Great Britain is now suffering from an invasion of Germans... which substitutes German clerks and lawyers, German merchants and big and small tradesmen for English... there are opulent Teutons who, having made large fortunes in the United States or in the colonies of England, have settled in London, and exercise their supremacy over a gradually extending area. Every grade in English life, from the royal family to the domestic servant, is leavened by the German element... of the 250,000 Germans in England today at least two-fifths live in the metropolis. The German consulate estimates the total at 70,000; but if one reckons German

[2] [Thomas Hay Sweet-Escott] "A Foreign Resident", *Society in London*, London 1885, pp. 86–87.

[3] Peter J. Cain, 'J. A. Hobson, Financial Capitalism and Imperialism', in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 13 (1985); Stanley D. Chapman, 'Rhodes and the City of London', in *Historical Journal*, 28 (1985).

[4] David J. Jeremy (ed.), *Dictionary of Business Biography (DBB)*, 4 vols., London 1984–1985, vol. IV, article on Lord Rothschild; Barbara Emmerson, *Leopold of the Belgians*, London 1979, pp. 58–62; Phyllis Lewson, *John X. Merriman. Paradoxical South African Statesman*, Johannesburg 1982, pp. 151–152; Ziegler, *op. cit.*

Austrians and German Swiss, the aggregate of Teutonic Londoners cannot fall short of 100,000..."[5]

This development even worried Mr. Gladstone.[6] Certainly it was true that there was a large migration, but it was not part of any renewed Jewish exodus so much as of the strong growth of London as the premier centre of international trade and finance, and of the admiration of rising Germans for all things British at that period.

In the City of London, this development was certainly not viewed with equanimity. The common view was expressed by Sir Edward Holden, the doyen of clearing-house bankers, in 1905:

"... the international finance of this country is more in the hands of the Germans, and particularly of the German Jews, than in the hands of the English, and you will find very few English Bankers who are acquainted with it. The same is the case in America. When I was over there for two months in the fall of last year, I visited a great many of the principal cities, and the principal Bankers. Most of the Banks had Departments for Foreign Exchange, but all of them were presided over by German Jews. This result is brought about largely by the method of teaching in the German Universities, he is well up not only in the science, but also in the practical working of the Exchanges, in a much better degree than we see in our country."

Holden led the Midland Bank, which was then the biggest of the English clearing banks, into international banking in an attempt to supersede the Jewish merchant bankers. He probably shared the widespread belief that the collapse of Barings in the crisis of 1890 had made the City vulnerable to domination by Rothschilds and their cousinhood, failing to recognise that New Court was also enervated by the crisis.[7]

This is really a preface to saying that if one looks closely at lists of banking or merchant élites before the First World War, there is plenty of evidence of German names but much less of German-Jewish ones. The élite of the merchant banks was formally identified when the Accepting Houses Committee was constituted in August 1914. The twenty-one names included eleven that were evidently of German origin but only two of these can be identified as German-Jewish; Rothschilds and Neumann, Luebeck & Co., and the latter disappeared soon afterwards. Rothschilds, with a capital of £8 million, were easily the richest house, but by no means the most dynamic. (Morgan Grenfell were "immensely more expansive and active" according to an informed contemporary, making Rothschilds look like a spent force.) At least one other major house – Hambros – had a Jewish background but the family had converted to Christianity in the previous generation. Lazards were of course French Jews while Samuel Montagu came of a Liverpool family of Polish Jews. (See Table I.)

Rothschilds were initially the model for several other Frankfurt Jewish families who, responding to the rapidly growing opportunities of international trade and government loans, dispersed their sons to the financial centres of Europe and the USA. These included the Sterns, the Worms, the Erlangers, and the Speyers. All

[5] Sweet-Escott, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95. The next largest foreign group in Britain, the Americans, totalled only about 10,000 at the time.

[6] Glyn-Gladstone Mss., Clwyd Record Office, G-G 2744, p. 23.

[7] Holden Diaries, Midland Bank Records; Stanley D. Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, London 1984, pp. 53–55; Ronald J. d'Arcy Hart, *The Samuel Family*, London 1958.

Table I
The Accepting Houses' Committee at its Formation on 5th August 1914 (in Alphabetical Order)

	Origins	Date in London	Capital c. 1914
1. Arbuthnot, Latham & Co.	Agency house	1833	0.44
2. Baring Bros. & Co. Ltd.	German (via Exeter)	1763	1.125
3. Arthur H. Brandt & Co.	German	1899	(small)
4. Wm. Brandt, Sons & Co.	German	1805	*c.*1.0m.
5. Brown Shipley & Co.	American	1810	0.775
6. Cunliffe Bros.	English	1890	0.50+
7. Frühling & Goschen	German	1814	^
8. Antony Gibbs & Sons	S. American merchants	1808	1.215
9. C. J. Hambro & Son	German (via Copenhagen)	1840	*c.*1.00m.
10. Horstman & Co.	German	1802	^
11. F. Huth & Co.	German (via Spain)	1808	0.750
12. Kleinwort, Sons & Co.	German (via Cuba)	1855	4.431
13. König Bros.	German	1899	0.750?
14. Lazard Bros. & Co.	French	1870	1.0m.
15. Morgan, Grenfell & Co.	American	1838	0.9m.
16. Neumann, Luebeck & Co.	S. African	c.1900	3.0m.
17. N. M. Rothschild & Sons	German (via Manchester)	1805	8.0m.
18. A. Rüffer & Sons	German (via Lyons)	1872	1.0m.
19. J. Henry Schröder & Co.	German	1804	*c.*3.00m.
20. Seligman Bros.	American	1864	^
21. Wallace Bros. & Co. Ltd.	Agency house (Scots)	1862	0.8m.

Source: Stanley D. Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, London 1984, p. 55.

retained offices in London until at least the First World War, but the main focus of their operations was the transfer of capital from Germany and France to the USA and, with the possible exception of Speyers, the heart of their operations continued to be in the continental centres. Sir Edgar Speyer's attempt to break into British bond issues was not successful for long and his firm was entirely discredited by 1911. He was stripped of his knighthood during the First World War for his alleged German sympathies. The most successful and most British of this group of investment bankers was Sir Ernest Cassel, who secretly converted to Roman Catholicism soon after his marriage and practically retired from finance in 1910.[8]

It is clear from this that if Jewish bankers did exercise any significant power in Britain or in international relations in the last century, it must have been through the Rothschilds and their circle of European and American correspondents, for no other Anglo-Jewish family was in a comparable position. Of the twenty-four Jewish banking millionaires mentioned above, ten were Rothschilds. Five were Sterns – a family with a peripheral role in the City of London – and three were Raphaels, who

[8] Chapman, *Merchant Banking*, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–46; *DBB*, vol. I, article on Sir Ernest Cassel; Guildhall Library, Morgan Grenfell Mss., 21,799, 'Extracts of Correspondence etc.' of E. C. Grenfell, pp. 106–107: Speyers were "very prominent and successful about 1900", but by 1911 "entirely discredited" due to Sir Edgar Speyer's mismanagement.



The Rothschilds c. 1820
A painting by William Hobday
Nathan and Hannah Rothschild with their seven children (Charlotte, Lionel, Anthony, Nathaniel, Hannah, Mayer and Louise)

By courtesy of Sir Evelyn de Rothschild

were Sephardic Jews. Seven other families produced only one millionaire each. Clearly the Rothschilds were in a class of their own. So many legends have grown up around the Rothschilds that it seems worthwhile summarising the present state of academic discussion on the family's political role. The opening of the archives of N. M. Rothschild and Sons (London) and of Rothschild Frères (Paris) has inevitably modified some of the wilder flights of journalistic imagination.

Political Role of the Rothschilds

"Natty" Rothschild was elected to Parliament as Liberal Member for Aylesbury in 1865 and sat for twenty years, until he was elevated to the peerage in 1885. On the introduction of the Home Rule Bill (1886), Lord Rothschild became a Liberal Unionist and "remained a loyal and, for the most part, silent member of the party" for the rest of his life according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. However, from the perspective of his business career, the most interesting aspect of Rothschild's politics was his connection with imperialism, especially in Africa. The Liberal outlook of the English Rothschilds did not restrain them from a close connection with the Conservative leader Disraeli; indeed, when the former prime minister died in 1881 Baron Alphonse described him as "the best and truest friend of our family". The famous purchase of the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal (1875) was the product of the friendship between Disraeli and Baron Lionel and, for Rothschilds, opened the way to a sequence of state loans to Egypt in the 1880s and 1890s. In the later 1880s, as already mentioned, Lord Rothschild's name was closely linked with that of Cecil Rhodes and the finance of diamond- and gold-mining in South Africa. Rothschild was broadly sympathetic to Rhodes's imperialist ambitions in southern Africa, but it is a mistake to regard the two men as friends or close collaborators. Rothschild was too orthodox a businessman to be happy with Rhodes's cavalier treatment of his shareholders, while Rhodes thought Rothschild a wet blanket, "honest but without sufficient brains". The De Beers board of directors saw recurrent rows between the orthodox (Rothschild) and entrepreneurial (Rhodes) factions; the bankers were anything but puppet masters.[9]

Another aspect of the Rothschilds' financial support of imperialism is revealed in their relations with King Leopold of Belgium. Rothschild loans had assisted the credit of the small state from its creation, and when the King sought to establish an overseas empire, Lord Rothschild was prepared to support this as well, first in an aborted initiative in the Philippines (1873), then in the Congo (1888), and finally in Mozambique (1892). "Votre famille m'a toujours gâté" (your family has always indulged me), the King very fairly observed to Lord Rothschild's brother Alfred at a reception in Brussels in 1892. Rothschilds also nursed the credit of the young state of Brazil for many years (1824–1914), but a recent historian of the country's economy believes that while Rothschild loans oiled the wheels of the country's overseas trade, Lord Rothschild's opposition to the industrial loans of 1892 may have "contributed to the lack of confidence which surrounded them" and so put a brake on the

[9] *DBB*, article on Lord Rothschild; Richard Davis, *The English Rothschilds*, London 1983, p. 214.

industrialisation of the country. In a word, Rothschild policy was governed by concepts of safe business rather than ideology and power.[10]

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* maintains that Lord Rothschild not only succeeded his father as head of N. M. Rothschild and Sons, but also as "effective lay head of Anglo-Jewry". The *Dictionary of National Biography* goes further, claiming that following the death of Sir Moses Montefiore in 1885, Lord Rothschild "may almost be said to have been the generally acknowledged leader of the Jews of the world", though it is conceded that he "was for long out of sympathy with the Zionist movement". The importance of this aspect of Rothschild's life in the context of business history lies in the relations of the firm, which continued to be the leading international loan contractor, with Tsarist Russia, which up to 1917 was one of the world's major debtor nations. When Russia embarked on a policy of persecution of her six million Jews in 1881, international Jewry looked to the famous bankers for leadership. The family was not unaware of its unique position of influence; as one of them (Lady Constance Battersea) wrote: "Their vast financial undertakings in the five European capitals brought them into close touch with the rulers and statesmen of those countries... they were on a different social plane from their co-religionists, and gradually became habitués of a world still closed to many of their own Jewish friends and connections." The *Dictionary of National Biography* article on Lord Rothschild piously concludes that "largely through his influence the doors of the City of London were closed to anti-Semitic powers seeking loans".[11]

However, the fact remains that Tsarist Russia did succeed in raising a sequence of large loans in London, so bold assertions about Lord Rothschild's influence evidently need some qualification. There can be no question that the family earnestly desired to end or alleviate the plight of poor Russian Jews, but it is proper to recognise the limits of their power as they themselves did.

The only consequence of Rothschild sanctions on the Tsar was that loans to St. Petersburg were issued in London by the firm's old rival Baring Bros. Consequently, when Witte, the most able of a sequence of Russian finance ministers, sought British capital for investment in the development of his country, Lord Rothschild did not allow the Jewish problem to stifle his old connection. The English Rothschilds participated in the loan of 1894 to Russia, Lord Rothschild also expressed an interest in Siberian mineral wealth and asked to send an agent to study the possibilities. Another Jewish merchant banker (Leopold Hirsch) and John Hays Hammond (the American mining engineer) toured Russia in 1893, while Rothschild retained a keen personal interest. When Witte's financial agent asked Lord Rothschild if the Jewish Question could create obstacles to a further Russian issue he was told: "No, I would not make public business dependent on my personal feelings... After all, although I am a Jew I understand that England can only act in the European East as a Christian power." His private view was that "financial necessities never weigh and never will weigh with blind and despotic autocrats". The Rothschilds were never a political power in Europe, and never pretended to be.[12]

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[10] *DBB*, article on Lord Rothschild.

[11] *Ibid.*; Lady Constance de Rothschild Battersea, *Reminiscences*, London 1922, p. 66.

[12] *DBB*, article on Lord Rothschild.

Merchants

Evidently the Rothschilds and their connections alone cannot bear the whole weight of what may be called the legend of Jewish wealth and power in Britain, and there were indeed other important Jewish élites, notably in commerce. German Jews were by no means significant in every sector of British trade but they were prominent in three areas: exporting textiles, the bullion trade, and stockbroking (the trade in stock and shares). We may briefly examine each of these three in turn.

The Industrial Revolution made Manchester the world centre of the cotton industry and trade while Bradford became a major international centre for worsteds and Nottingham for lace. Though all these towns had a small indigenous mercantile community, experience of trading to the Continent was very limited, and a major area for new enterprise opened very quickly. Established German trading families, the *Adelsbürger*, accustomed to occupying this gap in their country, were quick to recognise the unprecedented opportunities in Britain.[13] The earliest arrivals reached Manchester in the 1790s and Bradford – then still an overgrown village – in the early 1830s. Bill Williams's important book, *The Making of Manchester Jewry* (1976), suggests that a significant number began to settle in the 1830s, but this is misleading, for there were already more than 60 German merchants in the town in 1830, several of whom were members of well-known Jewish families. By the time Germany was united in 1871, there were more than 150 German merchants in Manchester and 60 or 70 in Bradford.[14]

The question then arises as to what proportion of these German settlers were Jewish. Williams has counted 46 Jewish cotton merchants in the census enumerators' returns of 1841 (two of them Sephardic) while Scholes, whose lists appear to be nearly complete, recorded 89 German merchants in Manchester the same year, so that about half the group were Jewish. This figure is interesting because Werner E. Mosse's research suggests that Jews represented only about 20 per cent of the economic élite of Germany during the last century and no more than 30 per cent in Berlin. The implication is that there were relatively more German Jews than Gentiles prepared to move to Britain. This may simply reflect the attitude of Jews to trade – their traditional mobility and willingness to fill the gaps left by Gentile enterprise – but there may well be an ideological dimension as well. The prejudice against trade in general and Jewish traders in particular, for long characteristic of the German states, was clearly less potent in Britain.[15] This is not to suggest that all or most of the immigrants came for the free exercise of their religion. Many took the opportunity to desert Judaism for the Unitarian Church, which traditionally had a strong mercantile following in its northern strongholds. In

[13] Werner E. Mosse, *Jews in the German Economy. The German-Jewish Economic Elite 1820–1935*, Oxford 1987, chap. 1.

[14] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740–1875*, Manchester 1976, chap. 4; [Harry Behrens] *Sir Jacob Behrens 1806–1889*, London 1925, p. 32; Eric M. Sigsworth, *Black Dyke Mills. A History*, Liverpool 1958, pp. 64–65.

[15] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Manchester Central Library Archives Department, John Scholes Mss., ff. 382–535, 'Foreign Merchants in Manchester 1784–1870'; Mosse, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 6.

Manchester, Unitarian Jews included such important mercantile families as Schuster, Schwabe and Goldschmidt.[16]

The overall impression gained is that these German Jews had little problem in assimilating to English life on the "new frontier" of industrialism. Williams shows that they were accepted members of the mercantile community and that those who remained Orthodox in their faith faced no political opposition in maintaining Jewish education, culture and charity.[17] Perhaps the most conspicuous evidence of their acceptance was the election of several German-Jewish merchants to be Mayors of northern towns. The earliest may have been Lewis Heymann (1802–1869), who was Mayor of Nottingham in 1859. He had come from Hamburg in 1834 as a junior partner in J. A. Saalfeld & Co., which opened branches in Manchester and Leeds before sending Heymann to Nottingham. Heymann made a fortune in the lace curtain trade and manufacture in the 1840s and 1850s. Perhaps he was most easily assimilated because the High Pavement Unitarian Chapel, of which he was Warden in 1839–1840, produced more civic leaders than any other church or chapel in the town.[18] In Manchester Philip Goldschmidt (another Unitarian) became Mayor in 1885 and in Belfast Sir Otto Jaffé was Mayor in 1899 and 1904. The Jaffés remained Orthodox Jews; Daniel Jaffé, who moved from Hamburg to Belfast in 1854, built the Synagogue in Great Victoria Street at a time when it was reckoned that there were no more than 55 Jews in the whole of Ulster. The award of a knighthood to Jacob Behrens of Bradford in 1882 for his public work was a similar recognition of the valuable contribution of German Jews.[19]

There can be no question that German Jews made a large contribution to financing the British Industrial Revolution, at any rate in the textile trade, but it is of course difficult to quantify this. The only measure is an estimate, made in Manchester in 1839, of the British contribution to the capital financing its overseas trade. In general, as might be expected, this amounted to 80, 90, or 100 per cent according to the sector, but in trade with Europe it was reckoned to be no more than 33 per cent. The remainder of the capital – 66 per cent – was presumably provided by the German merchants and their connections. At this time nearly half the goods being exported from Britain went to the Continent, so it is not too much to suggest that the enterprise and expertise of German merchants was crucial to British commercial success in the period. The continental market subsequently declined in importance, but as it did so the enterprise of the "foreign houses" (as they were termed in Manchester) shifted to the growing areas of trade with the Far East.[20]

However, it must be recognised that this enterprise fell away later in the century,

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[16] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 385–386; John Seed, *The Role of Unitarianism in the Formation of Liberal Culture 1775–1851*, Ph. D. thesis, Hull 1981, esp. part II, chap. 1.

[17] Williams, *op. cit.*, chap. 4; Behrens, *op cit.*, p. 77.

[18] On Louis Heymann (1802–1869) see Bank of England, Leeds, *Letter Books*, vol. I, p. 75 (1840), Manchester letters 8th February 1834; [John Crosby Warren] *High Pavement Chapel Biographical Catalogue of Portraits*, Nottingham 1932, p. 28; Geoffrey Oldfield, *The Heymann Family of W. Bridgford*, Nottingham 1982.

[19] Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland. From Earliest Times to the Year 1910*, London–Jerusalem 1972, pp. 204–209; Behrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–89.

[20] Stanley D. Chapman, 'The International Houses. The Continental Contribution to British Commerce 1800–1860', in *Journal of European Economic History*, 6 (1977); Ralph Davies, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, Leicester 1979.

particularly after 1871. In the second generation, Anglo-German families sometimes won distinction in the arts and sciences – Delius in music, Rothenstein in painting and Schuster in chemistry come readily to mind – but in British trade their role was a shrinking one. Relative decline was first signalled in 1865, when the number of "Greek" (Ottoman) merchants in Manchester overtook that of German ones, and absolute decline followed shortly afterwards. By the turn of the century, a handful of former German-Jewish houses were still eminent in trade and finance, but the group as a whole was no longer impressive.[21] By this time their interests were widely dispersed. The Schusters were now eminent in banking, with Sir Felix Schuster Governor of the Union Bank of England, and one of the two principal architects of the modern British joint-stock banking system. Kesslers, of Manchester and Bradford, had moved into banking in New York in 1882, but still maintained their textile merchandising activities. Reiss Bros. were involved in Far Eastern trade on a considerable scale.[22] A few textile houses continued among the leaders of their respective centres – Behrens in Bradford, Hertz in Manchester, Jaffé in Belfast, and Simon May & Co. in Nottingham; two of these are still active today. But by this time, German Jews were much more prominent in other sectors, where some were very much wealthier than the leaders of the provincial textile industry.[23]

South Africa

The sector of British trade in which German Jews were most prominent was undoubtedly that with South Africa. Wheatcroft, the most recent biographer of "the Randlords", maintains that Jews came to dominate diamond-mining at Kimberley and gold-mining on the Rand, and this seems undeniable.[24] A strong Jewish interest in fact predated the discovery of diamonds and gold, with Mosenthals of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth having already emerged as the strongest house with Lipperts of Hamburg and Cape Town not far behind. These colonial pioneers ran chains of country stores to supply, grant credit to and buy from the early settlers, and as they shifted to more lucrative occupations the local management was taken up by Jewish cousins from Germany. By the time the precious minerals were discovered, these merchants and some of their agents owned considerable capital, and were easily able to attract further family connections to serve as diamond buyers, share dealers and mine managers. Among the well-known names of the pioneer years, Mosenthals appointed Anton Dunkelsbuhler to represent them at Kimberley, Lipperts sent their cousin Alfred Beit, and Jules Porges (a German Jew originally from Prague) came with the Gentile Julius Wernher. Wernher and Beit

[21] Manchester Central Library Archives Department, John Scholes Mss., Skinners's *Manchester Directory*, various dates.

[22] *DBB*, vol. V, article on Sir Felix Schuster; Philip W. Kessler, *Kessler & Co. Ltd. Manchester and Bradford 1830–1930*, Bradford 1930; Baker Library, Harvard University, Dun and Bradstreet Credit Registers, New York, vol. 200, pp. 305, 400 Q; Kleinwort Benson Information Books 22,031/2, p. 222 (Kessler), 22,033/2, p. 31 (Reiss). A handful of less eminent survivors can be picked out of Seyd & Co., *Manchester Cotton Spinners and General Lancashire Commercial List*, 1927–1928.

[23] *Ibid.*, records the capital where known. The records of Simon May & Co. are still held by the firm in Nottingham.

[24] Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords. The Men who made South Africa*, 1985, p. 51.

were presently to form the most successful enterprise on the Rand, and other early arrivals included the future London merchant bankers Sigismund Neumann and Emile Erlanger. Later captains of industry on the gold fields included well-known Jews like Lionel Phillips and Sir Ernest Oppenheimer.[25]

It would be tedious to attempt to list every Jewish firm and entrepreneur prominent in South Africa in the early years. The easier and more effective way of assessing their importance is to identify and compare the investment of the important houses on the Rand, both Jewish and Gentile (Table II). From this it readily appears that as much as half the investment was controlled by German-Jewish families. This is only part of the story, for Cecil Rhodes's Consolidated Gold Fields is known to have enjoyed, through Beit, considerable financing from Germany, while some London Jewish merchant banks had a catalytic role in investment; Rothschilds and Raphaels are the most significant names.[26]

Another interesting feature of the table is the large extent to which the Jewish houses on the Rand drew on British capital. By the turn of the century the leading house, Werner Beit, had offices in London, and both its principals became British. Indeed, among all the Jewish houses in South African business, only Lippert took a pro-German stance in the 1890s. This appears to have been opportunism by a concern whose parent company in Hamburg had gone bankrupt in 1885.[27] According to one local account, the few stockbrokers in early Johannesburg were "mostly Germans". Several of the most successful presently migrated to London, including Hirsch & Co. (in which Otto Beit was a partner), Lillienfeld Bros. (originally country-store agents of the Mosenthals) and Singer & Friedlander (Ernst Friedlander was a Berlin banker who migrated to Johannesburg).[28]

The reasons for Jewish eminence in this area are not hard to find. Mosenthals' lead provided early advantages; the family's success was based on mercantile skills acquired as Court Jews in Hesse, and perhaps also on their linguistic ties with the German soldier-settlers of the Eastern Cape. But the most important factor must have been traditional Jewish expertise in the diamond trade; fortunes made in Kimberley migrated to the Rand as soon as opportunities for investment appeared there. Mining was always a high risk investment and consequently shunned by established bankers and investment houses so that the resident population retained the initiative.[29] "So far as wealth and power and even numbers are concerned Johannesburg is essentially a Jewish town", Hobson wrote in 1899. Of course the

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[25] In addition to Wheatcroft (note 24), see esp. Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, *The Jews in South Africa*, Oxford 1955; *Dictionary of South African Biography*, 4 vols.; Dolores Fleischer and Angela Caccia, *Merchant Pioneers. The House of Mosenthal*, Johannesburg 1983.

[26] James Benjamin Taylor, *A Pioneer Looks Back*, London 1939, pp. 108–109, 123; Robert Vicat Turrell and J.J. Van Helton, 'The Rothschilds, the Exploration Company and Mining Finance', in *Business History*, 28 (1986); Stanley D. Chapman, *The Raphael Bicentenary 1787–1987*, privately published, London 1987.

[27] Standard Bank Archives, Inspection Reports, Cape Town, September 1885; *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. IV, article on Edward Lippert.

[28] Bank of England Discount Office reports (L. Hirsch & Co.); Standard Bank Archives, Cape Town, May 1875, August 1876; Louis Cohen, *Reminiscences of Johannesburg*, London 1924, p. 46; 'And in Merchant Banking. Singer & Friedlander Ltd.', in *Bowring Magazine*, vol. XXVII, no. 2 (1978).

[29] Chapman, 'Rhodes and the City', *loc. cit.*

Table II
Investment in the Leading Rand Mining Companies in 1900

	Market valuation £m.	% held in UK	% of total Rand mining investment
JEWISH HOUSES			
Wernher Beit*	73.75	78	39.2
Barnato Bros.	8.83	96	4.7
Neumann	11.14	79	5.9
G. & L. Albu	5.30	30	2.8
A. Goerz	6.15	30	3.3
	105.17	42	55.9
GENTILE HOUSES			
Consolidated Gold Fields	38.80	95	20.6
J. B. Robinson	16.43	83	8.7
Farrer	13.38	77	7.1
"Sundries"	14.57	92	7.7
All Houses	188.35	81	100.0

Source: Barlow Rand Archives, Johannesburg, HE 305, Private Notes on Companies and Syndicates by F. Eckstein. The data were based on careful analysis of the shareholders' registers.

* Beit was Jewish but Wernher was not; however, the former was the financial genius of the organisation.

great majority of the population, whether Jew or Gentile, either made no fortune there or soon lost it.[30]

Hobson has been shown to have been an antisemitic writer and his reference to Jewish "power" is misleading, at any rate in the longer context of history.[31] During the Boer War and the subsequent periods of slump in the stock-exchange demand for "Kaffirs" (South African mining shares) fell and the Randlords became unpopular in Britain generally and in the City in particular. Firms like Erlanger and Neumann, now settled in London, were the subject of highly critical reports circulated by City bankers which were not so much antisemitic as anti-Rand.[32] Nevertheless, it is interesting to add that some Anglicised German Jews appeared among the most outstanding of Empire Loyalists. Rhodes was surrounded by a group of German Jews, the most able of whom, Alfred Beit, is still commemorated in the famous Beit Bridge (linking South Africa and Rhodesia/Zimbabwe) and the Beit Professorship of Imperial History at Oxford. When Erlanger died *The Times* obituary recorded that "among the financial figures of this generation he was outstanding for his imaginative grasp of the problems of Empire development".[33] Behind them stood Sir Ernest Cassel, the most influential and enigmatic of the

[30] Quoted in Wheatcroft, *op. cit.*

[31] Colin Holmes, 'J. A. Hobson and the Jews', in *idem* (ed.), *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, London 1978.

[32] Wheatcroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 202–205; Kleinwort Benson Information Books, 22,033/1, pp. 85, 159.

[33] *The Times*, 25th July 1939, p. 14.

Anglo-German Jews of his generation; in the early years of the century he tried to form a League of Empire Loyalists to promote British interests in Africa but failed to recruit Milner or any of the City of London interests.[34] In the high noon of British imperialism his politics were too imperialist even for the British establishment.

Conclusions

In trade and finance the contribution of German Jews in Britain was outstanding before the First World War. The proliferation of legend around the Rothschild family has created a larger-than-life role for them; the family's original contribution to the City is largely confined to the founder of the English house, who died in 1836. When the first Lord Rothschild died in 1915 *The Times* recorded that it was "probably true that London as a money centre, though enormously powerful, was not so powerful as it would have been if Rothschilds had thought fit to initiate and control some of the big new business of the last 25 years".[35] There is here an obvious reference to lack of enterprise.

It is at least arguable that the more critical contributions were made in other traditional sectors of Jewish enterprise, textiles and the bullion trade. In the North of England, German-Jewish merchants contributed a large proportion – perhaps half or more – of the expertise and capital needed to market British textiles and so sustain the momentum of the Industrial Revolution. In South Africa, Britain's richest imperial territory after India, German Jews again contributed as much as half the enterprise and capital requisite for economic development.

[34] Carl Meyer's letters (private ownership), vol. II, pp. 52, 54, 57 (13th and 20th February 1899, 3rd March 1899). Cassel approached Morgan Grenfell & Co., the leading Anglo-American house and the most dynamic enterprise in the City at the period. His aim was "to form an alliance of a more general character, political as well as business, to finance developments in South Africa and elsewhere". For the setting see Chapman, 'Rhodes and the City', *loc. cit.*

[35] *The Times*, 1st April 1915, p. 11.

WOLFGANG MOCK

Engineers from Germany in Exile in Britain, 1933–1945

I

Until a few years ago, researchers into the emigration and exile of German-speaking men and women after 1933 did not greatly concern themselves with the fate of specific professional groups. Of course there were exceptions to this trend: studies were made of the destiny of industrialists, teachers, doctors, architects, various groups of university teachers, and – if the phrase is permissible – "professional politicians".

Analysis of professional groups and their experiences of emigration and exile may lead to conclusions which have relevance well beyond the confines of the groups themselves. To a limited extent, the fate of one professional group can act as a model against which to measure the experiences of others. In contrast to surveys of exile as a whole in one country, the study of a specific professional group makes possible finer, more subtle, analysis.

Two main purposes are served by an investigation of the emigration and exile of German-speaking engineers in Britain: first, it enables us to clarify the catch-all term "emigration" and to define various types of experience; and second, it avoids the tendency to reduce the experience of emigration into a series of personal histories which cannot be compared one with another. However, it is important to bear in mind that, on the whole, the emigration of these engineers, as well as their life in exile, can be described as "successful".

One factor was decisive in enabling emigrant engineers to acquire an identity in exile and in assisting their efforts to integrate into and identify with their host society: the chance to continue working in their old profession.[1] This advantage distinguished the technical intelligentsia as a professional group from many others in exile.

Neither the statistical source material nor the few available sources on the emigration of engineers allow us to make a definitive judgement on the actual number of engineers who left Austria and the German *Reich*. According to official German and Austrian documents there were almost 250,000 engineers in Germany in June 1933, and 7,100 in Austria. It is difficult to discover how many of these could be defined as "Jewish" under the provisions of the *Reichsbürgergesetz*. In Germany, the figures give evidence of barely 1,400 Jewish engineers in 1933; however, the total number of engineers in Germany and Austria who became the victims of Nazi persecution on grounds of their Jewish descent appears to have been approximately 3,000. Of these, some 200–250 were either employed at universities and state

[1] The basis for the following is Wolfgang Mock, *Technische Intelligenz im Exil. Vertreibung und Emigration deutschsprachiger Ingenieure nach Großbritannien 1933–1945*, Düsseldorf 1986.

research institutes or were at least on teaching assignments there, including roughly 60 regular or supplementary professors. Of these Jewish engineers, a maximum of between 800 and 1000 settled in Britain between 1933 and 1945.

Biographical information has been discovered on nearly 100 emigrant engineers in Britain. The information, which varies greatly as regards detail, forms the basis for this survey. However, it cannot be regarded as representative of the entire German-speaking technical intelligentsia, since almost 50% of the individuals in question had doctorates. Though we are discussing Jewish engineers and emigrants as a professional group, it is important to realise that this was not a united group with a functioning infrastructure, before they left Germany or Austria. A "network", of the kind which existed for a large proportion of artistic and literary emigrants, was not present among the engineers, or at most only in exceptional cases.

Certain differences can be detected between the German and Austrian Jewish engineers even before they went into exile. With only a few exceptions, where German-Jewish engineers did give evidence of their political inclinations they tended – unlike the great majority of German Jews – to lean more to the right of centre in the party spectrum. Personal contacts between these engineers who were later compelled to emigrate were very rare. They were limited mainly to contacts through the Jewish community or in the purely business and professional sphere, so that feelings of solidarity were correspondingly tenuous. Such acquaintanceships were sometimes renewed after emigration; on occasion, they led to one emigrant engineer helping others to follow him.

The circumstances of Austrian engineers were different. As the big middle-class parties in Austria were Catholic-dominated, many Jewish engineers – like the majority of politically committed Jews in Austria – tended to join a Socialist or Communist group, whether this was a Socialist students' organisation or a political party. The early awareness of living in a social enclave created a strong sense of solidarity among many Austrian emigrant engineers. In numerous cases, it laid the foundation for a greater willingness to organise in the new host country. Most of their groups in Britain were close to the Socialist camp. They included the only organisation of emigrant engineers which has yet been traced, the Association of Austrian Engineers, Scientists and Scientific Workers in Great Britain, founded in 1941.

II

The extent to which membership of one or another political group in Austria was a precondition for emigration to Britain cannot now be established. However, it is unlikely that such membership played a significant role. In the majority of cases Austrian emigrants, like their German counterparts, came to Britain on the off-chance, in the hope of finding work or with a recommendation from their native land. The political connection cannot be detected in the period of emigration. In exile itself, however, it becomes clear; it appears that a network of Socialist emigrant engineers from Austria was established very rapidly.

How did the emigration of German and Austrian engineers develop? It is not possible to discover a single model for the entire professional group, not least because the emigrants covered a broad spectrum. They included people who had almost reached the end of their careers and had been forced to emigrate virtually in old age, and others who had only just completed their training at a technical university. Alongside them were men who had been unemployed for months if not years, or had been forced to change their jobs frequently as a consequence of unfavourable economic conditions.

Some of the emigrants referred specifically to this last factor. According to their testimony, a "creeping *Entjudung*" had been perceptible in many branches of German industry since the middle of the 1920s. The publications representing Jewish interests repeatedly referred to the process, and criticised the fact that this "creeping *Entjudung*" was taking place even in firms which still had prominent Jews on their supervisory boards.[2] The experience persuaded many members of the Jewish technical intelligentsia to consider the prospect of emigration even before the Nazis came to power. In a few cases there is evidence of engineers leaving Germany before 1933. These engineers, however, are a small minority: less than 5% of emigrant engineers had suffered long-term unemployment before April 1933.

The systematic dismissal and expulsion of Jewish engineers began after April 1933. Between that date and September 1939 there were two great waves of dismissals, the first immediately after April 1933 and the second after September 1935. The emigrant engineers of the first and second phases were very different. On the whole, the engineers who emigrated directly after April 1933 were younger than those affected by the second phase, and had significantly fewer contacts in Britain. Their choice of Britain as a destination was due more to chance than to conscious choice. In many cases, the emigrant engineers of the first phase had just completed their university studies or had been in employment for only a short time. Members of this group were frequently not yet fully integrated and established – professionally and socially – in their homeland; many were not yet married. They therefore found the decision to emigrate much easier. The fact that they emigrated earlier, and at a younger age, also made it easier for them to integrate into British society.

The emigrant engineers of the second wave tended to be older, stood higher on the career ladder, and were almost all married and with children. The social and professional ties linking them to their homeland were thus much stronger. However, they also had many more contacts in Britain, whether of a private or professional nature, with British companies, overseas branches of their own firms, or with British colleagues. A significantly greater percentage of emigrants from the second group made a deliberate choice to settle in Britain, often in the belief that technical developments in certain areas such as the motor industry were not as advanced as in Germany or Austria, and that they might, therefore, have good prospects of finding work on the basis of their special skills.

In general, however, there were a number of reasons for the choice of Britain as the destination of the emigrants. A calculated choice of Britain can be detected in barely 5% of the emigrants for whom we have evidence. Almost 30% did not

[2] S. Adler-Rudel, 'Die Wirtschaftssituation der deutschen Juden und die Berufsprobleme der Jugend', in *Zeitschrift für die jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik*, NF, 1 (1930), pp. 161–166.

originally want to go to Britain, but stayed when they were unable to travel on to the USA, Canada or Australia. The great majority came solely in the hope of finding work and moving beyond the reach of Hitler's Germany. These emigrants chose Britain on the basis of more or less vague contacts with British colleagues, holders of licences, and even holiday acquaintances, because their former employers in Germany had given them a recommendation, or because they had read an advertisement in an English engineering journal.

III

With hindsight these reasons appear very tenuous. However, many emigrant engineers stress that in a world dominated by fear and a loss of perspective, even the smallest hint, the smallest hope, could provide the impetus which led them to act.

A good example here is the role played by letters of recommendation given to the emigrants. Almost 20% of the emigrant engineers for whom we have evidence declared that, after their dismissal, their former employers had provided them with letters of recommendation for British firms and/or engineering offices. However, these letters hardly ever led to offers of employment from the British firms involved. What they did do was to give many engineers the courage and hope to take the step of emigration. Nevertheless, even engineers with good contacts in Britain were often forced to emigrate without having received definite offers of work.

It is equally impossible to develop a single model to explain the actual process of emigration for this professional group. British immigration policy between 1933 and 1938, the date when visas were made compulsory for immigrants, was determined mainly by a desire to accept as few immigrants as possible in view of the high level of unemployment in Britain (almost three million).[3] Under these conditions, priority was given to those immigrants who could be of benefit to the host country in one form or another. Engineering immigrants undoubtedly belonged to this group. By 1938, 20% at most, of all emigrants who were to come to Britain by September 1939, were already in the country; the figures for engineers, however, was 40%. This immigration policy, dictated expressly by the "primacy of usefulness", was defended by the British Home Office in 1936:

> "In point of fact, there has been little hostility to the policy of rigid but sympathetic control exercised by the Home Office with the result that several thousand desirable, intelligent and acceptable persons have been added to the population. They have brought with them considerable capital and established industries, which have already given employment to more British subjects than the total number of refugees from Germany who are now living in the United Kingdom."[4]

The British government's immigration policy of "low numbers and high quality" did not satisfy some British professional organisations. In 1938 the Association of Scientific Workers, a white-collar union representing part of the unionised

[3] See A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and the Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973.
[4] Quoted *ibid.*, p. 73.

British engineering workforce (and which itself began to accept emigrant engineers into its ranks in 1941), was demanding:

"... a national inquiry into the employment situation among British scientific workers to ascertain the effects of admitting foreign refugee scientists to this country... [The ASW] will not encourage the admission of foreign scientists unless there are definite and special openings for them."[5]

In these circumstances even the immigration of engineers was not a simple matter. The first obstacle was the immigration officer, who had to be convinced that the subject had sufficient money or other means to keep his head above water in Britain. At this stage, letters of recommendation, or invitations from English friends or individual firms, often assisted the emigrant's cause.

The situation became even more difficult after the *Anschluß*, when fears of uncontrolled mass immigration led the British government to introduce a system of compulsory visas in March 1938. Almost all engineers then faced problems in getting residence and work permits. The fortunate few reached Britain through a business relocation from Austria or Germany which had been endorsed by the Home Office, and were usually granted a "specialist visa". However, the majority of engineers entering Britain after March 1938 received only a two- or three-month residence visa or transit visa, specifically forbidding them from taking work in the country.

Despite such prohibitions, it seems that all the emigrant engineers began to look for work immediately after their arrival. Almost 80% of them succeeded in finding a job within six weeks. They were supported in their efforts by refugee relief organisations such as the Jewish Professional Committee, the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) (which was concerned mainly with university teachers), and other groups. Assistance was also provided by individual firms, which attempted to find work for emigrant engineers known to them, and by friends. A decisive role, however, was played by the personal initiative of the emigrant. Many hunted intensively for work, checking job advertisements in the national and local press and attending numerous interviews with engineering firms. Not infrequently, in the first weeks of their stay in Britain the emigrant engineers made contact with between twenty and thirty firms before managing to find work.

Applicants then faced further difficulties, since potential employers were forced to obtain work and residence permits for the emigrants from the Home Office, and later from the Ministry of Labour also. For this purpose, evidence was required that no British worker could be found for the job concerned. The post, therefore, had to be advertised three times in a national daily newspaper. Only if no comparable British worker was found could the post be offered to the emigrant engineer. Frequently, the employer was then instructed by the Ministry of Labour to take on a British worker and train him for the post, with the object of replacing the emigrant after a certain length of time. If the emigrant found a job in an armaments factory, the employer often had to ask for permission from other ministries as well, such as the Ministry of War, the Ministry of Supply or the Admiralty. In many of these cases, assistance was offered by one of the various refugee committees.

[5] *Sunday Times*, 27th July 1938, p. 19.

It is scarcely surprising that many potential employers were deterred by these obstacles. On the other hand, some British firms responded positively to the growing supply of engineer emigrants. Some of them even enlisted specialists whose only task was to check the influx of German refugees for qualified and suitable engineers.

Even when they had found work, the engineers' problems were far from over. If they wanted to change jobs, they required the permission of their employer and of the Ministry of Labour. Some employers appear to have exploited this situation in order to pay wages which did not reflect the qualifications and skills of the emigrant engineers. At the outset, therefore, very few emigrant engineers managed to find posts comparable to those they had held in Germany and Austria. Moreover, ignorance of German engineering courses meant that British employers had an inadequate knowledge of the skills of their new employees, while insufficient mastery of English prevented the emigrants themselves from explaining their previous education and work experience.

However, the emigrants had one means of communication which always enabled them to demonstrate their skills to their British colleagues and superiors: technical drawing. Time and time again, emigrant engineers were later to emphasise the vital importance of technical drawing as a first, rudimentary means of communication. Furthermore, many of them were to discover that their technical proficiency in the language rapidly became far superior to their colloquial skills.

IV

Despite initial difficulties, most of the engineers who fled to Britain succeeded in establishing a modest but satisfactory existence before the outbreak of war. Once they had found work and obtained a residence permit, their most urgent desire was to bring the rest of their family to Britain, whether they had remained in the German *Reich* or had escaped to other countries. Younger engineers, unmarried when they came to Britain, gradually became integrated into society through marriage, friendships, and entry into various groups and associations.

Certain differences in social and professional integration can be detected among the engineers. The earlier an emigrant engineer came to Britain after 1933, the easier it usually was for him to settle in his new homeland before the outbreak of war. In this context, the decisive step for many engineers was their entry into one of the big British engineers' associations such as the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, the Institute of Electrical Engineers, or the Institute of Civil Engineers. The abbreviation I. Mech. E. (Institute of Mechanical Engineers) on a calling card or letterhead was a vital indication of professional status, even though in Britain the term "engineer" was not a protected professional description like *"Ingenieur"* in Germany and Austria.

The German-speaking engineers who arrived in Britain after 1933 represented all the engineering disciplines and, in Germany and Austria as in Britain, were distributed across every field of engineering work. So far as can be established, however, almost one third were electrical engineers. Some of them managed to reach senior

positions in Britain. For example, Alfred Bloch and Erich Friedländer, former colleagues at Siemens, held important posts in the research laboratory of the General Electric Company (GEC) at Wembley. Furthermore, German-speaking engineers were employed in every technical sector: in heavy industry and as advisers (construction, energy technology), in metal-working and machine-building. An emigrant engineer established the first testing-ground for the trial of machine-tools in Britain on behalf of the Institute of Production Engineers; others developed bigger district heating systems for housing estates in Bristol and London, and formulated the first ideas for printed circuit boards in Britain.

However, the majority of emigrant engineers led a "normal", relatively anonymous life in their new homeland. After getting to know their new environment, a few took the risk of becoming self-employed, quite often on the strength of their own developments for which patents were already pending in Britain. The move towards self-employment often occurred with an English friend or investor, who was officially bound to be joint owner of the new business. Most engineers, however, took paid employment in Britain.

At first, the outbreak of war brought the professional and social progress of the emigrant engineers – and of many other emigrants – to a dramatic halt. Almost 70% of the engineers for whom we have information were interned in the months before May 1940. The reasons for the internment of some and the non-internment of others are complex and contradictory. Thus, some engineers were interned because they were working in branches of industry which were vital for the war effort; others, however, were deliberately spared internment for precisely the same reason. The presiding officers of the internment tribunals, before which almost every emigrant had to appear, did not always agree whether the technical competence of the engineers was a reason to intern the members of this group or to exempt them:

> "Unhappily a number of presiding officers of enemy alien tribunals took very seriously the warning, that persons of this kind are liable to be dangerous if their ability or technical knowledge could be used to the detriment of this country. Following these instructions, a number of capable men were given 'B' classifications merely because of their technical knowledge."[6]

In some cases, however, emigrant engineers were saved from internment by the argument that their technical skills made them indispensable to the war effort. The decisive factor here was usually the willingness of the firms involved to support the emigrants, who then received an Auxiliary War Service Permit.

Employers were by no means always willing to plead the cause of their emigrant engineer workers. In some cases, pressure from the workforce, along with fear of a "fifth column" in their own factories, appears to have persuaded British employers either to dismiss their emigrant engineers, or not to support them at the tribunal and thereby save them from internment.

Dismissal and subsequent internment in the first months of the war had considerable repercussions on the social and professional life of the emigrant engineers. British employers were very hesitant about re-employing workers they had dismis-

[6] Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter PRO), HO 213/503 (19th November 1939).

sed directly after the outbreak of war. Moreover, a significant number of firms – mainly in the North of England – which had been run by emigrant engineers were forced to stop production and dismiss their British workers as a result of their internment. Furthermore, internment almost always affected the only wage-earner of the family; the rest were made dependent on welfare payments from desperately hard-pressed relief organisations, or on friends.

The engineers themselves became extremely active during their internment. They took part in teaching at the various "camp universities" (for example, on the Isle of Man), sharing their knowledge of electrical engineering, ventilation technology and other specialist subjects. They also moved quickly to form representative groups in the individual camps in order to press for their release.

V

In the same way that the engineers had managed to emigrate to Britain and find work more easily than other groups because of their specialist skills, they were also among the first to be released from the internment camps after a transitional period. One reason for this was the urgent public debate set off by the wave of internments. Critics argued that it was senseless to intern technically qualified refugees in view of the growing needs of the war economy. The release of the technical intelligentsia from the camps was demanded by prominent members of the House of Commons and by the International Labour Branch, which had been founded with the support of the Ministry of Labour.[7] Individual ministries such as Lord Beaverbrook's Ministry of Aircraft Production also made a systematic attempt to locate engineers in the camps. On the initiative of Beaverbrook, a commission was established and placed under the leadership of the Austrian emigrant engineer K. M. Blauhorn; this set to work to comb through the camps in search of engineers and technical experts, with the aim of putting them to work in aircraft production: "In the concentration camps are many Jews with technical knowledge most valuable to the aircraft industry; in particular some of them with radio experience. And a radio engineer is a most precious and valuable asset in our present situation."[8] Despite some resistance from other ministries, this action met with a degree of success – some twenty engineers were set free as a result.

An attempt was also made to make productive use of the people who were still detained. Their numbers may well have been considerable; for example, there were still 93 emigrant engineers in Onchan camp at the end of 1940. The productive potential of these men was obvious, and the British government repeatedly attempted to decide how best to utilise it. L. S. Amery, minister in the India Office, made the following proposal to Winston Churchill:

[7] On 10th July, 3rd December 1940 and 25th February 1941 there were major debates in the House of Commons on the situation of the internees.

[8] House of Lords Record Office, Beaverbrook Papers D 23.

"Then there are the technicians, scientists etc. If public opinion is too upset by their being at large, why shouldn't one or two of these new trading and industrial estates, like Treforest, be surrounded by barbed wire fence, and the refugees work inside. They would require no more guards than in idleness in present internment camps. Some I hope to use in India."[9]

This proposal for a labour camp for scientists and technicians was not adopted. In July and August 1940 the government issued regulations to define the groups of people who were to be given priority in release from internment. Alongside doctors, these included people who were occupied in key positions in industry and in areas of "national significance". Since the outbreak of war, this had meant almost all industrial concerns. As a consequence of these developments, over 60% of all emigrant engineers were released in the first four to six months after their internment. Of those who remained, some were forced to stay in the camps for inordinately long periods. The usual reason was that they lacked contacts in Britain and had sometimes never worked there. On occasion these emigrants had made their position worse, for example by adopting an unsatisfactory attitude to the camp commander. Nevertheless, it was generally the case that, as soon as a potential or former employer or a refugee relief organisation applied for the release of an emigrant and provided evidence of his technical qualifications, the application was granted.

There were no refugee relief organisations specialising in the problems facing the émigré technical intelligentsia. In its relief work, the SPSL drew a clear distinction between engineers as a group, and engineers who had worked at German and Austrian universities; only the latter could expect assistance from the SPSL. In practice, however, it appears that other engineers also received help, particularly if they had been recommended to the SPSL by former university members. Thus the Society encouraged the release of a number of interned engineers and provided financial support to some who could not find work. Yet the overall significance of the SPSL for emigrant engineers was slight: only 45 engineers were registered with the society; by 1938 it had managed to find permanent posts for only sixteen and temporary posts for only four. Barely half found work in Britain, while the rest were sent to Turkey, the United States and South America.

The rapid professional and social reintegration of engineers released from internment was encouraged by the growth of armaments and munitions work after 1940 and by the acute shortage of technical workers, exacerbated by military service. Almost all the emigrant engineers for whom we have evidence were involved directly or indirectly in armaments production after 1940. They worked in research establishments of the various ministries (Ministry of Fuel, Ministry of Aircraft Production), became involved in the development of new machines, engine suspensions and circuits, constructed munitions factories, manufactured special materials for aircraft etc. The majority of emigrant engineers, however, were not concerned with new and special developments during the war, but with routine work in their various factories.[10]

The professional integration of the engineers as a result of the war effort was

[9] PRO, PREM 3/42/2 L. S. Amery to Winston Churchill, 1st July 1940.

[10] See C. C. Salway, *Refugees and Industry*, London 1942; PEP (Political and Economic Planning), *Are Refugees an Asset?*, London 1944.

accompanied by a far-reaching social integration. Many worked alongside their British neighbours as firewatchers or joined the Home Guard, and all suffered the common threat of German air raids in the Blitz. The ties that bound them to British society were thus steadily strengthened. For the majority this professional and social integration during the last years of the war paved the way for the establishment of a secure life in Britain after 1945. The available records reveal that fewer than 2% of emigrant engineers showed an interest in returning to Germany or Austria after the war. After more than ten years in exile in some cases, the German-speaking emigrant engineers had succeeded in exerting a lasting influence on technological developments in Britain. During the following years their influence was to increase still further.

The British electrical industry had been one of the first branches to recognise the significance of research for the economic viability and success of firms. The associated high level of development offered many of the emigrants ideal conditions in which to use the knowledge they had acquired in Germany. One leading example, of course, is the research laboratory of GEC at Wembley. Some of the engineers who worked there achieved conspicuous success. Erich Friedländer, who came to GEC in 1938 and was involved mainly in the field of voltage technology, was awarded the Faraday Medal by the Institute of Electrical Engineers in 1978. Alfred Bloch, a specialist in the measurement of high frequency vibrations and from 1936 an employee of GEC, was awarded an honorary doctorate from Brunel University in 1976. Alongside these men at GEC worked many more emigrant engineers, including Reinhold Rüdenberg, previously head of the scientific department of the Siemens Schuckert works. Rüdenberg subsequently left for the United States, where he was offered a professorship at Harvard. Two other engineers, former workers with Professor Mathias at the *Studiengesellschaft für Hochspannungsanlagen* in Berlin, found a place in the British Electrical Research Association, an institution supported by the British electrical industry. Others worked for Marconi or Standard Telephones and Cables. Yet even in the electrical industry, this was only one side of the coin. Many engineers were forced to accept posts which did not adequately reflect their specialist qualifications and the quality of their earlier work in Germany.[11]

Nevertheless, in the electrical industry the experiences of emigrant engineers, in contributing to new products and developing existing ones, were generally positive. This was in sharp contrast to the fate of emigrant engineers in mechanical engineering. In Germany the first chair in machine-tool manufacturing had been established at what was then the *Technische Hochschule* in Berlin in 1904 and awarded to Georg Schlesinger, a Jew. His son-in-law was Fritz Koenigsberger, for whom the first chair in machine-tool manufacture in Britain was established at Manchester University in 1961(!). Only four years previously the chair had been refused, because the "academic respectability" of the subject had not yet been proven.

The experiences of Koenigsberger and Schlesinger clearly reveal the influence

[11] Connected with this see Wolfgang Mock, 'Know-How-Transfer nach Großbritannien durch deutschsprachige Ingenieuremigranten 1933 bis 1945', in *Technikgeschichte*, 50 (1983), pp. 253–263; *idem*, 'Technische Intelligenz im Exil. Zum Einfluß deutschsprachiger Ingenieure in Großbritannien 1933–1945', in *Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 7 (1984), pp. 145–159.

which emigrant engineers were able to exert on technical and economic developments in Britain. When Schlesinger was forced to leave his Berlin post in 1934 – after thirty years as professor for machine-tool construction – he went first to Belgium. There he immediately made contact with the British Institute of Production Engineers to propose the establishment of an experimental laboratory for machine-tools, on the grounds that even the British must have an interest in such work. They had not. It was more than four years before Schlesinger, "unquestionably the greatest living authority in machine-tool research" in the eyes even of his British colleagues, was able to convince the British government and the Nuffield Trust. Only then was £50,000 made available for the establishment of an experimental and research institute, which later became the Production Engineers Research Association. Schlesinger was its first head.[12]

VI

Koenigsberger, Schlesinger's son-in-law, suffered even more obviously from the aversion of the British machine-building industry to anything involving the scientific treatment of technical problems. Originally he had emigrated to Italy before moving to Britain in 1938 and finding work with a firm in Manchester. There he gained the following impression: "The general attitude in the machine-building industry, and especially in the construction of machine-tools, was then always that a scientific treatment of construction problems was impossible and only those ideas were acceptable which were a development of old ideas. Instead of creating new things, people sought to reduce the inadequacies of old constructions to a minimum, thus tinkering with them year in and year out." Another observation surprised him even more: "The canteen had separate sections – dining rooms, toilets for the directors, for heads of departments, foremen, office workers and manual workers." On promotion to the rank of senior engineer, he was handed the key to the toilets for senior employees of the firm. For the first time he had come face to face with an attitude, which has still not been completely eradicated among British employers and workers, in which a "comparison with the working conditions of others was regarded as more important than the working conditions themselves".[13]

If these factory rituals were surprising to German industrial engineers, their own ways of behaving were not always well received. Some of these new colleagues were regarded as "too Prussian, too outspoken and not too popular". However, the influence of German emigrant engineers was not limited to the electrical industry and the machine-tool industry. In energy technology, it was German emigrants who developed district heating systems by utilising waste heat from power stations, and justified it not only on economic grounds, but also for social and health reasons such as the problem of soot.[14] In close co-operation with the Ministry of Fuel, in the

[12] Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Georg Schlesinger file, 246/2.

[13] Fritz Koenigsberger, *Amboß oder Hammer. Erinnerungen eines Ingenieurs, der sich nicht unterkriegen wollte*, Berne 1980, pp. 48–63, 81 f.

[14] See Wolfgang Mock, 'Das Fernheizwesen in Deutschland und Großbritannien während der Zwi-

years of fuel shortage after 1941 they investigated methods for the economic use of fuel and the recovery of energy, and worked on the better heat-exploitation of coal by means of specific furnace techniques. Furthermore, they brought to Britain new ways of manufacturing pre-stressed concrete.

Frequently the ideas the refugees brought to Britain were not new, but had been prevented from taking root here owing to the strength of other traditions. In the war years, the emigrant engineers helped to reduce Britain's dependence on imports of certain industrial products. Among the useful contributions were washers used in motor car and aircraft engine construction, various chemicals for the operation of blast furnaces, a series of aluminium and copper alloys, fatty acids and glycerine.[15]

The emigrant engineers as a professional group may be regarded as a perfect example of the "successful integration" and assimilation of emigrants into their new homeland. In comparison with other groups of emigrants which have been studied, one of the most remarkable features of the engineers is their anonymity, i. e. the almost complete absence of written accounts and other source materials. Where these autobiographical materials exist, they are concerned mainly with the emigrants' professional career or failures, but rarely with their private experiences and feelings in exile.

On the other hand, their contribution to specialist literature is noteworthy: in all the leading technical papers, particularly the journals of the great engineering associations, there are increasing numbers of contributions from emigrant engineers in the years after 1933. These, of course, contain no evidence of the personal destiny of the authors.

The group under investigation is almost exclusively male. Until now, only one female emigrant engineer has been traced. The vast majority did not become politically involved, and entry to a political party was not possible for them before 1945. A few joined a trades union either before or during the war. The sole female engineer received welfare support from a British union for her children, who attended an English boarding-school, while she was interned.

One decisive factor in the generally untroubled professional integration of the German-speaking engineers was undoubtedly their high level of education and the relatively high esteem in which German engineering training was held in Britain. Despite high unemployment in Britain, even at the beginning of the 1930s, there was an acute shortage of engineers. This situation explains much of the willingness of the British authorities to give priority to engineer emigrants, and to release them early from internment.

The fact that the emigrant engineers spread all over the British Isles in their search for work – though there was some concentration in the industrial belt of the "new industries" south of London and in the highly industrialised Midlands – meant that their social identity was based first and foremost on their profession. At the outset they lacked a secure social environment. Unlike the literary and artistic intelligentsia, and even the exiled politicians, they did not develop an

schenkriegszeit – Der Beitrag von A. Margolis', in *Energie in der Geschichte. 11th Symposium of the International Co-operation in History of Technology Committee*, Düsseldorf 1986, pp. 441–452.

[15] See note 10.

"enclave mentality". The creation of a new social identity as British citizens thus became considerably easier.

Professional activity was thus at the centre of their lives, and even provided many with their view of England. At the outset many were astonished by machinery which was obsolete by comparison with German equipment, and by the less rational working methods they encountered. Some also had difficulty in understanding their British colleagues, who were often wary of a more scientific approach to engineering. Yet the emigrant engineers rapidly came to value the fact that such attitudes generally went hand in hand with great tolerance in the personal sphere. Most of the emigrants understood why the mass internments had taken place, and believed that they would be able to rely on the return of British "common sense" once the early panic had subsided.

Significantly, the majority of emigrants made a deliberate attempt from the beginning to establish closer ties with their English colleagues and neighbours, although many had contacts with fellow-emigrants through the Jewish community and various refugee relief organisations. Such attempts were not always easy, but appear to have intensified during the war years. Though there were individual cases of animosity, these did not destroy the feelings of solidarity engendered by the struggle against a common enemy.

Whether these experiences are characteristic only for the emigrant engineers is not a question capable of being fully answered on the basis of investigations of other professional groups. One fact more than any other appears to typify their experiences: almost all the emigrant engineers rapidly managed to find work in their chosen profession – though often in a different position. Their entire integration, social and professional, as well as their view of England, was based on the fact that they could continue to work as engineers. Yet even within the group there were differences, at least of perception. One engineer noted that social integration in particular was easier in the North of England, and that the people there were less "reserved" than those in the South. However, clearly formulated differences of this kind are rare and do not permit of generalisation.

After 1945, hardly any emigrant engineers expressed a desire to return to Germany or Austria. Through their children and grandchildren they had become an integral part of British society, although many did re-establish private and professional links with Germany and Austria. The available records indicate that almost 100% of those who applied became naturalised British citizens after 1946. As the engineering scientist Georg Schlesinger wrote from exile in Belgium: "A new sphere of activity has been constructed – it gives us enough to live on and work fills our day."[16]

[16] Letter from Schlesinger, 22nd March 1936. Nachlaß Ebert, Technische Universität, Berlin.

HAROLD POLLINS

German Jews in British Industry

The kinds of economic activities that immigrants undertake in their new country of residence are likely to depend on two factors: the attributes they bring with them, and the conditions they meet in the receiving country. The first of these, comprising the immigrants' attitudes and experiences, may be considered the supply side of the equation. The second includes the economic environment of the host country – the extent to which it is expanding, for example, as well as the fortunes of individual industries and sectors – and the presence or absence of social and legal barriers. During the lengthy period covered by this volume these two variables altered markedly. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century Jews in German-speaking countries were only just beginning to become emancipated and their economic life was largely a reflection of earlier situations, the fact that they were living in under-developed economies and were liable to many forms of discrimination. Their economic life was consequently limited. Peddling was common, but there were artisan-shopkeepers. A few were merchants and financiers. The country they were coming to was in the initial stages of take-off into industrialisation, at that period only a slow development and not yet spread much beyond the textile industry, and in particular the manufacture of cotton.[1]

Later in the century, as the Jews in German-speaking countries began through emancipation to participate in a wider range of activities in those countries, they benefited from such changes as the development of technical education and of scientific training. Britain was becoming the major economic power and necessarily attracted immigrants of all kinds, yet the number of German Jews who arrived was small. Gartner comments that "... England missed the immigration of German Jews during the mid-nineteenth century which was formative for United States Jewry. The establishment of a Jewish upper crust of German origin set off the communal and religious history of the United States from... England."[2] Even if the usual figure of 10,000 German-Jewish immigrants in Britain in the nineteenth century is as much as one hundred per cent too low we are considering only a very small number of immigrants over such a lengthy period. There were of course some important geographical clusters, as in Bradford and Manchester. In the latter city the 1851 Population Census records some 1,000 persons of German birth "of whom at least 292 belonged to observant Jewish families".[3] Within two years of the foundation in 1860 of the *Schiller Anstalt* in Manchester one of its members, the

[1] For a general history of the economic activities of the Jews in Britain which provides a background to this paper, see Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England*, London–Toronto 1982. The book provides numerous references to Jews from German-speaking countries, including the cases mentioned here but not footnoted.

[2] Lloyd P. Gartner, 'North Atlantic Jewry', in Aubrey Newman (ed.), *Migration and Settlement*, London 1971, p. 120.

[3] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740–1875*, Manchester 1976, p. 169.

Socialist Friedrich Engels, was exaggeratingly complaining that it was being overrun by Jews. This compares with Bill Williams's estimate of 1,755 for the total Jewish population of Manchester in 1861. Of that number sixty-five were merchants, thirteen were commission agents and twenty-seven were in the professions.[4] Thus while, as we shall see, it is certainly possible to make general statements about this migration and to acknowledge the stimulus to emigration of major events – the Napoleonic Wars, the 1848 Revolutions, the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 – for most of the period covered by this volume, until the very different circumstances of the 1930s, it is sensible in the first instance to think of the migration as being of individuals. Their reasons for migration were often individual and personal.[5]

Take the example of Hugo Hirsch, born in 1863 in Bavaria. He came to England in 1880 as a youth and soon after entered the new electrical industry, being a director of the General Electric Company (GEC) from its foundation in the 1880s and its chairman from 1910 to 1943 (as Lord Hirst from 1934). During the anti-German xenophobia of the First World War the attacks on him personally provoked him to respond. In 1915 he sent two letters to GEC's representative in Sydney, Australia in which, *inter alia*, he described his early life including his reasons for emigrating to Britain. There was certainly a "push" element but it was not to do with antisemitism nor was it an adverse economic factor. (His father's business in those days, he wrote, was "lucrative".) Quite simply he could not stand the growing Prussianisation of the newly-unified Germany. He went on to describe how his desire to emigrate was encouraged by an uncle, a medical doctor, who had fled Germany, having been in the revolutionary movement of 1848, and was living in London. Moreover, after completing his engineering education, Hirsch joined another Bavarian Jew in London, Gustav Binswanger (later Byng) in the electricity industry.[6] He was writing in 1915, nearly four decades after his migration and his memory may have been selective. However, other Germans are said to have emigrated because of their dislike of Prussianisation. One such was the father of Robert Mayer, born in Mannheim 1879. The young Mayer made a fortune in the non-ferrous metal business and retired from it in the 1920s to devote himself to the encouragement of music, notably through the introduction of the Robert Mayer Children's Concerts in 1923, as well as to a number of philanthropic ventures.[7]

Those German-Jewish immigrants of the nineteenth century who gave some account of their emigration in print similarly sometimes described the attraction of Britain, as a country of toleration and liberalism. "Many, if not most, came to England because they hoped to find freedom."[8] For others there is little evidence beyond the fact of their migration and the inference that it was probably occasioned by the economic attractiveness of Britain. One such description is that of Philip

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[4] William Otto Henderson, *The Life of Friedrich Engels*, London 1976, pp. 227, 274. The statistics of the Manchester Jewish population are in Williams, *op. cit.*, Appendix B.

[5] See, in general, Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers. Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Research Paper No. 2, London Museum of Jewish Life–University of Leicester 1989.

[6] Hugo Hirst, 'Two Autobiographical Fragments', in *Business History*, 28 (1986).

[7] *The Times*, 15th January 1985, obituary of Sir Robert Mayer.

[8] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, p. 313.

Haldinstein (1820–1901), born in Prussia the son of a linen manufacturer. He came to London, it is said, to better himself and soon settled in Norwich, at first as a capmaker. He then joined the old-established Jewish firm of shoemakers, Soman & Sons (Norwich being a centre of that industry). He subsequently formed his own firm, Philip Haldinstein & Sons, shoe manufacturers and leather merchants.[9]

Immigrants continued to have their own particular reasons for moving, but by the 1930s the overriding need to escape from Nazi Germany was a sufficient, general one. In that decade, although Britain was recovering from the depths of the economic depression, unemployment was still heavy. Most of the immigrants were allowed to bring very little money with them, and many jobs were unavailable to them. Many took whatever occupation they could, a good number as domestic servants, this being one method of being admitted into Britain. The *Jewish Chronicle*, soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, reported that nearly 8,000 women refugees from Nazism who had been working as domestic servants had been thrown out of work. They were unable to accompany the evacuated families with whom they worked because of war-time restrictions on their movement.[10] While this contribution is concerned mainly with industrialists, it would be improper to ignore those who were employees, even if the needs of the Second World War soon required them for other pursuits. Some, however, remained as wage-earners for the rest of their economic lives. One example from many was Robert Frankl, a draughtsman in an engineering firm in Slough.[11] A study of the German-Jewish contribution to British industry, in addition to the need to avoid the provision of a congratulatory list of important people, ought at least to mention the employees, including, it may be added, those of the nineteenth century.

Three further preliminary points need to be made. First, the definition of "industry" in this contribution will be a wide one. The distinction between making and selling was by no means a precise one during much of the nineteenth century. A shopkeeper – a tailor or shoemaker, for example – might make the goods he sold, as did some large retail establishments. In some industries there was no clear distinction between merchant and manufacturer. In the cotton industry of Lancashire "merchant and manufacturer" was a common description in the early nineteenth century. However, despite such overlapping I shall not refer to financiers unless they were also active in "industry" as here defined. A related matter is the uncertainty of some descriptions.

The second point refers to the question: what difference did being either from a German-speaking country or a Jew make to the choice of activity or to the individual's role in it? Ideally we need a solid statistical basis, but such information is notoriously unavailable. Thus the figures quoted here, from Bill Williams's detailed study of Manchester Jewry, refer only to those Jews who were members of the Jewish community. He does not include people who were in some sense of Jewish descent. However, although there is no doubt of the rejection by many German

[9] *Jewish Chronicle*, 1st March 1901, obituary.

[10] *Jewish Chronicle*, 13th October 1939; see in general Tony Kushner, 'Asylum or Servitude? Refugee Domestics in Britain, 1933–1945', in *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, vol. LIII, pt. 3 (1988); Zoë Josephs, *Survivors. Jewish Refugees in Birmingham 1933–1945*, chap. 12: 'The Domestics'.

[11] Pollins, *Economic History*, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

Jews of their religious heritage and some of those who came to Britain were formally Unitarians or members of Christian congregations, it is not unreasonable to include them here, because not only Jews but also people of Jewish origin in Germany were usually regarded as in some sense different and treated as members of a minority. Thus their attitudes and behaviour may have been conditioned by that status even if they had had no Jewish upbringing or education.

Thirdly, a study of German Jews in British industry may throw light on the discussion of the general role of immigrants in the economy. Have foreigners, as far as Britain is concerned, filled the gaps in industry neglected by native Britons? There is a strong opinion that immigrants – and minorities in general – fulfil certain useful functions, often precisely because they are "different" in some sense. These may include, for example, the introduction of new products or new techniques. Whether or not German Jews came under that category will be one of the areas of examination.

I

We are concerned with the period from about 1800, but the economic structure of the relatively small Ashkenazi section of the eighteenth-century Anglo-Jewish community is worthy of a mention. There is little doubt that a large proportion of that group – many but not all of them from German-speaking countries – were of fairly low social status. There is plenty of evidence of pauperism, peddling and criminality. Others however were rather more respectable, being shopkeepers, often also makers of the products they sold. The records of the Great Synagogue in London, as well as of Jews in provincial centres, tell us of watchmakers, jewellers, silver- and goldsmiths, for example. The four Jews who signed the 1749 lease for the Portsmouth Jewish cemetery included Benjamin Levi from Wiesbaden, an engraver, as well as Mordechai Moses of Königsberg, a chapman.[12] At the same time there was an élite stratum, composed mainly of men engaged in international trade. While the majority of such people were Sephardim, a number were Ashkenazim, some from Hamburg. A few of them were involved in what was probably the main eighteenth-century occupation of the Sephardi élite, the trade in precious stones and metals, especially silver. The Franks, a leading Ashkenazi family in London, were engaged in the Indian diamond trade and later extended their interests to North America, where part of the family settled.

The Napoleonic Wars form a watershed in this history. The emancipation of European Jewry provides one strand of development; another was a trickle of Jews (among many immigrant groups) who arrived in Britain to participate in the Industrial Revolution. "Trickle" is the appropriate word, for there were relatively few Jewish immigrants in the first half of the nineteenth century. A number went into the textile industries, the sector – especially the sub-section of cotton manufacture – whose development was symbolic of Britain's industrialisation. Indeed one reason for the entry of a number of German Jews into the Lancashire cotton industry

[12] Cecil Roth, 'The Portsmouth Community and its Historical Background', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (TJHSE)*, 13 (1936).

was the direct consequence of the Wars, including the French occupation of Hamburg and Frankfurt. During the occupation of Hamburg the imported English goods belonging to the trading firm of Schuster were confiscated; part of the family came to Britain and set up in business in Manchester and elsewhere. For a different reason, although one related to the Wars, the first of the English Rothschilds arrived in the late 1790s. He came to get commercial experience and also to handle certain of his father's financial dealings as agent for the Elector of Hesse-Cassel who supplied mercenary troops to Britain. Nathan Mayer Rothschild moved to Manchester in 1799 and opened a textile business there which was in operation until 1811. He then went on to concentrate on finance.

As the Lancashire cotton industry expanded to become Britain's premier export industry it attracted all manner of newcomers, from other parts of Britain and from abroad. In many cases the process began with merchants, established elsewhere, setting up agencies in Manchester. "Foreign firms which earlier had relied upon direct purchases from Manchester manufacturers, now found it necessary to keep an agent on the spot to ensure a steady flow of consignments at the most economic rate."[13] The shipping merchants S. A. and J. J. Liebert, of Hamburg and Berlin, despatched a senior partner to Manchester to take the place of the local commission agents they had previously used. Among the foreign export firms which were set up in Manchester in the mid 1830s were Henry Hiller, of Furst & Hiller, from Hanover; Augustus Silvester Sichel, of Sichel Brothers, of Hamburg; as well as several from Frankfurt a. Main. Such men were people of means, but Adolphus Sington who formed a commission agency with Edward Nathan (both of them from Silesia) was the son of a Reader in a small Jewish congregation and began as a clerk in a stationery business in Hamburg.[14]

Most of the Jewish entrepreneurs in the cotton industry – whatever their origin – were merchants, but a few were also manufacturers. One was Solomon Levi Behrens who had arrived in 1814, the family firm of textile importers being based in Hamburg. The family had connections with Rothschild and perhaps "Rothschild's example... took the young Solomon Levi Behrens to Manchester". After some years as an exporter he bought a mill in 1841. By that time his interests had spread into merchant banking. He succeeded Rothschild as the "financial patron of the community".[15] Another, later on, was William Ruttenau from Alsace who arrived in the 1870s. He began as a commission agent and maker of leather bands for bowler hats but soon acquired a mill at Ashton-under-Lyne. Bill Williams's list of the founder members of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews, 1856–1858, shows 32 out of the 46 as having been born in Germany (including Prussian Poland). As many as fifteen are described as "merchants", and there are two "importers". The four "cigar merchants" and the "rag merchant" were undoubtedly of a lower social status. In that list there are only two occupational descriptions which can be taken to be "industrial" – a shirt manufacturer and, the only one in the cotton industry, a calico printer.[16] This is not at all surprising. In his occupational analysis

[13] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 81 and p. 385 note 21.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 350–351.

of Manchester Jewry at the four Population Censuses of 1841–1871 the number of manufacturers in the textile industry was minimal (respectively, two, nine, two and four).[17]

The second major textile industry was wool, located primarily in Yorkshire. It expanded greatly and, as in the case of Manchester and cotton, necessarily attracted many people from more distant places, including a large contingent of Germans, especially of German Jews. They appear to have started to arrive in the 1830s and became a significant part of the civic and cultural as well as the commercial life of Bradford, the centre of the worsted industry. The German contingent in Bradford formed, for example, a *Schillerverein*. They were active in local politics, founded the local Chamber of Commerce and were to be found in artistic and educational ventures in the city. It seems that several of them came from mercantile families in Germany, who had been importing textiles and came to Bradford to be at the source of their goods in order to ensure some personal quality control. That was one reason why Jacob Behrens went from Hamburg to Yorkshire in 1834, at first to Leeds. He came "partly as an agent of his father's business" (the importation of woollen and cotton goods) and also "partly because he was dissatisfied with the Yorkshire way of finishing and packing dress goods".[18] Behrens himself explained that it was obviously better to be on the spot, at the source of supply, whereas the wholesale importer on the Continent was without adequate knowledge and would probably have to accept whatever prices the manufacturer quoted.

Within Anglo-Jewish communal history the German Jews of Bradford were noteworthy, *inter alia*, for establishing a viable Reform synagogue, formed in 1873 by some 40 people, although by no means the first outside the metropolis. In general their commitment to Judaism was small. Many either left the community or were never part of it and their offspring, while often expressedly proud of their Jewish origin, seldom were. One such was Sir Gerald Hurst, QC, MP, a grandson of Martin Hertz, a native of Hamburg. (The name was changed in 1916.) On the former's death in 1957 *The Times* noted that, "though himself brought up as a Christian, he was intensely proud of his Jewish descent".[19] His aunt, Fanny Hurst, was an active advocate for women's education, her work including the foundation of the Bradford Mechanics' Institute for Working Women and the Bradford Ladies' Educational Association. Among others were the Rothensteins, who made their mark in the art world, and Humbert Wolfe, the poet.

As already noted, it was common in international commerce for a trading house to send someone, often a member of the family, to another country to handle the business on the spot. There is evidence of this among the cotton trade and it was the case too of the foreigners in the third textile industry, lace, based on Nottingham. They began to arrive from the 1820s, the first, it seems, being Josef Neuberg, from Würzburg, who acted as agent for a Hamburg firm. He also made his name as a disciple of Carlyle and translated into German some of his writings. Quite a number

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

[18] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Nineteenth Century Bradford', in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 52 (1981), p. 111; also A. R. Rollin, 'The Jewish Contribution to the British Textile Industry. "Builders of Bradford"', in *TJHSE*, 17 (1960).

[19] Quoted in Aronsfeld, 'Bradford', *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

of German-Jewish firms settled in the town, usually as traders. Among the firms were those of Moritz Jacoby, Stiebel, Kaufmann & Co., and Albert Cahn who later founded the retail firm of Jay and Campbell, sellers of furniture. Most were traders, but some became manufacturers. One was Lewis Heymann, originally an agent, who founded the firm of Heymann and Alexander, which made lace (and was a pioneer in the manufacture of lace curtains), although later the firm changed to become merchants. He was active in local politics and also in local Unitarian matters. Very different, in religious terms, was Jacob Weinberg, who came from Hamburg in 1849 at the age of nineteen as an agent for importers of Nottingham products. He founded the firm of Simon, May & Co. and remained steadfastly Orthodox in religion. It has been argued that the arrival of these immigrants helped Nottingham to meet the competition of German manufacturers.[20]

Linen, the fourth textile industry in which immigrant German Jews were involved, also appears to have begun with German firms, mainly from Hamburg, sending representatives to Dundee, the main location of the industry in Great Britain. They then set up as independent merchants. There were about a dozen of them in that city including Isaac Julius Weinberg, a brother of Jacob Weinberg of Nottingham. The best known was Daniel Joseph Jaffé, who transferred his business from Hamburg to Dundee in 1845. His head office moved to Belfast in 1851 and he and his brother Isaac founded Jaffé Brothers there, engaged in the manufacture of linen goods.

Although some of these firms, in the various parts of the texile industry, continued into the post-First World War era, many had come to an end before 1914. In any case it is noteworthy that few owners remained within the Jewish community.

There is less evidence of Jewish involvement in the other, early, staple industries of Britain – steel-making and engineering; railway construction and operation; shipbuilding – so one comes across only the occasional Jew from a German-speaking country. Gustave Wolff was born in Hamburg in 1834 of an assimilated family and obtained most of his engineering education in England, including a spell with the well-known engineering firm of Joseph Whitworth & Co. in Manchester. In 1858, quite young, he went into partnership with Edward J. Harland to form the Belfast shipbuilding firm of Harland & Wolff, still a major employer in that city. In fact both men had been involved with the existing shipyard, Harland virtually in control of it, and Wolff as his assistant. Harland needed £5,000 to obtain the yard and he got this through G. C. Schwabe, a Liverpool merchant and partner in the Bibby shipping line. Schwabe was Wolff's uncle. The funds were provided on condition that Wolff be taken into partnership. The fact that many of the first ships built by the shipyard were for the Bibby Line (and after that for the White Star Line, with which Schwabe was also connected), was undoubtedly a significant factor in establishing the firm as a major shipyard. There was nothing unusual in those arrangements since it was common for there to be close financial ties between shipbuilding and shipping companies.[21]

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[20] Donald Emerson Varley, *A History of the Midland Counties Lace Manufacturers' Association. 1915–1958*, Long Eaton 1959. His account of the German Jews is based on C. C. Aronsfeld's researches.

[21] Dennis Rebbeck, *The History of Iron Shipbuilding on the Queen's Island up to July 1874*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast 1950.

In general, during the first part of the nineteenth century, German-Jewish industrial enterprise in Britain paralleled Anglo-Jewish industrial history – the emphasis was on consumer goods industries. Haldinstein's footwear firm in Norwich has been mentioned. Presumably the London footwear manufacturing firm of Flatau was of German origin, as were some of the Jewish businessmen in the growing clothing industry who had Ashkenazi names – even if born in Britain. There were, for example, the famous firms of Moses and Hyam Brothers. Simon and Benjamin Hyam set up clothing firms in Birmingham and Manchester respectively, later extending to many other towns. They were the grandsons of Simon Hyam of Hamburg who had first settled in Ipswich.[22] One clothing firm was established in the East End of London in 1847 by an immigrant from Alsace. He was Samuel Hess (1824–1905), nowadays known from a passing reference in a biography of his grand-daughter, the pianist, Dame Myra Hess. Towards the end of the century the factory, located in Spital Square – which had previously manufactured accoutrements for military uniforms (the making of which was a familiar feature of the Jewish clothing trade); buttons, insignia, straps, braid and embroidery – now specialised in cap peaks. "In its heyday the Hess firm controlled some of the Spitalfields silk looms for the manufacture of cuffs, interlinings and church altar cloths on which 'IHS' was elaborately embroidered."[23]

No doubt there were many small clothing firms, now forgotten. The 1851 Population Census shows, for Birmingham, the names of fifteen people from Germany who were tailors or clothiers.[24] One locally important man was Isidor Frankenburg, the first Jew to become Mayor of a town in the Manchester area (Salford, 1905). He had been born in Germany in the 1840s, came to London in the mid-1860s, and soon arrived in Manchester. He opened a workshop manufacturing leather bags, subsequently developing into a major business in leather and waterproof goods.

Also within the consumer goods sector was the firm of Salmon & Gluckstein, set up in the tobacco industry by immigrants who arrived in the 1840s. Out of that enterprise there developed, later in the century, the catering and food company of J. Lyons & Co. In the early twentieth century Salmon & Gluckstein sold out to the new tobacco industry giants, Imperial Tobacco, although retaining their retail tobacco shops for a period. Eventually the families came to concentrate on the catering side, on their tea-shops and foodstuffs (especially tea and ice-cream) becoming a household name.[25]

One company, which made a range of musical instruments and was very well known in its day, was Barnett Samuel & Sons. Barnett Samuel himself (Boruch ben Shmuel Lublinski) was born in Gniezno in Prussian Poland and on his emigration to Britain was at first a pedlar in Wales. He married the sister of Henry Solomon who had founded the business in 1832. It became a wholesale house specialising in musical instruments and in the 1860s the music department was sold to Barnett

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[22] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[23] Marian McKenna, *Myra Hess. A Portrait*, London 1976, pp. 3–4.

[24] Zoë Josephs, *Birmingham Jewry 1749–1914*, Birmingham 1980, p. 39.

[25] D.J. Richardson, *The History of the Catering Industry, with Special Reference to the Development of J. Lyons and Co. Ltd. to 1939*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury 1970.

Samuel, who developed it with his four sons and his Berlin-born nephew Max. It went into the manufacture of instruments, including pianos, Max being responsible for recruiting craftsmen and equipment in Württemberg for the purpose. In the family's third generation, early in the twentieth century, they invented a portable gramophone, the Decca Dulcephone. The name "Decca" was consciously chosen, with exports in mind. The word was one which could be "pronounced the same way in all languages and which could be easily recognised by illiterates". The name appears to have been "a merger between 'Mecca' and the initial 'D' of 'Dulcet', which was Barnett Samuel & Sons' trademark". In 1928 the business was sold, the purchasers changing their company name to become the Decca Gramophone Company Ltd. An ironic postscript is this: after the First World War Barnett Samuel & Sons stopped importing musical instruments from Germany. Their own, specific reason for disliking Germany was the death in action of one of the family. They were not alone in their attitude, for "all the British musical-instrument importers agreed not to trade with Germany in the future, whereupon the firm switched to importing their musical instruments from Japan instead". As the member of the family who has reconstructed the firm's history comments: "In the long run, such boycotts of German exports served only to facilitate the rise of Hitler."[26]

II

It is useful to draw a line, in British economic history, at around 1870, the onset of what used to be called "The Great Depression"; nowadays more usually considered a period of adjustment to a number of developments, especially to overseas competition and new technology. It is sometimes said that Britain, while still the major economic power, was sluggish in responding to these new developments. Because of her primacy in industry her businessmen had become complacent and unenterprising. Britain's social structure, it is often argued, whereby the aim of the middle class was to become gentlemen and "trade" was despised, led to the gaps I referred to earlier. That opinion is by no means generally accepted; some historians have found solid evidence of British industry being receptive to new ideas. At any rate we do know that among the entrepreneurs in the new industries of the nineteenth century were a number of German Jews. In the discussion of the role of immigrants in British industry their history may well be considered of some relevance.

One might start with an unusual, probably unique case. David Gestetner arrived, young and penniless, from the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1881. He is to be credited with the introduction of the stencil, a major innovation for the burgeoning office and clerical industry, especially when it was associated with the typewriter. The firm of Gestetner was described in 1972 as "the world's oldest office equipment manufacturing and selling organization".[27] It was, of course, to be greatly affected by the computers and word-processors of more recent years.

I have already mentioned the German Jews, Hirst and Byng, who were involved

[26] Edgar Samuel, 'Decca Days – the Career of Wilfred Sampson Samuel, 1886–1958', in *TJHSE*, 30 (1989).

[27] W. B. Proudfoot, *The Origin of Stencil Duplicating*, London 1972, p. 11.

with the beginnings of the electrical industry. Hirst's General Electric Company was to become one of the major producers of electrical material in Britain, producing all manner of goods from electric lamps to heavy generating equipment. The production of lamps was its first major activity, entering the field in 1893 at the expiry of the patents of the pioneers Edison and Swan. In 1912, three years after GEC had established the Osram lamp works jointly with *Auergesellschaft,* the Tungsten Lamp Association was formed with Siemens and British Thomson-Houston. This cartel fixed prices, pooled patents and licensed competitors.

In contrast to that monopolistic industry was the early motor industry. Among the numerous pioneers was Siegfried Bettman (1863-1951), from Nuremberg. He came to London as a young man in the 1880s and, like so many in this story, began as a trader, exporting bicycles on which he stamped his own trade name, Triumph. Again, like others, he moved to the centre of manufacture of his goods, in this case Coventry, and in 1890 began making them. Just over a decade later the Standard Motor Company, formed in 1903, of which he was chairman, began making motor cycles. Subsequently it made cars. There is a parallel too with various other first-generation German Jews in Britain in his being involved in local politics. In 1903 he was Mayor of Coventry.

The massive changes which took place in the international economy in the 1870s were especially evident in the chemical industry. In particular the dominance of Britain was drastically challenged by Germany. Moreover, a series of inventions and discoveries in the 1850s and 1860s "were sufficient, between them, to render obsolete virtually the whole chemical industry as it had developed, principally in England, up to the middle of the nineteenth century".[28] William Joseph Reader instances developments in explosives, in the alkali industry (the basis of the heavy chemical industry), and in dyestuffs. Our interest is in the second and third of these in which were occupied three Jewish immigrants: Ludwig Mond in alkali manufacture, using the new Solvay process, and Ivan Levinstein and Charles Dreyfus (the last from Alsace) in dyestuffs.

Mond (1839–1909) was born in Kassel and studied chemistry for a short time at university, financed by his mother's brother-in-law who was engaged in the electro-chemical industry (and whose daughter Mond married). He did not take a degree, but occupied himself in chemical research, which included visits to England to work on a process for the recovery of sulphur from alkali waste produced using the old Leblanc process. In 1867 he and his wife decided to settle in England. There is clear evidence that they did so in response to antisemitism in Germany and to their appreciation of greater toleration in Britain. At the same time he had built up contacts with a number of chemical firms in Britain; and he already had family connections, not just in England but in Lancashire, where several of the chemical firms were located. His kinsman was Philip Goldschmidt, a native of Oldenburg, a merchant of some note in Manchester where he became the first foreign-born Mayor of the City.

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[28] William Joseph Reader, *Imperial Chemical Industries. A History*, vol. I, *The Forerunners 1870–1926*, London 1970, p. 467. This is the best source for both Mond and Levinstein. He bases his account of the early life of Mond on John Michael Cohen, *The Life of Ludwig Mond*, London 1956. See also Robert Hugh Kargon, *Science in Victorian Manchester. Enterprise and Expertise*, Manchester 1977.

In the early 1870s Mond formed a partnership with John Brunner and they obtained a licence to use the Solvay process of producing soda, for which they built a plant at Withington, Cheshire. Most of the British soda industry persisted with the Leblanc method and for some time after in the late nineteenth century Brunner, Mond and Co. was the sole British producer of ammonia soda. Mond was more than a businessman and he continued with his scientific research, including the Mond Nickel process in the steel industry. Yet, says Reader, he "was not... one of the nineteenth century's great inventors".[29] Brunner, Mond was certainly a major, successful company concentrating on the production of soda ash, but was "technically unadventurous in the matter of major innovations" (in the years before 1914), although tribute is paid to keeping costs low "by continual attention to the details of plant management".[30]

Mond died in 1909. Seventeen years later Brunner, Mond together with the other three largest chemical companies in Britain joined to form Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. It was the largest merger undertaken in Britain up to then.

The two other immigrants we are concerned with, Ivan Levinstein and Charles Dreyfus, also settled in the North-West of England, both in the dyestuffs industry. Despite the fact that in the 1850s and 1860s a series of discoveries by W. H. Perkin and others, mostly in Britain, laid the foundation for the modern dyestuffs industry, this was an industry in which Germany soon became predominant. The British industry was characterised by a degree of lassitude and one writer argues that "The only marked impact after the 1870s was made by two immigrants – Ivan Levinstein... and Charles Dreyfus..."[31] L. J. Levinstein & Sons began producing chemicals at Blackley near Manchester in 1864. Ivan Levinstein (1845–1916) ran the business, in a small way until 1890, producing aniline dyes for the textile trades as well as intermediaries for other dyestuff producers. In the late 1880s he built a larger works – the company renamed Levinstein Ltd. – to become probably the largest British firm in the industry. Ivan Levinstein became extremely active in the reform of patent law, achieved through the Patent Law Amendment Act of 1907. The Act was intended to deal with German competition and under Section 27 a patent was not to be granted to a foreigner unless it was operated in Britain. In general the Act did not produce the intended results and before 1914 the import of aniline dyes grew. One result for Levinstein's was the reduction by German manufacturers of their purchases of intermediaries and Levinstein went on to develop the manufacture of dyestuffs, by 1914 making over 150 different colours. Haber states that on the eve of the First World War Levinstein's, by this time run by Ivan's son Herbert, while certainly large, making 5,000 tons of dyes a year, was operating below capacity, possibly because "production methods were inefficient".[32] Yet Herbert was successful in obtaining and retaining good scientists and in ploughing back funds into the business. His father had, apparently, treated his staff badly, under-

[29] Reader, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 468. He applies these strictures to the explosives industry as well.

[31] Harry Ward Richardson, 'Chemicals', in D. H. Aldcroft (ed.), *The Development of British Industry and Foreign Competition 1875–1914*, London 1968, p. 287; see also Harry Ward Richardson, 'The Development of the British Dyestuffs Industry before 1939', in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 9 (1962).

[32] Ludwig Fritz Haber, *The Chemical Industry 1900–1939. International Growth and Technical Change*, Oxford 1971, pp. 145–148.

paying them and running his business autocratically. "The result was that in the nineties and, no doubt, later there were a good many industrial chemists in and around Manchester who had parted company with him. In Manchester scientific circles, which were as much German as English, they were known as 'die Gesellschaft der ehemaligen Levinsteiner' (the league of former Levinsteiners)."[33]

One of the firms supplying Levinstein with intermediaries was the Clayton Aniline Dye Company founded by Charles Dreyfus, a well-known name in Anglo-Jewish and Zionist history. He had come to Britain in 1869 aged twenty-one and after a period set up his company. He employed Chaim Weizmann as a research chemist (in an industry notoriously poor in research facilities). In Manchester he was chairman of the Zionist Organisation and it was he who introduced Chaim Weizmann to Arthur James Balfour. A further consequence of the Patent Law Amendment Act of 1907 was the decision by both German and Swiss dyestuffs manufacturers to obtain their own offshoots in Britain. Thus the Clayton company was sold to CIBA of Switzerland in 1911.

III

The nineteenth-century trickle of German Jews to Britain continued up to the outbreak of the First World War. One of them was Louis Mintz, born in Baden in 1908, who arrived in 1913. At the age of eighteen he set up his own clothing company, which after the Second World War, as the Selincourt group of companies, became a major feature of that industry.[34] Whether or not the growing international rivalry between the two countries adversely affected the small influx it is certainly unlikely that the Aliens Act of 1905 did so. This piece of legislation was clearly intended to curb the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe, although in the long run it was to be significant for many other people.

The twentieth-century history of German Jews in Britain is dominated by the consequences of the Nazi period, 1933–1945, but we need to begin before then, in the 1920s, with a small number of immigrants from German-speaking countries. One was Heinz Joseph Isner, who came to Britain in 1929 as a representative of a banking firm. He was eventually chairman of Mettoy, the toy manufacturing company, the makers, *inter alia*, of the Corgi series.[35] Another was Jules Thorn (1899–1980) who was born in Austria and came to Britain, after a period at the University of Vienna, initially as a representative of an Austrian company. He quickly established his own company, at first selling imported radio valves and light bulbs establishing, as was recorded in his obituary, "a pattern of profiting from imported technology and breaking into established markets". His third strategy was the acquisition of other companies. He set up his Electric Lamp Service Co. in 1928, his first radio retail shop for hiring out radios in 1931, and went into manufacturing by buying a factory producing electric lamps in 1932. Four years later he continued his policy of buying out existing enterprises by taking control of

[33] Reader, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
[34] *Jewish Chronicle*, 8th May 1987, obituary.
[35] *Jewish Chronicle*, 6th January 1984.

Ferguson Radio and in the same year renamed his company Thorn Electrical Industries becoming a public company.[36] Inevitably this activity, in particular his interests in the electric lamp business, brought him into conflict with the giants of the industry, especially GEC. It was a period when manufacturing companies often maintained a tight control over the retailers who could be prevented from selling the goods of competing manufacturers. Nevertheless Thorn's activities flourished, but more especially after the Second World War; in 1964, he was knighted.

Eric Weiss (1908–1990), worked for his uncle Dr. Ludwig Weiss, whose company (formed in 1924) produced a compound for use in foundries. Seven years later the uncle died and the factory closed during the banking crisis of that year. Eric Weiss, whose job had been to visit the company's agents in a number of countries, came to England in 1931 and decided to set up the business there. The firm's chemist was Dr. Kossy Strauss, who came over after the Nazi seizure of power. The company had been set up in January 1932 as Foundry Services Ltd, with a nominal capital of £500, half of that sum being provided by a local man. During the 1930s the company expanded to become Foseco Minsep, a significant force in the steel industry.

Michael Sobell from Galicia had been in the oil business, but in Britain went into the new wireless manufacturing industry. His company was MacMichael Radio, which until the war was on a small scale. Afterwards it developed into Radio and Allied Industries Ltd., which in 1961 merged with the large General Electric Company.[37]

IV

The most important period in the whole of this history was the 1930s, when large numbers of Jews arrived from German-speaking countries, and especially in 1938 and 1939, following the *"Kristallnacht"* and the Nazi take-over of Czechoslovakia. It is useful to distinguish between those who came in the early years of the Nazi era, often able to bring with them some capital as well as their own expertise and those who came towards the end of the 1930s, usually without funds. A further division may be made between those who settled in the depressed areas, often assisted by the Board of Trade, anxious to fulfil government policy of encouraging the establishment of new factories there, and those who settled elsewhere, in London and other towns and cities. Perhaps, too, a useful distinction can be drawn between those who in the first generation became businessmen in Britain, often transplanting their activities from the Continent, and those who were too young when they arrived or took up other jobs on arrival or served in the armed forces during the war. These people went into business after 1945. However, the following case studies are meant primarily as examples, mentioned here, as often as not, because of the availability of information rather than presented as "typical" or "representative".

Apart from the particular circumstances and arrangements of those who went to

[36] *The Times*, 15th December 1980, obituary.

[37] For Weiss and Sobell see Pollins, *Economic History*, *op. cit.* Further details of Foseco Minsep are in Josephs, *Survivors*, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–150; *The Times*, 12th April 1990, obituary (Weiss).

the depressed areas, we are necessarily dealing with the individual histories of those who settled in diverse parts of the country, each with his own story to tell.[38] The town of Leicester has never had a large Jewish community, but it was there that Mac Goldsmith (1902–1983) went when he arrived in 1937. A newspaper profile described him as "one of the European (car) industry's most distinguished innovators, a contemporary of men like Benz Daimler and Porsche, and a friend of Robert Bosch. inventor of the magneto".[39] He had a car component factory in Germany, Meccano GmbH, and he developed a method of bonding rubber to metal, which *inter alia* led to improved suspension and smoother running. He also developed an improved clutch which was produced in association with the (non-Jewish) Sachs family. Within a few years most German-made cars were using the clutch. The previously small Sachs enterprise now became a major producer of car components. Goldsmith left Germany after four years of the Nazi era and in Leicester, the location of the John Bull Rubber Company, formed a company Metalastik. A second enterprise of his was British Bundy Tubing, producing small-bore copper tubing. After the war his companies merged with the John Bull company and in 1958 his group joined Dunlop. Like other first-generation German-Jewish immigrants he had an active life outside business and engineering. He had farming interests, was a member of the Court of Leicester University, and was the University's treasurer, and had numerous interests within the Jewish community.[40]

It is clear from the examples already given, and others to come, that one feature of the German-Jewish immigrants, whether of the nineteenth or twentieth century, compared with the much larger numbers of Jews who came from Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and who formed the majority of Anglo-Jewry, was the existence of entrepreneurs in the broad fields of engineering, science and technology. Some were primarily businessmen but others were scientists and engineers. A few examples are: Fred Worms in light engineering in South Wales and elsewhere; Arthur Goldstein, born in Presov, an engineer, who established Warmex Ltd. in Cambridge, manufacturing electrical appliances; Ernest Foulkes, another engineer, who arrived in 1936 and formed a company making laboratory equipment; Arthur Ney and others formed Londex in 1936. One is not surprised to come across the names of inventors like Paul Eisler, involved in the origins of printed circuits; or of John (Kurt Joachim) Sommerfeld, a structural engineer, who invented the Sommerfeld Track, a temporary airfield surfacing, which was used by the Allied forces during the Second World War.[41] These details refer to those who arrived as adults and were able, in some cases after much difficulty, to transfer and use their expertise in Britain.

Werner E. Mosse, talking of the early stages of nineteenth-century industrialisation in Germany, refers to "what was probably the major field of Jewish (and, probably, not only Jewish) entrepreneurial activity at this time, the textile indus-

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[38] See, for example, Josephs, *Survivors, op. cit.*, chap. 13: 'The Industrialists'.

[39] *Sunday Times*, 5th March 1978.

[40] *Who's Who*, London annually; *Jewish Chronicle*, 20th May 1983, obituary.

[41] *Jewish Chronicle*, 6th April 1984, obituary (Goldstein); 1st July 1988 (Foulkes); 9th September 1983 (Eisler). *The Times*, 17th December 1984, obituary (Sommerfeld).

try".[42] It was to remain an important feature of German-Jewish economic activity in subsequent generations despite the growing emphasis on technical and scientific pursuits. There was a transfer of such interests to Britain in the 1930s (and in some cases a little earlier). It is interesting, for example, to note the transfer of a number of hosiery and knitwear enterprises (often suppliers of Marks & Spencer) from Chemnitz, the centre of German production, to Britain – not all of them Jewish, but including such family firms as of Djanogly's. This firm was to become a major East Midlands hosiery and knitwear business as the Nottingham Manufacturing Company. Yet another refugee, born in Austria, came into that industry later and through a different route. Henry Knobil began his career as an employee of Marks & Spencer, but he left in 1964 to form his own company. Six years later he went public as Texture Jersey plc with plants in Corby and Leicester.[43] While one might, as part of the clothing industry, refer to the transfer from Leipzig to London of the Jewish fur trade, more important was the refugee fashion trade. There is no doubt that there was a transfer from Berlin and Austria of a significant ladies' fashion industry. It is instructive, for example, to examine the many pages of advertisements in the tenth anniversary publication of the Association of Jewish Refugees, *Britain's New Citizens. The Story of the Refugees from Germany and Austria*, even though it was published in 1951 and the advertisements were by firms established after the war (as well as by non-refugee firms). A great variety of activities is represented; car hire, hotels, decorating, insurance broking, metal supplies, chemicals and many others. A large number were firms in the broad field of clothing and the manufacture of cloths of various kinds, natural and man-made. To them can be added the makers of hats, some of whom settled in Luton, a centre of the industry. One was Louis Sanders, "who started one of the largest millinery manufacturing and wholesale businesses in Luton". Another was Lutz Heymann, from Dresden, whose firm, Marida Ltd, became a major millinery company.[44]

Although some refugee firms kept going during the Second World War, it is obvious that internment on the one hand and war service on the other drastically intervened in this history. Many firms closed, some never to reopen, but occasionally a new business was started. One was the East and West Library, founded in 1942 by Dr. Bela Horovitz. He was born in Hungary in 1893, served in the Austrian army in the First World War, and in Vienna after the war set up the Phaidon Press. The East and West Library books were mainly on Jewish subjects and his Phaidon Press series, also published in Britain after the Second World War, were in the field of art history.[45]

The new "refugee" businesses and businessmen in the post-war era comprised some who had been adults when they arrived in the 1930s and others who had been children or teenagers. Since their history is so recent information about them is scattered, often in newspaper articles and features. Inevitably the data are patchy, some people and some companies receiving more attention than others, yet others

[42] Werner E. Mosse, *Jews in the German Economy. The German-Jewish Economic Élite 1820–1935*, Oxford 1987, p. 39.

[43] *Jewish Chronicle*, 27th November 1987.

[44] *Jewish Chronicle*, 5th November 1982: "Luton Jews Take Share in Top Honours".

[45] *Jewish Chronicle*, 31st August 1973; for publishers in general, see the contribution in this volume by Uwe Westphal.

are unknown. As before, I shall rely on case studies. One group who can be readily identified went into publishing. Walter Neurath (1901–1967) had been a publisher in Vienna and he and his wife established the firm of Thames & Hudson in 1949. "The Neuraths made T & H a synonym for beautifully-produced, illustrated books on the history of art, architecture, archaeology, photography and crafts."[46] André Deutsch, born in Budapest, was in Austria at the time of the *Anschluß*, and came to Britain in 1939. After internment he went into publishing using the imprint Allan Wingate. He set up his own company, under his own name, in 1952.[47] A third newcomer was Ernest Hecht, born 1931 in Czechoslovakia, the son of a garment manufacturer, the family arriving in Britain in 1939. He set up Souvenir Press in 1953.[48]

Three other names need to be mentioned, George Weidenfeld, Paul Hamlyn, and Robert Maxwell. The first, now a life peer, has kept his company independent in an era of massive publishing company take-overs. The other two have been active in the merger field. Robert Maxwell, born 1923 as Ludvik Hoch, the "eldest son of a Ruthenian labourer who had no money at all", arrived in Britain after the fall of France and, after war service, set up Pergamon Press. After many vicissitudes, including some set-backs, he took over the British Printing Corporation in 1981 and Mirror Group Newspapers in 1984. His Maxwell Communications Corporation became one of the major international media companies.[49] The final man – Paul Hamlyn – also became a publishing tycoon. He was born in 1926 in Berlin and arrived in Britain at the age of seven. Among his employments was a period of three years as a "Bevin Boy" during the war. His first publishing company was established in 1950 and this was sold to the International Publishing Corporation in 1964, of which he was a director in charge of book publishing. After six years he left and in 1971 he formed the Octopus company together with the Mandarin company, the latter for the production of Octopus books in the Far East. Among other innovations it produced books sold through Marks & Spencer's and Sainsbury's stores. In the 1980s the group participated in the numerous take-overs in the industry, a major coup being its absorption in 1985 of the old-established firm of William Heinemann.[50]

V

If the question to be considered is "what was the contribution to the development of British industry of Jews from German-speaking countries?" the counter-factual approach would start by re-phrasing the question. It would become "what would have been British industrial development in the absence of German-speaking

[46] *The Bookseller*, 16th November 1985, p. 2024, review of Trevor Craker, *Opening Accounts and Closing Memories. Thirty Years with Thames and Hudson*, London 1985.

[47] Michael Geare, 'The Hungarian Factor', in *The Author*, Spring 1985, pp. 10–11.

[48] *Jewish Chronicle*, 18th March 1960: 'Young Man Makes Good'.

[49] Joe Haines, *Maxwell*, London 1988.

[50] 'Prospectus of Octopus Publishing Group plc, Offer for Sale of Ordinary Shares', *The Times*, 18th April 1983; newspaper reports following the acquisition of Heinemann on 29th July 1985, e. g., *The Times*, 30th July 1985.

Jews?" That (theoretical) calculation having been made it would be subtracted from a figure standing for the actual position of British industry. The difference would be the immigrants' contribution.

There are those who object to this method of historical study because they cannot approve of theoretical history. How can one know what would have happened to the dyestuffs industry if Levinstein and Dreyfus had not come to Britain? Would others have taken their place? Even if one does accept the counter-factual approach, there is the insurmountable problem of the lack of data. It is difficult, in Anglo-Jewish history, to obtain a list of relevant names – let alone the details of their business undertakings. And we tend to know more about successes than failures. We know something, it is true, about those who went out of business through merging with another company; we know something of those whose business life ended or was interrupted by internment or war service; but those who failed are seldom publicised.

Thus a quantitative statement cannot be made. Instead we are left with qualitative judgements and opinions. Jews from German-speaking countries have clearly made an impact in a number of fields. One can identify the nineteenth-century textile industries; parts of the chemical industry; modern publishing; the clothing trade, especially women's fashions. While one notices a continuation of "traditional" Jewish trades, the continental influence can be seen in the scientific and technical pursuits, which were not usual among Anglo-Jewry generally. It would be interesting to study the types of economic activities of the second and third generations, but that is beyond the scope of this paper.

HERBERT LOEBL

Refugees from the Third Reich and Industry in the Depressed Areas of Britain

Introduction

The contribution of waves of refugees – as distinct from individual immigrants – to the trade and industry of Britain has a long history. As far back as the early part of the twelfth century, Flemish peasant weavers took refuge in the Welsh valleys. Their influence on the development of the English cloth industry lasted for centuries. Ever since then Britain has provided a haven for refugees from religious or political persecution.

There were times when the trickle became a flood: in the reign of Elizabeth I, a large number of Flemish and Walloon weavers fled from persecution by the Duke of Alva and were received with open arms. A century later, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused the exodus from France of some 300,000 Huguenots, of whom about a third found their way to Britain. This movement exercised an important influence on British industry.[1] Late in the nineteenth century, a relatively large number of Russian Jews fleeing from persecution came to this country. Some of these – and their descendants, too – created significant industries.

It was probably not generally appreciated at the time that a large proportion of the refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria admitted to Britain before the last war were manufacturers. Austin Stevens has examined the records of the Aliens Tribunals set up at the beginning of the war with the remit to identify and confirm the status of refugees among those of enemy nationality in this country.[2] He found that one third of all adult male refugees from Germany and Austria – probably in excess of 4,000 – had been manufacturers in their countries of origin. The proportion of manufacturers among the pre-war refugees – mainly Jewish – from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and small numbers from other countries is not known because they did not have to appear before the Tribunals (although Hungarians became enemy aliens later in the war), but it may also have been considerable.

The significant representation of manufacturers in the refugee population highlights the degree of selection forced on the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, both by the refugee policy of the British government and the undertaking given by the representatives of British Jewry in 1933 – when the size of the problem was grossly underestimated – that no refugee would become a charge on the public purse.[3] This undertaking had to be renounced in 1938, when the funds of the refugee organisations were beginning to run out and, with the exception of some specific

[1] C. C. Salway, *Refugees and Industry*, London 1941, p. 10.

[2] Austin Stevens, *The Dispossessed. German Refugees in Britain*, London 1975, p. 293.

[3] A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933–1939*, London 1973, pp. 30, 158.

groups, those seeking admission were henceforth obliged to obtain financial guarantees from private sources. Apart from refugees with families and friends, manufacturers and other businessmen were more likely than others to have connections – not necessarily in Britain – willing to provide such guarantees. If, nevertheless, only a relatively small percentage of the former manufacturers intended to or were able to restart manufacturing – at least immediately after arrival – it was due to a number of factors, of which the principal ones were lack of capital, lack of products for the British market, and perhaps, lack of courage to start all over again. Many of the former manufacturers were no longer young. Nevertheless, by 1947 the number of manufacturing firms established by refugees was about 1,000.[4] It is probable that the majority, perhaps even the large majority, were founded by refugees from the *Reich*.

The contribution to the British economy of manufacturing firms established by or with the participation of refugees from the Nazis as a whole has never been studied and would now be a formidable task. For reasons which will be discussed below, the works of the majority of the pre-war refugee firms were located in the depressed areas of Britain. A systematic study of their impact in the former Northern region of England, which contained some of the most depressed areas in the country, was undertaken by the present author.[5] The pre-war policy resulting in this settlement, however, applied equally to all depressed areas in the country.

Before discussing this aspect of the economic history of Jewish (and, it must be said, a number of non-Jewish) refugees in this country, it is necessary to examine British refugee policy in the context of the government's response to the pre-war economic and social problems of the depressed areas.

The Political and Economic Background

It may be recalled that the British government reacted to the early outrages of the Nazi regime by confirming the very tight immigration policy introduced in 1920. The government hoped that this would result in the admission of only a small number of refugees.[6]

While this restrictive policy continued up to the German annexation of Austria in March 1938 – and was eased further following the events in the *Reich* on 9th/10th November 1938 – the Cabinet had laid down in April 1933, a few months after the start of Nazi rule in Germany, that it was in the public interest to admit Jewish refugees who had achieved some distinction, as well as manufacturers and export traders.[7] In a period of continuing high unemployment and latent antisemitism, the admission of refugees became a controversial issue from the beginning. Nevertheless, the potential benefits to Britain were pointed out by some politicians. Sir John Simon, the Foreign Secretary, for example, claimed "to belong to the school which

[4] 'What has the Refugee Industrialist Done?', in *The Director*, 1 (November 1947), pp. 41–44.

[5] Herbert Loebl, *Government-financed Factories and the Establishment of Industries by Refugees in the Special Areas of the North of England, 1937–1961*, M. Phil. thesis, University of Durham 1978.

[6] Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter PRO), FO 371/16756, C 7075/6839/18, J. V. Perowne, memorandum, cited in Sherman, *op. cit.*

[7] PRO, Cabinet 27 (33), 8th April 1933, cited in Sherman, *op. cit.*

held that the admission of people of good character who bring their trade and experience with them is a gain and not a loss to this country".[8] Some economists, notably Sir Norman Angell and Dorothy F. Buxton, argued that "considerable immigration at this juncture would be of great benefit to this country" on more general grounds.[9]

A small number of refugee manufacturers were admitted to Britain from the beginning of Nazi rule, but the first – if indirect – invitation to refugee manufacturers – rather than foreign companies, which were always welcome – was issued by Lord Londonderry, the Lord Privy Seal, in a debate in the House of Lords on 31st July 1935,[10] when he announced that "the government would place no obstacles in the way of any individual who might wish to set up a factory in an area of high unemployment".

The distinction just made is an important one: foreign companies had been setting up branch factories in order to overcome the tariff walls erected by Britain in the early 1930s. Those of their directors and key staff who were obliged to reside in Britain held passports from countries to which they could return at any time. Refugees could not, at least not in the foreseeable future. They were subjected, therefore, to the full rigours of the Aliens Acts. Lord Londonderry's statement has to be understood in this context. It might also be mentioned here that the term "refugee" hardly ever occurred in government parlance or documents in the early years after 1933. They were referred to as "foreign nationals" or "aliens".

The policy towards refugee manufacturers outlined here must be seen not only in the context of the world-wide business recession sparked off by the Wall Street crash in 1929. Even before, the secular decline of the heavy industries in Britain had resulted in higher unemployment in the areas where these industries predominated than before the First World War. The superposition of the business recession upon secular decline resulted in disastrous levels of unemployment and social distress in large parts of the North East of England, West Cumberland, South Wales and the South West of Scotland, as well as in other areas containing the basic exporting industries. What was worse, the relatively rapid recovery of the economy between 1932 and 1934 had largely by-passed the particularly depressed areas, so that the differences between their rates of unemployment and the national average widened compared with 1929. Some structural changes highly unfavourable to the main industries of these areas had evidently taken place during the recession.

The scale and complexity of the problem were unparalleled in British economic history and the government did not know, within the accepted economic tenets, how to deal with the situation. The fact that these areas needed new types of industries – and that they would have to be introduced largely from outside, was recognised by the Economic Advisory Council of the Cabinet as early as 1931[11] and

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[8] *Hansard*, 5th series, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, vol. 276, col. 2810.

[9] Norman Angell and Dorothy F. Buxton, *You and the Refugee. The Morals and Economics of the Problem*, Harmondsworth 1939, p. 11.

[10] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Lords, vol. 98, col. 999.

[11] PRO, CAB 58/2, meeting of the Council on 12th February 1931; see also PRO, CAB 58/12, ECA (H) series, 136; memorandum by H. D. Henderson, CAB 53/14, ECA (S) series, 5.

even earlier in some of the older industrial areas.[12] But ever since the beginning of the 1920s, the development of the newer industries had taken place mainly in the Greater London area, and to a lesser extent in the Home Counties and West Midlands.

In 1931 Attlee had written to the Council: "It may be true that London is the biggest market and that industrialists wish to locate there, but the logic of this is absurd. It is impossible to countenance indefinitely the growth of London."[13] But the direction of industry, or even the closing of particular areas to new industrial developments, was politically inconceivable at the time. *Laissez faire* economics in Britain continued almost up to the last war.

Nevertheless, demands for a policy to promote a more even distribution of new industries in the country were voiced with growing insistence by politicians, economists, local development agencies and private pressure groups.[14] By 1935, the location of industry had become a political issue.

The government did what it could to persuade British manufacturers to build or rent factories in the depressed areas, but industrialists were not convinced that these areas, with their tradition of heavy industry, would be suitable for the new light industries – the location of the mainly affected areas on the periphery of the country quite apart. British industry thus ignored the government's entreaties and continued to expand in the South, and particularly in the Greater London area.

The peak of the recession had passed when public opinion, aroused by a series of articles in *The Times* of 19th, 20th and 21st March 1934 on conditions in County Durham, obliged the government to introduce a modest measure, the first Special Areas Act, at the end of 1934. The Act, which would be administered by two Commissioners, designated areas in England and Wales and in Scotland where special – but severely circumscribed – help would become available. Within the limits defined by the Act, the Commissioners were encouraged to experiment and to suggest ways of making the Areas more attractive to new industries. It was a belated – and reluctant – recognition by the government that some parts of the country were incapable of generating economic recovery without assistance from the State.

In May 1935, the Commissioner for the Special Areas of England and Wales wrote to 5,000 British firms inviting them to consider setting up factories in one of the Special Areas. Of the 200 which replied, only twelve agreed to consider the claims of the Areas.[15] It may be noted that although the negative results of the Commissioner's initiative were not published until February 1936, they were known in general terms just before Lord Londonderry's invitation. The implication of that invitation was that refugee manufacturers should establish their works in parts of the country unattractive to British industry.

The most fruitful result of the first Special Areas Act – even if unforeseen in the Act – was the construction at public expense by Industrial Estates Companies of –

[12] For the origin of the Tyneside Industrial Development Conference in 1926 see, Tyneside Industrial Development Board, *Tyneside Story*, Cheltenham–London 1950.

[13] PRO, CAB 58/12, ECA (H) 138, memorandum by C. R. Attlee, 9th February 1931, point 9.

[14] Examples of the latter were: The Next Five Years Group and, later, Political and Economic Planning.

[15] Commissioner for the Special Areas of England and Wales (hereafter CSAEW), *Second Report*, Cmd. 5090, London 1936, pp. 4–6, paras. 10–17.

mainly small – factories on three major industrial estates in the North East of England, South Wales and the Clyde Valley of Scotland, which would be available for rent. The government had agreed to the use of the Special Areas Fund for this purpose at the end of October 1935, a few weeks before a General Election. The evidence that this apparent departure from its non-interventionist policies was accepted for electoral reasons is now quite conclusive.[16]

The first and largest of the government-financed industrial estates would be built at Team Valley, Gateshead-on-Tyne. In his *Second Report*, of February 1936, the Commissioner for England and Wales justified his decision to authorise this estate, which was widely regarded as an experiment. In the same report, he made reference to people who "... owing to unsettled conditions abroad" might consider establishing factories in Britain,[17] and he confirmed that "he was exercising persuasion on behalf of the Special Areas". It was almost certainly the first time that the potential of refugees for the Areas was referred to in an official document.

The idea of steering foreign manufacturing businesses into depressed areas had been put forward even before the government had agreed to build factories at public expense. In his maiden speech in the House of Lords on 31st July 1935, Lord Portal had asked:

> "Would it not be possible, when foreign firms come over to this country, not only to suggest to them but to make them put down their factories in some of these areas where people are out of work?",

and he had predicted, fairly accurately, in the event, as far as refugees were concerned: "your Lordships may be perfectly certain that if a foreigner wants to come and produce in this country, he will produce practically wherever you put him".[18]

Although opinion in the Labour Party was by no means unanimous on the issue of the location of industry – particularly because it was recognised that the implementation of such a policy would require inducements to private industry – up to then support for a statutory policy had come mainly from Labour politicians and economists. From early 1936, however, a consensus was developing with sections of the Conservative Party, although this did not necessarily extend to the means or the degree of control.

The level of support for a location policy on the government side emerged in the debate on the *Second Report* of the Commissioner for England and Wales in the House of Commons on 2nd March 1936. The Conservative Viscount Wolmer, for example, announced the death of *laissez faire*, which, he claimed, "had been abandoned by all the parties, even the Liberal Party", and proposed a curb on the growth of industries in and around London.[19] If, like Lord Portal eight months earlier, he, too, suggested a location of industry policy for foreigners only, it was probably because he felt that more could not be achieved at the time. Indeed, the government

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[16] Herbert Loebl, *Government Factories and the Origins of British Regional Policy, 1934–1948*, Aldershot 1988, p. 75.

[17] CSAEW, *op. cit.*, p. 17, para. 59.

[18] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Lords, vol. 98, cols. 977–978.

[19] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 309, col. 1114.

confirmed a week later that it was opposed to any statutory location policy.[20] The government would continue to rely on "example and influence".[21]

Nevertheless, the government accepted a resolution proposed by the Conservative MP Mr. Boothby on 11th March 1936 that

"H. M. Government should endeavour to discourage the undue concentration of modern industries in the Southern Counties and to encourage new industries, where practicable, to establish themselves in the older regions."[22]

This was to be the resolution most nearly proposing a location of industry policy before the war.

The resolution was followed up immediately by the Ministry of Labour – which was responsible for the Special Areas – in a letter to the Home Office: "The needs of public policy are sufficient to justify any steps that may be practicable to induce foreign firms to establish themselves in areas of high unemployment."[23] The author of the letter was aware that it would not be possible under the Aliens Acts to go as far as refusing admission to an alien solely on account of the proposed location of his works, but he could see no good reason "why advantage should not be taken of the available powers to persuade employers in the desired direction". The Ministry of Labour proposed, therefore, that in response to any enquiry by a foreigner regarding permission to come here and set up a factory,

"the earliest opportunity should be taken of raising doubt whether permission will be given, if the foreigner proposes to establish his factory in London or the Home Counties... Action along these lines, at any rate in the early stages, would not commit the Secretary of State in any way."

The Ministry conceded that "there may be a few cases where the employer... refuses to accept the advice given, and it may be that in such an event you might not be able to withhold the grant of admission". It expected, however, that "the general policy will become known and that foreigners will be induced to act accordingly without any pressure or persuasion".

By any standards, this was an extraordinary letter. It proposed that the Home Office should come close to pretending to powers it did not possess; that the pretence should stop short of embarrassing the Home Secretary, but that the Department would have to give way if any foreigner dared to call the bluff.

From an internal memorandum of 14th March 1936[24] – and letters to the Ministry of Labour and the Board of Trade of 31st March 1936 enclosing a draft reply to alien enquirers[25] – it is evident that the Home Office agreed with the proposal by the Ministry of Labour. Indeed, it went even further: "in a proportion of cases, it should be possible to bring definite pressure to bear upon foreign applicants".

The Board of Trade adopted a more cautious line.[26] While it agreed that "peaceful

[20] *Hansard, op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 309, col. 2203, Edward Leslie Burgin, Parliamentary Secretary at the Board of Trade.

[21] *Hansard, op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 310, cols. 1377–1378, Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour.

[22] *Hansard, op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 309, col. 2156–2158.

[23] PRO, HO ET 1315/1936, 11th March 1936, Besso (Ministry of Labour) to Sir Ernest Holderness (Home Office).

[24] PRO, HO 30/6/41, 13th March 1936.

[25] PRO, HO 30/6/41, 31st March 1936, Cooper (Home Office), to Besso.

[26] PRO, HO IM 995/36, 15th April 1936, Fennelly (Board of Trade) to Cooper.

persuasion might be used", it warned that this should not be carried too far, "because, as you know, the government are not committed to a policy of locating industry. This was made quite clear (by the Parliamentary Secretary) in the debate on 11 March 1936."[27] In view of this statement, the Board of Trade evidently felt that the Home Office draft had gone too far. The Board also believed that the Ministry of Labour was too optimistic: "our experience has been that in the great majority of cases, the foreign applicants have shown a very strong preference (generally based on grounds which, on the whole, are not unreasonable) for the Greater London Area". In its own proposals for a revised admission procedure for foreign manufacturers, the Board suggested that applicants should be asked at least to "*explore* throroughly the possibilities of locating in one of the older industrial areas".

The outcome of these discussions was a compromise: the standard letter to applicants agreed between the government departments concerned drew attention to the Parliamentary resolution of 11th March 1936 and added that "the question of the locality in which it is proposed to establish the enterprise will be considered, among other matters, in consultation with the Ministry of Labour and the Board of Trade".[28]

Although the Home Office lacked the powers to make the admission of refugee manufacturers dependent on any particular location, it found a way of steering them towards the Special and other depressed areas. It simply let it be known – through the diplomatic services abroad – that residence permits (and, after the annexation of Austria in March 1938, entry visas) for those willing to settle in areas of high unemployment would be issued with a minimum of delay, while applications of those opting for the Greater London Area or the Home Counties might be subjected to lengthy enquiries!

The Home Office confirmed the policy in a letter to the Commissioner for the Special Areas of England and Wales on 16th June 1936. While not making "a definite stipulation" that the admission of a refugee manufacturer would be granted only if he placed his works in a particular area, the Home Office was sure that,

> "as time goes on, it will be recognised that permission to start in this country is granted more readily if the applicant makes it clear that he is prepared to set up in a Special Area or in a part away from London and the Home Counties".[29]

The Home Office thus became the first government department to attempt the implementation of a location of industry policy, some eight years before such a policy was adopted by the war-time Coalition Government and enshrined in the Distribution of Industry Act in June 1945. The pre-war exercise was a good example of the way in which significant new policies are sometimes derived from existing statutes by administrative action rather than new legislation.

Initially, however, the 1936 procedure was not effective. Few of the would-be refugee manufacturers had sufficient financial resources to build or buy existing factories; and since – in contrast with the Greater London Area – there were hardly

[27] *Ibid.*, debate quoted in note 19.
[28] Copy of letter and questionnaire is in Loebl, *Government-financed Factories*, *op. cit.*, Appendix 15.
[29] PRO, HO 30/6/41, 16th June 1936, Cooper to Boyd (CSAEW).

any buildings to rent suitable for light manufacture in the Special Areas, the scope for steering refugees into the Areas was limited.

Thus the relatively small number of refugee manufacturers who were admitted to Britain before the spring of 1937 were able to choose – if not as freely as British and foreign firms – where to establish their works, subject only to local planning regulations. The fact that they had still been able to transfer at least some of their assets to Britain had not only facilitated their settlement, but enabled them to maintain a limited negotiating position *vis-à-vis* the authorities on issues like location.

By contrast, those who applied for entry after May 1937 found themselves under increasing pressure, as we shall see, to settle in the Special Areas. The onset of this pressure coincided with the completion of the first government-financed factories at Team Valley. Factories on government industrial estates at Treforest near Cardiff and at Hillington near Glasgow would be ready some months later. Factories built or conversions of older buildings undertaken by the Commissioners on smaller sites under the powers they had acquired by the 1937 Special Areas (Amendment) Act would be provided on demand.

The availability of factories certainly enabled the Home Office to press the 1936 policy line more firmly. At the same time, a marked change occurred in its attitude towards refugee manufacturers: where it had previously merely reacted to applications for admission, it now began to examine ways of encouraging them for the benefit of the Special Areas. But the Home Office was well aware that, as a department, it was not well placed to achieve very much in this direction. Under the procedure adopted in June 1936, the Ministry of Labour was responsible for drawing the attention of the refugee manufacturers to the desirability of placing their works in the older industrial areas. The Board of Trade advised on the suitability of a proposed venture and, in particular, whether there was room for an additional manufacturer of a particular product. If the advice of the Board of Trade was negative, the Home Office was unable, under the Aliens Acts, to indicate to an applicant in what direction he might more usefully find an opening for his capital and experience.

In February 1937, the Home Office entered into a correspondence with the Commissioners for the Special Areas:

> "Our experience during the past four years is that our present practice in dealing with applications made to us... by foreign manufacturers is inevitably negative in character, because we are not in a position to offer positive advice and vexatious delays are bound to result when we are not in a position to agree to the proposition before us."[30]

The Home Office proposed, therefore, to put applicants in direct communication with the Commissioners, who would be able "to offer advice and, where deemed proper, assistance". If the Commissioners agreed to the proposed procedure, "this might lead to the establishment of useful industries in areas where they are badly needed". So keen had the Home Office become to help establish refugee manufacturers in the Special Areas that even the lack of capital was no longer to be a bar to admission. The Commissioners were encouraged to use their influence in appropri-

[30] PRO, BT 104 DA/1301, 13th February 1937, Cooper to Boyd.

ate cases with the recently established providers of capital for enterprises in the Special Areas:

"If the foreigner is not in possession of sufficient capital to finance the enterprise suggested to him by the Commissioners, or, as frequently happens in the case of Germans, is unable to realise his capital immediately from abroad, the Special Areas Reconstruction Association or the Nuffield Fund might be prepared to assist him."

Following this correspondence, a change in the 1936 procedure for the admission of refugee manufacturers was devised, which included the Commissioners, as the Home Office had proposed.

At the same time, the Commercial Counsellors at British embassies and the consulates in Europe began to assist in the search for potential manufacturers for the Special Areas among the threatened people. They co-operated with the officers of the local and regional development organisations of the Areas and the sales managers of the Trading Estate Companies, who paid a number of visits to Europe. From 1938, the relevant government departments and the Special Areas organisations worked closely together to promote the settlement of refugee manufacturers in the Areas.

In the *Reich*, the arrangements made had to be strictly confidential. The Nazi authorities were doing everything possible to stop businesses from moving abroad, i. e. to prevent *Industrieverschleppung*, particularly of firms with export connections. Before receiving permission to leave, emigrants were obliged to give an indication of the kind of work they proposed to take up in their countries of exile. The German authorities knew very well, however, that anyone admitted to Britain would be permitted to take up any paid employment only in exceptional circumstances, yet they seem to have accepted the fictitious replies from prospective manufacturers. Under the circumstances, contacts with British consular officials and representatives from the Special Areas had to be circumspect. The diplomatic bag ensured confidentiality of papers.

A particularly delicate question related to capital. Would-be refugee manufacturers had to show that they would have available in Britain the minimum means necessary to set up factories and to maintain their families until their businesses could support them. Yet the transfer of funds had become virtually impossible after 1936 and the penalties for illegal transfer were so draconian that few people were willing to risk it. Some devised elaborate schemes to transfer funds through export transactions, but this was possible only in the smallest firms where the owner handled all the books and correspondence, so that there was no danger of being given away by an employee. Many applicants were able to show that funds were offered by friends or relations abroad. The problem appears to have been handled with flexibility by the consular offices and the Home Office.

By the spring of 1938, conditions in the *Reich* (and in some adjoining countries) began to deteriorate so rapidly that even those who had felt relatively secure up to then began to make increasingly frantic efforts to get out as soon as possible. The success of the policy adopted by the Home Office dates from this period. Small wonder that all the surviving refugee manufacturers interviewed – or their descendants – were under the impression that their admissions had been conditional on a

location in the Special Areas. The fact that their letters of admission, so far as they were still available, always specified where any works were to be established, strengthened the impression; in the cases studied by the author, this was always in one of the Special Areas of the North.

The relative ease with which admission to Britain was now available for refugee manufacturers willing to settle in one of the Special Areas – or in other places suffering serious unemployment – posed its own problems for the diplomatic services in Nazi Europe in the desperate days after 10th November 1938, as is evident from a letter written by Thomas Frame, of the Commercial Department at the British Embassy in Berlin, to the secretary of the Tyneside Industrial Development Board:

"The Jewish Problem here is too big to be dealt with only by bringing people to British Special Areas. Only a handful of people can come on such schemes, but as at present it seems to be the only way of getting into England, hundreds of the poor people are imagining that they can manufacture something in England."[31]

In the event, the doors to Britain actually opened more widely after the events in the *Reich* on 9th/10th November 1938. In the nine months before the war, the number of German and Austrian refugees admitted, including those awaiting visas for the USA and other countries, but excluding unaccompanied children under the age of eighteen, increased from 11,000 to approximately 44,000.[32] It is believed that the number of refugees admitted from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland also increased sharply during this period. Furthermore, many additional visas issued in the twelve months to 8th May 1939 to refugees from Europe appear not to have been used.[33]

Within the flood of applications being processed by the Home Office, no special priority was given to manufacturers, although the procedure was more complex and time-consuming in their case than for refugees in general. This led to delays which were seen as unhelpful in the Special Areas. Following representations by the Commissioner for England and Wales, a further change in the admission procedure was effected in February 1939 – rather late in the day – by the establishment of a separate branch at the Home Office dealing exclusively with industrial enquiries from aliens.[34]

Evidence that the pre-war policy was effective in steering refugee manufacturers into the Special Areas was confirmed by the figures given by Sir Samuel Hoare, the

[31] The letter is in private hands.

[32] The figures quoted by ministers in the House of Commons are confusing because they are not uniformly based. Sir John Anderson, the Home Secretary, stated on 1st March 1940, i. e. six months after the entry of refugees ceased, that there were 55,457 Austrian and German persons classified by the tribunals as refugees from Nazi oppression, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 357, col. 2410. This figure will have included refugees on transit visas, many of whom re-emigrated during the war. Their number is not known. On 30th January 1945, Herbert Morrison, the then Home Secretary, stated that 40,021 persons of German nationality were registered with the police, "the vast majority of these persons are, of course, refugees from Nazi oppression", *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 407, col. 1305. Pressed by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, MP two weeks later, Mr. Morrison confirmed that the figure of 40,021 did not include children under the age of sixteen on 31st December 1944, nor members of the armed forces.

[33] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 226–227.

[34] Commissioner (Emerson) to the secretary of North Eastern Trading Estates Ltd., Tyne and Wear County Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1762/5.

Home Secretary, on 6th February 1939, when he announced that 200 of the 300 manufacturing firms established by refugees up to then were located in the depressed areas.[35] It is possible that these numbers included ventures agreed by the Home Office which had not yet started operations. No reliable later pre-war figures have been found – partly because firms employing less than twenty-five people were not included in the statistics of the Ministry of Labour, but as the majority of refugees arrived in the six months before the war, the number of manufacturing firms in the Special and other areas of high unemployment is likely to have increased – as well as the proportion of all refugee firms, since permission to establish works in the Greater London area appears to have been granted only in exceptional cases after the beginning of 1939. Thus, although there were important refugee foundations in other parts of the country, the pre-war establishment of manufacturing firms by refugees from Hitler's Europe, in terms of numbers, took place largely in the Special Areas.

This settlement involved refugees in a major socio-economic experiment: the industrial restructuring of depressed areas by government investment in factories available for rent. In May 1937, the experimental armoury was strengthened by the Special Areas (Amendment) Act, which introduced certain financial inducements in places with particularly serious structural difficulties. The relevance of this to a small number of refugee ventures in the North East will be discussed below.

The pre-war experience of refugee industries – among others – in the Special Areas confirmed that labour was adaptable, that the infrastructure required for light industry was adequate and that the distance from the major markets was no insuperable bar to success. Refugees thus helped to prove the viability of light industries in the Special Areas. Fogarty believes that this was a necessary demonstration before British industry could be persuaded to change its negative attitude to the Areas.[36]

The significance of the pre-war government-financed factories in terms of new employment – particularly male employment – and in assisting the restructuring of the Special Areas was almost certainly overestimated at the time.[37] Nevertheless, the experiment was sufficiently successful to persuade the post-war policy makers to rely on a greatly expanded programme of government-financed factory construction as one of the principal means of restructuring the Areas, as Douglas Jay – who was responsible for designing the policy instruments in the last year of the war – has confirmed.[38]

Refugee industries thus helped to prepare the ground for a vast increase of light industries in the Areas in the post-war period, when they were extended and renamed Development Areas.

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[35] Samuel Hoare, *Refugees. Their Contribution to English National Life*, London 1939 (available on microfilm in the Wiener Library).

[36] M. P. Fogarty, *Prospects of the Industrial Areas of Great Britain*, London 1945, p. 178.

[37] Loebl, *Government Factories*, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 310.

[38] Douglas Jay, *Change and Fortune. A Political Record*, London 1980, p. 112.

Industries Founded by Refugees in the North of England 1937–1961

Pre-war Foundations

The study of refugee industries referred to above covered a geographical area which, up to 1972, was designated the Northern region of England.[39] The study was undertaken between 1974 and 1978. The period studied extended over the twenty-five years from 1937–1961. The time span will be discussed below. The starting date was chosen because no refugee industries were discovered in the region before 1937. In that year, a single firm started operations in the Middlesborough area. It was an a-typical case, because the activities of the firm concerned were related to the steel industry; the location was unconnected, therefore, with the settlement policy of the Home Office.

The first results of that policy in the region became apparent in 1938. Three of the first few firms to arrive in the North East, however, were not accommodated on the Team Valley estate, but on so-called "outside sites", i. e. in factories which were being built for them in two particularly depressed places by the Commissioner for the Special Areas under the powers he had acquired by the 1937 Act. These firms (and another which was established a little later) were relatively large ventures; two had started manufacture in London, so that their moves to the North East were probably determined by the factories and financial inducements they were offered.

Because there was no single place in West Cumberland large enough to warrant the construction of a trading estate on the Team Valley pattern, factories were constructed there – and old buildings converted – under the 1937 Act. But the Act did not permit the construction of any factory until a tenant had been obtained. Thus although the first refugee industrialist had arrived in West Cumberland in 1937, he was unable to start manufacture until late in 1938.

The importance of refugee industries in the Special Areas of the North has already been discussed in general terms. So far as the Team Valley estate is concerned, it is possible to be specific: the twenty-one refugee firms which had rented factories there before the War – and had actually taken up tenancies – represented 27% of all manufacturing tenants, though less than this percentage in terms of floor area occupied (one of the twenty-one had gone into liquidation in May 1939).[40] At least fifteen others, who had signed preliminary undertakings to rent factories in the six months before the war, were evidently people who had to get out of the *Reich* but failed to take up their tenancies.[41] It is probable that the majority of these had left it too late to escape before Britain closed the doors at the onset of the war. In addition, seven pre-war refugee firms in the North East and one in West Cumberland were not accommodated in government-financed factories. The latter, which became the largest refugee venture in the North, started business in the garage of a private house.

The large majority of refugees who started manufacturing firms in the North

[39] See note 5 above. This region comprised the pre-war counties of Northumberland, Newcastle, Durham, the North Riding of Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland. Cumberland and Westmorland were amalgamated in 1972 to form the county of Cumbria. In 1984, Cumbria was attached to the North West region, while the rest became the new North East region.

[40] For a list of firms see, Loebl, *Government Factories*, *op. cit.*, Appendix 18, pp. 369–370.

[41] *Ibid.*, Appendix 14, p. 362.

before the war did so with small resources. So small, indeed, that it is difficult to understand how they survived and prospered, some outstandingly so, particularly when temporary internment is taken into account, which affected those with German and Austrian passports, many of them at a critical stage in the establishment of their businesses. Except for firms with defence contracts, the position was made more difficult by war conditions, such as the shortage of materials, the ban on the production of many types of goods, the closing of markets abroad and, in some cases, the requisitioning of factories. With the exception of a few firms engaged on large-scale war work, for example, the manufacture of fire-fighting pumps and army uniforms, most refugee firms achieved maturity only after the war. It might also be mentioned, that there were at least six refugee specialists in the North East who set up either new product divisions within British companies, or new companies on their behalf before the war. Their activities have not been covered in this essay.

Post-war Foundations

While it was not possible for refugees of enemy nationality – i. e. Germans, Austrians and, later, Hungarians – to set up businesses during the war, new industries were established in or transferred to Development Areas after it by those who had arrived as refugees before – and a few, during and after – the war.

Among the manufacturing firms established by such people, the following main groups may be discerned:

– firms founded by a second wave of refugee entrepreneurs who had been unable, for one reason or another, to establish their works before the war. This group included those who had served in the British or Allied armies. In some cases, the decisions to locate in Development Areas of the North were made because of the presence of friends who had established manufacturing businesses there.

– second-generation starts, i. e. the foundation of manufacturing firms by refugees who had arrived as children before the last war. This group includes sons of refugee manufacturers who had established themselves in the region before the war. By 1961, this generation had entered its most active years. Few manufacturing firms appear to have been founded after that year by those who came as refugees, and this explains the time span of the study referred to above.

– a few firms founded by people who had escaped from France in 1940 or arrived after the war, including one survivor of Auschwitz. This group also includes two firms started before the end of the war by refugees of Allied nationalities.

– public location of industries policies, which applied to British industry as a whole.

The post-war refugee firms faced none of the obstacles experienced by the pre-war founders, except in so far as they were new starts; most of them also began with small resources.

From the regional point of view, the post-war refugee firms were no less important than the pre-war ventures, at least in the North East.

Origins of Founders

The case histories forming part of the study referred to above reveal the wide range of backgrounds and experience of the founders. Their nationalities, however, do not always indicate their origins for the purpose of this essay. Thus, for example, two refugees of Czech nationality had previously been manufacturers in Germany. A number of other Czech nationals had come from that part of Slovakia which had been Hungarian until after the First World War and again from 1938. At least one manufacturer with a Polish passport had been born in Germany and another owned a factory there. The principal founder of a major post-war manufacturing firm in the North East was of Russian-Jewish origin, but had studied in Germany before arriving in Britain. Another Russian Jew had transferred his works from France to West Cumberland before the war. Thus only the case histories provide a full account of origins. It may be noted, however, that, in the North East – ignoring one very large Czech firm – refugee manufacturers from Germany predominated, while the founders of the smaller number of firms in Cumberland (which included the largest and third-largest refugee ventures in the whole region) came mainly from Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It is difficult to explain this marked difference in the origins of refugee firms between the North East and the North West. It is possible, however, that the Development Agencies in the sub-regions concentrated their efforts to attract industries on particular countries.

Choice of Location by the Pre-war Ventures

Given that, after 1937, the choice of location for refugee ventures was largely restricted to one of the Special Areas of England, Wales and Scotland, to Northern Ireland and a number of other places suffering high unemployment, it is of some interest to examine possible reasons why the refugees in the study chose the North-East Coast or West Cumberland.

Objective factors appear to have influenced the choice in a number of cases: in the North East, the availability of a suitable raw material (sand), the nearness of the Scandinavian and Low Country markets and financial backing from local interests were reasons given by three firms. In West Cumberland, the suitability of the local water persuaded the founders of a tannery to set up in Millom. For a few firms choosing locations in West Cumberland in the months before the war, the remoteness from London and the absence of any large towns which might become targets for enemy aircraft became objective factors. The loans and grants from public and semi-public funds, however, which were available in particularly depressed parts of the Special Areas (which appear to have included most of West Cumberland), cannot, on their own, be considered objective factors, because such facilities were also available in parts of Wales and Scotland.

Non-objective factors seem to have played a bigger role: the prior settlement of friends or relations, the presence of a sizeable Jewish community and of religious institutions – particularly the Institute of Talmud Studies *(Yeshivah)* at Gateshead, the personalities and salesmanship of the District Commissioners for the Special Areas, the officers of the local Development Agencies and the Trading Estate Company, or simply chance. Given, in addition, that communications in parts of the North East were not good, for example in South-West Durham – and less than

adequate in West Cumberland, it is likely that non-objective factors predominated in the choice of locations in the Special Areas of the North.

Location became less important as firms became established and communications improved after the war; by this time, however, the founders, who had borne the inconvenience of locations which were less than ideal for most, had already retired or died.

Changes in location within the North East occurred after the war. The firms on the Team Valley Estate, the factories of which had been requisitioned during the war, did not return. Most of the pre-war refugee firms which had remained on the Estate moved away after the war. The principal reason for this was the shortage of labour, particularly female labour. Some firms had expanded to such an extent that the required number could no longer be found locally. Firms moved to locations within the Tyneside conurbation where competition for female labour was less severe. In some cases, they built their own factories, as did others who required more specialised buildings than were available at Team Valley. No such relocations appear to have taken place in South-West Durham or West Cumberland.

Location of Post-war Firms

In order to implement the post-war location of industry policy, many new – mainly small – government industrial estates and single factory sites were established in the North East. Because the employment on the Team Valley estate was considered large enough, new post-war firms were generally encouraged to establish themselves in those parts of the region where the need for new employment appeared to be greater. This applied to industry as a whole. A parallel development, if on a smaller scale, occurred in West Cumberland, since 1972 part of Cumbria.

Number of Firms

The study referred to above discussed the – by no means simple – question of who was a refugee manufacturer. Taking the definitions of that study, 75 refugee manufacturing firms were founded in or transferred their works to the North of England between 1937 and 1961. Three more firms have been discovered since then, but because little could be found out about them, they will be ignored in the following statistics. Tables I, II and III give the numbers of foundations and survivals in the region of the pre- and post-war firms on 1st November 1974 and their employment – so far as this could be ascertained – is given separately for the sub-regions.

The information in these Tables prompts a number of reflections of interest to economists, but they would be of little relevance in the context of this essay; attention may be drawn, however, to two facts: the drift away from Team Valley of pre-war firms, and the sharp increase in overall employment achieved between 1940 and 1974 by the very much reduced number of pre-war refugee firms which had remained there.

Product Range

Previous waves of refugees had brought with them a limited range of crafts, which were generally in areas of basic demand. Thus the Flemish and Huguenot

Table I

Manufacturing Firms in the North Region of England Established by Refugees before the War and Surviving in the Region on 1st November 1974 With Employment on that Date and in 1940, Where Known

	No. of Firms pre-1940	1974(a)	Employment 1940	1974	
NORTH EAST					
In Government Factories					
Team Valley	21	6	575	2,122	
Pre-War Outside Sites	4	4	678	975	
	25	10	1,253	3,097	
Not at Above Sites	7	10	nk	1,730	
	32	20			4,827
WEST CUMBERLAND					
In Government Factories	9(b)	7	1,600	3,370	
Not in Government Factories	1	1	nk	2,300	
	10	8			5,670
	42	28			10,497

Notes:

(a) The numbers reflect not only removals from Team Valley, but also business failures, closures for other reasons and removals from the region after acquisition.

(b) As the starting date of one short-lived firm is not known, it has been ignored here.

nk = not known

Source: Herbert Loebl, *Government-financed Factories and the Establishment of Industries by Refugees in the Special Areas of the North of England 1937–1961*, M. Phil. thesis, University of Durham 1978. For a list of firms see Appendix 18 in Herbert Loebl, *Government Factories and the Origins of British Regional Policy, 1934–1948*, Aldershot 1988.

Table II

Manufacturing Firms Established in the North after the War by People who Came as Refugees before the War and Employment on 1st November 1974 in Firms Surviving in the Region*

	Founded	Surviving	Employment
North East	26	19	5,950
Cumbria	7	6	710
	33	25	6,660

* Including two founded by Allied nationals before the end of the war.

Source: as for Table I.

refugees brought skills in cloth and silk manufacture, while the Jewish refugee manufacturers from Russia in the late nineteenth century were engaged largely in the making of clothes, caps and furniture. By contrast, the industries established by refugees from Nazism covered a wide field of manufacture, as Table IV indicates.

Table III
Summary of Tables I and II

	Number of Firms Founded	Surviving on 1st Nov. 1974	Employment
PRE-1940			
North East	32	20	4,827
West Cumberland	10	8	5,670
	42	28	
POST-WAR			
North East	26	19	5,950
Cumbria	7	6	710
	33	25	
Totals	75	53	17,157*

* After statistical corrections, the Department of Industry's total was 16,250, a difference of 907 or 5.58% from our figures, which were obtained from the firms concerned.

Source: as for Table I.

Table IV
Product Range of Refugee Firms Surviving in the North on 1st November 1974

Adhesives	Knitwear
Boilers and radiators	Leather goods
Brushes, including artists' brushes	Leather tanning
Building materials	Mechanical handling
Buttons and dress ornaments	Millinery
Car accessories	Packing materials
Chemicals, fine	Paper converters
Chemicals, industrial	Plastics, converters
Clothing	Plastics, foam
Curled hair	Plastics, manufacturers
Electrical accessories	Pumps
Electro-chemical engineering	Safety belts and helmets
Electronic controls	Scientific instruments
Fabric and cloth	Slag and scrap recovery
Foodstuffs	Small metal ware
Footwear	Spectacle frames
Furniture	Sports goods
Gifts and novelties	Sports wear
Gloves, hosiery	Toys and fancy goods

Source: as for Table I.

With one or two exceptions, the industries established before the war were not exploiting any advanced technologies, but were engaged in the manufacture of relatively ordinary products – some of them specialised – a number of which had previously been imported into Britain. A somewhat different picture emerges from

a consideration of those founded after 1945. While clothing and hosiery were still represented strongly, some firms were now both more capital-intensive and engaged in more advanced technologies like electro-chemical engineering, electronics, fine chemicals and plastics. In the case of other new starts, new markets were identified for the products of more traditional industries, for example paper converting.

When the government trading estates were established, it was expected that many factories, if not most, would produce goods which had been imported into the region up to then. This was seen as an essential part of the strategy for improving the economic strength of the Special Areas. In the event, this did not occur in more than a small number of cases. So far as refugee firms were concerned, only two were identified (one not located in a government factory) which had set out to serve local markets. The products of refugee firms generally found a national market, and a large proportion developed export markets after the war.

Survival of Firms

The continuity of new industries introduced to assist in the restructuring of depressed areas is of great importance. Of the seventy-five pre- and post-war refugee firms, fifty-three were still in existence in the region on the key date, thirty-nine in the North East and fourteen in Cumbria.

Table V

Survival Rates of Refugee Firms in the North as Measured on 1st November 1974

	Surviving	Percent
Pre-1940 firms		
42	28	66.7
Post-war Firms		
33	25	75.8
All 75	53	70.6

Source: as for Table I.

The survival rates of all refugee-founded firms are shown in Table V. This shows that 66.7% of the firms established before 1940 were still in the region in 1974, i. e. they had been there for at least thirty-five years, thus displaying a satisfactory degree of continuity. The survival rate of the post-war firms was somewhat better. The reasons for this would have to include their shorter existence, i. e. lesser maturity, and, therefore, their smaller attraction to predator concerns which might have removed them from the region.

Of the twenty-two firms no longer in the region on the key date, nineteen had been located in the North East and three in Cumbria. So far as could be ascertained, the reasons for their closures were as follows: three had failed in the ordinary course of business; five had closed because of war conditions, including internment; two had transferred to other parts of the country; seven were removed after being acquired and five closed down for a variety of reasons, including the retirement of

the owners and, in one case, conversion to sole trader status. This category also includes one or two firms on which insufficient information on the reason for closure was available. It may be noted that the number of commercial failures (6%) appears to have been far smaller than might have been expected.

Initial Ownership of Pre-war Firms

Because most of the founders had already died by 1974 and their successors were not always in possession of the relevant information, the data in Table VI must be considered tentative. It is likely, for example, that the proportion of firms established in partnership with local interests was somewhat greater than stated.

Table VI

Initial Ownership of Pre-war and Reasons for Presence of Post-war Refugee Firms Surviving in the North on 1st November 1974

	Pre-1940 Foundations
23	firms were founded in the region by refugees on their own.
2	firms founded by refugees on their own moved from London to specially depressed areas where growth funds were available.
3	were founded in partnership with local interests.
28	
	Post-war Foundations
12	firms were set up by refugees already resident in the North region. Of these
	7 were spin-offs from refugee firms in the region.
	4 were new starts by sons of refugee manufacturers in the region.
	1 was started for other reasons.
8	firms were set up in the North under post-war Location of Industry policies applying to industry as a whole.
4	founders came to the region because of presence of family or friends.
1	firm moved to the North from another part of the country.
25	
53	

Source: as for Table I.

Reasons for the Presence in the Region of Post-war Firms

Table VI shows that twelve out of twenty-five post-war foundations surviving in the region were established by refugees who were already resident in the region. The next-largest group of firms arrived here because of national policies limiting factory buildings in areas not scheduled Development Areas. The presence in the region of friends or relations – most of them refugee manufacturers – was cited as the reason for the presence of four firms.

Founders without Previous Manufacturing Experience

The founders of twenty firms surviving in the region (37.7% of the total) had not been in manufacturing businesses on their own account before arriving in Britain. Ten of this group had arrived as children or young people before the war. Four of these were sons of refugee manufacturers and six others had spun off from refugee-

founded firms in the region. The other ten founders without previous manufacturing experience had been engaged in professions or in businesses in their countries of origin, or, indeed, in neither. It may be noted that the co-founder of the largest employer among refugee firms in the North had no previous manufacturing experience.

Table VII

Employment in Refugee-founded Firms Surviving in the North on 1st November 1974 as a Percentage of Unemployment in 1934.

	Unemployment in Region, 1934 (A)	Employment in Refugee Firms, 1974 (B)	$\frac{B}{A} \times 100$
North East	176,862	10,777	6.09%
Cumbria	13,530	6,380	47.15%
	190,392	17,157	9.01%

Source: as for Table I.

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

Table VII shows, separately for the North East and Cumbria, the total direct employment in the surviving refugee-founded firms in 1974. The employment is compared with the unemployment in the sub-regions in 1934. It is evident that refugee industries were relatively much more important in Cumbria than on the North East coast as a whole, although their importance in some districts, for example in South-West Durham, was greater than the overall figure for the North East would suggest.

The Department of Industry provided an aggregate figure of employment in the refugee firms and their subsidiaries listed by this author,[42] which, after certain statistical adjustments, was less than 6% smaller than the sum of the figures obtained from the refugee-founded firms themselves. The hundred or so founders involved in the pre- and post-war firms certainly created between 16,000 and 17,000 jobs. This must be seen as a considerable achievement.

The indirect employment by suppliers of goods, services and utilities is generally considered to be important. Moreover, the influx of many new industries and the creation of new industries in the Development Areas of the North since the war made it possible to purchase an increasing range of goods and services within the Areas. While it is not possible to quantify it, it is likely that the indirect employment created in the region by refugee-founded firms had been increasing continuously up to the key date. Thus, the total employment created by refugees in the Special Areas of the North was greater than shown in Table VII.

However desirable it was to provide employment for women and girls – for whom few job opportunities had existed in the North East and West Cumberland before light industries were established in 1938 – an overriding need existed before,

[42] See the letter from the Department of Industry, Northern Regional Office, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1st November 1977, reproduced in Loebl, *Government-financed Factories*, *op. cit.*, Appendix 30.

and was expected after, the war for new male employment; it was feared – with much initial justification – that the new industries would not contribute to the solution of this problem. Yet the Department of Industry confirmed in 1977 that the ratio of male to female employees in the refugee-founded firms on the list submitted by us was, in fact, 1.2:1.[43] The reasons for this surprising result, which almost certainly represents a reversal of the ratio which would have applied for the pre-war refugee firms even a few years earlier, have not been investigated. The change is likely to have been due to a number of factors, including the difference in the type of products made by the pre- and post-war refugee firms, the increasing level of technology in previously manual operations, etc. We have been advised by the Department of Industry that the trend was general.

New skills were introduced and the training problems solved. In the course of this, the adaptability of labour was demonstrated, particularly of men coming from entirely different types of industries, but also of women and girls – most of whom entered industrial employment for the first time. For reasons which have already been mentioned, these were discoveries of the first importance for the economic future of the region.

Refugee firms also created a range of new managerial employment opportunities. This type of employment was difficult to obtain in the pre-war economy of the North. Furthermore, a fairly large proportion of the post-war refugee-founded firms engaged in activities usually described as "Research and Development". Unlike branch factories, which were dominant in the new post-war industry in the North, refugee firms carried on this type of activity "in house" and so created professional and technical positions.

Table VIII

Size of Refugee Firms Surviving in the North on 1st November 1974 by Employment

No. of Firms	(%)	No. of Employees
1	(1.9)	5 – 10
3	(5.7)	11 – 50
13	(24.5)	51 – 100
16	(30.2)	101 – 200
33	(63.2)	
11	(20.7)	201 – 500
6	(11.3)	501 –1,000
3	(5.7)	Over 1,000
20	(37.7)	
53	(100)	

Source: as for Table I.

[43] *Ibid.*

Size of Firms by Employment

This is shown in Table VIII. The Bolton Committee (1971) defined small manufacturing firms as those employing up to 200 people, even if the average in Britain was only twenty-five.[44] By contrast, the average number of employees of the thirty-three surviving refugee firms classed as small by the Bolton definition was greater than one hundred. No attempt has been made to explain the apparently much better than average performance of refugee firms. Of the twenty firms employing more than 200 people, one half were pre-war foundations. No meaningful results can be obtained by comparing the average employment of refugee firms founded or coming into the region before 1940 and after 1945, because the pre-war foundations included three firms, which had grown so large by 1974 that they employed almost one third of the people in refugee industries in the region.

Sales and Exports

Not all firms were prepared to provide sales figures. Taking those which were given and making estimates for those which were not, sales by refugee firms in 1974 were of the order of £150 million. The value of exports can be stated with even less accuracy, but £50 million is likely to be a reasonable estimate, £20 million of which was attributable to a single firm. If the assumptions are approximately correct, refugee firms exported one third of their output, a higher proportion than British manufacturing industry as a whole. Up to 1974, five refugee firms were awarded the Queen's Award to Industry for exports. It is believed that additional ones have been awarded since then.

Spin-off

Fifty years ago, S. R. Dennison claimed that the newer industries were more likely to produce "metabolism" – we now call it spin-off – than the interlinked heavy industries which predominated in areas suffering severe economic depression at the time.[45] It has certainly been established – in Britain at least – that small and medium-sized owner-managed businesses are more likely to be the breeding grounds of entrepreneurs than large companies. This may be because the role model presented by the owner-manager is seen as capable of emulation. Although spin-off was investigated only in about half the refugee firms in the North, it was possible to confirm Dennison's claim. The small means available to most refugee manufacturers and the high degree of improvisation they were forced to adopt in order to survive in the early stages may have played a particularly instructive role. Since, until recently, the North was woefully short of small manufacturing firms unconnected with the now severely reduced traditional industries, spin-off was an important benefit of the settlement of refugee industries, if only to demonstrate the mechanism.

Status of Firms Surviving on 1st November 1974

On the key date, twenty-two of the thirty-nine surviving refugee firms in the North East and eleven out of fourteen in West Cumberland had been taken over by

[44] *Report of the Committee on Small Firms*, Cmd. 4811, London 1971, p. 3.

[45] S. R. Dennison, *The Location of Industry and the Depressed Areas*, London 1939, p. 95.

larger groups, including foreign concerns: conclusive evidence that these firms had become mature businesses and were no longer dependent on founders or their descendants. By this token, it is evident that the proportion of significant firms was much greater in West Cumberland than in the North East.

It was shown in the study referred to above that, in addition, seven refugee firms had been acquired by larger groups and removed from the region by 1st November 1974. These firms were not taken into account in our statistics of surviving firms.

Qualitative Aspects

It would be wrong to think of the settlement of refugee manufacturers in the formerly depressed areas of the North in industrial terms alone. Many founders and their families contributed in other ways. Some helped to strengthen the cultural life of the region by their support for the Arts. The foundation by Nicholas Seker of the Rosehill Theatre in Cumbria is probably the most significant example. Others contributed to the social and civic spheres: for example, as magistrates. One refugee manufacturer was responsible for the establishment of the first Enterprise Agency in Britain in 1973, many years before it became government policy to foster such agencies everywhere in the country.

The reason for the settlement of a few Orthodox Jewish refugee manufacturers in Gateshead has already been mentioned. It may be added that they and their families played a part in developing the *Yeshivah* in Gateshead to become the largest centre of traditional Jewish learning in post-war Europe.

Up to 1974, founders of refugee firms or members of their families appeared in the Honours Lists on six occasions. The honours included two knighthoods, one CBE, one OBE and two MBEs. It is believed that the number has increased since then. One recipient of a knighthood was later made a life peer.

Present Position

The history of refugee firms since 1974 has not been studied systematically. It is evident, however, that recession has led to the failure of a number of companies which were still in the hands of the families of the founders. A further number were acquired since 1974 – in one case, on the death of the founder's son. Some of the acquired firms were removed from the region. On the other hand, some firms have expanded, almost all of them under new ownership.

At least four refugee-founded manufacturing businesses in the North East are still in the hands of sons of the founders. They have existed for more than fifty years. Furthermore, it appears that descendants of refugees are connected with some of the large number of new firms which have arrived in the region since the end of the war.

Conclusion

We do not know what those who steered refugees towards the Special Areas before the war expected from this settlement – if they ever considered this question at all. From the point of view of regions in need of restructuring, the employment created and the continuity of employment are clearly the most important, if not the

only, criteria which must be applied. The evidence presented here shows that the settlement of refugee manufacturers in the North of Britain was successful. From anecdotal information, a similar conclusion may be drawn provisionally in the other Special Areas of Britain, notably in South Wales.

In retrospect, the handicaps which the pre-war founders had to overcome certainly appear formidable: insufficient capital, limited acquaintance with the language, with business and labour practices as well as markets, the need to switch to often unfamiliar products at the beginning of the war, material and labour shortages, the temporary internment of founders of enemy nationality and movement restrictions throughout the war were the principal ones. The question arises, how can survival – and later, success – be explained in the face of such initial obstacles?

So far as the pre-war firms were concerned, advanced technology played almost no part. If the products were new in Britain, they were usually in niche markets, for example, artists' brushes. The specific reasons why particular products were not previously supplied by domestic producers are not known; the general reason was that Britain had far fewer small manufacturing firms – and, therefore, specialist producers – than almost any European country. A discrepancy which, although apparently reduced, persists to this day. In any event, the onset of the war forced most firms into entirely different lines from those they had intended to produce.

The notion that German manufacturing experience may have been a factor must also be discounted, because the founders of the three most successful pre-war firms (in terms of size) were of Austrian, Czech and Russian origin.

The post-war founders were not faced with the handicaps experienced by the pre-war refugee manufacturers, except that many of them, too, started with small capital; and since branch factories predominated among the new industries in the Areas, the post-war founder-managers were obliged to pioneer in a number of directions. But even if new technologies now began to play a part, they were learned, in most cases, in Britain.

In the end, one is forced to rely on non-objective factors to explain the survival and success of refugee industries in the Areas; to use terms like tenacity, imagination and the ability to improvise. For the pre-war founders, fear of failure must have been an additional factor; many of them were middle-aged or older and had families to support. With all their slender resources committed in their businesses, most of them operated without any safety nets.

As for the importance of manufacturing industries established by or in conjunction with refugees from Nazi Europe in Britain as a whole, reliable information is now more than forty years old. It is not possible to estimate the number of manufacturing and service firms established by former refugees and their descendants since 1947; the indications are that it is considerable. But even by 1947, more than three jobs had been created in Britain for every refugee admitted from the Nazi *Reich* and some adjoining countries.

Given the prejudices and fears – often expressed vehemently by trade unions, professional bodies, in the press and in Parliament – of the presumed effects of admitting refugees into the difficult employment situation in Britain in the mid-1930s, this is certainly a gratifying and, for many, an unforeseen result. It would not, however, have surprised Sir Norman Angell and Dorothy F. Buxton, who

wrote in 1939: "The theory that for every thousand aliens admitted, a thousand Britons are thrown out of employment, is denied alike by economic science and the plainest experience."[46]

It is unlikely, however, that the "pandemic" attitudes of nations – as Sir John Hope Simpson called them – have changed greatly. Indeed, such attitudes came to the surface again in some countries and places in the recent period of political and economic stress. As for the reluctance of Britain to admit refugees, Hope Simpson saw one of the reasons in the general lack of awareness of the industrial achievements of previous waves of refugees. Even their own descendants had forgotten!

The observation by Hope Simpson stimulated the study which provided the material for this essay – a study which was undertaken just in time. With the death of the founders and the changes in ownership, much information had already been lost.

It is the hope of the author that the contribution of refugees, outlined in this essay, to the economic recovery of at least one – formerly troubled – region of England may be remembered, if a wave of refugees from political and religious persecution should ever have to seek asylum in Britain again.

[46] Angell and Buxton, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

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The Impact of German Jews on Anglo-Jewry – Orthodoxy, 1850–1950

This paper makes no attempt to present information on all the Orthodox German Jews, who, in one way or another influenced, improved and elevated Orthodox Jewish life in Britain.* Instead I would like to take advantage of the happy circumstance which led me to Joseph Munk of the Mocatta Library (University College London) and the Schonfeld papers which he put at my disposal. This has enabled me to do two things. First, I was able to obtain a clear picture of how change was brought about, or better, to demonstrate in some detail what is meant when we test whether in a given situation something from outside has had an impact. Second, the papers enabled me to build up a clear picture of how the people and events to be discussed follow each other in a striking continuity. The real agents of social change here are not dramatic and charismatic leaders, but the innovators whose convictions and tenacity lead to chain reactions which eventually transform the environments in which they take place. There are no "good" and "bad" persons here. Only dedicated servants of God, who were and are willing to defend that which they believe to be right.

Although numerically small,[1] Anglo-Jewry in the mid-nineteenth century was the freest, most secure, best tolerated and politically most influential community in Europe. It was also the wealthiest and, above all, the most comprehensively organised community.[2] If, in most of Europe, the struggle for Jewish emancipation was a constant battle against barriers created by hatred and prejudice, reinforced by discriminatory legislation: in England the long conflict over the right of Jews to sit

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This paper is dedicated to Dr. Judith Grunfeld, an outstanding example of all that is best in what is to be discussed here. A true "mother in Israel" whose courage and committment over a lifetime has helped, protected, educated and, often enough, rescued countless Jewish children through the Beit Yacov Schools in Poland and the Avigdor Schools in Britain.

[1] There has always been some confusion about the size of the Jewish community in Britain prior to the mass-immigration of the 1880s. For the most convincing analysis of the evidence see Vivian D. Lipman, 'A Survey of Anglo-Jewry in 1851', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 17 (1953) pp. 171–188.

[2] There is a large though mainly descriptive literature on the Jews in Britain, especially in the modern period, beginning broadly with James Picciotta's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, 1875 (reissued in London in 1956 edited by Israel Finestein); Albert M. Hyamson's *History of the Jews in England*, London 1908; Lucien Wolf's *Essays in Jewish History* (edited by Cecil Roth and published posthumously), London 1934; and Cecil Roth's own *History of the Jews in England*, 3rd edn., Oxford 1964, first publ. 1941. More specialised studies are, for example, Vivian D. Lipman, *A Century of Social Service 1859–1959: The Jewish Board of Guardians*, London 1959; and *idem*, *A Social History of the Jews in England 1850–1950*, London 1954. More recent books tend to be more analytical, e. g. Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880–1920*, Oxford 1988.

in Parliament was articulated over questions of protocol and organisational procedures. For all the resistance put up by the House of Lords to the full emancipation of the Jews, nothing in that resistance prevented the Jew from transforming himself from the despised ghetto-dweller into an English gentleman. In the course of the nineteenth century being English became a cardinal virtue ardently pursued by the Jews of the United Kingdom whose singular fortune it was that in this pursuit the host-nation made no attempt to dampen the strong allegiance which most Jews retained unashamedly for their ancestral faith. Englishness was the fervent goal not only of individuals, but also of the institutions and organisations which were established by and for Anglo-Jewry, and this applies as much to the evaluation of Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy as to other facets of communal life.[3]

In religious affairs Anglo-Jewry has always been conservative. This conservatism coupled with an unreflective pragmatism and anti-intellectualism, created a form of Orthodoxy which calls for some explanation. Orthodoxy is normally meant to describe a strict and wholehearted adherence to *Halakhah*, to Jewish legal codes, both biblical and rabbinic. Variations in genuine Orthodoxy can only be variations in form, not in substance.[4] The essence of the Reform movement was to challenge the validity of Jewish law, which led to the rejection and abolition of many religious traditions and customs. In practice this also applied to mainstream Orthodoxy in Britain, while it continued to accept in principle the binding character of Jewish law. The intervening factor was Englishness. Orthodoxy had to be adjusted to meet the demands of Englishness, and this often required some rational compromise. Englishness was incompatible with any kind of ideological fanaticism. Englishness

[3] Cf. Cecil Roth, 'The Anglo-Jewish Community in the Context of World Jewry', in Julius Gould and Shaul Esh (eds.), *Jewish Life in Modern Britain*, London 1964, esp. p. 98. The notion of "Englishness", though not unlike German or American Jewish patriotism, nevertheless has carried within it a supreme self-confidence which is quite unique in that it allowed the social élite of Britain's Jews to incorporate British traditions, even British prejudices, into their peculiar construction of Jewishness. Here we need give only two examples. In 1851 Alderman David Solomon was returned for the borough of Greenwich as a Member of Parliament. He duly took his seat without, however, taking the oath "on the true faith of a Christian". After a dramatic debate, in which Solomon spoke and voted, he was "forcibly" removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms, who gently tapped his shoulder with a sword. Later that year, a dispute in the Board of Deputies of British Jews flared up over the admission of representatives elected by members of Reform synagogues. After uproar at the meeting not unlike that which took place in Parliament, four Reform synagogue delegates were asked to leave the chamber. "In strict accordance with the Parliamentary precedent one of the delegates agreed to leave the board, provided enough was done to make it appear that he had similarly acted under coercion." (Lucien Wolf, 'The Queen's Jewry 1837–1897', in Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–336, quote on p. 336.) In 1906 Jews' College in London celebrated its "Jubilee Festival" with a dinner at the Trocadero Restaurant. Guest of honour and later to be vice-president of Jews' College, Sir Edward Sassoon MP spoke to the festive gathering: "I am glad to think that we are free from the standing spectacle witnessed before the college existed of having holy offices and clerical positions filled by strangers. (Hear, hear.) We now have Englishmen and Britishers born and bred in this country, thanks to the shelter and pasture accorded to them under the auspices of this institution." (*Jews' College Jubilee Volume*, London 1906, p. 259). This speech was made when the President of Jews' College was German-born and German-bred Chief Rabbi Dr. Hermann Adler, when the Principal of Jews' College was German-born and German-bred Dr. Michael Friedländer and when half the teaching faculty was German-born and German-bred.

[4] The best descriptions of Orthodoxy in Britain are Bernard Homa, *Orthodoxy in Anglo-Jewry 1880–1940*, London 1969; and Julius Jung, *Champions of Orthodoxy*, London 1974. Though not professional historians both these authors, through their personal involvements, are able to offer a great deal of rare and primary material. Orthodox synagogues are discussed by Aubrey Newman, *The United Synagogue 1870–1970*, London 1977; Geoffrey Alderman, *The Federation of Synagogues 1887–1987*, London 1987; Salmond S. Levin (ed.), *A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life 1870–1970*, London 1970.

decreed that, as long as one adheres to principle, one is more or less absolved from practice.

Englishness also prescribed basic rules of social order. Just as the political institutions of Britain were replicated in the social institutions of Anglo-Jewry, so was the social structure of Britain reflected in the communal and congregational structure of the Jews. A social élite,[5] which became a ruling élite, dominated Jewish life, all but displaced spiritual leadership and created a near-medieval clergy which could not guide or challenge its masters. Instead, the clergy were deprived of the title rabbi, reduced to being practitioners of ritual, religious functionaries who administered appropriate procedures for the management of life-cycle events.[6]

Anglo-Jewry is almost unique in that it is the only European community[7] which, in spite of profound and radical upheavals, did not alter its basic structure. And it is

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[5] Lay leaders of mainstream Orthodoxy in Britain deserve a separate study. They are the chief architects of all that is useful and destructive in the Jewish community, cf. Ernst Krausz, *Leeds Jewry. Its History and Social Structure*, Cambridge 1964, pp. 118–119. Chief Rabbi J. H. Hertz attacked the trend in Anglo-Jewry to "cringe and fawn" to lay leaders. He called for an end of the "dictator parnass" (cf. *Sermons, Addresses and Studies*, 3 vols., London 1938, vol. II, p. 204). The two pace-setting Orthodox lay leaders (apart from the legendary Moses Montefiore, 1784–1885) were Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild (1st Baron, 1840–1915) and Samuel Montagu (1st Lord Swaythling, 1832–1911), the presidents, friends and competitors of the United Synagogue (1870) and the Federation of Synagogues (1887) respectively. Their dedication to the welfare of the community and their generosity was matched only by their autocracy, and many lesser men have tried to follow their example. It is said of Rothschild that, when a new chief rabbi had to be appointed, he told his colleagues on the selection committee "... I have made up my mind. The election will take place and unless Dr. Hertz is elected I shall resign the chairmanship of the United Synagogue." (Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 101). In a similar vein Sir Samuel Montagu announced, when he was elevated to a peerage, "In commemoration of the honour conferred upon me, it is my intention to select a chief minister of the Federation of Synagogues". (Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 72.) Both men were bitter opponents of the rebellious group to be discussed here, but sufficiently magnanimous to bail out their near bankrupt opponents with personal loans after a conflict lasting fourteen years. (Bernard Homa, *A Fortress in Anglo-Jewry. The Story of the Machzike Hadath*, London 1953, p. 66.)

[6] The role and function of the rabbi in Britain was quite unlike anything found in other Jewish communities. The function of a rabbi was concentrated for all of the nineteenth century in the chief rabbi, who, for the most part, by controlling questions of *Kashruth*, changes in religious services and marriage authorisation exercised a total mastery over his office. Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler (1803–1890) institutionalised this situation and did not allow any spiritual leader, no matter how thoroughly qualified he might be in rabbinic terms, to use the title of rabbi. The next Chief Rabbi, Adler's son Hermann, upheld this principle. That is why Jews' College, established by Nathan Adler, did not at that time train rabbis, but created that uniquely English functionary the "reverend", a "minister of religion" whose role was modelled partly on the traditionally Jewish *Chazan* (Cantor) and partly on the clergymen in the Anglican Church. See for example H. D. Schmidt, 'Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler (1803–1890). Jewish Educator from Germany', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, pp. 289–311; Michael Goulston, 'The Status of the Anglo-Jewish Rabbinate 1840–1914', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, X, no. 1 (1968), pp. 55–82; Stephen Sharot, 'Religious Change in Native Orthodoxy in London 1870–1914. Rabbinate and Clergy', in *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. XV, no. 2 (1973), pp. 167–187; Steven Singer, *Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler. Major Problems in his Career*, unpubl. Master's thesis, Yeshiva University 1974; *idem*, *Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840–1853*, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Yeshiva University 1981; *idem*, 'The Anglo-Jewish Ministry in early Victorian London', in *Modern Judaism*, vol. V, no. 3 (1985), pp. 279–299. For a detailed discussion of the situation before the arrival of Nathan Adler see Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England 1714–1830*, Philadelphia 1979. A vivid picture of the "reverend" of old was drawn by Norman Cohen: "The Reverend X, whose Jewish studies terminated when he was eighteen, who dressed like an Anglican clergyman, carried his umbrella on the Sabbath and was very broadminded about the dietary laws was the real religious guide of his congregation," 'Trends in Anglo-Jewish Religious Life', in Julius Gould and Shaul Esh (eds.), *Jewish Life in Modern Britain*, London 1964, p. 46. For all that it should be said that there were many deeply religious, sincerely Orthodox and also very scholarly "reverends" who served in the Anglo-Jewish ministry.

[7] I am aware of, but have not considered here, the very small Jewish communities of Sweden and Portugal.

also the only community in Europe which was not destroyed or fundamentally changed by the tragic events of the Second World War. Its very stability made possible levels of change, which would have disrupted lesser communal structures,[8] and much of this change was initiated by Jews from Germany. For all its impassioned avowal of Englishness, Anglo-Jewry looked to the continent of Europe to fill senior positions in its religious institutions.[9] Many important individuals came to England in this way, found quick recognition and occupied high positions in organised Orthodoxy. It is remarkable, however, that most of these individuals exercised little lasting influence. They did not mould the organisations which had chosen them, but on the contrary were moulded and, as often as not absorbed by them. We might consider just one, fairly typical example.

In its first one hundred years (1855–1955) Jews' College in London, the oldest rabbinical seminary in Europe, had five principals.[10] Two of these, Michael Friedlaender (1833–1910) and Adolf Büchler (1867–1939), came to the college as established scholars from Germany and between them, led the college for no less than seventy-four years. Their standing in the world of Jewish scholarship remains unimpaired to this day, but their influence on the college did not survive their actual periods of office in any discernible way. They left behind them no concepts of education or ordination, no models for an English rabbinate or innovations in Jewish education – not even traditions of scholarship, to which they themselves had made such outstanding contributions, but which were not really adopted by their native disciples.[11] These observations are not intended and should not be seen as criticisms of two individuals. They are made in support of the argument that, in Jews' College, as in other Anglo-Jewish institutions, control and authority were so firmly rooted in the lay leadership and, to a lesser extent, the chief rabbinate, that here the authority of the principal was for the most part only nominal, confined to administrative issues and questions relating to student welfare and discipline. Throughout the century under review, great, and at times outstanding Orthodox German-Jewish rabbis, scholars and leaders joined Anglo-Jewry, particularly in the 1930s, but their impact and influence was limited by the constraints of organisational boundaries and controls within which they had to operate.[12]

There was, however, another group of Orthodox immigrants who remained independent of mainstream Orthodoxy in Britain and who were largely responsible for a series of conflicts which ultimately transformed Orthodoxy by initiating an

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[8] If nothing else than the simple fact that the Jewish population of Britain increased threefold between 1880 and 1910.

[9] Alternatively, those aspiring to positions of leadership went abroad for training. Even the very English Hermann Adler went to Europe for his rabbinical training.

[10] For the history of Jews' College see Isidore Harris, 'A History of the College', in *Jews' College Jubilee Volume*, London 1906; and Albert M. Hyamson, *Jews' College, London, 1855–1955*, London 1955.

[11] "... there are few departments of human endeavour", Chief Rabbi J. Hertz wrote, "to which modern Jewry has contributed fewer men than it has to Jewish learning... and whatever has been accomplished in this field, very little of it indeed has been done by Jews of English birth and training", Hertz, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 102. Immanuel Jakobovits lists the great scholars who have made Jews' College a centre of Jewish scholarship, but notes that "... not one of these scholars and authors was born or even mainly educated in Britain, nor has Jews' College on its own produced successors of their academic distinction", *The Timely and the Timeless*, London 1977, p. 276.

[12] Cf. Isidor Grunfeld, *Three Generations. The Influence of Samson Raphael Hirsch on Jewish Life and Thought*, London 1958.

ongoing debate between "nominal" or "middle-of-the-road" Orthodoxy on the one hand and "ultra" or "rigid" Orthodoxy on the other. It is these innovations I want to describe and discuss in this paper, but before doing so it might help to explore these concepts.

When Chief Rabbi Dr. Nathan Adler first took office in 1845, he described his task[13] as steering a middle course, finding a golden mean, between those who wanted to reform the law by rejecting large parts of it, and those whose "indecorous services and inefficient schools" brought Rabbinic Judaism into disrepute.[14] This "middle course" was destined to become a description of everything that is best (to some) and worst (to others) in Anglo-Jewry. It remains a vital term to this day, although in the course of time it has acquired different, even conflicting, meanings. "Middle-of-the-road Orthodoxy" has become the hall-mark of Anglo-Jewry and perhaps the only conceptual issue to emanate from the Jewish community. Adler had assumed in his sermon that the reason why some Jews in London, particularly among the wealthier and more influential, wanted to break away and establish their own "Reformed" synagogues, was because in the existing, Orthodox synagogues the spirit of the ghetto still reigned, and traditional but not necessarily *halakhic* customs and rites continued to be used. For others even properly authentic Jewish laws were felt to have outlived their usefulness especially for devotees of an uninhibited Englishness. The cure seemed to him pretty straightforward. He would use the authority of his office and his unquestioned reputation as a devoutly Orthodox Jew, to modernise, cleanse traditional services, to make them conform to the spirit of the time and to the needs of all the Jews in London. It probably took some time before he recognised that the malaise went deeper and was more complex than he had anticipated. English Jews were free Jews and claimed the right to decide for themselves how much of Jewish law was compatible with their life styles, how much they wanted to keep and what they wanted to reject.[15] It was a pattern of outward conformity and private neglect,[16] which was made possible by a supremely confident lay leadership and a subservient clergy. Even in earlier days, when Anglo-Jewry generally was more observant and less assimilated, they were, as Endelman put it, without piety or learning.[17] The varieties of meanings which each generation developed for itself in defining "middle-of-the-road" thus took the place of more genuine intellectual and informed debates which shaped the destinies of Jewish communities in Europe and North America. We will see how the passing of Chief Rabbi Adler and the era of his assimilationist son, Hermann Adler, inspired

[13] In his *Installation Sermon*, London 1845, p. 11.

[14] Cf. Wolf, 'The Queen's Jewry', *loc. cit.*, p. 340.

[15] This was not unique to England. It was more likely to have been true for all fairly secure and prosperous middle-class Jews. For Germany, for example, Hermann Cohn has drawn an interesting parallel in his description of his father's Jewishness: "Menschsein" was the first requirement, but "was in diesem Menschsein nun nicht unbedingt enthalten ist, ist die Beobachtung des gesamten Rituals: jeder 'Mensch' hat seinen eigenen *Schulchan Aruch*. Und es ist nicht so, daß je reichhaltiger oder originaltreuer ein solcher *Schulchan Aruch* ist, ein um so besserer 'Mensch' ist sein Befolger; sondern je besser entwickelt und je reichhaltiger die anderen Elemente des Menschsein (Anstand, Rechtschaffenheit usw.) sind, um so eher können Lücken im *Schulchan Aruch* verziehen und übersehen werden", Hermann Cohn in *Festschrift Zeev Wilhelm Cohn*, privately circulated 1973, p. 6. Cohn was nominally regarded as strictly Orthodox.

[16] Cf. Steven Singer, 'Jewish Religious Observance in Early Victorian London 1840–1860', in *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXVIII, no. 2 (1986), pp. 117–137.

[17] Endelman, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

a fierce revolt against accepted "middle-of-the-road" practices, how a small group of immigrants laid the foundations of a modern Orthodoxy, which was better able to withstand the forces of assimilation, without, however, resolving the problems which continued to accumulate on the left of the middle-of-the-roaders.[18] Here we can summarise by restating that Orthodox Anglo-Jewry in the second half of the nineteenth century had four main characteristics. Orthodoxy was the formal orientation of the majority of Jews in Britain. It was an orientation honoured more in principle than in practice. Orthodox Jewry was also highly organised and controlled by a hegemonic lay leadership which concentrated religious authority in the role and office of a Chief Rabbi. We have a unique opportunity to examine these characteristics, by looking at a little known manuscript preserved among the papers of the late Rabbi Victor Schonfeld,[19] whose own contribution to our narrative we will relate in due course. The manuscript was composed by one Solomon Herz. Entitled *Unser Standpunkt*, it is a detailed report on Orthodoxy in London.[20] It is not

[18] Since the "middle of the road" as an issue has continued into our own time and is in fact enjoying a remarkable revival at present (1989) we might look at the more recent developments. For Nathan Adler, as we have seen, the middle course meant an attempt to hold on to those on the left of the spectrum who were pushing towards Reform and those on the right of the spectrum who, in his view, clung to outdated and outmoded practices, incompatible with modern living. The aim, first and foremost, was to maintain communal unity. In this Adler was strongly supported by the lay leadership, but it is not self-evident why this "unity at all costs" should have been regarded as important enough to jeopardise issues of principle. In later periods emphasis shifted to other aims, like unity among diverse sections of the Orthodox community and partial unity, which allowed for separatism in some things but not in others. (These issues will be discussed below). In our time, the question of the meaning of "middle of the road" was raised by the *Jewish Chronicle* on 15th November 1985 with an editorial on "middle orthodoxy fighting back", at a time when Reform was fully established and drawing young people away from the centre, while on the right a "strict" Orthodoxy lays claim to a one-sided authenticity. The correct meaning of centrism to the editorial writer was a return to "orthodoxy's basic philosophy of Torah im Derech Eretz", in other words, a centrism which seeks accommodation with a traditional Judaism and a secular "real world". Such a conception disregards the problematic of present day Jewish living which is set out more effectively by Anthony Goldblatt ('Keeping in Lane', in *L'Eylah* (Autumn 1985), pp. 20–21), who rejecting anything other than an Orthodoxy based on *Halakhah* (at least in theory) denies that Orthodoxy can recognise a Left although he admits that practical problems call for occasional "sub-halakhic" responses. In a response which defends United Synagogue Centrism, Raymond Goldwater ('The Far and the Near. Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy', in *L'Eylah* (Autumn 1986), pp. 21–23) pointed to a growing sophistication of religious life. The "reverends" of yesteryear have been replaced by strictly Orthodox, *yeshivah*-trained rabbis, who have substantially raised levels of religious conduct and introduced new patterns of Jewish education in United Synagogue congregations. While these changes have undoubtedly occurred they were not planned or carried through by the United Synagogue, but are consequences of events and forces, which lay outside the centre, as this paper will show. The most recent and most original contributor to this debate, is Jonathan Sacks, who revived the idea of an acceptable world on the left of the spectrum by standing assimilation on its head. The objective, he argued, is not for Jews to assimilate into the wider culture, but for the wider culture to be assimilated into Judaism (Jonathan Sacks, 'The positive side to assimilation', in *Jewish Chronicle*, 10th January 1986, p. 27). Out of this concept a whole movement of "Traditional Alternatives" which will bring Anglo-Jewry into the twenty-first century, but this time in the company of an international Jewish community, can be created.

[19] Victor Schonfeld (1880–1930) was called to London from Vienna, to be the rabbi of the North London *Beth Hamedrash* in 1909. In 1911 this became the *Adath Yisroel* congregation. Rabbi Schonfeld and after him his son Solomon played important parts in London. Some of their work will be discussed below. There are two boxes of letters and papers of Victor Schonfeld which are housed in the Mocatta Library of University College, London. Among these papers is a folio-sized manuscript of 54 pages entitled *Unser Standpunkt*, but carrying no date.

[20] We can establish the date of the manuscript (hereafter MS) as follows: on p. 27 of the MS there is a footnote about a Board of Guardians notice in newspapers abroad dated 16th November 1886. On p. 35 he refers to an annual report of 1885 which he describes as from "vorigen Jahre". Samson Raphael Hirsch wrote his comment on the MS on 9th January 1888. It would appear then that the MS was composed in 1886–1887.

entirely clear whom the manuscript was intended for, or how widely it was circulated. The most important recipient was the famous Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch of Frankfurt a. Main. We know that he saw and commented on the document.[21]

Solomon Herz (1840–1898) was born in Essen on the Rhine and grew up in Frankfurt a. Main where he became an ardent disciple and follower of Samson Raphael Hirsch. He migrated to New York where he founded a *Chevra Shomrei Shabbos*.[22] In 1881 he left America and settled in London, where he took the opportunity to study and experience the gentle disintegration of mainstream Orthodoxy, led and governed by the United Synagogue and increasingly incongruous in that all the necessary facilities for an Orthodox community were available, but they were also misused and neglected through indifference and indiscipline. This was in marked contrast to the numerous small "chevras" set up by East European Jews in the East End of London, which adhered to a more pristine type of Orthodoxy and which in 1887 were formed into a "Federation of Synagogues" a constant competitor of the United Synagogue, but still an essential element of the Anglo-Jewish establishment, because both organisations were shaped and controlled by key figures of English/Jewish aristocracy.[23]

In typical Hirschian fashion, Herz assured his readers that his criticisms were not directed at persons, but at principles. He accepted that his opponents meant well, but were all the more dangerous for that. What he had found in London confirmed the conviction that Orthodoxy could only be protected by separating itself from non-Orthodox elements. Every compromise in the interest of communal unity spelled disaster.[24] The root cause of the disintegration of Orthodoxy in London, which Herz claimed to have uncovered and which he was about to demonstrate, Herz ascribed to a trend of his time to select lay leaders according to their wealth, not according to their religious knowledge and commitment. There were those who used their positions of authority in order to decrease religious practice. There were also lay leaders whose damaging and destructive actions were not born of ill will or ill intent, but of pure ignorance and unawareness. Herz explained that he was writing because the great and mighty *Kehillah* of London was devoid of any Jewish education.

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[21] The correspondence between Solomon Herz and Samson Raphael Hirsch was conducted through Mr. Rapp (a communal worker well-known in Frankfurt a. Main). This is confirmed by a letter from Samson Raphael Hirsch (a copy is in the Schonfeld material) dated 9th January 1888 which begins: "Herr Rapp hat mir diese ihm von Herrn Herz geschickten Blätter zum Durchlesen gegeben und mich um meine Ansicht darüber gebeten." In his comment, Hirsch expressed doubts that he could contribute anything very much from so far away and not knowing all the circumstances, but offered one comment which Herz and Victor Schonfeld were hoping for and used to support their positions. "Ich wage nur so viel zu sagen", wrote Hirsch, "meine Erfahrung hat mich gelehrt, daß zwischen orthodoxen und nicht-orthodoxen Juden in religiösen Dingen kein Compromiß statthaftig ist, jeder solche Compromiß führt zum Unheil überall." (The original letter, almost impossible to read, has been transcribed by Mr. Joseph Munk).

[22] A Society of Sabbath Observers. This society was subsequently led by Rabbi Dr. Klein, a grandson of Samson Raphael Hirsch. (Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)

[23] Nathaniel Mayer, Lord Rothschild, was President of the United Synagogue from 1879–1915. Samuel Montagu, 1st Lord Swaythling, was President of the Federation of Synagogues from 1887–1911.

[24] Cf. the comment by Samson Raphael Hirsch in note 21.

"Wer fühlt sich nicht schmerzlich berührt in dem Bewußtsein, daß die große mächtige Gemeinde dahier, finanziell vielleicht die Reichste, an jüdischen Geist und Wissen die Ärmste ist."[25]

The educational system was so inadequate that boys celebrating their Bar Mitzvah could not recite the Grace after meals and mourners were unable to recite *Kaddish* for their parents. Given such neglect, it was not surprising that most Jews were willing to buy meat which, though coming from a licensed kosher butcher, was nevertheless "treif" (forbidden), because there were many serious inadequacies in the preparation of the meat, demanded by Jewish law, but ignored by butchers and customers alike.[26] In particular, Herz described in some detail the sale of forbidden parts of animals and the improper use of hindquarters, issues which played a considerable part in the evolution of Orthodoxy in Britain over many decades. Herz found the provisions for the baking of mazzoth for Passover as well as the availability and ready access to *Mikva-oth* (ritual baths) equally unsatisfactory.

Herz then turned his attention to the structure and conduct of synagogal services.[27] The descriptions of services one hundred years ago still find many echoes in present day practices and it is here that Herz is at his most sarcastic and contemptuous. He was angered by lay leaders who adjusted services to their personal convenience. So for example, Friday night services were not attended, because people wanted to observe 6 pm as the "Prince of Wales's dinnertime". In some synagogues the first part of the Sabbath morning service, "act one", was dragged out from 9 am – 10.15 or 10.30 until the honorary officers (the "Haute Valée") arrived when "act two" could begin with the reading of the law.[28] Then, as part of the "second act", the preacher *(Prediger)* makes an appearance. His outward guise betrays something of the inner content of what he will offer. He is a "reverend", a type of clergyman without parallel in the Jewish world. He does not have the qualifications of a Rabbi or a Dayan, he is not even a Meturgeman (translator). These reverends do not transmit the teachings of the sages, they act instead as mouthpieces of their honorary officers and other leading members of the congregation. They have to adjust Jewish teaching to the requirements of their masters:

"sie sind somit nicht die geistlichen Führer, sondern die geführten Geistliche... sie lassen dem Gang der Dinge seinen freien Lauf und laufen mit".[29]

In fact, Herz could see little difference between the United Synagogue and the Reform-centred Berkeley Street synagogue, and since the Reform congregation had, in any event, been accepted by the Board of Deputies, differences had shrunk so much that it would be better if they all amalgamated so as not to confuse the genuine followers of Jewish tradition. Herz, who had clearly made a comprehensive study of the Jewish community in London, next turned his attention to social and charitable provisions. He strongly condemned a Board of Guardians practice, which restricted poor relief to those who had been domiciled in England for at least six months, as being contrary to Jewish law, and warned that this rule, which was

[25] MS, p. 6.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8; see also Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 229 and Homa, *Fortress*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[27] MS, p. 14.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

intended to dissuade eligible applicants, would have the consequence that some of them would starve to death, some would fall victim to Christian missionaries, while yet others would be forced to look for sponsors who would enable them to return to Europe.[30] Parents receiving support from the Board of Guardians, who were "caught" paying a rabbi a shilling per week for Hebrew lessons for their children, would have their relief payments stopped instantly.[31] If, Herz argued, cultured people of high social standing, who are interested in helping the poor, will resort to such disgraceful behaviour, then this is because they regard a Jewish life style, Yiddish or Orthodox, as inimical to the proper integration and acculturation of new immigrants. They act like antisemites in ascribing genuinely bad or dirty habits of some religious Jews to their Jewishness and not to their failures as persons. Reviewing the fate of poor Jews who were ill or have died, Herz again finds provisions too basic and the needs of the poor neglected; both their human needs and their Jewish needs:

"... so wie man hier lebt so stirbt man, und wird auch so begraben... unjüdisch von Anfang bis zum Ende".[32]

Nevertheless, for all his criticism and complaint, Herz emphasised that:

"Wir bekämpfen hier nicht Personen sondern ein Princip, das die Menschheit befangen hält und welches zu dem allgemeinen Übel führt, das wir hier bekämpfen wollen. Wir zweifeln nicht einen Augenblick an den edlen Absichten so Vieler, die mit dem besten Beispiel vorangehen und sich von keiner guten Sache ausschließen..."[33]

Good Jewish education was the answer to the problems he had identified, both religious and secular subjects should be taught, provided only that Reform followers should never be allowed to teach. Jews' College was subjected to fierce criticism for offering Reformers and other non-Orthodox speakers a platform from which they propagated heretical views before audiences which included young, impressionable trainees for the ministry. Herz recognised the attraction which close cooperation with non-Orthodox Jews and even sympathetic Christians would have for Anglo-Jewry as a whole, but he had other goals.

"Das Ganze was wir wollen ist: Die Errichtung und Erhaltung unserer jüdischen Institutionen nach Vorschrift unserer unverfälschten, jüdischen Religionsgesetze wie sie uns in Torah, Talmud und den rabbinischen Codices, Schulchan Aruch, überliefert sind."[34]

Apart from his exhaustive studies of the religious life and practices of London Jewry, Herz was very active in a small group of German and East European Jews, who had formed themselves into a *Chevra Machsikei Hadath* which sought to establish a congregation that was properly observant. The problem, as it appeared to this group, lay in the "middle-of-the-road" approach of the wider Orthodox community. The casual attitude towards the interpretation of Jewish law and its

[30] This infamous "six months rule", designed to stem the flow of Jewish migrants to Britain, was introduced by Ephraim Alex who founded the Board of Guardians, and became part of the Board's constitution in 1859–1860. See Lipman, *A Century of Social Service*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[31] MS, p. 30.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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

maintenance was seen as a serious threat, a first step towards complete assimilation. The nominally religious Jew would not educate his children, who in turn would not choose to be non-practising, but would act from complete ignorance, which would then lead to rejection of Jewish law *per se*. By the same token it was argued that the neglect and casual misuse of religious ceremonies and institutions would quickly bring them into disrepute and contempt. Herz tried to demonstrate this with his report. His criticisms are directed not at the absence of religious facilities but at their misuse and trivialisation and it was not long before this debate about principles was tested against the harsh reality of practice.

As Herz had described in some detail, there was in London ample provision for the supply of kosher meat through licensed butchers whose work was supervised under the authority of Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler. Jewish law prescribes that all meat has to be washed and cleansed, and that some parts are always to be discarded e. g. *Chelev* (suet). In London in the 1870s and 1880s a trend had developed which led many kosher butchers to sell meat which was not properly prepared and even that which was forbidden. The members of the *Machsikei Hadath* made representations to the Chief Rabbi. The Chief Rabbi sent a letter to the kosher butchers reminding them that the sale of *Chelev* was not permitted. As a result of this letter the butchers met on 8th May 1891 and decided to send a deputation to the Chief Rabbi to explain to him that the discontinuance of the sale of kidney fat *(Chelev)* was quite impracticable. The Chief Rabbi appears to have accepted this objection, arguing, perhaps, that he and the butchers had done their duty by providing the possibility of kosher meat, leaving it to each individual customer to decide how far they wanted to observe additional rules and prohibitions. Herz and his friends, however, took the view that a butcher who sells improperly prepared or forbidden meat could no longer be regarded as someone who is fit to supply kosher meat. The *Chevra Machsikei Hadath* responded by appointing Rabbi Abba Werner (1837–1912) as their "Rav" and by starting their own provision for kosher meat through reliable butchers.[35]

The Chief Rabbi, as well as the powerful lay leaders, reacted strongly to this step. Their main objection was not the question of kosher meat, but the threat of a breakaway group undermining the unity, and therefore the strength of the community. The Chief Rabbi issued an *Issur* (ban) on the meat provided by the dissident group. This ban was strongly supported and reinforced by Rabbi Yitzchak Elchanan Spector (November 1891), "one of the greatest rabbis of that generation", to whom Dr Adler had appealed for support.[36] Many other rabbis from Russia and Poland wrote in support of the Chief Rabbi, but there were other voices coming from rabbis who responded to appeals from the rebels. The first supporting letter came to Herz from Solomon Breuer, the recently appointed successor to Samson Raphael Hirsch in Frankfurt a. Main. By 1892 the dispute had turned into open warfare with letters, handbills, leaflets and posters covering the East End of London. These contained many hurtful and spiteful accusations and counter-accusa-

[35] *Jewish Chronicle*, 23rd December 1898 in an obituary for Solomon Herz.

[36] The fullest and best account of the ensuing battle over *Kashruth* is in Bernard Homa, *Fortress*, *op. cit.* Although partisan in his views, Homa has provided equal amounts of highly original material for both sides of the conflict.

tions, threatening to destroy the peace of the community. It was at this point that Ya'acov Zinkin (1845–1915), encouraged by Solomon Herz and Yehuda Loewenstein composed a pamphlet to explain the position of the dissident group who were facing the dilemma of having to reject the meat of the London *Beth Din* because it did not conform with *Halakhah*, while their own meat was now *halakhic*-ly also unacceptable because a legitimate *Beth Din*, supported by many rabbinic authorities, had forbidden it.

Following once again the teaching of Samson Raphael Hirsch, who had insisted that truth must come before peace ("Denn der Friede ist nicht ein Vater der Wahrheit, Friede ist ein Kind der Wahrheit"),[37] the pamphlet *Sefer Ha'Emeth Ve' Hashalom* (The Book of Truth and Peace) was published in Lemberg in 1893 and widely circulated in Eastern Europe. It was issued anonymously[38] and in Yiddish, and attempted to address simultaneously two audiences – the rabbis of Eastern Europe who had to be convinced that the London group was serious and sincere in their quest for strict *halakhic* Judaism, and the bemused Jews of London who were anxious about the rift within the Jewish community. It had to be convincing because the Chief Rabbi and his *Beth Din* represented the politically most powerful authority anywhere in Europe, and Jews in England as well as those in Russia and Poland were disturbed by the conflict and reluctant to accept the right of a small group of dissenters to challenge the authority of such a respected *Beth Din*. For all its anonymity, the source of the pamphlet was clear enough. Readers were invited to write to Rabbi Abba Werner or to Solomon Herz and Yehuda Loewenstein, if they wanted to support the cause of the *Machsikei Hadath*. In his introduction Zinkin appeals for help from those who "try to defend true Torah in England" where "... of the whole Torah, all that is left is the temple, with a Chasan (cantor) with a black cloak with long wide arms, with a hat of 6 Zenavot (corners). Add a choir and a Shammas (beadle) in a suit and a box for the honorary officers with a President and other such stupidities which are not prescribed in our Torah nor are such foolish things mentioned."[39] The author makes it clear that he is not merely defending the *Kashruth* issue which sparked off the conflict, but the whole structure and legitimacy of United Synagogue Orthodoxy is called into question to provide a more damning context for the conflict. The language and style of the pamphlet are also designed to inspire recognition – it is a constant flow of biblical quotation with critical comments on the situation in England added occasionally and increasingly sarcastically. To the 'Introduction' is added a long discussion to show that truth must precede peace. There can be no true peace if it is achieved by deliberately withholding the truth. The main body of the pamphlet is divided into five chapters or "discourses". In his first discourse Zinkin argues that misfortune has a reason and that the suffering of Jews in Eastern Europe is matched by the poverty, misery and sickness of Jews in England. There is a great deal of misuse of religion, like the masterful grand celebrations of Bar Mitzvah – "dos ist a Hatchilo mit a Siyyum

[37] Samson Raphael Hirsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Frankfurt a. Main 1906, vol. VI, p. 431.

[38] It is not clear why Zinkin did not put his name to the pamphlet. In a later Hebrew booklet, published posthumously he acknowledged his authorship. Cf. *Sefer Cheshbonoth shel Mitzva*, London 1920, p. 109.

[39] *Sefer Ha'Emeth Ve'Hashalom* (hereafter Zinkin), p. 2. A Hebrew supplement to the Yiddish pamphlet was published (without date but countersigned by the whole committee of the *Machsikei Hadath*). It was addressed to rabbis to solicit their support.

zusammen", i. e. the boy lays *Tefillin* (phylacteries) for the first and last time, or the practice of visiting the synagogue on the Sabbath carrying umbrellas, handkerchiefs etc. The need to observe the Sabbath more correctly is the main theme of the second discourse which is grandly headed, 'The Truth and the Torah – Jews and Judaism', and the main reference is to a discussion of the Sabbath by Samson Raphael Hirsch.[40] The problem, argued Zinkin, was that many English Jews wanted to observe the Sabbath, but through ignorance or worse did not bother with "petty detail" and thereby desecrated the Sabbath.

The third discourse is devoted to the synagogue service and Jewish law. Zinkin contrasts the casual, *halakhic*-ly often incorrect approach in London synagogues and their "Reverends", who "neither ask nor care" about *Halakhah*, "with the meticulously correct and comprehensive services and teaching offered by the *Chevra Machsikei Shabbos*, "a truly holy place".[41]

In his fourth discourse, devoted to a discussion of "righteousness and peace", Zinkin develops a sophisticated philosophical argument about the right of Jews to use animals for food. After a caustic comment that the discussion must be kept short to reduce printing costs, and also because "English Jews have no time to read",[42] he goes on to say that the right to kill animals only exists if it is done as a *Mitzvah*, a divine commandment. Where that is the case both man and beast are acting out their divinely ordained roles. But – if the *shochet* (slaughterer) does not observe the Sabbath properly, where loyalty and strict adherence to the law are not paramount – "vos ist der Heter fir asolche Leit zu mordin nebbich dem armen Baal Chai un vergiessen sein Blut un essen sein Fleisch?"[43] Rabbis and reverends have a duty to preach and instruct, but unhappily the world today is "so civilised" that laws are ignored and Judaism is only a ceremony. Rabbis and preachers are afraid of lay leaders *(Parnassim)*. Sermons are limited to half an hour, are delivered in three-cornered hats like those of the Christian clergy and are used only to learn and teach English. There are things tolerated in London which Russian rabbis would not believe though they take place openly for all to see. Yet there are also some loyal and observant Jews led by a truly observant rabbi – an oblique reference to Rabbi Abba Werner, who was a prime target of the opponents of the *Machsikei Hadath*.[44]

A final discourse on 'Peace', deals most directly with the conflict in London. Zinkin insists that "they" are not looking for strife and quarrel, but they cannot accept the lack of faith and observance, the levels of ignorance and incompetence of the "Reverends", whose sole interest is personal advantage and who preach only about learning English. What the dissenters are demanding is: "No Chasanim, no choir, no boxes, no president, no honours, no pride – only the honour of the Torah, the honour of the Almighty".[45] This is followed by a demand to explain why the "establishment" should "persecute" the *Machsikei Hadath*, merely because they try

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[40] Cf. the essay, 'Der jüdische Sabbath', in Hirsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 1902. Zinkin, although an East European writer, referred to Hirsch as the "heiliger Zadik Rabbiner Hirsch" (p. 20).

[41] Zinkin, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 36, i. e. "what right do such people have to murder a poor living creature, to shed its blood and to eat its flesh?"

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

to enforce Jewish law. The "Lordim", "Doctorim" and their reverends are challenged to accept that in official (i. e. United Synagogue) circles, levels of ignorance and indifference are such that it ill behoves the official leadership to try to suppress the truly faithful.

Britain, said Zinkin, in a final paragraph, is a free country. Socialists and Reform Jews are free to do as they please, why not the *Machsikei Hadath*? Why mislead Russian rabbis to pronounce bans *(Issurim)*? The dissenters are the last group in England to be persecuted for their belief, the victims of an Anglo-Jewish inquisition, but, like their ancestors, they will not give way – they will remain loyal to the Torah.[46]

The pamphlet clearly made its mark in Eastern Europe and many rabbis in Russia now wrote in support of the *Machsikei Hadath*. In particular the support of the Chofez Chajim, then arguably the most famous and revered rabbi anywhere, was enough to counterbalance earlier rabbinic condemnations. The *Machsikei Hadath* became a recognised independent community, although it was never large enough to be financially secure. For all the bitterness of the dispute, there were strong forces on either side who urged for a "reunion", which was finally achieved some fourteen years later (1905), when the *Machsikei Hadath* was recognised and financially supported. In its turn the independent congregation now recognised and acknowledged the authority of the Chief Rabbi. Typically, the two most powerful and influential opponents of the *Machsikei Hadath*, Lord Rothschild of the United Synagogue and Sir Samuel Montagu (later Lord Swaythling) of the Federation of Synagogues personally made a loan of £1,000 to the near bankrupt *Machsikei Hadath*.[47]

In retrospect, two factors of interest emerge from this conflict. Firstly, it was an issue which transcended traditional cultural boundaries. Dissenters were a genuine mix of German and East European Jews in conflict with the "Englishness" of the Jews of London. Secondly, the conflict established the right of independence. It was the fundamental event which changed the monolithic Orthodox community by positing the possibility of an Orthodox pluralism, which in turn helped to sustain and support an Orthodoxy which otherwise might well have been overwhelmed by the attractions of Englishness. In this sense, the story of the *Machsikei Hadath* is the story of the English version of the battle over *Austritt*. Samson Raphael Hirsch's name figures strongly among the leaders of the rebellion. It was Hirsch's concept which gave direction and justification to the long struggle. In this sense we would certainly argue that the impact of German Jews as bearers of Hirschian ideas was paramount here and destined to continue.

The resolution of the great conflict was not all sweetness and light. A small but strong group of mostly German Jews were not happy with the compromise, especially the submission to the authority of the Chief Rabbi. This group congregated around the North London *Beth Hamedrash*. Julius Lunzer became a leading activist from 1892 on. Solomon Herz and Michael Levy, a son-in-law of Samson Raphael Hirsch, were also very active and maintained a vigorous liaison with the

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

[47] Homa, *Fortress, op. cit.*, p. 67. Also Albert M. Hyamson, *The London Board for Shechita 1804–1954*, London 1954, pp. 45–48.

Machsikei Hadath. When the latter was amalgamated with the Federation of Synagogues in 1905, the North London Synagogue moved to larger premises and decided to establish a "Kehilla on the lines of similar bodies in Vienna, Berlin, Frankfurt etc.", in other words to emphasise its independence by forming an "Austrittsgemeinde".[48] In 1909 the new congregation appointed Rabbi Victor Schonfeld (1880–1930) as its spiritual leader; a bold step to take at a time when most London congregations were led by graduate ministers known as reverends. Schonfeld's background was Hungary and Vienna. He certainly identified the key problem of Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy very quickly, helped, as I have indicated earlier, by the manuscript of Solomon Herz and the pamphlet *Sefer Ha'Emet Ve'Hashalom*. Almost immediately on his arrival, Schonfeld set up a *Kashruth* and an education committee, both of which were destined to transform Orthodoxy and remain influential to this day.

The *Kashruth* committee worked closely with the special group of the *Machsikei Hadath*. The young rabbi also established a study group for adolescents, the *Chevra Ben Zakkai*, which was intended to ensure the loyalty of coming generations and included among its members such famous names as Cecil Roth and Bernard Homa. A *mikvah* was also provided and in 1911 the congregation became the "Adath Yisroel Synagogue incorporating the North London Beth Hamidrash".[49] Schonfeld inspired great loyalty among his followers and if the very independent path he followed did not meet the same ferocious opposition this was due to a considerable extent to the exhaustion following the fierce and futile battle over the *Machsikei Hadath*. The sincerity and success of the *Adath Yisroel* led to the formation of other similar bodies[50] and in 1926 Schonfeld brought these like-minded bodies together in a Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations; an organisation unique in Anglo-Jewry in that it is and always has been managed and dominated more by its rabbis rather than by its lay leaders. The Union's aim was to raise standards of Orthodox provisions and practice, especially in *Kashruth*, education, charity and family sanctity. It quickly became the pace-setter for standards in Orthodoxy and has exercised considerable influence ever since, mainly perhaps because it has not attempted to dictate levels of observance for those not committed to their organisation. In classic Jewish style they have taught by example rather than by instruction. This is well illustrated by the success of the *Kedassia* system of *Kashruth* which was organised jointly by the *Adath Yisroel* and the Union and which has achieved wide recognition in spite of considerable competition from mainstream Orthodox centres like the United Synagogue.

A second, enormously influential innovation of Victor Schonfeld was the foundation of the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement. After a prolonged campaign of propaganda, negotiations and fundraising the first Jewish Secondary School was opened in Finsbury Park in September 1929. Three months later Schonfeld died and the school was kept going with considerable difficulties by a

[48] Cf. *Adath Yisroel Synagogue. Silver Jubilee Book 1911–1936*, London 1936, pp. 7–8.

[49] This was the official designation as set out in the *North London Beth Hamidrash Rules and Regulations*, London 1915.

[50] By 1930 there were nine like-minded congregations with some 3,000 members, cf. *Jewish Chronicle*, 31st January 1930. The formal title of the organisation, adopted on 15th February 1931 was *Hitachduth Kehilloth Ha'Charedim*; see also Grunfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95.

small band of enthusiasts and Schonfeld's widow. Solomon Schonfeld, son and successor of Victor, was then eighteen years old. He went abroad and returned three years later with a rabbinical diploma and a doctorate and took over his father's duties as "Rav" of the *Adath Yisroel*, Presiding Rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations and honorary Principal of the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement. Things did not go all that well at first. A comprehensive investigation of what was known as the "Victor Schonfeld School" by the inspectors of the Board of Education in 1936 found some 123 children on the roll, but they refused to recognise the school, because of many shortcomings. Additional premises were acquired in that year and the school's performance was given a considerable boost when the formidable Dr. Judith Grunfeld became Headmistress of the Girls' School. Solomon Schonfeld, who had married the daughter of Chief Rabbi Hertz, was now increasingly involved with his father-in-law in rescuing Jews from Germany and this included many children who were educated, and frequently housed, by the Secondary Schools Movement. In 1944 the Movement set up further schools in Golders Green, where a new Hasmonean Grammar School led to substantial educational developments, including a new superintendent of education, Dr. Eli Munk. The experience of Nazism, the war and the Holocaust certainly made the Jews of England more receptive to the need for Jewish education. At the same time, the experience of German Jewry did much to dissipate the seductive influence of Englishness, while the new Jewish State became the recipient of much of the nationalist fervour which an earlier generation had reserved for England.

Yet it was not only external circumstances which were beneficial in enabling the Secondary Schools Movement to survive in spite of many handicaps and a great deal of enthusiastic but ill-informed amateurishness. Victor Schonfeld was politically very astute and read the situation in which he found himself correctly. As far as the schools were concerned he addressed the widest possible public and succeeded in inveigling for his cause such staunch centralists as Robert Waley Cohen and Isaac Wolfson. He saw his schools as the right medium for a new and more profound Orthodoxy without, however, including this in formal statements of policy. Here Jewishness and Jewish values were stressed as a true replication of Samson Raphael Hirsch's educational philosophy. His approach was very different in relation to his *Adath Yisroel* Synagogue. Here it was not so much Hirsch's *Torah im Derech Eretz* which mattered – it was the philosophy of *Austritt*, although it has to be said that he shied away from acknowledging this, not least because in his educational aspirations he was looking to the community as a whole for support. These issues were made explicit in an exchange of letters in the mid 1920s with J. C. Gilbert.

Gilbert protested to Schonfeld[51] who had refused to attend a family wedding which was held under the auspices of the United Synagogue. In his reply Schonfeld wrote: "I have made it quite clear that my sole reason was that I do not want to make a rule of attending functions in the United Synagogue because I do not regard it as a strictly Orthodox institution."[52] Gilbert had earlier challenged the inconsistency of Schonfeld's views and attitudes to the United Synagogue.[53] Schonfeld developed

[51] In a letter dated 5th May 1925.

[52] Reply to J. C. Gilbert dated 8th May 1925.

[53] V. Schonfeld was too astute to openly advocate a philosophy of *Austritt*. From his original application

this at length in a long letter to Gilbert. After quoting unacceptable practices in some United Synagogues which therefore were "Reform Synagogues for all intents and purposes..." he argued nevertheless that "our Synagogue was never established as an 'Austrittsgemeinde' in the continental sense. Legal, social and religious conditions are quite different here. We wanted to create a focus round which to gather those *Yehudim* who want to maintain strict Orthodoxy irrespective of whether they owe allegiance to other synagogues or not, or try to spread orthodox principles also by different methods in different quarters." Schonfeld argued further that "we differ from many an Austrittsgemeinde who, as a rule do not care a jot as to what happens on the other side of the fence... I said in... a sermon that we must have our windows open to communicate with Jewry outside".[54] He defends his position by reference to Samson Raphael Hirsch. At the end of the long letter he writes: "There exists an authoritative statement on this matter by no lesser person than Rabbi S. R. Hirsch himself." In answer to a statement sent to him on the state of the London Jewish community – by no means too black or exaggerated[55] – he writes in the year 1888 – "Meine Erfahrung hat mich gelehrt, daß zwischen orthodoxen und nicht orthodoxen Juden in religiösen Dingen kein Compromiss statthaftig ist, jeder solche Compromiss führt zum Unheil überall."[56]

Victor Schonfeld was certainly guided by that view. For all his determination to build and maintain links (especially via his schools) with the Jews of the United Synagogue, he was adamant that "... the London Beth Din is not a strictly orthodox one and cannot therefore implicitly be relied upon in matters of *Kashruth*".[57] The reasons he gives for that judgement are not personal criticisms of *dayyanim*, but the fact that they "condone and actually associate themselves with synagogues and clergy who openly and systematically set aside Jewish law and practice".[58] Schonfeld found mainstream or middle-of-the-road Orthodoxy in London no less wanting than his predecessors did in the 1890s but he avoided open confrontation to the advantage of both sides.

Boards of Management of synagogues are rarely distinguished by far-sighted planning but the lay leaders of the *Adath Yisroel* Synagogue can fairly claim that distinction. In 1930 as we have seen, at a mere 50 years of age, Victor Schonfeld died and his son went off to Europe to be trained. To fill the gap until Solomon returned, the congregation appointed Rabbi Dr. Eli Munk (1900–1978) to fill the position. When Schonfeld returned duly qualified, the Synagogue awarded Rabbi Munk a small salary for one year to enable him to find a position elsewhere in London. This he did in 1934 when he started a new *minyan* in Golders Green which was destined to become the influential Golders Green *Beth Hamedrash*, or Munk's *shul*.[59] This was at

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for the London post (1908) to the end of his life Schonfeld had advocated Hirsch's "Torah im Derech Eretz" policy. Nevertheless, the original decision to appoint a rabbi for the breakaway congregation *Adath Yisroel* was to create a *Kehillah* "on the lines of similar bodies in Vienna, Berlin, Frankfurt etc." (i. e. the centres of *Austrittsgemeinden*). Schonfeld pursued a policy of separatism in all congregational affairs but did not say so. (*Adath Yisroel Silver Jubilee*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.)

[54] There is a (somewhat untidy) draft of a reply to J. Gilbert dated 9th May 1924.

[55] See above re the MS of Solomon Herz.

[56] From the reply of Rabbi Hirsch to Mr. Rapp who passed on the material from Mr. Herz.

[57] Letter to Dr. Levy dated 14th April 1926.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] For a full account of Eli Munk, see 'Biography', in *The Blessing of Eliyahu. A Volume dedicated to the*

first an almost entirely German *minyan* composed in the main of refugees whose backgrounds were predominantly the great Orthodox communities in Germany. The new congregation was always, and remains, fiercely independent, and dedicated to a classic Hirschian *Torah im Derech Eretz*.[60] Munk set up a primary school which co-operated with and fed into the Hasmonean Secondary Schools set up by Schonfeld. He tried briefly to start a *yeshivah* in 1948 and also started a "Kashrus News Service" which is now well established and has been copied elsewhere. In 1960 the Hasmonean Grammar School for boys started a "Yeshiva Stream" and with that a link was forged with England's biggest and most famous *Yeshivah* in Gateshead, itself to a considerable extent, the creation of German Jews.[61]

The Gateshead *Yeshivah*, like the *Machsikei Hadath* we discussed earlier, owes its existence and importance to a happy combination of East European Jewish tenacity and German-Jewish talent for organisation. It was the fifth *yeshivah* to be established in England, as the realisation of an idea advocated by the *shochet* of Sunderland in 1927. The idea was supported by the renowned Chofez Chajim of Radin (Poland) who also recommended a first *Rosh* (Head) for the planned college. Like many other *yeshivoth*, it began with a couple of boys and a teacher who spent as much time travelling round the UK to collect funds as he did in teaching. The *Yeshivah* grew slowly but steadily and received an unexpected boost when refugee boys from Germany started to arrive from places like Halberstadt, Fulda and particularly, from Nuremberg.[62] By 1939 the *Yeshivah* with 100 boys was working to capacity and now developed a senior group drawn from the more advanced refugee students. A number of very able people came to Gateshead as adults and between them helped to turn this small provincial centre into a formidable educational complex. This included a boarding school for boys led for a time by Rabbis Dr. Moses Loeb Bamberger (1902–1960) born in Bad Kissingen and later Rabbi of Mainz and A. Gruner (1919–1974), and a Teacher Training College for Girls (the famous "Sem") started by Abraham Kohn (1904–1988) in 1944.[63] A Primary School was opened by Rabbi S. Wagschal, who was born in Austria and raised in the *Adass Yisrael* congregation in Berlin and subsequently "graduated" in Gateshead. A High School for Girls and a Nursery complete this educational empire in which the central roles of talmudic teaching were filled by rabbis of East European origins while the complementary roles, which always also called for some expertise in secular fields, were filled by teachers from Central Europe. Clearly such a large

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memory of Rabbi Dr. Eliyahu Munk, London 1982. Munk's father was rabbi of the *Adath Yisroel* congregation in Berlin, a famous "Austrittsgemeinde".

[60] For historical information see *Yearbook of the Golders Green Beth Hamedrash Congregation* 1973–1974 and 1977–1978.

[61] There were no *yeshivoth* in England until the present century, not least because they are in total contrast to everything approaching Englishness. The first *yeshivah* was opened in London in 1903 *(Etz Chaim)* which, for a long time, was the only *yeshivah* in London. The provincial communities did better with *yeshivoth* established in: Manchester 1911; Leeds 1912; Liverpool 1914; Gateshead 1927; Glasgow 1936; Sunderland 1946. Since then there has been a considerable proliferation of these institutions throughout the United Kingdom; cf. B. Homa, *Orthodoxy in Anglo-Jewry 1880–1940*, London 1969, p. 51.

[62] Most of the archives of the Gateshead *Yeshivah* were lost in a fire in 1966. Some information on the impact of German refugee students may be gleaned from the 'Introduction' to Hezekiah Elieser Kahan, *Sefer Nachlat Elieser*, Jerusalem 1971, vol. I, esp. pp. 11–12.

[63] A. Gruner came from the Frankfurt a. Main *Yeshivah* founded by Solomon Breuer. Abraham Kohn came from Nuremberg.

complex could not be maintained by teachers soliciting funds from well-wishers, and here too the intervention of German Jews was critical. Fritz Nussbaum (1896–1975) was born in Frankfurt a. Main and educated in the Samson Raphael Hirsch School. He fled Germany in 1938 and settled in Gateshead where he eventually became the President of the Gateshead *Kehillah*. He took an active interest in the *Yeshivah* and in 1966 organised the establishment of a "Gateshead Foundation for Torah" which was to secure the great enterprise financially.[64] This became a reality with the advent of the Hubert family. Arthur Hubert (born 1904) was born in Schlüchtern where his family had long been active in the metal trade. He was educated in Fulda. Following the *"Kristallnacht"* he was confined in Buchenwald and on his release fled to England and settled as a storekeeper in Blackburn. In 1948 he set out to start a business of his own and soon achieved considerable success which enabled him to embark on a philanthropic career from which Jews the world over have benefited, but first and foremost Gateshead and its Foundation.[65]

German Jews can fairly claim to be parents of this educational empire, but the ideal to which the *Yeshivah* subscribed and on which it modelled itself owes little if anything to the dream of a Jewish world of *Torah im Derech Eretz*. It was and remains a classic pursuit of religious perfection, which set and followed uncompromising standards of observance. The boys who left London, especially Golders Green *Beth Hamedrash*, with a strong Hirschian consciousness, returned home imbued with a Jewishness which owed its inspiration to the great talmudical centres of pre-war Poland and Russia. Gateshead has no time and no place for the middle of the road Orthodoxy of the United Synagogue, yet it is the continuing growth and development of a religious "right", to which German Jews have contributed so much, which has made and continues to make the survival of "middle-of-the-road" Judaism possible. It is the strength of the "right" which prevents the middle-of-the-roaders from sliding into the trap of total assimilation. In other words, there has been a change in the meaning of the metaphor. Whereas in earlier times, when Englishness reigned, the idea was to maintain contact with ever less observing Jews on the left of the spectrum, to preserve their Jewishness by diluting its content, today, even the middle-of-the-roaders are inclined to abandon the left, to take their cues and seek the approval of a religious right which becomes ever more demanding. It is no longer the camber of the road which is at issue, but the electrified rail on the right which provides the energy and impetus for the whole track.

The developments and conflicts which have been discussed in this paper, from the Englishness of the second half of the nineteenth century to the radical rightists of the present day, are all concerned in one way or another with *Halakhah* - Jewish law. For the most part, it was always a question of how much law and observance should involve, against how much of the law can be sacrificed and abandoned without damaging an essential Jewish identity. If we review the experiences of German Jews in England, the roles as catalysts for change for some, and the more common Anglicisation of others, we have to note that committment to Jewish law was not exclusively the determining factor. There were German Jews who furthered and

[64] Cf. Chaim H. Stark (ed.), *The Gateshead Foundation for Torah. This is Gateshead*, Gateshead 5734/1974. Though explicitly propagandistic, there is a great deal of rare information in this brochure.

[65] Simon Kalisch, *A Builder of Judaism. The Story of Arthur Hubert and his Family*, Manchester 1978.

extended the Reform movement in England, there were others who joined and rendered faithful service to the broadly Orthodox organised community, and there were the fiery radicals who, always in the spirit of the great master Samson Raphael Hirsch, began with the *Austritt* theory which demands a precise conceptualisation of what you wish to leave before making concrete that which you will have to join or build in its place.

Jewish law itself is not the only criterion here. We have, both historically and in our own time, ample evidence of groups, equally devoted to the most rigorous adherence of *Halakhah*, without however sharing common interests and common concerns. One thinks here of *Hasidim* and *Mithnagdim*, tensions between different *hasidic* sects and the conflicts we have mentioned here between genuinely Orthodox followers of the London *Beth Din* (court of law) and the breakaway groups. Here the identifying and separating features are not in Jewish law, but in the social and economic structures which are developed as a means to carry and facilitate observance of the law. We have been looking at sub-cultures, characterised by territory, by dress, food, language[66] and status. Each sub-culture also establishes its own social institutions, as we have seen with regard to synagogues, schools, *mikvaoth* and charity organisations. Perhaps then the history we have followed is not the critical one. It may be that instead we should have looked at the relationship between and within sub-cultures.

[66] The inclusion of language calls for some elaboration. Apart from the majority of Anglo-Jewry, who speak fluent English, there are groups who still speak and teach their children in Yiddish while West European Jews, who are closely identified with the *yeshivah* world are cultivating a distinctive language style of English heavily laced with Hebrew words and phrases (with mixed pronounciations) and to a lesser extent with Yiddish. Here for example is a sentence taken from an obituary in the *Jewish Tribune* (of the "ultra-Orthodox" community in London) of 21st September 1989: "The emotions (and tears) aroused by a gevenliche, vochedike Rachem no... Al Yisroel amecho etc. were so poignant and throbbing that Rochel Zissel charged the atmosphere around her with a dveikus and hisragshus which few of us ordinary mortals can muster even at the end of ne'iloh."

ALBERT H. FRIEDLANDER

The German Influence on Progressive Judaism in Great Britain

I

Julius Carlebach dealing with Orthodox Judaism provides an exemplary approach to the problems of chronicling the development of religious institutions and teachings affected by the emigration from Germany to Great Britain of groups, individuals and ideas. Carlebach does not only explore Orthodox Judaism as such, but also gives a picture of Anglo-Jewry which is a fine sensitive presentation of its history, sociology and response to the various pressures and challenges of a new environment by believing Jews who came to Great Britain. The reader is thus prepared for the new dimension of Progressive Judaism which is offered in this brief survey.

I realise that there are those who will be worried by the contention that Orthodoxy and Progressive Judaism are closely linked, particularly within the current atmosphere of confrontation which has led a leading Liberal rabbi (Rabbi Sidney Brichto) to declare publicly that Lord Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of the United Synagogue, in Brichto's view does not speak for the Progressive Jewish community; and that this would also apply to the next Chief Rabbi elected without the participation of non-Orthodoxy.[1] Against this, one could list dozens of declarations by Right-wing Orthodox leaders denying Progressive Judaism even the right to consider itself part of Jewish life. Yet Carlebach and I view a past where Singer's *Siddur*[2] included an introduction by a Progressive thinker. And, as to the immediate past, when describing the Leo Baeck College, only lack of space prevents me from including a lengthy excursus upon the life and teachings of Meir Gertner, a teacher at the College who might well be claimed by Orthodoxy. However, we might still

[1] The nomination of Jonathan Sacks as the next Chief Rabbi offers some hope that the climate of open discussion between traditionalism and the Progressive Jewish community will continue. At the same time, it is clear that greater pressures from the Right Wing will be put upon the new incumbent, and that an earlier German and European tradition aware of the outer culture is giving way to a stronger influence from Israel and from the *Hasidic* community which tends to close itself to the world outside Judaism.

[2] The notes to Singer's *Siddur* were the work of Israel Abrahams, Singer's son-in-law, who was able to lecture at Jews' College and still made important intellectual contributions to the Liberal movement in Great Britain (the Jewish Religious Union). Israel Mattuck's Liberal Jewish Prayerbook of 1937 quotes Abrahams in his introduction: "... The formulation of the highest truth needs constant revision... when dogma takes the place of love, religion is dead. And a liturgy that cannot expand, that cannot absorb the best religious teaching of the age... is not a prayer fresh from the supplicant's heart." Israel Abrahams, *Aspects of Judaism*, 2nd edn., London 1895, p. 46. See also Jakob J. Petuchowski's definitive study, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, New York 1968, pp. 276, 385. Professor Petuchowski, born in Berlin, spent some time within the British Jewish community, and his thoughts and writings (some of them for the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain) should not be ignored in any assessment of the German influence on British religious thought. There was a time when it was hoped that he could be the Principal of the Leo Baeck College. Had he come to occupy a Reform pulpit in London, he might have created more links between Progressive and Orthodox Jewish life. He has had considerable impact upon post-war Germany through his many books published by the Herder Verlag.

pause for a moment to consider his life, since it illustrates the difficulties of setting narrow boundaries. Meir Gertner was an Eastern European Jew. Yet he was one of the great bridge builders between German-Jewish culture and the rest of the Diaspora – or Israel – when one remembers that he translated Max Brod into Hebrew. His studies and research in Germany, his life within the late flowering of German-Jewish culture, and his transmitting of that tradition to his students at the Leo Baeck College, all of this belongs to an appraisal of the German tradition as it became rooted in Britain. And it was no accident that an anthology and an appraisal of his life was edited for *B'nai B'rith* by a leading Orthodox Jew, Fred Worms, and by the Director of the Leo Baeck College.[3] Meir Gertner taught *midrash* at the College, and many of his pupils' sermons still reflect the use of sources taught by him, using Kafka, Buber, and even Schiller, alongside the rabbinic texts which are the foundation of Jewish homiletics.

All this should not obscure the reality of an indigenous Progressive Judaism within Great Britain which was greatly influenced by German Jewry but certainly not created by it. In his cheerfully prejudiced approach to this field, Caesar Seligmann speaks of Lily Montagu and Claude Montefiore who founded the Jewish Religious Union in 1902, "einen Reformverein nach dem Muster der Berliner Reformgemeinde, mit ähnlichem Gottesdienst wie diese. Die Motive waren die gleichen wie in Deutschland..."[4] But it was not the same, even when one acknowledges what was shared. Indeed, the end result of the specific explorations is the recognition of the uniqueness of Anglo-Jewry in all of its dimensions, rooted in a specific Jewish community, under particular pressures, with an inheritance from a country which, with all its limitations, still gave freedom for the development of a Jewish pattern which drew from the ancient past and from the immediate present, and which was transformed by a wave of German immigration which was, in its turn, transformed by Great Britain.

One further point should be made, which certainly indicates private prejudice, but which is also based upon the reality of Anglo-Jewish life. In the latter part of the twentieth century, the Progressive movement has had an impact upon Jewish life in Great Britain which is far in excess of the numbers actually belonging to Progressive congregations. And, by the same token, the impact of the German Jews who arrived after 1930 has also been far stronger than could be surmised from their numbers. This applies to all sections of Anglo-Jewry. One might argue that the special conditions of the 1930s, and the ability of this new group of new arrivals to adjust to Great Britain, as well as clearly organised and cherished patterns of beliefs and practices, all contributed to the speedy adaption made by those who came, and that a sobered Anglo-Jewry, viewing the Holocaust from a distance, was able to accept what the displaced German Jews had to give. But then one goes back to the pattern presented by Julius Carlebach, and one is able to see that the relationship between Anglo-Jewry and the German-Jewish community goes back over the centuries, and that the pattern of today is based upon shared traditions which make Anglo-Jewry a unique phenomenon within the history of World Jewry.

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[3] See Albert H. Friedlander and Fred S. Worms (eds.), *Meir Gertner. An Anthology*, London 1978.

[4] Caesar Seligmann, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Reformbewegung*, Frankfurt a. Main 1922, pp. 141 ff.

II

It can be argued, with some justice, that Progressive Judaism is the child of German Reform Judaism and that its theology and practices, customs, ceremonies and organisational life are best understood as a variety of an existing movement of contemporary Jewish life transplanted from Germany. However, this can also be misleading. Rivalry between conflicting interpretations of Judaism has created a polemic approach to Judaism which tries to exclude those interpretations which do not conform to that of the polemicist. There is, in the end, only one Judaism. Communal life in every country gives it a particular shape and, from a historical perspective, one could distinguish between individual "Judaisms". One can trace transmitted *minhagim*, prayers and communal patterns which have been taken from the native country to a new land, but the underlying faith has not changed. The fact that sharp and distinct lines have been drawn within Anglo-Jewry often reflects an established hierarchy as much as doctrine, as Israel Finestein points out:

> "Lionel Cohen and Samuel Montagu held strongly conflicting opinions on the best methods of organizing East End Jewry. Not until 1886 was the Reform community represented on the Board."[5]

That there were distinct communities cannot be denied, nor the conflict between them. And Lloyd Gartner's study of *The Jewish Immigrant* examines the religion of disparate communities moving into Britain as *hevrot*, encountering the *hevrot* left over by the earlier German- and Dutch-Jewish immigration of the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. It is a fascinating exploration of cross-cultural interplay, but does not actually deal with the theological issues and new approaches which gave Progressive Anglo-Jewry its German dimension.[6]

III

The Progressive movement, both Liberal and Reform, owed much to Germany. One must, nonetheless, start with the fact that both the movements were indigenous British creations. The Jewish Religious Union was established, as stated earlier, in 1902 by Claude Montefiore, the Hon. Lily Montagu and Israel Abrahams. Its connection with German Progressive thought is unmistakable. Claude Montefiore even studied at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin. Lily

[5] Israel Finestein, 'The New Community 1880–1918', in Vivian D. Lipman (ed.), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish Life*, London 1961, p. 107.

[6] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914*, London 1960. Of interest is Gartner's comment related to the relative prosperity of the German immigrants to Great Britain: "[The *Jewish Chronicle*, 20th August 1880] estimated that 'of the Jewish poor in the Metropolis it is probable that 90 per cent are Russians.' Not counted amongst them were the German Jewish immigrants, who formed a more prosperous group of tradesmen and skilled workmen. They came in small but steady numbers largely from German Poland, and their migration was comparatively unaffected by the crises in Russia", pp. 41–42. Since the scope of Gartner's work on the immigrants around the turn of the century basically involves Eastern European Jewry, the omission of developments within German Jewry is understandable, although his descriptions of the religious conflicts between the immigrants and Anglo-Jewry might have been able to include the beginnings of German-Jewish religious thought which was not all totally traditional.

Montagu, through the work of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in which she came to meet and work with Leo Baeck, established firm links with German Jewry. In the 1920s, at a Berlin conference of the World Union, she made her well-known speech exhorting the women to come down from the gallery and to join their husbands in the synagogue pews. The Liberal Jewish Synagogue, established in 1912, was led by an American-trained rabbi, Israel Mattuck; that outstanding teacher and organiser brought an American Reform with him which must be understood in terms of its German origins.

The difference between American Reform Judaism and the English Progressive movements must be noted here. While the United States movement also had its indigenous beginnings (in Charleston, S. C.) it can be seen quite clearly as the achievement of the German rabbis who came to the United States after 1848: Isaac M. Wise, David Einhorn, Samuel Hirsch, Samuel Adler and their colleagues planted the seeds of German Reform in a rich soil.[7] The prayerbooks (Einhorn's *Olath Tamid* was a German text), newspaper (Wise's *Die Deborah*) – even the minutes of rabbinic Conferences (Philadelphia) were in German![8] The professors at the Hebrew Union College under Wise and Kohler were generally German or German-trained (even Nelson Glueck, Sheldon Blank, Jacob Marcus and other American-born rabbis went to Germany to study) and the German émigrés in the thirties (Eugen Taeubler, Julius Lewy, Franz Landsberger, Heschel, Guttmann, Atlas etc.) saw a fulfilment of German Reform take place in America which had faltered on the Continent.[9] By contrast, the British Liberal and Reform movements must be considered native to England. If the new Reform initiated by the founding of the West London Synagogue in 1840 evoked a ban from Chief Rabbi N. M. Adler when he arrived from Hanover in 1845, it must be stated that this ban was largely ignored within Orthodoxy. West London was not a German Reform congregation. Its innovations were sermons in the vernacular, an organ and a shorter service. Its members continued to marry within the Orthodox community, and the slow emergence of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain evidenced the majestic gradualism and spirit of compromise of the British scene which had few connections to the fervour and turmoil of the German one. As Reform became an independent movement, it drew upon the resources of that German scene. "Jüdische Wissenschaft" became an indispensable tool, although one can argue here that the scholars in Cambridge created their own branch of the science, and that Schechter, Montefiore and Loewe were the mentors of British Jewry. In any event,

[7] The impact of German Reform on both American and British Reform has been repeatedly dealt with in studies of the Leo Baeck Institute. See a. o., H. G. Reissner, 'The German-American Jews (1800–1850)', in *Year Book X of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1965, pp. 57–116; Gershon Greenberg, 'Mendelssohn in America. David Einhorn's Radical Reform Judaism', in *Year Book XVII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1982, pp. 281–293. Todd M. Endelman, 'The Englishness of Jewish Modernity', and Michael A. Meyer, 'German-Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America', in Jacob Katz (ed.), *Toward Modernity. The European Jewish Model*, New Brunswick–Oxford 1987, publication of the Leo Baeck Institute, pp. 225–246 and 248–267.

[8] See Isaac M. Wise, *The World of My Books*, American Jewish Archives, transl., with an introduction and explanatory notes by Albert H. Friedlander, Cincinnati 1954.

[9] Cf. Eric E. Hirshler (ed.), *Jews from Germany in the United States*, particularly Adolf Kober's 'Aspects of the Influence of Jews from Germany on American Jewish Spiritual Life in the 19th Century'; Albert H. Friedlander's 'Cultural Contributions of the German Jew in America'; and Appendix I, a list of German rabbis who came to the USA.

a cursory overview can only indicate the gradual developments within the British Progressive community, and the dramatic changes which took place when the German refugees began arriving in the 1930s. This can be seen in terms of individuals who came here, laity as well as the German rabbis. It can be seen in the wholesale transfer of a progressive community – Georg Salzberger's congregation from Frankfurt a. Main. And it is perhaps most evident in the establishment of the Leo Baeck College in London.

Rabbi Georg Salzberger's "New Liberal Congregation" was, in some ways, a paradigm of the German-Jewish communities who came to Britain. British congregations accepted the new wave of immigration in the 1930s into their midst and both Orthodox and Progressive Jewish communities were enriched through these newcomers. However, the desire to worship in their old, accustomed ways and to maintain themselves as a community led to the establishment of new synagogues. The Liberal movement, particularly through Rabbi Israel Mattuck and Lily Montagu, was particularly helpful here. Salzberger describes this in his autobiography, which also lists some of his colleagues and congregational leaders involved in establishing the "New Liberal Synagogue"; it includes a moving evocation of refugees attending a first German-language service in exile and may – for once – be quoted in the original German:

"Da war es ein dankenswertes Entgegenkommen, als Rabbi Dr. Israel Mattuck auf Anregung von The Hon. Lily H. Montagu seine Liberal Jewish Synagogue den Flüchtlingen für Freitagabend-Gottesdienste nach ihrer Art zur Verfügung stellte. Hier fand am 24. März 1939 bei gefülltem Gotteshaus der erste deutsch-liberale Gottesdienst mit Vorbeter, Chor und Orgelbegleitung statt. Manchen Besuchern traten die Tränen in die Augen als sie die von Kindheit an gewohnten Lewandkowsky'schen Melodien und eine Predigt in der Muttersprache wieder hörten. Diese Gottesdienste wurden lange fortgesetzt. Rabbiner deutscher Gemeinden hielten abwechselnd die Predigt, die Rabbiner Italiener (Hamburg) Schreiber (Potsdam), Swarsenski (Berlin), ich (Frankfurt am Main) und andere Kantoren der ehemaligen Grossgemeinden wie Davidsohn (Berlin) und Naumow-Fleischmann (Frankfurt am Main) fungierten als Vorbeter...

Nach reiflichen Erwägungen fiel die Entscheidung... zugunsten einer eigenen Gemeinde. Die Organisatoren waren führende Persönlichkeiten der ehemaligen Deutschen Grossgemeinden: Moritz Rosenthal, Dr. Walter Breslauer, Heinrich Stern aus Berlin und Julius Bloch aus Frankfurt am Main."[10]

The establishment of a German Progressive congregation was therefore not the simple transplanting of a *chevrah*, of one community from Frankfurt to London, but a combination of Progressive Jews from Germany into the "New Liberal Synagogue". The name itself created problems. In Germany, "Reform" signified the radical branch of the Progressive movement, while "Liberal" indicated a more conservative approach. In Great Britain, the names meant the reverse: "Liberal" was the more radical approach. A legend arose that the "New Liberal Synagogue" had joined the wrong movement by mistake; but that was only myth. Gratitude to Mattuck and to Lily Montagu had brought them into the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (ULPS); and gratitude kept them there. Lily Montagu's name was associated with that congregation until the day of her death. The German

[10] *Georg Salzberger, Leben und Lehrer*, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Albert H. Friedlander, Frankfurt a. Main 1982, p. 130.

traditions were maintained under Rabbi Salzberger during his thirty-year tenure and then under Rabbi Jakob Kokotek (who also served as the *"av bet din"* for the Liberal movement). For a long time, their prayerbook was the *Einheitsgebetbuch* (later replaced by their own book which continued the German tradition). The sermons were in German, but English sermons gradually appeared as the congregational make-up changed and the next generation took over. There was a mixed choir of Jewish singers, directed by Dr. Kuttner, with instrumental accompaniment which was in the hands of the former opera singer Melitta Heim. Magnus Davidsohn, the former *Oberkantor* of Berlin, was the *Chasan* of the congregation in its early days. The Liberal Jewish Synagogue shared its cemetery in Willesden with the New Liberal Synagogue, and the German community became more closely linked to the land which welcomed them. They saw to it that a special memorial (designed by Benno Elkan) was erected in the cemetery to honour the six million victims of the Nazis. Salzberger's congregation also conducted annual services on 10th November to commemorate the burning of their synagogue during the *Reichspogromnacht ("Kristallnacht")* in 1938. Their own synagogue in Belsize Square was dedicated on the 18th of November 1950, and a rich cultural, religious and social life within that building brought much of what was finest in German *Liberaljudentum* into the framework of British Progressive Judaism. The congregational newspaper carried scholarly contributions by Leo Baeck, Caesar Seligmann, Georg Salzberger and others who maintained the German-Jewish tradition for their well-established and flourishing new home. They were often reminded by Salzberger: "was Du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, erwirb es um es zu besitzen!"

In time, the congregation changed – as did Swiss Cottage, as did the Finchley Road. The German restaurants with their *Stammplätze* diminished, and a new generation consciously moved away from the older German traditions. The present rabbi of the New Liberal Synagogue is an Australian, trained at the Leo Baeck College. Wholly sympathetic to the past and the German traditions of the community, he views his task in terms of the future where his congregation will take a leading role in Anglo-Jewry and blend into the British scene. The congregation has now left the ULPS and moved into the centre of Progressive Judaism as an independent congregation. Nevertheless, they are a lasting monument to a German-Jewish wave of Progressive Jews and their impact upon British Jewry.

IV

On occasion, one refugee rabbi and scholar could transform a British congregation and enrich it with the thoughts and teachings of German Progressive Judaism. Ignaz Maybaum was such a person. He was by no means unique within the group of German rabbis who came to the shores of Great Britain during the late 1930s, but can be used as a representative figure for those who transformed the Progressive Anglo-Jewish community in those days. Full credit must be given to the American-born and -trained minister of the West London Synagogue, Rabbi Harold Reinhart. Harold Reinhart welcomed these rabbis, employed them within his own congregation or found them tasks throughout the congregations of Reform Judaism. Rabbis

Curtis, Graf, Katz, Cassell, Italiener, Berg, Loewenstamm, Schreiber, Katten, Van der Zyl and others played a significant part in the development of the Reform movement in those days. German rabbis and scholars had influenced the Reform movement in earlier times, particularly Gustav Gottheil in Manchester before he moved to Cambridge. But the newcomers were primarily congregational rabbis; and they became the centre of congregations who respected them for their piety and dedication: Berg in Wimbledon, Graf in Cardiff, Katz in Hendon, Van der Zyl at Alyth and later at the West London Synagogue – the German rabbis became the paladins of British Reform. The quiet dedication of Rabbi Pfingst in Leeds and of Rabbi Sawady in the Settlement Synagogue should not be overlooked either. Yet, apart from Leo Baeck, no one transmitted so much of the German tradition as did the rabbi of the Edgware Reform Synagogue, Ignaz Maybaum.

Maybaum was a product of the Berlin *Hochschule*, and had also obtained his doctorate in Berlin. When he came to London in 1939 he became the rabbi of the Edgware and District Synagogue, but also continued his scholarly work. Once the Leo Baeck College was established in 1956, he became its Professor of Theology and Homiletics. As one of the outstanding disciples of Franz Rosenzweig, he trained the next generation of rabbis at least to open themselves to the thought of his great teacher. Ignaz Maybaum, as Dow Marmur and other disciples point out, was a theologian of the Holocaust who made an impact because he was so traditional and at the same time so revolutionary.

Maybaum had served in small provincial congregations in Germany before moving to Berlin. He did not have the great preaching talent of his uncle, Sigmund Maybaum at the *Hochschule*, but his thoughtful lectures (eventually to become part of his books) instructed a congregation still willing to grapple with difficult ideas and to accept their faith as a continuous quest rather than as a given and finished product. In Maybaum, the congregation heard the authentic voice of the German Jew who had come out of the concentration camp, but had not lost his faith in God. Maybaum challenged the comfortable British Reform attitudes he encountered; but he became one of its defenders and teachers. On his seventieth birthday, he gave an interview in which he stated:

"Auschwitz is the great trial. The Jew is tried, tested like Abraham at Moriah. Those after Auschwitz who still believe in God, His justice and His mercy, are the right Jews, the remnant. Those who break down shall not belong to the remnant. The remnant is that part of the Jewish people, who, like Job, remain faithful to God though He slay them."[11]

At this point, Maybaum is the traditional thinker who affirms God and who will not accept contemporary Reform thinkers like Richard Rubinstein, who limit or deny God after Auschwitz. Maybaum, however, shocked his contemporaries when he followed his logical structure to the very end in order to announce positive aspects of the *churban*. He preferred the traditional word:

"Would it shock you if I were to imitate the prophetic style and formulate the phrase: Hitler, My Servant?! In the Book of Job Satan is there, among the servants and messengers of God. Hitler was an instrument, in itself unworthy and contemptible. But God used this instrument to cleanse, to purify, to punish a sinful world; the six million Jews, they died an innocent

[11] See 'Maybaum at Seventy', in *Living Judaism* (RSGB) (Spring 1967), pp. 72ff.

death; they died because of the sins of others. Western man must, in repentance, say of the Jew what Isaiah says of the Servant of God: 'Surely, our diseases he did bear... he was crushed because of our iniquities' (53, 4, 5)."[12]

Some of Maybaum's disciples also felt hurt by his firm rejection of Nationalism which led him to an anti-Israel stance, against the mainstream of Progressive thinking. And his expressed dislike of cantors as "tenors wearing canonicals" did not win him many friends. Dow Marmur reports that "the Viennese Jew Ignaz Maybaum was greatly impressed by his only visit to Israel, but the liberal rabbi Maybaum was also greatly disturbed by the two poles of secularism and Orthodoxy which he identified with the old pre-Holocaust order of things. Somehow Israel did not quite fit into his notion of churban that leads to progress, whereas the Diaspora did." One can see Franz Rosenzweig in so much of Maybaum; and, most certainly, his close contact with the next generation of rabbis through the Leo Baeck College made this aspect of the German heritage a living reality within the Reform community in Britain. But Maybaum was more than a bridge to earlier German-Jewish thought; he was Ignaz Maybaum; he was himself, an amalgam of so much that was finest in the German-Jewish heritage, a man of great strength and small weaknesses. He did influence Anglo-Jewry for good. He was not only the paradigm of the German rabbi; he remains a role model. And his writings are filled with constant reminders that the German-Jewish heritage lives on in Great Britain:

"English Jewry has taken over a Continental inheritance with various Zionist youth organizations – Habonim, Bachad, etc. – without, however, quite realizing it. In these organizations – strange though it may seem – a part of Germany survives: the German Jugendbewegung [youth movement]. A certain type such as the Chalutz... can be best understood in this light. The finest and best that Germany possessed in the 20th century before Hitler survives in Palestine after being threatened with extermination in Germany."[13]

V

The Leo Baeck College was undoubtedly the major vehicle for the transmission of German-Jewish thought and traditions to Anglo-Jewry. The impact of the German chief rabbis in an earlier time, and the richness of scholarship which came to Jews' College through the German scholars was of great importance in the development of the Jewish community of Great Britain. Yet the latter institutions were British and these important contributions came from the outside and were additional. The Leo Baeck College, on the other hand, could not have been instituted without the influx of the scholars who came from Germany, without Leo Baeck who inspired them to continue the work of the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin. Britain did need its own Progressive seminary, but the need had been met and was still being met through the ordinands from the Hebrew Union

[12] Ignaz Maybaum, *The Face of God after Auschwitz*, Amsterdam 1965, p. 67. Among the other works written by Maybaum after he settled in Great Britain, mention should be made of *Man and Catastrophe* (1941); *Synagogue and Society* (1943); *The Jewish Home* (1945); *The Jewish Mission* (1949); *Jewish Existence* (1960); *The Faith of the Jewish Diaspora* (1962); *Creation and Guilt* (1969); *Trialogue between Jew, Christian and Muslim* (1973) – a Littman Library Text; and *Happiness Outside the State* (1980).

[13] Ignaz Maybaum, *The Jewish Home*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

College (HUC) in Cincinnati. Harold Reinhart (HUC) led the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, and Israel Mattuck and his successors were linked to the American scene as well. Rabbi John Rayner, who followed Leslie Edgar, was in fact born in Berlin and came to Great Britain on a children's transport. His theological training was at Cambridge and privately in England, but he eventually went to HUC to complete his rabbinical training. But for Britain and Europe a school of their own was needed, and it had to be a school which could carry on the tradition of Berlin. The scholars, part of the library, the history and the memory were present in Britain; the Leo Baeck College was to be the final and finest gift that German Jewry could transmit to the Liberal and Reform communities of the United Kingdom.

Leo Baeck himself was too ill to attend the 1956 inauguration of the theological college which was to bear his name. On his eightieth birthday, in 1953, a Leo Baeck Scholarship Fund was established, which helped make the school a viable proposition – in any case its beginnings had of necessity to be small. On 26th September 1956, Leo Baeck sent this note:

"This day witnesses a courage for the small beginnings... the courage to foster a great hope... Breslau... started with 5 students... The Lehranstalt in Berlin... began with the same numbers in a small classroom. Indispensable was: the high standard... effective authority must be acquired... by serving... high ideals. Therefore our Theological College... will be exclusive... but open to everyone who will fulfil our (high) requirements. Moreover, we hope for good relations with... all places of Jewish learning..."[14]

Werner Van der Zyl, the first Director of Studies of the College, has written a short history of how it began and of the internal difficulties within Progressive Judaism which at first made it seem inevitable that the Liberal and Reform movements would have their separate theological colleges. Within our frame of reference, one need only point out that the joining together of the two movements as co-sponsors of the Leo Baeck College not only honoured his memory, but was a significant contribution to Progressive Judaism in Great Britain and this can also be credited to the German influence. Each ordination class of the College brings the two wings of the movement closer together since the Liberal and Reform rabbis share the same teachers and the same traditions.

1953 had already seen the setting up of a Ministers' Training Board which appointed, as an examining authority, Rabbis Leo Baeck, A. Loewenstamm and M. Katten (who also worked on a syllabus). Once the Leo Baeck College was started under the leadership of Rabbi Van der Zyl, the other German and British scholars joined together to create a formidable faculty which drew fully upon the German traditions of Reform. The founding teachers were Aryeh Doerfler (1898–1968), Talmud and Codes; Ellen Littmann (1900–1975), Bible; Ignaz Maybaum (1897–1976), theology, comparative religion and homiletics. Jennie Doerfler became Librarian, together with Phyllis Abrahams; and other scholars soon joined in the work of the College. Fridolin Friedmann taught history and pedagogics, Meir Gertner taught *midrash*, Helen Rosenau lectured on Jewish art, Professor Teicher came into the faculty, Jakob Kokotek taught *Shulchan Aruch*. When one adds to this list those scholars who joined the faculty who had not come from Central Europe

[14] Leo Baeck, in a letter reprinted in *European Judaism*, 37/38 (Winter 1985/Summer 1986), p. 3.

(men like Raphael Loewe, David Patterson, Louis Jacobs and literally dozens of visiting scholars, some of them Orthodox rabbis) the strength of this fledgling institution can be appreciated more clearly. Over one hundred rabbis have been ordained by the Leo Baeck College since it opened its doors in 1956; most of them serve Anglo-Jewry, but ordinands of the College have by now served in all the five continents.

The great German scholars died far too soon. Yet they had time to raise disciples, to instruct them in their traditions (some students still murmur that the "Holy Language" at the College seems to be German). And there was even something of a second generation of European leadership. From the very beginning, John Rayner and Hugo Gryn stood alongside Van der Zyl and assisted in administration and academic and rabbinic instruction. I myself came to the College in 1967 and – still with the support of Rayner and Gryn – took over the academic guidance for more than a decade. As a student and disciple of Leo Baeck, I brought his teachings into the centre of the curriculum. However, having inherited Ignaz Maybaum's courses, I tried to maintain the ways which lead to Rosenzweig, Buber and Hermann Cohen. Thus the College did not lose its German dimension. Then Professor J. B. Segal came in as Principal and strengthened all aspects of Jewish scholarship. And now the College has come of age, with its ordinands, led by the Principal, Jonathan Magonet, and other graduates giving the institution its dynamic leadership. It is particularly gratifying that one of them, Jonathan Wittenberg, is the grandson of Georg Salzberger. In some ways, a contact with Germany itself has been preserved, with books donated by the German government opening our library to current *Jüdische Wissenschaft*, and with Jonathan Magonet leading the College to annual study conferences at ecumenical centres in Germany – for more than twenty years. The College has always recognised that it is more than a centre for *Wissenschaft*: it trains rabbis as pastors and counsellors. Here, too, one must record that Irene Bloomfield, in charge of that programme together with Wendy Greengross, herself comes from Germany. And many of the lay leaders came from Europe in the 1930s.

Elsewhere, in an essay on 'Theology and the Leo Baeck College',[15] this writer has tried to deal with the special ambience which seems to characterise the Leo Baeck College. Let me only record here that it should be seen particularly as the inheritor of the Progressive German-Jewish community. More than the indigenous British institutions, it seems to be aware of the new patterns of thought within European Jewry which rise out of the aftermath of the Holocaust. The students have the chance to listen to Paul Celan, Piotr Rawicz, Jakov Lind and particularly to Elie Wiesel. The next generation of German-born theologians has come to the College and their books have instructed students and teachers: Emil Fackenheim and Jakob Peacocks in particular. And a number of rabbinic dissertations now turn towards the study of German-Jewish history. But that is part of the next chapter of Anglo-Jewish life.

[15] Albert H. Friedlander, *ibid.*, pp. 7–9.

VI

A discourse of this kind should not end without at least a reflection upon a central personality of German Jewry: Leo Baeck. He is generally viewed as an historical figure who belongs in any study of German-Jewish life, but whose teaching is considered to be his life. That should be true for any rabbi; indeed, for any scholar. Nevertheless, this evaluation tends to ignore his writings in favour of examining his work as the leader of the Jewish community in Germany in its darkest hour. His early, middle and late writings are now coming into focus again for students of German theology, and there exists new interest in his teaching among the rabbis. By choosing Great Britain as his home after the war – not Israel, though he was always there on Passover; not the United States, although he regularly taught one semester at HUC; and not Germany, although his 1952 talk on 'The Germans and the Jews' (reprinted in *Merkur*) matches Buber's Frankfurt Peace Prize talk in compassion as well as severity – he strengthened the life of German-Jewish refugees in London by his presence and renewed the interest of Anglo-Jewry in their Progressive inheritance. The World Union for Progressive Judaism was revived by his presence, and Progressive Judaism itself entered a period of renewal.

Leo Baeck inspired all Jews and Western Jewish thought,[16] and it would seem parochial, therefore, to place him at the centre of Progressive Judaism. Nevertheless, it is also essential for the understanding of the structure of Liberal and Reform Judaism in Great Britain to acknowledge that we cannot ignore the great summation of German-Jewish thinking in the person of Leo Baeck. This helped to shape a Jewish community in Great Britain in difficult times by establishing a religious foundation for its future. His work, and the influences of German Jewry, continue within British Jewry and in the rabbinical college which bears his name.[17]

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[16] For Leo Baeck see Albert H. Friedlander, *Leo Baeck. Teacher of Theresienstadt*, New York-Chicago-San Francisco 1968 (second edn. forthcoming [1991]); and Leonard Baker, *Days of Sorrow and Pain. Leo Baeck and the Berlin Jews*, New York 1978.

[17] An additional aspect of the Leo Baeck College as a repository of German-Jewish learning and letters involves the Library of the College. Without going here into a complicated, extremely difficult and painful story, one must point out that Sotheby's Auction House in New York at one time acquired for sale the priceless collection of the Berlin *Hochschule*. Doubts were raised about the ownership of these texts, and the courts ruled that they should be guarded by those Jewish institutions of learning which were most representative of contemporary Jewish life, and which had a certain relationship to the *Hochschule*. A great many institutions applied to be guardians, and the court eventually set up a conservancy agency made up of six major institutions: the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion; Yeshiva University of New York; the Jewish National and University Library/Hebrew University, Jerusalem; the Jewish Theological Seminary; the Leo Baeck Institute; and the Leo Baeck College in London. Each institution safeguards and exhibits some of these treasures and all are available on microfilm to scholars. Thus a very direct link between Berlin and London continues within the Leo Baeck College, though all six institutions are joint owners of all the material. The current President/Chair of the Conservancy Foundation is the Dean of the Leo Baeck College.

RAPHAEL LOEWE

The Contribution of German-Jewish Scholars to Jewish Studies in the United Kingdom

So great is the cultural debt of modern Anglo-Jewry to its parent community that had, over the centuries, carried German speech eastwards to the Volga and south to the Crimea, that any attempt to assess the contribution of Jews from Germany, the Austrian Empire, etc. to Jewish scholarship in England is liable to prove a morass unless adequately defined terms of reference are kept clearly in view. To take a simple example: the Reverend Simeon Singer[1] (1848–1906), editor and translator of the best-known Anglo-Jewish prayer-book and often regarded as the archetypal Jewish minister of Victorian England, was born in London into a family stemming from Raab in Bohemia, educated at Jews' College under Michael Friedlaender (who had come from Berlin) and later himself studied in Vienna under Isaac Hirsch Weiss.[2] It was thus to German-speaking scholars, and to a father who derived immediately or closely from Central Europe, that he owed his Jewish education: but it would be absurd to include Singer, alongside his teacher Friedländer, amongst those whose contribution is to be surveyed here. Our concern is with scholars who, having been born overseas into an environment where Yiddish, or High German, or an overlap of the two was their first vernacular, settled in Great Britain or resided there long enough to make a significant impact upon Anglo-Jewish (and, in some cases, a wider English) intellectual life, even if, as refugees from Hitler, they were but briefly in England prior to settling elsewhere.

That delimitation may seem self-evident, but its corollary is all too easily overlooked. Scholarship and learning are not identical. Whilst the former must presuppose the latter, learning by no means always implies scholarship: and to assume, as a matter of courtesy, that it does so must inevitably prove a will-o-the-wisp to the serious student. The hall-mark of scholarship is a capacity, and the preparedness, to exercise independent intellectual judgement, and the absence of this element will substantially impugn the pretensions of many a polymath to be taken seriously as a scholar himself – even though the scholarly world may well be grateful for source-material which he has collected or otherwise brought to notice. Of this phenomenon it is not unfair to cite as an example the work of Moses Gaster. There is also, of course, a complementary psychological factor, in that of the individuals whom we shall look at it is but a few that will have defined themselves as scholars in the sense of feeling in conscience bound to accord priority to the canons of pure scholarship in their address to topics of Jewish concern, irrespective of where the findings might point. In the nineteenth century, such professionalism would have been the light by

[1] *Encyclopaedia Judaica (EJ)*, Jerusalem 1971–1972, vol. XIV, pp. 1614–1615.

[2] I recall being so informed by his daughter, Mrs. Israel Abrahams. For Weiss, see *EJ*, vol XVI, pp. 413–414.

which, for example, Steinschneider (see p. 445) was guided, and it is the ideal today for, at any rate, those occupants of university posts in Jewish subjects whose work commands respect. To expect such rigorous standards at an earlier period, when Jewish emancipation or cultural integration were still in their early stages, would doubtless be unrealistic. It is, however, important to emphasise that the divide is essentially one of temperament, not one that will neatly separate those who have been academically employed from the remainder. Most of the persons who will engage our attention have felt a vocation to Jewish leadership in some sphere, and they regarded a thorough education in rabbinic sources, and familiarity with Jewish literature and institutions, as a *sine qua non* for its competent exercise. Some of these have been men of great intellectual ability, and all of them have applied their Jewish learning to energise their work, whether it has been as rabbis operating the jurisprudential interpretation of the *Halakhah*, as Jewish journalists or popular writers, as proponents of political Zionism or public work of various kinds in Israel, or – in the case of some learned Jewish apostates – as conversionists. This is not to assert that Jewish research as prosecuted by any of these types is *ipso facto* valueless just because its findings were either canalised or confined by parameters dogmatically determined, or because the thrust of their work has been directed by apologetics, propaganda, or devotion to some particular ideal. As proof to the contrary we may adduce two diametrically opposite cases, *viz.* the stature of the late Dayyan Y. Abramsky's work on the *Tosefta*, and the lasting value of the work on the *Massorah* carried out in the last century by Christian D. Ginsburg. In every case it is the responsibility of readers concerned with pure scholarship to determine and discount any slant. The present bald survey, whilst concerned to identify the real scholars, cannot usefully exclude others possessed of substantial Jewish learning, but their inclusion ought not to be allowed to obscure either the importance of establishing where individual prejudice is at work or the frequent elusiveness of the search.

What here follows does not purport to present a comprehensive list of all those *Gelehrten* of German origins whom – regardless of their scholarly importance or lack of it – the above terms of reference would embrace, although the footnotes may suggest how such a catalogue (of doubtful value as social history) might be compiled. Two co-ordinates commend themselves for construction of the facts, the first being chronology; for, even though the main focus of interest here is the study of a very specialised aspect of Jewish demographic change from 1933 onwards, the degree of receptivity towards German refugee scholars in Great Britain cannot be understood save against the background of the preceding three centuries of English academic and Anglo-Jewish history. Five convenient periods will be defined and successively considered. The other co-ordinate may be labelled "motivation", since this ought to provide at least an approximate signpost towards *Tendenz*. Accordingly, a series of headings is here tabulated with some sub-headings, each bearing a symbol. In the body of this study the appropriate symbol will appear alongside each name at its first appearance, and at the end we shall ask whether any patterns reveal themselves beyond the implications of this classification itself. The biographical facts largely render the pigeon-holes beyond dispute; but since subjectivity may be unavoidable where those still living are concerned, propriety dictates the omission of symbols in their case.

The following headings, then, will serve to subsume the varying nuances of primary individual motivation. The order in which they appear implies no value judgement, but is prompted by the chronology of the first occurrence of each. The true scholars (of those deceased) are marked by (d).

(a) *Support of New Testament and theological studies* by competent Christian Hebraists,[3] (i) privately as tutors or assistants, (ii) semi-publicly in unofficial college appointments, (iii) officially, by tenure of academic or other posts.

(b) *Missionary activity*, whether (i) overt, (ii) implicit, or (iii) presupposed, directed at Jews by learned Jewish apostates, subvented by conversionist organisations, sometimes at the initiative of an eminent divine.

(c) *Jewish leadership*, prompted by responsible concern for (ia) Orthodox rabbinic administration of Jewish public life and personal status, (ib) Reform congregational vitality, (ii) apologetics (nowadays styled "Jewish defence"), (iiia) Zionist activity at a political level, and (iiib) a nationalised Hebrew.

(d) *Pure academic research*, affected negligibly or minimally by confessional affiliations or group loyalties, whether Jewish or otherwise.

(e) To these four categories it is essential to append a fifth, not susceptible of labelling in headline terms. Reference here is to a few scholars of great distinction in other fields as well as being fully competent in access to and assessment of Jewish sources, who have enriched Jewish scholarship by bringing their own specialisms to bear upon it. An outstanding example of this was Arnaldo Dante Momigliano[4] (1908–1987), who, as a scholar of ancient history stemming from Italy, falls outside our present terms of reference. But our study would be significantly foreshortened if it failed to note the contribution to Jewish scholarship (still sustained in his eightieth year) of David Daube.

It may also be instructive to glance at the various types of institution or profession which absorbed, or otherwise gave status to those with whom we are concerned – either by providing them with salaried posts, or by providing them with subventions or less tangible emoluments (e. g. research facilities, membership of a senior common room). To list these categories is not unimportant, since the need to secure a livelihood and support a family sometimes forced individuals into a professional niche other than that which they would have chosen; e. g., some of those who had until 1933 occupied full or part-time academic posts in Germany were constrained on arrival in England to accept an ecclesiastical position in either the Orthodox or the Reform ministry. We therefore list here the following professional categories:

1. The rabbinate and Jewish ministry, whether Orthodox, Reform, or Liberal.
2. Jews' College.
3. *Yeshivah*.
4. University.
5. Journalism and free-lance writing.
6. Christian missions to Jews.

I propose to divide this survey of the contribution of Jews from Germany (in the

[3] For a substantial list of these, see Raphael Loewe, 'Hebraists, Christian (1100–1890)', *EJ*, vol. VIII, pp. 9–71.

[4] *EJ*, vol. XII, pp. 235–236.

wide sense adumbrated above, which includes refugees from Russia) to the development of Jewish scholarship in England into the following five periods:

I. Prior to the re-admission of the Jews to England in 1655.
II. 1655–approximately 1871, the date of an act of parliament freeing the incumbency of college and university appointments from religious tests.
III. 1880 onwards, i. e. the period of large-scale Jewish emigration from Russia, up to the First World War and its aftermath.
IV. From 1933, i. e. the start of the German-Jewish exodus.
V. After 1945.

I. Prior to Cromwell's Acquiescence in Jewish Resettlement in 1655

The pre-expulsion community of England (i. e. up to 1290) was an off-shoot of the francophone Jewry of Normandy. Its intellectually most eminent family, that of Moses of Oxford and his descendants,[5] was, indeed, genealogically linked to Rabbi Simeon the Great[6] of Mainz (and thus also with Rashi): but despite such links with the Rhineland, Jews in medieval England were, culturally speaking, [Judaeo-] French. There were also a few significant Gentile Hebraists, but serious Christian address to Hebrew began with the Renaissance, first in fifteenth-century Italy and, before 1500, also in Germany: Reuchlin,[7] the founding father of German Hebraism, had himself studied in Italy under Obadiah Sforno[8] and other Jews. In England, the status of Hebrew alongside Greek and Latin was acknowledged (and occasionally acted upon) by humanists such as Colet[9] and Fisher,[10] but it was Henry VIII's breach with Rome (and also to a small extent the attempt, by both parties, to call in aid rabbinic law in connection with his divorce from Catherine of Aragon), his foundation of professorships of Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge, and the new Bible translations into English made not from the Latin Vulgate but from the original Hebrew and Greek, that stimulated a serious address to the study not only of biblical but also, in some degree, of rabbinic Hebrew.[11] Whilst in Tudor and Jacobean[12] England a number of Christian divines acquired an enviable competence in rabbinics, mostly without Jewish assistance, there was here an opening as instructor for the occasional converted Jew from the Continent possessed of adequate Jewish learning – at this period there was still no question of any special licence for the

[5] Cecil Roth, *The Jews of Mediaeval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, New Series, IX, Oxford 1951, pp. 112–117; *idem*, *The Intellectual Activities of Medieval English Jewry*, British Academy, Supplemental Papers VIII, Oxford 1949; David Kaufmann, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Old Series, 3 (1891), pp. 555–566.

[6] *EJ*, vol. XIV, p. 1551.

[7] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 108–111.

[8] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 1209–1211.

[9] *Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, 63 vols., London 1885–1900, and 3 vol. supplement, 1901, supplements covering 1901–1911, 1912–1921, 1922–1930, and thereafter for each decade until 1971–1980, 1981–1985, vol. XI, pp. 321 f.

[10] *DNB*, vol. XIX, pp. 58 f.

[11] Gareth Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England. A Third Language*, Manchester 1983; Raphael Loewe, 'Jewish Scholarship in England', in Vivian D. Lipman (ed.), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, London 1961, pp. 137 f.; *idem*, 'Hebraists', *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

[12] David Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible. An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special Reference to the Hebrew Tradition*, Chicago 1941.

admission to this country of Jews loyal to their own faith in order to secure exposition of rabbinic expertise at a professional or quasi-professional level. The calibre of learning possessed by these immigrant or transient apostates is, however, by no means always to be disparaged. We may cite the case of Philip Ferdinand[13] (b ii) (c. 1555–1598), who came from Poland to Oxford and later to Cambridge, proceeding thence to Leiden where he taught rabbinics to Joseph Scaliger,[14] one of the giants of late Renaissance classical and oriental scholarship. That, perhaps, was Ferdinand's major significance, but in 1597 he published at Cambridge *Haec sunt verba Dei* – a Latin translation of the 613 precepts that regulate rabbinic Judaism, as enumerated by Abraham ibn Hassan.[15] The book contains, as an appendix, a translation of Maimonides's thirteen articles, etc., presented with occasional comments of a specifically Christian character. Ferdinand drew a pittance (one and a half pence a day) from the *Domus Conversorum* that had been established in London by Henry III to harbour apostates from Judaism, and after the expulsion of Jews from England in 1290 had continued to attract a tiny trickle of converts from the Continent who were content to collect a meagre pension.[16] It would seem that no other inmate commanded enough Hebrew to have been able to teach it except, perhaps, a German convert named Jacob Wolfgang in 1606, who may have been the unnamed "Jew" recommended by Sir Thomas Bodley for the cataloguing of the Hebrew holdings of the library that he had established in Oxford.[17] But without benefit of Jewish assistance Hebrew scholarship in England progressed well enough for King James's English Bible (the so-called Authorised Version) of 1611 to evince profuse evidence of the adoption by the translators of the views of the major Jewish exegetes.[18]

II. From the Resettlement to the Nineteenth Century

The readmission of Jews by Cromwell in 1655 and their continued licence to remain in England after Charles II's restoration are academically significant, in that an atmosphere of (qualified) philosemitism[19] made it possible, already in the seventeenth century, for Jews to be employed as Hebrew teachers without preliminary baptism, albeit still on at most a semi-official basis, as in the case of Isaac Abendana[20] (a ii) (c. 1640–c. 1710) – himself, like the body of the resettled community, a

[13] Siegfried Stein, 'Phillipus Ferdinandus Polonus. A Sixteenth-Century Hebraist in England', in Isidore Epstein, E. Levine and Cecil Roth (eds.), *Essays in Honour of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz*, London 1944, pp. 397–412; Lloyd Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 206–207; *DNB*, vol. XVIII, p. 333; *EJ*, vol. VI, pp. 1227–1228; *The Jewish Encyclopedia (JE)*, New York–London 1901–1906, vol. V, p. 364.

[14] *EJ*, vol. XIV, p. 925.

[15] *JE*, vol. I, p. 107.

[16] Michael Adler, 'The History of the Domus Conversorum', in *idem*, *Jews of Medieval England*, London 1939, pp. 307f., 334f., 339 (earlier version in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England [TJHSE]*, 4 [1903], pp. 16f., 44f., 49).

[17] Adler, *loc. cit.*, pp. 336f. (*TJHSE*, 4 [1903], p. 47); Cecil Roth, 'Jews in Oxford after 1290', in *Oxoniensia*, 15 (1950), pp. 65–66.

[18] Daiches, *op. cit.*; Loewe, 'Jewish Scholarship', *loc. cit.*, p. 139.

[19] David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655*, Oxford 1982.

[20] *Idem*, 'The Abendana Brothers and the Christian Hebraists of Seventeenth Century England', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989); *EJ*, vol. II, p. 66.

Sephardi Jew. It would be some time before immigrant Ashkenazim, nurtured on Yiddish and loyal to their ancestral faith, would include potential teachers in an English academic milieu. But a few converts from Eastern Europe were still finding their way into the fringes of academic life in this country: for example Victorinus Bythner[21] (b iii) (?1605–?1670) from Poland, who taught at Oxford and Cambridge, practised medicine in Cornwall, and published a work on the Psalms (*Lyra prophetica Davidis Regis*, London 1679) as well as a Hebrew grammar. By contrast, his fellow-countryman Israel Lyons[22] (c ii) (c.1700–1770), who long taught Hebrew at Cambridge and who published *Observations relating to various parts of scripture history* (Cambridge 1768) as well as a Hebrew grammar (Cambridge 1735) that enjoyed a long popularity, remained true to Judaism. Of greater significance in the advancement of Hebrew scholarship was the part played from 1770 by a German named Paul Jacob Bruns in the collection of material for the monumental collation of manuscript variant readings in the Hebrew Bible published at Oxford (1776–1780) by Benjamin Kennicott[23]. Bruns's forename Paul suggests that he may have been, like Kennicott, a Christian; but if so, he can scarcely have been an apostate Jew since he was courteously received by the Sephardi authorities in London and provided, both by them and by their recently established Ashkenazi sister congregation with Hebrew letters of commendation to Jewish communities on the Continent[24].

We may at this point appropriately glance at the rabbinate of the Ashkenazi community as it began, in the eighteenth century, to overtake the Sephardim in numbers and importance[25]. The first significant personality to occupy the office of Rabbi of the Great Synagogue (which would develop into the English Chief Rabbinate) was Aaron Hart, *alias* Uri Phoebus (Hamburger)[26] (c ia) (1670–1756), who had been born in Breslau and studied in Poland. Soon after his appointment to London he became involved, as the *halakhic* authority of his community, in administering the proceedings for a divorce, particulars of which gave rise to jurisprudential controversy in rabbinic circles. Hart defended his position in his *Urim we-thummim* (1706), the first book to be printed in London in Hebrew, although substantial Hebrew printing was already of fifty years' standing at Oxford. His successor, David Tevele Schiff[27] (c ia) (died 1792), who had been born in Frankfurt, held office in London from 1765; rabbinical *responsa* by him were printed posthumously, with some comments on the *Mishnah* (*Leshon zahav*, Offenbach 1822). He in turn was followed by Solomon Hirschel or Herschel[28] (c ia) (1762–1842), who, though born in London, was brought up in Halberstadt; he left

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[21] *DNB*, vol. VIII, p. 165; Cecil Roth, *Magna Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica. A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History*, London 1937, pp. 349, 362.

[22] *DNB*, vol. XXXIV, p. 357; *EJ*, vol. XI, pp. 625–626.

[23] *DNB*, vol. XXXI, p. 10; *JE*, vol. VII, p. 467.

[24] Loewe, 'Jewish Scholarship', *loc. cit.*, p. 142; R. D. Barnett, 'The Correspondence of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *TJHSE*, 20 (1964), p. 8 (reproduced, facing p. 31).

[25] C. Duschinsky, *The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London from 1756–1842*, Oxford 1921; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, Oxford 1941, 3rd edn. 1964, pp. 197f.

[26] *DNB*, vol. XXV, p. 55; *EJ*, vol. XI, pp. 112–113.

[27] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 959–960.

[28] *DNB*, vol. XXVII, p. 11; *EJ*, vol. VIII, pp. 520–521.

no published work. After Hirschel, Nathan Marcus Adler[29] (c ia) (1803–1890) was the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of England to be fully integrated into Western culture and its academic premisses – he himself held the degree of Ph. D. from the university of Erlangen: born in Hanover, he was thereby a subject of the British crown. The commentary on Onqelos's *Targum* to the Pentateuch published under his name (*Nethinah la-ger*, Vilna 1875), evinces, alongside Jewish scholarship, significant classical learning and an incipient awareness of its relevance for the elucidation of Jewish documents. No less important, as foreshadowing future scholarly achievements within Anglo-Jewry, was Adler's leadership in establishing Jews' College in London as an Orthodox rabbinical seminary, organised on Western institutional lines. But before we look more closely at Jews' College, our survey must consider other aspects of Anglo-Jewish scholarly history in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The aftermath of the German *Aufklärung*, and of the temporarily more forthcoming attitude in Germany towards Jews that had been prompted by the need to woo their support against the invading armies of Napoleon, meant that after Waterloo a few Jews were graduating from German universities without having to submit to baptism in order to matriculate. Of the founding fathers of *Jüdische Wissenschaft* Leopold Zunz[30] completed his studies at Berlin in 1819, and Abraham Geiger[31] entered Heidelberg in 1829, subsequently transferring to Bonn. There was as yet no possibility of academic recognition of Jewish studies as a discipline in its own right – or, indeed, of admitting unbaptised Jews to teaching posts in other fields that they could have related to Jewish interests. The same was, of course, still true at Oxford and Cambridge: but the circumstance that in England social (as distinct from political) Jewish emancipation was substantially more entrenched than was the case in Germany seems to have encouraged a number of Jewish (and some ex-Jewish) scholars to cross the water and attempt to find themselves a place on the fringes of academe. A further attraction, no doubt, was the standing in public esteem enjoyed by a few patrons of Jewish learning – Sir Moses Montefiore[32], the Rothschilds, and the Goldsmids; Isaac Lyon Goldsmid[33] being prominent amongst those who, in 1828, achieved the foundation of the University of London from which all religious discrimination would be excluded. It was at Montefiore's encouragement that my own great-grandfather, Dr. Louis Loewe[34] (c ia, ii) (1809–1888), an able oriental scholar, born in Silesia, who had received a doctorate from Berlin and his rabbinical credentials from Mordecai Banet[35] and Moses Sopher,[36] moved to London in the 1830s, attracted both by the liberal atmosphere of England and the rich oriental holdings of its libraries; but his scholarly energies were largely channelled into supporting Montefiore in his work for Jews in Palestine and elsewhere, whilst he

[29] *DNB*, supplementary vol. i, p. 18; *EJ*, vol. II, pp. 285–286.
[30] *EJ*, vol. XVI, pp. 1236–1240.
[31] *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 357–360.
[32] *DNB*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 278f.; *EJ*, vol. XII, pp. 270–275.
[33] *DNB*, vol. XXII, pp. 83f.; *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 733–734; *JE*, vol. VI, p. 31.
[34] *DNB*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 68f.; *EJ*, vol. XI, pp. 448–449; Raphael Loewe, 'Louis Loewe. Aide and Confidant', in Sonia L. and Vivian D. Lipman (eds.), *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, London 1985, pp. 104–117.
[35] *EJ*, vol. IV, pp. 159–160.
[36] *EJ*, vol. XV, pp. 77–81.

also ran a boarding-school in Brighton and (subsequently) Broadstairs, to be appointed later by Montefiore principal of the *yeshivah* or college that he founded at Ramsgate. Hyman Hurwitz[37] (c ii) (1770–1844), the first professor of Hebrew at (what is now styled) University College London, had been born in Posen. He is today better remembered for his Hebrew poems on loyal occasions (including a version of "God save the King") than for his Hebrew grammars and other works; he, too, ran a boarding-school, at Highgate, where he had Samuel Taylor Coleridge as a neighbour and as collaborator in a lament on the death of Princess Charlotte.

Unlike the French Revolution, the Hungarian rising of 1848 was the direct cause of the settlement in England of at least one Jewish scholar of significance. Solomon Schill[er]-Szinessy[38] (c ii, ?d) (1820–1890) had been born in Budapest, and took his doctorate at Jena in 1845; as a patriot, he added to his original patronymic its Magyarised equivalent, fought under Kossuth,[39] was captured by the Austrians, and escaped. After holding a rabbinical position in Manchester he settled in Cambridge as a free-lance scholar, intending to fill the gap left by the death of the Polish-born Hermann Bernard[40] (d) (1785–1857), himself the son of an apostate from Judaism, who had lectured on the Bible and had published selections from Maimonides's code. Schiller-Szinessy's rabbinic erudition was recognised by the university librarian, who engaged him to catalogue the University's Hebrew manuscripts. He also constituted a milestone in academic history, in that the abolition of religious tests made it possible to appoint him teacher (subsequently reader) of talmudic and rabbinic literature and to confer on him the degree of Master of Arts. It was his merit to have trained up several non-Jewish pupils who made significant contributions to the study of rabbinic texts.[41] His opposite number at Oxford, Adolf (Abraham) Neubauer[42] (d) (1831–1907), had been granted his M. A. slightly earlier, in 1873. Also Hungarian-born, he had studied in Prague under Solomon Rapoport,[43] as well as at the University. Experience whilst researching at Paris in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, and his work (which earned him a prize from the *Académie des Inscriptions*) on talmudic geography, instilled into him a far more disciplined approach to Jewish bibliography than that evinced by Schiller-Szinessy; and, alongside a substantial list of other important publications, Neubauer's *Catalogue* of Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library is his chief memorial.

In 1829 that library had purchased the collection of Hebrew manuscripts and printed books assembled in Prague by David Oppenheim(er)[44] (1664–1736), an acquisition which at once made it one of the greatest Hebrew libraries in the world. Neubauer's work was complemented, as regards printed *Hebraica*, by the monu-

[37] *DNB*, vol. XXVIII, p. 319; *JE*, vol. VI, p. 507; Leonard Hyman, 'Hyman Hurwitz. The first Anglo-Jewish Professor', in *TJHSE*, 21 (1968), pp. 232–242; also Israel Abrahams, 'Hebrew Loyalty under the First Four Georges', in *TJHSE*, 9 (1922), pp. 109–113.

[38] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 966–967; Raphael Loewe, 'Solomon Marcus Schiller-Szinessy, 1820–1890. First Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature at Cambridge', in *TJHSE*, 21 (1968), pp. 148–189.

[39] Oxford legend, without foundation, has credited Neubauer (see note 42) with a similar military past, by confusion with his Cambridge counterpart: see Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library 1845–1945*, Oxford 1952, p. 105.

[40] *JE*, vol. III, p. 89.

[41] Loewe, 'Schiller-Szinessy', *loc. cit.*, p. 162.

[42] *DNB 1901–1911*, iii, pp. 5–7; *EJ*, vol. XII, pp. 1003–1005.

[43] *EJ*, vol. XIII, pp. 1555–1556.

[44] *EJ*, vol. XII, pp. 1419–1422.

mental catalogue *(Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana)* of Moritz (Moses) Steinschneider[45] (d) (1816–1907), born in Moravia, whose work as bibliographer, historian of science and mathematics in medieval Arabic and Jewish translation-literature constitutes one of the greatest – conceivably the greatest – single-handed contribution to nineteenth-century scholarship as a whole. For thirteen years Steinschneider was commuting between Berlin and Oxford[46] to complete the catalogue and oversee its printing; published, in Latin, from 1852, it also includes (appropriately distinguished) Hebrew books not (at that time) in the Bodleian Library, and it has formed the foundation of all subsequent Hebrew bibliographical scholarship. Steinschneider's association with England was thus transient, and his contact with the non-academic Jewish community negligible: but the sponsoring of his work by Oxford made possible one of the most important achievements in the whole history of Jewish scholarship.

Of their contemporaries, three scholars who formally repudiated their Judaism must be mentioned here. Alfred Edersheim[47] (b ii) (1825–1889) had been born in Vienna and studied at the University there; whilst supporting himself as a language-teacher in Budapest he entered the Presbyterian Church, in which he became a minister well known in Scotland and England. His works, of which the best known was *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (1883), include also a *History of the Jewish People from the Fall of Jerusalem to the Reign of Constantine the Great* (1856): and a fine rabbinic library testified to his concern to utilise Jewish sources. Moses Margoliouth[48] (b i) (1818[?20]–1881), who had been born in Poland, was converted in Liverpool, and as an Anglican minister devoted himself mainly to literary work, much of which was aimed at Jewish conversion. His *Fundamentals of Modern Judaism Investigated* appeared in 1843, and his manifold publications include some items of Jewish antiquarian interest, e. g. *Vestiges of the Historic Anglo-Hebrews in East Anglia*, 1870. (His brother Ezekiel Margoliouth, a one-time Jewish minister who also apostasised, is significant only as the father of the distinguished, English-born oriental scholar David Samuel Margoliouth[49] [1858–1940].) From the point of view of Jewish scholarship in the normal sense both Edersheim and M. Margoliouth were, of course, but marginal figures, but the same cannot be said of Christian David Ginsburg[50] (d) (1831–1914). Ginsburg was born in Warsaw, although his parents were allegedly recent arrivals there from Spain, with a crypto-Jewish family history. In Poland he received a rabbinic education, but at the age of sixteen he was baptised and migrated to England, where he devoted his life to massoretic studies; his *Introduction to the Massoretical-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, 1897, and the four folio volumes of the *Massorah* itself, remain standard works of scholarship: he was also a member of the committee of revisers of the English Bible. That committee[51] consisted entirely of Christian scholars, but it did have at its disposal a

[45] *EJ*, vol. XV, pp. 374–377.
[46] *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin 1852–1860, p. lxvii.
[47] *DNB*, supplementary vol. ii, pp. 175–176; *JE*, vol. V, p. 39.
[48] *DNB*, vol. XXXVI, p. 139; *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 966.
[49] *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 597–599; *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 966.
[50] *DNB 1912–1921*, pp. 215–216; *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 581–582.
[51] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn., New York 1910–1911, vol. III, p. 903.

manuscript commentary, in English, by Solomon Bennett[52] (c ii) (1761–1838) a Jew who, born in Polotsk, settled in London, and is better remembered as a controversialist and engraver than as the author of a number of works on the Bible.

These representatives of lay or academic Jewish scholarship in England (as distinguished, for present purposes, from the English rabbinate) constitute a collective testimony to the tolerant atmosphere of the England of Macaulay and Gladstone – an atmosphere shared, it seems, by many members of the Anglo-Jewish middle class and its upper crust. The community, naturally enough, cold-shouldered those apostates who endeavoured to missionise them: but Schiller-Szinessy and Neubauer were on cordial terms with Ginsburg,[53] who was never ordained in any church. Neubauer's Jewish solidarity was never in doubt either to himself or to the Anglo-Jewish ecclesiastical establishment even though he maintained no Jewish practice, and was allergic to theological propositions and metaphysics. Schiller-Szinessy, on the other hand, was to be seen in the Cambridge synagogue whenever it held a service. Neubauer was happy to collaborate with the Anglican Samuel Rolles Driver[54] in editing a corpus of *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters* (1876) at the initiative of the High Church professor of Hebrew, E. B. Pusey,[55] even though he cannot have been unaware that Pusey's intense interest in that celebrated text was due to its allegedly christological significance.[56] And if the eirenic character of Schiller-Szinessy's pamphlet on the same topic[57] may have elicited ironic smiles from such Jewish readers as it reached, there is no evidence that his approach scandalised the Jewish community. It is improbable that there could have been found elsewhere in nineteenth-century Europe a similar collaborative endeavour regarding a matter which, at the level of unsophisticated religious attitudes, was one of such sensitivity, amid the spirit of mutual respect and understanding that obtained between Neubauer, Driver and Pusey at Oxford.

We may now return to nineteenth-century Anglo-Jewry's concern for Jewish education and the training of its own ecclesiastical leadership, which found expression in the foundation, in 1855, of Jews' College.[58] On his arrival as Chief Rabbi in 1845 Nathan Adler had set about canvassing support for just such an institution, and he met with positive response from the leadership of the London Jewish community, in particular from Moses Montefiore. It must be recognised that there was not, on the lay side, any real interest in producing a centre of Jewish learning that might rival the reputation of the major European *yeshivoth*: rather, an awareness of the increase in substantially English-speaking communities, some in London, more especially across the United Kingdom, and also in the British dominions beyond the seas, for whom the only sort of spiritual leadership that was likely to be effective would have to be English-educated. No doubt a consideration was sensitivity to the

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[52] *EJ*, vol. IV, pp. 543–544; Arthur Barnett, 'Solomon Bennett, 1751–1838. Artist, Hebraist and Controversialist', in *TJHSE*, 17 (1953), pp. 91–111.

[53] Loewe, 'Schiller-Szinessy', *loc. cit.*, pp. 163, 188 n. 218.

[54] *DNB 1912–1921*, pp. 162–163; *EJ*, vol. VI, p. 230.

[55] *DNB*, vol. XLVII, pp. 53f.

[56] See 1969 reprint (New York), with *Prolegomenon* by Raphael Loewe, p. 32.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 27–29.

[58] Albert M. Hyamson, *Jews' College, London 1855–1955*, London 1955, pp. 17f.; *EJ*, vol. X, pp. 98–99.

possible attraction of the fledgling London Reform synagogue that, under the English-born David Woolf Marks,[59] was evincing a deliberately Anglican character; the emergence of Reform congregations in Manchester, and more especially in Bradford, which exuded a more Germanic flavour, came after the foundation of the College. It opened, in the first instance as a school for younger pupils, in 1855, under Louis Loewe as Headmaster. After three years he resigned, to be succeeded by Barnet Abrahams[60] (c ia) (1831–1863) who, though himself born in Warsaw and educated at University College London and, for rabbinics, by his father and by Adler, was also *dayyan* of the Sephardi community of London. On his early death Michael Friedlaender[61] (c ia) (1833–1910), who held a doctorate from Halle, became Principal. His incumbency of over forty years not only witnessed the growth of the College into an institution of academic significance, equipped with a first-rate library, but it also produced from amongst its pupils (who were generally also students at University College London) an able ecclesiastical leadership, surviving members of which were still ministering to congregations in the middle of the present century. Some of them (Israel Abrahams,[62] son of Barnet, was one of them) were scholars in their own right who fall outside the terms of reference of this study in virtue of their English birth. Moses Hyamson[63] (c ia) (1863–1949), who had been born in Lithuania but had been brought to England as a child, to become *dayyan* in London and subsequently rabbi of a New York congregation, was trained, like Abrahams, in the College and University College London; his English translations of the first part of Maimonides's code, and of Bahya's *Duties of the Heart*, are still widely used today. Friedlaender himself was a man of distinguished scholarship whose work on Abraham ibn Ezra is of abiding value. He also produced an English translation, with reference to the Arabic original as well as the Hebrew version, of Maimonides's *Guide for the Perplexed*: reprinted without the notes, it is still the English rendering in most common use.

The incumbencies of Nathan Adler and of his son Hermann[64] (c ia) (1839–1911), who succeeded him as Chief Rabbi, spanned the Victorian period – an age throughout which the increasing prosperity of Great Britain and her imperial influence, combined with the atmosphere of academic liberalism mentioned above (an attitude which would secure for the younger Adler the conferring by Oxford of an honorary doctorate), continued to attract a trickle of Jewish intellectuals from German-speaking Europe: as regards specifically Jewish learning, the main attractions being Jews' College and Judith, Lady Montefiore College[65] founded by Montefiore in 1869 with Louis Loewe as Principal. Hermann Adler, who had been born in Germany and brought as a child to England, after education in his adopted country

[59] *DNB 1901–1911*, p. 571; *JE*, vol. VIII, pp. 333–334.
[60] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 27; *JE*, vol. I, pp. 122–123.
[61] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33f.; *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 180–181.
[62] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 70f., 78; *EJ*, vol. II, pp. 164–165.
[63] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 78; *EJ*, vol. VIII, p. 1138.
[64] *DNB 1901–1911*, pp. 20–21; *EJ*, vol. II, pp. 278–279.
[65] David A. Jessurun Cardozo and Paul Goodman, *Think and Thank. The Montefiore Synagogue and College, Ramsgate 1833–1933*, Oxford-London 1933, for scholars who worked there, see pp. 62f., 151f.

went to study for his rabbinical diploma in Prague,[66] under Solomon Rapoport.[67] He taught at Jews' College and briefly, prior to Friedlaender's appointment, acted as Principal:[68] he also had to his credit various scholarly articles. Hermann Gollancz[69] (c ia) (1852–1930), born in Bremen, was a pupil at the College, and proceeded to a ministerial career combined with tenure of the Goldsmid Chair of Hebrew at University College London. His prolix pen produced, beside much that was trivial or even absurd, one or two important contributions to Syriac and rabbinic studies, in particular his edition of Berekhiah Ha-naqdan's *Dodi we-nekhdi* (1920). Friedlaender brought onto his staff S. A. Hirsch[70] (c ii) (1843–1923), a medievalist who dealt, *inter alia*, with the Hebrew interests of Roger Bacon.

III. From c. 1880 to c. 1930

Jews' College continued its process of gentle expansion into the next period. Although *fin-de-siècle* Anglo-Jewry no doubt thought that the deaths of Moses Montefiore (1885) and Nathan Adler (1890) spelled the end of an era, it was in point of fact the mass emigration of Jews from Russia that began in 1881 that completely altered the complexion of the Jewish communities of the major industrial cities in the United Kingdom, e. g. Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow, as well as that of East London itself. The standard of Jewish education amongst the laity of the newcomers was distinctly higher than that of the host community, and the immigrants also included rabbis who, trained in the *yeshivoth* of Eastern Europe, were unsympathetic towards the attitudes and methodology of Western scholarship which were impinging on the atmosphere of Jews' College without prejudice to its affirmation of the integrity of Jewish tradition. In any case, the College would not have been in a position to absorb them into its teaching staff, despite the ecclesiastical policy of both the Adlers, who endeavoured to use the College as the means of keeping rabbinical ordination in England firmly in their own hands.

This phase, and the inevitability of the process by which the rabbinical leadership of the latest stratum of Anglo-Jewish demography to some extent had to come to terms with the outlook and institutions of its predecessors, may be illustrated from the history over three generations of the Daiches family.[71] Rabbi Israel Hayyim Daiches (c ia) (1850–1937) was born and educated in Lithuania; on emigration to England he became Rabbi of Leeds, and founder of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis. His published work dealt with *halakhic* matters, and annotations to the Palestinian recension of the Talmud.[72] Of his sons, born in Vilna, the elder, Samuel (c ia) (1878–1949), studied rabbinics in Berlin, and interested himself in parallels between

[66] A. Schischa, 'Hermann Adler, Yeshivah Bahur, Prague, 1860–62', in John M. Shaftesley (ed.), *Remember the Days. Essays on Anglo-Jewish History presented to Cecil Roth*, London 1966, pp. 241–277.

[67] *EJ*, vol. XIII, pp. 1555–1556.

[68] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 34.

[69] *DNB 1922–1930*, pp. 350–351; *EJ*, vol. VII, p. 760; Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[70] Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 46; *Jewish Chronicle*, 19th October 1923. See Hirsch's Presidential Address to the Jewish Historical Society, in *TJHSE*, 7 (1915), pp. 1–18.

[71] *EJ*, vol. V, p. 1226.

[72] *Baba Qamma, Baba Mesi'a* and *Baba Bathra* (the last two, London 1927).

Babylonian texts and the Bible and Talmud. In England, he qualified as a barrister, but was appointed to the staff of Jews' College in 1908. Salis (c ia) (1880–1945) held various English provincial pulpits before becoming rabbi in Edinburgh and effective leader of Scottish Jewry. His own interests were primarily in Jewish philosophy, and his *Aspects of Judaism* (1928) includes studies of Kant and Judaism and of Solomon Maimon. Salis's British-born son, David Daiches,[73] a well-known professor of English and literary critic, began his own scholarly career with a study of the influence of Jewish exegesis upon the English Authorised Version of the Bible of 1611.[74]

England also afforded refuge to a scholar of a different type who, like Schiller-Szinessy, had to flee from Central Europe for political reasons. Moses Gaster[75] (c ia, iiia) (1856–1939), born in Bucharest, had studied at the rabbinical seminary in Breslau. Returning to his birthplace, he taught Romanian language and literature at the University, but in 1885 he was exiled because of activity in combatting anti-semitism. After a brief appointment in Oxford to teach Slavonic literature Gaster was appointed *Hakham* (senior rabbi) of the London Sephardi community. Well-known as a folklorist, his Jewish interests were wide, and he assembled a fine library that was sold in part to the British Museum and in part to the John Rylands Library in Manchester. He was one of the pioneers of modern address to the literature and history of the Samaritans. Though a man of much learning, Gaster's judgments tended to be impressionistic, unsupported by rigorous marshalling of supporting evidence, but it is his merit to have assembled material of which more meticulous students have been able to make good use: and Scholem has pointed out[76] that his intuitive opinions ought not always to be discounted.

Far more significant, however, in regard to the future of Jewish scholarship in England and, indeed, of the German-Jewish contribution thereto, was the by-product of an English Sephardi Jew's going to Germany in order to extend his understanding of Judaism. Claude Montefiore[77] (c ib) (1858–1938), after completing his degree at Oxford (where he was much influenced by Benjamin Jowett,[78] the Master of Balliol), proceeded in 1881 to Berlin, where he enrolled as a student at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*.[79] A fellow-student there was Solomon Schechter[80] (d) (1847–1915), born in Romania, whom Montefiore induced to become his personal tutor and later to return with him to England. In London he taught at University College and, briefly, at Jews' College, whilst prosecuting research and contributing to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, which Montefiore and Abrahams launched in 1888: but in 1890 the death of Schiller-Szinessy caused a vacancy at Cambridge which Schechter filled, remaining there until, in 1902, he went to New York to take charge of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

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[73] *Who's Who*, London annually.

[74] Daiches, *op. cit.*

[75] *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 309–310; *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 332–334.

[76] Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, New York 1960, p. 8.

[77] *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 624–625; *EJ*, vol. XII, pp. 268–269.

[78] *DNB*, supplementary vol. iii, pp. 49f.

[79] *EJ*, vol. VIII, pp. 799–801.

[80] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 948–950; Norman Bentwich, *Solomon Schechter. A Biography*, Cambridge 1938, p. 48.

But it was from Cambridge that he had gone in 1896 to Cairo, armed with a letter in Hebrew from the University[81], returning thence with the contents of the *genizah*,[82] or repository for discarded matter written in Hebrew characters in the old synagogue. The deposit, which had accumulated mainly from the eleventh century but included a document dated 750, contains a wealth of material relating not only to specifically Jewish matters – biblical, liturgical, and *halakhic* texts, etc. – but also of great evidential value for the medieval economic history of Egypt and, indeed, of the whole Mediterranean area. Ever since its arrival and progressive cataloguing in Cambridge the *genizah* has attracted specialists in various fields of Jewish studies, nearly all of them (at least until 1945) having been trained in German-speaking Europe, e. g. Wilhelm Bacher[83] of Budapest, although a number of them settled in Palestine, e. g. Simcha Assaf,[84] the authority on Jewish jurisprudential history, Hayyim Schirmann[85] (Hebrew poetry), and Gershom Scholem,[86] founding-father of the scientific approach to the study of kabbalism. Shlomo Dov Goitein,[87] who had emigrated from Germany to Palestine, after tenure of a chair at the Hebrew University eventually settled in Philadelphia as professor of Arabic. His main interest was in Judaeo-Arabic, and his summer visits to Cambridge to work on the *genizah*, extending over many years, laid the foundation of his *magnum opus*, *A Mediterranean Society* (1967).

For most of the remaining period till 1933 the Oxford-Cambridge-London triangle remained the *locale* where post-biblical Jewish scholarship was prosecuted in accordance with historical and other appropriate canons as distinct from the scholastic methodology of the *yeshivah*, and Jews' College is a convenient thread on which to hang the story. In 1896 Montefiore College in Ramsgate was temporarily closed, and Hartwig Hirschfeld[88] (d) (1854–1934) who had been on its staff joined that of Jews' College, bringing with him a breadth of semitic scholarship that made it possible to offer instruction in Syriac and Arabic. Hirschfeld, who was born in Prussia, was a pupil of the great orientalist Theodor Nöldeke[89] in Strasbourg, and was himself offered a chair at Königsberg which, discovering that a precondition was baptism, he declined (it was then offered to Mark Lidzbarski,[90] born a Jew, who turned Protestant whilst a student). Hirschfeld taught concurrently also at University College, which conferred a professorship on him late in life. Most of his scholarly output was intended for specialists in Arabic, but he is more widely remembered for his English translation, from the original Arabic, of Judah Halevi's *Cuzari*.

In 1902 Israel Abrahams left the College, where he occupied the position of senior tutor, to succeed Schechter in the Cambridge readership, a move which indicates the recognition of the College's academic status by the establishment. Even more

[81] Bentwich, *Solomon Schechter*, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
[82] *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 404–407.
[83] *EJ*, vol. IV, pp. 51–52.
[84] *EJ*, vol. III, pp. 756–758.
[85] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 968–969.
[86] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 991–992.
[87] *EJ*, vol. VII, p. 694.
[88] *EJ*, vol. VIII, pp. 525–526.
[89] *EJ*, vol. XII, p. 1202.
[90] *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 214.

significant was the appointment, in 1907, of Adolf (Abraham) Büchler[91] (d) (1867–1939) as Principal. Educated in the rabbinical seminaries at Budapest and Breslau, Büchler took his doctorate at Leipzig; he was also Neubauer's nephew, and owed him his training in research whilst working at Oxford. A magisterial scholar, he specialised in the period of the Second Temple and in 1902 he produced a much-discussed work claiming that the contrasts between the Gospels and the Mishnaic tractate *Sanhedrin* imply that two distinct Jewish tribunals, one civil and the other ecclesiastical, were both styled in Greek *synedrion*. Even more important was his study (1906) of the Galilaean peasant-class *(am ha-aretz)* in the second century C. E. Setting himself the highest standards, he expected no less of his students, and was temperamentally almost incapable of making allowances for their immaturity; but it is to Büchler's credit that he did train up an English-born Chief Rabbi (I. Brodie), as well as his own future successor (see below). Although during his principalship the scholarly output of himself and his colleagues (as attested by the series of Jews' College Publications) was high, a number of promising students, who would have been able to contribute much to the Anglo-Jewish ministry, abandoned their courses in favour of other careers, and the output of good quality graduates slumped from what it had been under Friedländer, to whose geniality his pupils would, in later life, pay tribute.

Büchler did, however, re-inforce his staff with two scholars of distinction. One was Arthur Marmorstein[92] (c ii) (1886–1946), born in Hungary and educated at Pressburg, Budapest and Berlin. His interest in theological notions anecdotally expressed in the *midrash*, and programmatically in the surrogates for the divine name, yielded *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature* (1920) and *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* (1927). The other, Isidore Epstein[93] (c ia) (1894–1962), was born in Kovno and brought to England, but studied in Pressburg before entering London University and joining Jews' College in 1928, to become, in due course, its Principal. His interest in Sephardi Jewish history led him to the study of the *responsa* of the thirteenth-century Rabbi Solomon b. Adret of Barcelona as a source of social history, but Epstein is best known for his editorship (with a team of colleagues) of the 35-volume English translation of the Babylonian Talmud issued by the Soncino Press.

Another distinguished *alumnus* was Jacob Mann[94] (d) (1888–1940), who originated from Galicia; he pursued secular studies in London and also qualified as a minister in 1914. He devoted himself, however, to *genizah* studies, and produced (1920–1922) a most important work entitled *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*. Between the appearance of the two volumes Mann left for America and (in due course) a chair at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, where he devoted himself to evidence from the *midrashim* for reconstruction of the weekly divisions when the Pentateuch was read upon a triennial, instead of the current annual cycle.

At this point we should notice three figures from outside the academic establish-

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[91] *EJ*, vol. IV, pp. 1458–1459; Bruno Marmorstein, 'Adolph Büchler, Principal of Jews' College, 1906–1939', in *TJHSE*, 30 (1989), pp. 219–234 (with bibliography).

[92] *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 1013.

[93] *EJ*, vol. VI, p. 826.

[94] *EJ*, vol. XI, pp. 881–882.

ment. Asher Ginzberg (Ahad Ha-am)[95] (c iiib) (1856–1927), born in Russia, would have made no pretensions to scholarship, but (influenced by Western moral philosophy) he drew on his store of Jewish learning as a Hebrew essayist concerned for the ethical quality of the Zionist ideal that he espoused. He was in London 1907–1922, before settling in Palestine. Nahum Sokolow[96] (c iiia) (1859–1936), the Zionist publicist and secretary of the World Zionist Organisation, who was born in Poland, settled in London in 1914. In addition to a great mass of Hebrew journalism he published (1929) a Hebrew work on Spinoza. Paul Levertoff[97] (b i) (1878–1954), who came from a Russian hasidic family, converted to Christianity and was from 1919 head of a Jewish mission in England. A good rabbinic scholar, he published in 1926 an English translation of the *Sifre* to *Numbers*. It is an indication of the temperament of (at any rate part of) Anglo-Jewry between the two world wars that Levertoff was acceptable, despite his professed missionary standpoint, as a collaborator with two Jews (Harry Sperling [c ia] and Maurice Simon [d]) in the English translation of the *Zohar* – the classical document of Jewish mysticism – put out by a Jewish publisher.[98]

The second and third decades of the twentieth century, straddling the First World War, witnessed events in Anglo-Jewry which would prove significant for the post-1933 period. Outstanding was the appointment in 1913 of Joseph Herman Hertz[99] (c ia, iiia) (1872–1946) as Chief Rabbi. Hertz, though born in Hungary, had grown up in the United States and had been trained in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, and early achievements indicated his scholarly potential; but communal leadership, and Zionist involvement, pre-empted his intellectual vigour, and his main literary achievement was the production (with a subordinate team) of the popular *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* which digests the classical Jewish commentaries whilst purporting also to take account of (then) contemporary biblical scholarship. Hertz's own fiercely anti-critical standpoint rendered this aspect of the work of very limited value: and his own reserve towards Jewish scholarship as pursued not only by adherents of Reform Judaism, but also on purely secular premisses at the universities, exercised – because of his own immense prestige – an inhibiting effect on potential recruits to the subject and upon its fostering, by those in a position to provide endowments, outside the walls of Jews' College. Victor Schonfeld[100] (c ia) (1880–1930), who was likewise Hungarian-born, made a substantial impact on London Jewry from 1909 through the (ultra-Orthodox) Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations that he founded and through his Jewish Secondary Schools Movement: his publications were pedagogic and homiletic.

In the wider academic sphere, London University established in 1916 the School of Oriental Studies; and whilst Hebrew remained based at University College (as well as in the biblical department of the Christian King's College), Zionist interest in the language revival led to the endowment of a post in the School specifically for modern and (by title at least) medieval Hebrew. It was filled for many years by

[95] *EJ*, vol. II, pp. 440–448.
[96] *EJ*, vol. XV, pp. 85–89.
[97] *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 71.
[98] Soncino Press: London 1930, see vol. III, 1933.
[99] *DNB 1941–1950*, pp. 379–380; *EJ*, vol. VIII, pp. 398–399.
[100] *EJ*, vol. XIV, p. 994.

Isidore Wartski[101] (c iiib) (1890–1966), who had been in, or on the fringes of Bialik's[102] circle, and who took an active interest in the work of the Hebrew Language Academy[103] concerned with expansion of the vocabulary. Outside Oxford, Cambridge, and London, a few of the provincial universities where biblical Hebrew was taught under the aegis of (Christian) theology were enlarging their Hebrew interests, notably in Manchester. The foundation in 1917 of the Society for Old Testament Study, restricted to those who could deal with biblical Hebrew in an academically competent manner, consisted until much later predominantly of Christian clerics, but the specific contribution of Jewish scholars was recognised and valued. The exiguous numbers of the latter could not then have generated an analogous national organisation for Jewish studies, and international congresses specifically for Jewish scholarship still lay in the womb of the future; although Jewish interests did fall under the oriental umbrella. In 1928 the International Congress of Orientalists met in Oxford, a number of Jewish scholars, including participants from Germany being present. In retrospect, it may be seen as the last occasion for a substantial academic gathering of Jewish *Fachgenossen* that was not conscious of any looming storm-clouds over Germany and Palestine.

IV. From 1933 to the War

Almost as soon as Hitler's accession to power in Germany spelled calamity for German Jews and ex-Jewish converts there came into existence the Central British Fund for Relief, and, alongside it, the Academic Assistance Council. The latter, started at the initiative of William Beveridge, then Director of the London School of Economics, was, in 1936, renamed the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.[104] Already in 1933/1934 the Council had succeeded in placing fifty-seven scholars in permanent academic positions and 155 in temporary ones – fifty-six of them in the London School of Economics, thirty at Cambridge, fifteen in Oxford, and seven in the Scottish universities.[105] Naturally, most of the academic refugees professed disciplines other than Hebrew letters.[106] Before we pass in review some of the Jewish specialists among them, it is pertinent to take note of those factors which

[101] *Jewish Chronicle*, 18th March 1966.

[102] *EJ*, vol. IV, pp. 795–803.

[103] *EJ*, vol. II, pp. 205–208.

[104] Joan Stiebel, 'The Central British Fund for World Relief', in *TJHSE*, 27 (1982), pp. 51–60; *DNB 1961–1970*, pp. 102–108; Herbert A. Strauss (ed.), *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the USA*, 6 vols., New York–München–London–Paris 1979–1987, vol. VI, *idem, Essays on the History, Persecution and Emigration of German Jews*, 1987, p. 357; Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists 1933–1952*, The Hague 1953. See also Nicholas Baldwin, *Society for the Protection of Science and Learning*, Bodleian Library, Oxford 1988 (summary catalogue: boxes 67–84 include index of refugee applicants "by nationality, academic discipline, religion or aptitude"; boxes 180–578 contain individual case files; nos. 303–306 orientalists; 322–343 philosophers; 465–570 applicants not assisted by the Society; see also 'Summary of availability', pp. 21–22).

[105] Strauss, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 357.

[106] *List of Displaced German Scholars*, London 1936, circulated confidentially by the *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland*. It is arranged according to subject with an index of names. There is no section on Hebrew or Jewish Studies, but some of those concerned are listed under 'Oriental Philology'. The papers of the Leeds Academic Assistance Committee are in the Leeds University Library, but I understand they contain nothing with any bearing on Jewish scholarship.

had directed them to England or elsewhere, and of the extent to which, within the United Kingdom, means could be found to fit them into appropriate niches.

By 1933 Jewish demography (and sentiment) had developed two centres of which the gravitational pull was rivalling the long-established seats of Jewish life and learning in Europe. Fifty years of Russian-Jewish emigration to the United States had greatly strengthened pre-existing communities and generated new ones. Quite apart from the secular universities and the *yeshivoth*, American Jewry could boast, across the continent, four institutes where Jewish learning was prosecuted on Western academic principles in addition to the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York. True, during the early Roosevelt years America was struggling out of the Depression, but there was more Jewish money available there than in England for the expansion – albeit on a modest scale – of existing colleges so as to absorb some scholarly refugees. Some, for example Ismar Elbogen[107] (d) (1874–1943), went direct from Germany to America. For others, England was a staging-post, e. g. Samuel Atlas[108] (d) (1899–1977), talmudist and philosopher, who taught for a few years whilst in the country.

The other magnet was Palestine, and in particular the Hebrew University of Jerusalem – still a young institution, setting itself the highest standards and building up its library, but lacking the resources for disproportionate expansion of its school of Jewish studies: but nonetheless a beacon of encouragement to those who, on arrival, had to be content with non-academic employment. Most of those concerned emigrated direct to Palestine, but one or two spent some time in England *en route*.

In the United Kingdom, university expansion financed from the public purse was scarcely known before the end of the Second World War. New posts were dependent upon private benefaction, and those of wealth in Anglo-Jewry had little interest in fostering Jewish studies: honourable exceptions being Israel Sieff, who funded the post held in Oxford by Cecil Roth[109] (1899–1970), and Montague Burton,[110] who endowed one for Hebrew at Leeds; another was created in Manchester and named for Nathan Laski. H. Loewe vacated a part-time post at University College London that he held alongside his meagrely endowed Cambridge readership, in order to make it available as the nucleus of an income for a young refugee scholar in whose promise he had confidence.

It has also to be stated that even liberal English academic opinion was mesmerised by the fear of Soviet Russia, and was no less lethargic than the general public in waking up to the Nazi menace. There was thus, occasionally, initial resentment amongst non-Jewish dons when, in a period of acute unemployment and shortage of university posts, one of these was filled by a foreigner. Many Jewish specialists of established reputation had to take what employment they could find or, more often, continue their research whilst subsisting on grants. Alexander Altmann[111] (d)

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[107] *EJ*, vol. VI, pp. 573–574.

[108] *EJ*, vol. III, p. 829; Strauss, *op. cit.*, vol. I, *Archival Resources*, compiled by Steven W. Siegel, 1979, and vol. II, *Classified and Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles on the Immigration and Acculturation of Jews from Central Europe to the USA since 1933*, compiled by Henry Friedlander *et al.*, 1981.

[109] *EJ*, vol. XIV, pp. 326–328.

[110] *DNB 1951–1960*, pp. 164–166; *EJ*, vol. IV, p. 1533.

[111] *EJ*, vol. II, p. 779.

(1906–1987), who had been a Berlin rabbi whilst also teaching at the *Rabbinerseminar* had to take a rabbinical position in Manchester. A tentative scheme to re-establish the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Cambridge around a few refugee scholars was overtaken by the war.[112]

The position was, paradoxically, a little less bleak for younger scholars. Colleges or grant-giving bodies could sometimes make available a research fellowship, or, if refugee funds could find maintenance and the modest fees then payable for examinations, etc., would extend to them facilities to work for a Ph. D. degree (even if they already had a German doctorate), and, hopefully, thereafter secure some not too uncongenial work related to their subject. In any case, the outbreak of war in 1939 transformed the complexion of the labour-market.

As hinted above (p. 439), there were amongst the academic refugees some who, having attained distinction in other fields, also possessed sufficient Jewish expertise to be able to apply their own specialism to the advancement of Jewish scholarship, or cultivate the two disciplines side by side. Isidor Scheftelowitz[113] (d) (1876–1934) of Cologne, who settled in Oxford, was an Iranologist who wrote, *inter alia*, on peasant lore in ancient Palestine. Eugen Mittwoch[114] (d) (1876–1942), an Arabic and Ethiopic scholar who had been Director of the Oriental Seminar at Berlin, wrote on the influence of the Jewish liturgy on Islam. Pre-eminent, however, in this respect is David Daube[115] (born 1909), who came from Göttingen to Cambridge as a young Roman law scholar, and whose eminence in that subject is paralleled by his signal contributions to New Testament and rabbinic studies.

In addition to those already mentioned and some, to be noted below, who had arrived in England by 1939, but came to maturity after the war, the following scholars came to England before its outbreak, those shown in square brackets [] moving on after a brief sojourn. It is convenient to group them (roughly) according to their respective areas of specialism.[116]

Bible

Paul Ernst Kahle[117] (d) (1875–1965), a non-Jewish scholar, was Director of the Oriental Seminar at Bonn and the leading authority on the massoretic text in the light of *genizah* evidence. Because he had used his position to protect Jews, Kahle and his wife had to flee from Germany in 1938. He settled in Oxford.

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[112] I have supplied details of this, from memory, to Dr. Christhard Hoffmann of Berlin who, together with Dr. Daniel Schwartz of Jerusalem, is preparing a paper which will appear in *Year Book XXXVI of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1991.

[113] *EJ*, vol. XIV, p. 951.

[114] *EJ*, vol. XII, pp. 161–162.

[115] *EJ*, vol. V, pp. 1313–1314.

[116] The basis of this list is my own memory, checked against the index in Nicholas Baldwin, *Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. Report on Records c. 1933–1987*, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London 1988 (includes pp. 45–207, index of names), which does not indicate the academic fields of those for whom the SPSL Archive contains files.

[117] *EJ*, vol. X, pp. 685–686.

LANGUAGE

Solomon A. Birnbaum[118] (1891–1989), palaeographer and Yiddish scholar, had taught Yiddish at Hamburg University. In London he taught at the School of Oriental Studies and afterwards at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. He later went to Canada.

Samuel Krauss[119] (d) (1866–1948) had been head of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna, until in 1938 his residence was pillaged in the *"Kristallnacht"*, after which he was brought to Cambridge. A prolific historian of late antiquity and of Jews in the Byzantine empire, he is best known for his lexicon of Greek and Latin loan-words in rabbinic Hebrew.

[Julius Lewy[120] (d) (1895–1963), Assyriologist, had been professor in Giessen. In 1936 he was given a chair at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, but was for a short time in England.]

[Harry Torczyner (Naphtali Herz Tur-Sinai)[121] (d) (1886–1973), Hebrew philologist, had taught at the Berlin *Hochschule* until 1933. He was briefly in England, but in that year became Professor of the Hebrew Language at the Hebrew University and took on the editorship of the Hebrew dictionary begun by E. Ben-Yehudah.]

[Hans Jacob Polotzky[122] (born 1905), Egyptologist, Manichean scholar, and philologist of more than one family of languages, had been at Göttingen and Berlin before joining the Hebrew University in 1934, but was briefly in England in between.]

TALMUD

Lazarus Goldschmidt[123] (d) (1871–1950) of Berlin, free-lance orientalist and Hebrew bibliographer who translated the Babylonian Talmud into German single-handed, settled in London, after surreptitiously transferring his magnificent library (now in Copenhagen).

Yehezkel Abramsky[124] (c ia) (1886–1976), *halakhic* authority in Russia, had been imprisoned in Siberia until 1932, when he came to London, where he became a *dayyan*. On retirement in 1951 he settled in Jerusalem. His major work was a multi-volumed commentary on the *Tosefta*.]

HISTORY

Martin Braun (d) (1904–1975), a classical historian, began work in Germany on the Hellenistic historical romance and use of Jewish sources. Coming from Heidelberg to Cambridge, and afterwards to a research studentship in Oxford, he published (1938) *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*.

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[118] *EJ*, vol. XIV, p. 951.
[119] *EJ*, vol. X, pp. 1248–1250.
[120] *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 182.
[121] *EJ*, vol. XV, pp. 1465–1466.
[122] *EJ*, vol. XIII, pp. 837–839.
[123] *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 729–730.
[124] *EJ*, vol. II, pp. 170–171.

[? Elias Joseph Bickermann[125] (d) (1897–1981), the scholar of ancient history best known for a fundamental study of the Maccabean revolt, was Russian-born; he taught at Berlin and Paris and, after escaping from France, at Columbia University, New York.]

Robert Eisler[126] (1882–1949), an Austrian Jew who had worked in Paris for the League of Nations, escaped to England in 1938. He wrote widely, including about Jewish subjects where he had inadequate control of the sources, and he must be considered less a scholar than a publicist.

Hans Liebeschütz (d) (1893–1978), a medieval European historian with Jewish interests who had taught at the *Hochschule* in Berlin, ultimately secured a senior academic post in the history department at Liverpool University.

Philosophy and Jewish Thought

Alexander Altmann (d) (1906–1987) has been mentioned above; from a rabbinical position in Manchester he went in 1959 to become professor of Jewish philosophy at Brandeis University, in Massachusetts. Thanks to his openness and courage, allied to his position, Altmann's intellectual impact upon Anglo-Jewry was greater than that of any other refugee scholar concerned with Judaism.

[Leo Strauss[127] (1899–1975) of Berlin, an exponent of the impact of Greek philosophy on Islam and Judaism, came to England, but in 1938 he proceeded to an academic position in New York.]

[Nahum Glatzer[128] (1903–1990), best known for his studies of Franz Rosenzweig, had succeeded to Martin Buber's chair in Jewish philosophy and ethics at Frankfurt. On leaving Germany in 1933 he was briefly in England before going first to Palestine, and thereafter to America and ultimately a professorship at Brandeis University.]

[Lazar Gulkowitch[129] (d) (1899–c. 1945), a specialist in *hasidism*, headed the Jewish Studies Seminary at the University of Tartu (Dorpat), Estonia. He was briefly in England and gave a public lecture at Cambridge, but proceeded abroad (? to USA).]

[Abraham Joshua Heschel[130] (c ii) (1907–1972), philosopher of Judaism, taught at Frankfurt and was deported to Poland in 1938. He was briefly in England before going to the United States, ultimately to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.]

Ignaz Maybaum[131] (c ib) (1897–1976), Reform rabbi and theologian, ministered in Berlin until 1939 and thereafter occupied a suburban London pulpit. Concerned with formulating a Jewish theological response to the European cataclysm, his writings attracted some attention in Reform Jewish and in Christian circles.

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[125] *EJ*, vol. IV, p. 978; the index of the Archive of the SPSL (see note 116) includes his name, but I do not recollect that he spent any time in England.
[126] *EJ*, vol. VI, p. 555.
[127] *EJ*, vol. XV, p. 434.
[128] *EJ*, vol. VII, pp. 616–617.
[129] *EJ*, vol. XV, p. 827.
[130] *EJ*, vol. VIII, pp. 425–427.
[131] *EJ*, vol. XI, p. 1142.

Simon Rawidowicz[132] (d) (1897–1957), a historian of Jewish thought and editor of Nachman Krochmal, left Berlin in 1933 for London. In 1941 he was appointed to teach at Leeds University, leaving in 1947 for America, first in Chicago and later at Brandeis University.

Erwin Rosenthal[133] (born 1904), an authority on Islamic and Jewish political philosophy, arrived in England as a young scholar. He taught briefly at University College London and at Manchester University, and, from 1948, at Cambridge. In 1956 he published the Hebrew translation of the lost Arabic commentary of Averroes on Plato's *Republic*.

It must be stressed that this list and those mentioned earlier, though it is substantially complete, cannot claim to be comprehensive. In particular, there were a number of scholarly rabbis – both Orthodox and Reform – amongst the immigrants, such as Bruno Italiener[134] (c i), editor in 1927 of the facsimile Darmstadt *Haggadah*. Although they neither occupied academic positions nor were much in the public eye in Anglo-Jewry, several of them performed a valuable task (especially in the Reform movement) in maintaining and advancing educational interests within their congregations.

V. After 1945

Shortly after the close of the Second World War the British government, aware that British political influence and economic power in the East had to face American competition and other challenges, set up a Royal Commission to consider the teaching of oriental languages in the United Kingdom. The resultant (Scarbrough) Report, recommending substantial investment, was accepted, and Near and Far Eastern language teaching substantially strengthened by increasing staff and making available post-graduate studentships. Hebrew and Jewish studies benefited. Before the war, the few Jewish university students reading Hebrew or semitics were nearly all aspirants to the Jewish ministry. Insofar as new opportunities and widened syllabuses attracted a slightly higher Jewish recruitment, it was weighted in favour of modern Hebrew. The primary factor was, of course, Zionist interest and, after 1948, the emergence of an independent Israel, but in the background there was also an ominous shadow. Stunned by the recent destruction of European Jewry, many young Jews felt themselves emotionally alienated not merely from the very Western literatures and cultures which a number of them were studying, often with marked success, as a method of intellectual training, but also from the rigorous philological methods of classical teaching that were applied, in the universities, also to Hebrew.[135] Their approach to Hebrew, both at the university and at school, was now essentially romantic, encouraged and supported by Zionist propaganda-

[132] *EJ*, vol. XIII, pp. 1587–1588.

[133] *EJ*, vol. XIV, p. 292.

[134] *EJ*, vol. IX, p. 1115; Ruth P. Lehmann, *Nova Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica. A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History 1937–60*, London 1961; *idem*, *Anglo-Jewish Bibliography 1937–70*, London 1973.

[135] Raphael Loewe, 'Cambridge Jewry. The First Hundred Years', in William Frankel and Harvey Miller (eds.), *Gown and Tallith. In Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Cambridge University Jewish Society*, London 1989, p. 26.

slanted education staffed by young emissaries from Israel. And, reflecting this, it has to be stated that until recently those teaching modern Hebrew have nearly all been more notable for their enthusiasm than for their capacity for scholarly judgement and self-discipline.

On the other hand, it is from scholars trained at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem that Jewish studies in post-war England have received their greatest infusion of strength; to begin with, from victims of Hitler who had found refuge in Palestine as students, and more recently from native-born Israelis, predominantly of similar parentage. In 1953 Alexander Altmann, feeling that Jews' College had, for understandable reasons, become preoccupied with the production of congregational ministers at the expense of training up the next generation of scholars, had the vision (and secured the necessary financial backing) to establish in Manchester an Institute of Jewish Studies which, though necessarily a smaller affair, should take the Berlin *Hochschule* as its model. When in 1959 Altmann left for America the Institute was transferred to London and linked to the department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College. Joseph (George) Weiss[136] (d) (1918–1969), a member of the departmental staff who, born in Budapest, had made himself a reputation in Jerusalem as a student of *hasidism*, became its director, and his scholarly quality was recognised by the University's conferring on him a personal chair. Over three decades the Institute has succeeded, by attracting visiting scholars, and by sponsoring public lectures and conferences, in significantly increasing English academic awareness of the relevance of a Jewish factor in late classical antiquity, in medieval Europe, the rise of modern capitalism, etc. In Oxford, a parallel enterprise is the Centre for Post-graduate Hebrew Studies which, associated with attractive residential and conference facilities in the near-by village of Yarnton that effectively make it a college, was established in 1972; attracting visitors mainly from Israel, its emphasis is on modern Hebrew literature and the position of Jews in contemporary history.

A third enterprise on lines parallel to the foregoing is linked to the name of the last leader of German Jewry, Leo Baeck[137] (c ib) (1873–1956) who, as the last Director of the Berlin *Hochschule*, had been closely involved with H. Loewe in its projected transfer to Cambridge. Deported to Theresienstadt in 1943, Baeck never ceased teaching, and continued to do so when, after the war, he made his home in London whence he visited the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati each year. In England, he assembled round himself a semi-formal study-group consisting almost exclusively of elderly Reform rabbis from Germany, but shortly before Baeck died this had developed into a small college for the training of ministers for the increasing number of English Reform and Liberal congregations, and on his death it assumed the name of Leo Baeck College. For its first two decades most of its staff were emigrant German ecclesiastics, and the quality of the recruitment pool rather cramped its academic standards. Thereafter it was able to raise its academic sights, and in 1989 it became empowered to confer degrees under the auspices of the Council for National Academic Awards, which likewise authenticates degrees conferred through Jews' College.

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[136] *Jewish Chronicle*, 12th September 1969; see David Goldstein (ed.), introduction to Joseph Weiss, *Studies in Eastern European Jewish Mysticism*, Oxford 1986, pp. vii–viii.

[137] *EJ*, vol. IV, pp. 77–78.

The following is a list (based on personal memory only) of those of German origin active in Jewish scholarship in the United Kingdom, who entered it permanently or temporararily after 1945 or, if present earlier, had not long previously passed the chrysalis stage of their academic careers. They are grouped approximately according to field of specialism. Those in square brackets [ ] have spent a year or more teaching in a British university; others such as Yigael Yadin,[138] who made occasional visits to deliver public lectures etc, have been omitted.

BIBLE

[Shemaryahu Talmon[139] (born 1920).]

LANGUAGE

Semitics

Edward Ullendorff[140] (born 1920).

Chaim Menachem Rabin[141] (born 1915), since 1956 professor, Hebrew University.

Epigraphy

David Diringer[142] (d) (1900–1975), born in Galicia. Reader, Cambridge, and founder of Alphabet Museum which is now in Tel Aviv.

Hebrew: pre-modern

[Nehemya Allony[143] (d) (1906–1983). Lecturer, Leeds, 1947–1949; specialist in Judaeo-Arabic and medieval Hebrew poetry.]

S. Stein (born 1909). Professor, University College London.

Hebrew: modern

Meir Gertner[144] (c iiib) (1905–1976) Reader, School of Oriental and African Studies. (His brother, Levi Gertner[145] (c iiib) (1908–1976), though not an academic, devoted himself to promoting modern Hebrew education through residential seminars etc, in the Education Department of the Zionist Federation.)

TALMUD AND HALAKHAH

Koppel Kahana (Kagan)[146] (c ia) (1895–1978) Lecturer, Jews' College; studied rabbinic and Roman law comparatively.

Hirsch Jacob Zimmels[147] (c ia) (1900–1974) Principal, Jews' College.

Aryeh Doerfler[148] (c ib) (1899–1968) Lecturer, Leo Baeck College.

(Ernest) Ephraim Wiesenberg (born 1909) Reader in Hebrew, University College London, and since retirement engaged on cataloguing Arabic fragments in the *genizah*, Cambridge University Library.

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138 *EJ*, vol. XVI, pp. 694–696.
139 I. J. Carmin Karpman (ed.), *Who's Who in World Jewry*, Tel Aviv 1978, p. 883.
140 *Who's Who.*
141 *EJ*, vol. XIII, pp. 1470–1471.
142 *EJ*, vol. VI, p. 63.
143 *Who's Who in World Jewry*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
144 *Jewish Chronicle*, 27th August 1976.
145 *Jewish Chronicle*, 23rd July 1976.
146 *EJ*, vol. X, p. 681.
147 *EJ*, vol. XVI, p. 1025.
148 *Jewish Chronicle*, 10th January 1969.

HISTORY

Chimen Abramsky (born 1917) Professor, University College London.
Geza Vermes[149] (born 1924) Professor of Jewish Studies, Oxford.

PHILOSOPHY AND JEWISH THOUGHT

E. J. Heller[150] (d) (1885[?8]–1957) Taught at University College London; editor of *Tarbuth* (Hebrew periodical, published in London).
Jacob Leib Teicher[151] (d) (1904–1981) Lecturer in Rabbinics, Cambridge; student of Maimonides, and a somewhat idiosyncratic exponent of the Dead Sea Scrolls.
Samuel Miklos Stern[152] (d) (1920–1969) Fellow, All Souls College, Oxford; authority on Jewish neoplatonism, Hispano-Arabic and Jewish poetry etc.
Richard Rudolf Walzer[153] (d) (1900–1975) Lecturer, Oxford University.
[Raphael Judah Zevi Werblowsky[154] (born 1924). Taught at Leeds before appointment to Hebrew University.]

LITURGY AND POETRY

Meir Wallenstein[155] (born 1903, Jerusalem). Reader in Hebrew, Manchester University.
Naftali Wieder (born 1905). Lecturer, Jews' College and Reader, University College London.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Benedict S. J. Isserlin (born 1916). Reader, Leeds University.

No clear pattern emerges from the foregoing survey beyond the programmatic and chronological structure adumbrated at the outset. We are concerned, effectively, with the century and a half since 1840: and the most eloquent testimony to the impact in that period of Jewish scholars from German-speaking countries on Jewish studies in Great Britain is the difficulty of listing as many as a dozen British-born scholars of the calibre of Israel Abrahams and Cecil Roth whose work is of ongoing value, except in the area of strictly biblical scholarship. Critical study of biblical origins and textual vicissitudes has been largely the work of Gentile Hebraists, although since 1945 a major centre for fully critical biblical studies has developed in the Hebrew University: in general, Jews have long shied away from the subject, being in part inhibited by a reluctance to address the psychological challenge to integrate their scientific findings with a faith too facilely identified with its traditional apparatus of explanatory support, and partly alienated by the anti-Jewish animus of the nineteenth-century German founders of the discipline. But post-biblical Jewish scholarship, too, has been enriched by the contributions of a

149 *Who's Who.*
150 *Jewish Chronicle*, 19th April 1957.
151 *Jewish Chronicle*, 27th November 1981.
152 *EJ*, vol. XV, p. 392.
153 *EJ*, vol. XVI, p. 249.
154 *EJ*, vol. XVI, p. 450.
155 *EJ*, vol. XVI, p. 246.

few English Gentile scholars such as Herbert Danby[156] (1889–1953); and there is no better example of the influence on these scholars whose mother-tongue was German than the circumstance that Arthur Ernest Cowley[157] (1861–1931), later to become Bodley's Librarian, was himself trained by Neubauer and completed his great *Catalogue* of Bodleian Hebrew manuscripts.

Objective scholarship in the hands of a practitioner worth his salt is an undertaking in pursuit of which personal loyalties are irrelevant, and any personal circumstances of birth, education, faith, or reaction to cultural background need to be kept clearly in perspective by the individual concerned. That, at any rate, is the ideal – failure to achieve which is more easily recognised in one's professional colleagues than in oneself. But however near the student of any aspect of Judaism comes to attaining it, in the present age he needs no reminding (whether he himself is Jewish or not) that his studies, and the communication of his findings, do not take place in a vacuum: the atmosphere is liable at any moment to be fouled by the stench of Hitler's death camps. On the Jewish side, the inhibitions already glanced at have been psychologically entrenched. The challenge to Gentile scholars concerned with Jewish matters is the necessity of mastering a holistic approach in which a mature understanding of the interplay of Jewish faith, ideals, thought, and folk-culture controls the address of the student to his chosen aspect of Judaism. Nor does this challenge concern Jewish-German scholarly relations only; twentieth-century history has caused many a subsidiary eddy within the maelstrom that Hitler caused, that are liable to over-develop Jewish insistence on one or other symbol of identity and thereby throw Gentile specialists in Judaism off balance.

And yet, one of the brightest features of the contemporary scene is the co-operation and unforced mutual regard of leading Israeli scholars and their German *confrères*, and the quality of work now being done in Germany on, e.g. the *heykhaloth* literature which, in the pre-Scholem age, was virtually a closed book to Jewish scholars trained in Western methodology. Symbolic, perhaps, both of the complicating factor alluded to and of progress in coming to terms with it, is the fact that in June 1989 the University of Cambridge conferred its doctorate of divinity, *honoris causa*, on Professor Martin Hengel of Tübingen, who has both made a signal contribution to the study of the interaction of Judaism and Hellenism, and also written[158] an impressive autobiographical account of his experiences as schoolboy and young soldier in Hitler's Germany and of the route which brought him to specialise in Jewish studies, as much for the sake of his own self-understanding as in order to come to terms with the recent past.

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[156] *EJ*, vol. V, pp. 1261–1262.

[157] *DNB 1931–1940*, pp. 194–195; *EJ*, vol. V, p. 1025.

[158] Hengel's article, 'My Encounter with Jews and Judaism', has not yet been published. It will appear in a volume edited by Irving J. Borowsky (American Institute for the Study of Religious Cooperation).

Paths to Acceptance

JOHN P. FOX

British Attitudes to Jewish Refugees from Central and Eastern Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

"I feel that it is our duty... to keep our race pure. We have established a race of which I am proud... and I want to keep that race as it is as pure as possible. I feel that it is absolutely essential to preserve the purity of our race and to prevent contamination with the riff-raff of Eastern Europe, the stiffs of the Mediterranean, and the dead-beats of the world."[1]

These words of extreme racial prejudice and xenophobia came not from Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, or anyone else in the NSDAP or Nazi Germany, but from a British Member of Parliament – Mr. William Greene, MP for Worcester – in the House of Commons on 11th February 1925 during a debate on an Aliens Motion. Yet within the broad context of British attitudes and policies to European refugees and would-be immigrants into the United Kingdom, especially Jews, it is a mistake to be surprised by such sentiments in the years from the end of the nineteenth century up to 1945. On the contrary, more surprising would have been an absence of such statements.

Britain's traditions and culture had been as Christian and nationalistic as the rest of Europe. Consequently, and intensified by the practice and ideology of the British Empire, some intrinsic prejudice towards foreigners and certainly Jews was only to have been expected. That famous "master figure of England",[2] Joseph Chamberlain, Britain's imperialist Colonial Secretary from 1895–1900, for example, was never averse to propagating his ideas of the "greatness and importance of the destiny which is reserved for the Anglo-Saxon race, for that proud, persistent, self-asserting and resolute stock that no change of climate and conditions can alter".[3]

Nevertheless, the variety of British attitudes towards those European Jews who wished to enter the United Kingdom during the two main waves of Jewish emigration from Europe around the turn of the century and between 1933 and 1945 cannot be understood without an appreciation of some fundamental points about human behaviour.

The term "attitude", which has a variety of meanings in popular usage, has been limited by psychologists to refer to "a state of readiness for response, organised through experience, which exerts a directive influence on the individual's behaviour toward all the objects and situations to which it is related". Attitudes may thus be personal and specific or they may be social and general and therefore related to the

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[1] *Hansard*, 5th series, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, vol. 180, cols. 270–315, esp. col. 286.

[2] Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, New York 1978, p. 120.

[3] Wolfgang Mock, 'The Function of "Race" in Imperialist Ideologies. The Example of Joseph Chamberlain', in Paul Kennedy and Anthony Nicholls (eds.), *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914*, London 1981, pp. 190–203, esp. p. 193.

society as a whole.[4] The key point here is "experience", so that individual and group behaviour which results in social or political action, i.e. an expression of "attitudes", is obviously determined by a range of actual and psychologically perceived influences.

Where such "attitudes" concern "action" towards Jews, the usual term "anti-semitism" should be used with some care. In most cases it is employed, mistakenly, to describe general, social, or religious hostility towards the Jews which should really be described as forms of "anti-Jewishness". More correctly, "antisemitism" should be limited to describe politically motivated or organised action and hatred against the Jews, particularly after that sense of it was formulated in 1879 by Wilhelm Marr.[5]

Central to any form of hatred of the Jews (or any other group of human beings) is human prejudice. But to understand that we have to consider several questions of individual and group psychology which, generally, are insufficiently brought into historical analysis. The psychological approach is fundamental for understanding historical problems since man's social activities and decisions – and those of his political societies as formulated and executed by the leadership cadre – are determined by the fundamental psychological make-up of modern man with particular reference to his irrational and aggressive/destructive tendencies towards others of the human species. As important is the problem of how these tendencies may be limited or developed within a societal context.[6]

The interrelationship between the self-perception of psychological man and the group-perception of social man[7] immediately raises two fundamental questions about human behaviour which are central to the discussion of British attitudes towards German-Jewish refugees and would-be immigrants from Central Europe: the basic psychological characteristics of individual human beings and how those characteristics may be developed or distorted within human societies.

The main concern here is that of group psychology, or assessing how different groups (human societies) react or relate to other groups. Human societies have generally come to be identified on the basis of a common culture through a shared

[4] J. F. Brown, 'The Origin of the Anti-Semitic Attitude', in Isacque Graeber and Stuart Henderson Britt (eds.), *Jews in a Gentile World*, New York 1942, p. 125.

[5] Cf. Reinhard Rürup and Thomas Nipperdey, 'Antisemitismus – Entstehung, Funktion und Geschichte eines Begriffs', in Reinhard Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus. Studien zur "Judenfrage" der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Göttingen 1975, pp. 95–114, 174–181.

[6] Peretz F. Bernstein, *Jew-Hate as a Sociological Problem*, New York 1951, p. 185. Originally published in Berlin in 1926, the book was republished in 1980 with the author's name as Fritz Bernstein, *Der Antisemitismus als Gruppenerscheinung. Versuch einer Soziologie des Judenhasses*, Königstein/Ts 1980. This book contains an invaluable analysis of "the group" in human society and its forms of prejudice. See also the useful essay by I. S. Wechsler, 'Some Remarks on the Psychology of Antisemitism', in Koppel S. Pinson (ed.), *Essays on Antisemitism*, New York 1946, pp. 35–40. In particular see the invaluable five-volume series *Current Research on Antisemitism*, edited by Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Bergmann, of which two volumes have so far appeared: Helen Fein (ed.), *The Persisting Question. Sociological Perspectives and Social Contexts of Modern Antisemitism*, New York–Berlin 1987; Werner Bergmann (ed.), *Error without Trial. Psychological Research on Antisemitism*, New York–Berlin 1988.

[7] See in particular Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, Harmondsworth 1984. See also Jonathan Glover, *Causing Death and Saving Lives*, Harmondsworth 1987; John Klama, *Aggression. Conflict in Animals and Humans Reconsidered*, Harlow 1988; W. J. M. Mackenzie, *Power, Violence, Decision*, Harmondsworth 1975; Steven Rose, R. C. Lewontin and Leon J. Kamin, *Not in Our Genes. Biology, Ideology, and Human Nature*, Harmondsworth 1987; Gerda Siann, *Accounting for Aggression. Perspectives on Aggression and Violence*, Harmondsworth 1985.

language, race, religion, institutions, customs, origins, and so on. Perhaps the most effective and pervasive means for group cohesion and identification is what is known as "the consciousness of value which everyone derives from the group to which he belongs". The corollary to this, of course, is the conviction of the "lesser" value of all those who do not belong to the same group, i. e. the "outsiders".[8]

Individual and mass psychology, individual and group emotion and prejudice, thus come to play the key role in a political society which conflicts with, or is threatened by, other societies or even individuals from those societies. An influx of foreigners – or aliens – may be seen as such a threat, so that what becomes at issue is how the would-be host society copes with or resolves the "threat" posed by the would-be alien immigrant, the foreigner, the outsider. Negative criteria are employed for not accepting or identifying the outsider as "belonging to the group", just as the same criteria are used positively to identify accepted members of a "group" or "society".

Specific characteristics differentiating the "outsider" from members of the potential host society are emphasised, part of this process being the creation of stereotypes in the popular image. This process is reinforced when the emotive power of myth displaces the force of reality. The stranger can thus be regarded with a mixture of aversion, hostility and fear, awakening feelings of individual and group vulnerability, leading to all manner of individual and group defensive attitudes and actions. More importantly, the limits which the society in question may place upon violence (verbal or actual) within its boundaries by one individual or group against another are dispensed with in the case of strangers or foreigners attempting to "intrude" upon that society: "hostility, free of the entangling web of conflicts which we individually spin with our intimates, becomes, in the group, free of restraint".[9]

Awareness and understanding of the psychological bases of individual and group human behaviour, and warnings against attempting "to exaggerate the intellectuality of mankind"[10] or of over-estimating "the limited rationality of individual human beings"[11] help, therefore, to illuminate further the specific details of any historical analysis. This is particularly so when that analysis involves – as it does here and at its very core – the exercise of human prejudice.

How, then, do we assess modern British attitudes to European Jewish refugees and would-be immigrants up to 1945? Four points of focus suggest themselves. Firstly, and perhaps obviously from the words quoted from the 1925 House of Commons debate, is the question of how far and which British social classes were also infected by the racialism and antisemitism which afflicted so much of Europe. Secondly, when did such anti-foreign and anti-Jewish-immigrant feelings become more accentuated and why? Thirdly, and perhaps paradoxically, how does one

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[8] Israel Charny, *How Can We Commit the Unthinkable? Genocide. The Human Cancer*, Epping 1982, p. 24. It is a truism, then, that "collective behaviour cannot be fully understood except by reference to its social matrix in space and time, but that the great currents of group and mass action remain enigmatic if we exclude from their study the influence of the strivings and roles of individual actors – leaders and led": Henry V. Dicks, *Licensed Mass Murder. A Socio-Psychological Study of Some SS Killers*, London 1972, p. 17.

[9] Gregory Rochlin, *Man's Aggression. The Defence of the Self*, London 1973, p. 268; see also Fromm, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–174.

[10] Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*, London 1910, p. 21.

[11] Herbert A. Simon, *Reason in Human Affairs*, Oxford 1983, p. 84.

explain the attenuation of such attitudes on the part of some at least, and the emergence of more humanitarian ideas on the part of others, when the Nazi regime began the persecution of Germany's Jews after 30th January 1933? Fourthly, what was the relationship between the wide range of British public opinion towards the German-Jewish refugee question in the 1930s and 1940s on the one hand, and government policies on the other, including the question of their treatment when in the United Kingdom?

There are four key elements, however, which permeate the whole discussion and cannot be ignored or denied: the stratified English class and social system as a contributory, if not determining, feature of the wide range of British attitudes towards foreigners, which has often been negative, critical, hostile even; the fact that the British bureaucratic system of government is an accurate reflection of this xenophobia, apparently intrinsic to the British psyche; how reports of the Nazi persecution of Germany's Jews and the extermination of European Jewry may or may not have forced a fundamental re-appraisal of all these attitudes; and that within modern political societies it is extremely difficult to quantify precisely the causal relationship between "thoughts", those of private or public figures, and their translation into actual policies. All that one may do, as an historian, is to observe and draw some general conclusions.

A wide range of intellectual, social, and political influences determined general British attitudes and government policies towards the two main waves of Jewish refugees and would-be immigrants at the turn of the century and after 1933. Among others, they were: the anti-Judaic tradition in European social history and Christianity, the two being closely intertwined if not indistinguishable; the influence of the tradition of European colonialism, exacerbated in the age of imperialism in the final quarter of the nineteenth century, determining negative attitudes towards non-Europeans and the Jews so that they came to be considered outside the mainstream European Aryan race and culture; the emergence of the so-called scientific theories of race and eugenics in the nineteenth century; and the emergence of what might be called the "modern" Jewish Question in the nineteenth century, culminating in that century's final quarter in the political phenomenon of antisemitism.[12]

It is also necessary to pose this question: were British attitudes determined more by hostility towards these people as alien foreigners, or were more specifically anti-Jewish feelings at work? Or, more typically British, was it a question of something halfway between these two extremes?

There is no denying the powerful influence of the ferment of intellectual, philosophical, scientific, and social debates of the nineteenth century around the questions of race, Social Darwinism, and eugenics, debates in which "the Jewish Question" was a central issue. Modern Britain was in the mainstream of contemporary European discussion of such matters, linked as these became to issues of class, society, the nation and nationalism, colonialism and imperialism – and of

[12] See in particular, Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction. Anti-Semitism 1700–1933*, Cambridge, Mass. 1980; Paul R. Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *The Jew in the Modern World. A Documentary History*, New York 1980; Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. III, *From Voltaire to Wagner*, London 1975, vol. IV, *Suicidal Europe 1870–1933*, New York 1985; Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria*, revised edn., London 1988; Robert S. Wistrich. 'Antisemitism as a "Radical" Ideology in the 19th Century', in *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, 28 (Summer 1983), pp. 83–94.

course "the Jewish Question" *pari passu* with the spread of Jewish emancipation throughout most of Europe.

Robert Knox, James Hunt, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Karl Pearson and Sir Francis Galton dominated the English scene, although Darwin's position is somewhat ambivalent.[13] But however much this discussion originated and circulated amongst educated and literary circles, the wider public came to learn about it and likewise discuss the new ideologies through their dissemination, in the new mass society, by means of books, periodicals and newspapers which often simplified for popular consumption the essential core of an elaborate and learned thesis. The popularisation of ideas can at particular times become socially and therefore politically significant.[14]

Beginning with the work of Count de Gobineau in France and Robert Knox in England – whose *Leitmotif* after Benjamin Disraeli was that "race is everything ... civilisation depends on it"[15] – and developed by the philosophy of Social Darwinism, the intellectual and popular debate over several decades came to consist of variations around the central themes of "survival of the fittest" and the "struggle for existence" originally formulated by Herbert Spencer.[16] Through the work of Darwin and others, scientific theories were applied to man's social and political environment, above all to the principles which should determine the governing of "modern" societies, and how "modern man" (within such societies) should relate to those around him.[17]

The long-term consequences of all this for the Jews of Europe were to be horrendous. Firstly, this debate intensified all previous endeavours to achieve forms of group identity. Unprecedented, however, "was the sheer urgency now marking the quest for focus, identity, belonging".[18] Secondly, the search for identity and belonging came to be focused on the two main elements of modern society, the nation and the class. As race biologised politics, so race came to be synonymous with these two concepts. Furthermore, the direct identification of "race" with "nation", exacerbated through the principles and practices of imperialism, involved the danger of intensifying international confrontations rather than attenuating them, particularly when reinforced by such justifications as the development of "historical consciousness".[19]

The indirect identification of "race and nation" through "class" had other conse-

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[13] George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution. A History of European Racism*, London 1978, pp. 65–76; see also Michael D. Biddiss, 'Racial Ideas and the Politics of Prejudice 1850–1914', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. XV, no. 3 (1972), pp. 570–582; *idem*, 'Myths of the Blood. European Racist Ideology 1850–1945', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. IX, no. 5 (September-October 1975), pp. 11–19; Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, London 1971; Daniel Jo Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics. Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*, Harmondsworth 1986; Paul Rich, 'The Long Victorian Sunset. Anthropology, Eugenics and Race in Britain, c1900–48', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XVIII, no. 3 (July 1984), pp. 3–17.

[14] H. W. Koch, 'Social Darwinism as a Factor in the "New Imperialism"', in *idem* (ed.), *The Origins of the First World War. Great Power Rivalry and German War Aims*, London 1972, p. 331.

[15] Mosse, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Léon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth. A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, London 1974, p. 232.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[17] Mosse, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[18] Michael D. Biddiss, *The Age of the Masses. Ideas and Society in Europe Since 1870*, Harmondsworth 1977, p. 111.

[19] Mosse, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35–50.

quences: often, but not always, it helped to mollify internal social divisions since nationalism, perverted into race hatred, pushed the class struggle into the background for a short time.[20] Perhaps the most important consequence of the racist input into politics, national and international – because it contained within itself the danger of the institutionalisation of cultural, social, or political racism – was the notion of racial distinction or hierarchisation: the denigration, disregard, hatred and the dehumanisation of those not considered to "belong" to the "superior" racial group in question.[21]

It is this third consequence which ultimately confronted the British with a series of political and moral choices when faced by the waves of Jewish emigration from Europe at the turn of the century and after 1933. For it resulted in what Léon Poliakov has correctly described as "racial Manichaeism".[22] So that, as the negro and the yellow races in the imperial arena were considered to be the antithesis of the superior colonial white Christian races, so in Europe the Jew came to be seen as "the foil of racism"[23] and the antithesis of Christian Aryan man. In this way, racist ideology came to be layered upon centuries of religious differences and perpetuated myths of the blood libel, the curse of Ahasverus the Wandering Jew, and fantasies about the universal Jewish world conspiracy.[24] But worse came towards the end of the nineteenth century when the whole was fatally mixed in that new witches' brew, political antisemitism. Or rather, as it became in the refined Nazi version, "biologised" antisemitism.

While the Jews themselves contributed to the complexities of the situation by debating whether they were a separate race,[25] one simple fact remained. As long as the European civilisation and nation States were still thought to be Christian, Jews who kept their faith always appeared as "foreigners".[26] This in fact raised the very question which contributed to an exacerbation of Gentile-Jewish relations in England as elsewhere and has been described as the antisemitism of tolerance, meaning "the desire to see Jews adapt to the norms of the dominant culture", which is "sufficient reason to present the negative image of the Jew and suggest it be erased by means of assimilation".[27]

The question is: how did the British react to these Jewish would-be immigrants, these aliens who also comprised a religious and emotionally potent racial foreignness – and separateness? Moreover, most Englishmen recognised these as features belonging to English Jews already in the midst of English society.

A simple answer is to say that they reacted entirely in accordance with whatever projections one might care to make from the indications of behaviour already

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[20] Koch, *loc. cit.*, p. 348.

[21] Biddiss, *The Age of the Masses*, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 113–115, 119; see also Daniel Gasman, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism. Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel and the German Monist League*, London 1971; Hugh Tinker, *Race, Conflict and the International Order. From Empire to United Nations*, London 1977.

[22] Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth*, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[23] Mosse, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 122–127; see also Carleton Stevens Coon, 'Have the Jews a Racial Identity?', in Graeber and Britt (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 20–37.

[26] Mosse, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 133.

[27] Katz, *op. cit.*, quoted by Bryan Cheyette, 'H. G. Wells and the Jews. Antisemitism, Socialism and English Culture', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XXII, no. 3 (Autumn 1988), pp. 22–35.

mentioned. But simple answers are never there for the historians' asking – as indeed three recent historians of modern English antisemitism had to admit throughout their work.[28] Indeed, the complexities of modern English anti-Jewishness and antisemitism are the necessary backcloth to the equally complicated task of assessing the kaleidoscopic nature of British reactions and attitudes towards European Jewish refugees and would-be immigrants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

British reactions and attitudes mirrored the difficult domestic attitudes towards Jews in Christian England over the centuries[29] and English perspectives on "the Jewish Question" for three reasons: as Jews it was felt they would import even more of the ill-defined but intractable "Jewish Question" into English society; they were foreign, alien, and as members of a different race regarded as rank "outsiders" and "inferiors"; and, as such, they brought into sharp focus Britain's national differences with other nations.

England thus shared with the rest of continental Europe an antipathy towards Jews, but with one important difference: although in the period under discussion forms of discrimination and even violence against Jews were prevalent, at no point did any English government (unlike many of the European nations) introduce discriminatory legislation specifically against Jews.[30] After the *de facto* acts of emancipation of the nineteenth century, their eligibility to Parliament in 1858, the Promissory Oaths Act of 1871 which admitted Jews to high office, and the granting of a peerage to Nathaniel Rothschild in 1885, English Jews had the same rights and duties as other Englishmen – a point underlined by the Jewish contribution to Britain's armed forces during the Great War of 1914–1918 and the Second World War.[31] Nevertheless, one may agree with the observation that "the significance of anti-Semitism in England as elsewhere is that it is a symptom of crisis, liable to surface in times of extreme stress, when xenophobia emerges as a form of sublimation of pervasive fear arising from unemployment, inflation, demoralisation".[32]

One of the clearest examples of British anti-Jewish sentiment epitomising "a symptom of crisis", and indicating the interaction between British domestic and foreign policy on the wider Jewish Question, concerned the Aliens Act of 1905. By stopping what previously had amounted to total freedom of immigration into the United Kingdom,[33] this legislation enabled the British government to exercise control over the immigration of aliens – generally recognised to be a euphemism for "Jews".

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[28] Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876–1939*, London 1979; Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice. Antisemitism in British Society During the Second World War*, Manchester 1988; Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England 1918–1939*, London 1978; see also Geoffrey C. Field, 'Anti-Semitism with the Boots Off. Recent Research on England', in *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, Special Issue [1983], pp. 25–46.

[29] See Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, Oxford 1964.

[30] Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 89; see also, Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars*, Bloomington 1983.

[31] Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9, 126; on the emancipation question, see M. C. N. Salbstein, *The Emancipation of the Jews. The Question of the Admission of the Jews to Parliament 1828–1860*, Oxford 1984.

[32] Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[33] Bernard Wasserstein, 'The British Government and the German Immigration 1933–1945', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Leamington Spa–Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1984, pp. 63–81, esp. p. 63.

In 1880 there were some 60,000 Jews in Britain, about 46,000 of them living in London. Between 1881 and 1905, however, Britain received some 100,000 Russian-Jewish immigrants. The majority of these concentrated in East London, mainly around the Whitechapel area, and it was not long before initial sympathy turned to fear and opposition. By 1914 the total number of Jews in Britain had grown to some 300,000. The 1901 Census registered over 90,000 "Russians and Poles" in East London. By 1911 this figure had grown to 106,000, not including the 20,000 Jews who had arrived from Germany, Holland, Austria, and Romania.[34]

England as well as Germany thus experienced at first hand an *Ostjudenfrage* – and interestingly enough, the mixed reaction of English Jews to their poorer religious brethren was similar to that of their German cousins: "the dominant view shared by Anglo-Jewry's leading families ... was that immigrants should be allowed free entry, but Anglo-Jewry ought not to encourage them. Effectively, as little aid as possible was given to the aliens and repatriation and emigration to America was encouraged... A third view actually demanded restriction; ashamed of incoming Jews whom it was thought would provoke antisemitism."[35]

On the other hand, the number of German-Jewish immigrants who entered the United Kingdom at the turn of the century and up to the years following the Great War was in no way comparable to that great influx from Russia. But still British attitudes towards German-Jewish refugees were generally negative. Why? While such attitudes naturally reflected the general state of anti-Jewishness or antisemitism in England, they were also a direct result of the hostile feelings generated towards the Russian-Jewish immigrants of the 1880s onwards. Highly visible with their different dress, religious customs, social habits, and Yiddish language, not least their concentration in working-class areas of major cities such as London and Leeds,[36] they inevitably came to form the mythical prototype of what "Jews" in

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[34] Anne and Roger Cowen, *Victorian Jews Through British Eyes*, Oxford 1986, pp. xiv–xvi; Linda Zeff, *Jewish London*, London 1986, pp. 10–11.

[35] David Rosenberg, *Facing up to Anti-Semitism. How Jews in Britain Countered the Threats of the 1930s*, London 1985, p. 8; see also Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880–1920*, Oxford 1988, chap. 9: 'The Alien Question', pp. 243–270 and p. 299 on Anglo-Jewry's reaction to the restrictionist Aliens Act of 1905: "the Jewish leadership found many of its objectives served by a statute of which it could never openly approve. Anglo-Jewry would have preferred to make its own decisions about who should be allowed to land and who refused, as to some extent it had done for so many years... The Aliens Act of 1905 continued, to a considerable degree, policies that the Jewish elite had pursued for decades." For the *Ostjudenfrage* in Germany see in particular, S. Adler-Rudel, *Ostjuden in Deutschland 1880–1940*, Tübingen 1959 (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 1); Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers. The East European Jew in German and German-Jewish Consciousness 1800–1923*, Madison 1982; John P. Fox, 'Weimar Germany and the *Ostjuden*, 1918–1923. Acceptance or Expulsion?', in Anna C. Bramwell (ed.), *Refugees in the Age of Total War*, London 1988, pp. 51–68; Trude Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland 1918–1933*, Hamburg 1986; Reiner Pommerin, 'Die Ausweisung von "Ostjuden" aus Bayern 1923. Ein Beitrag zum Krisenjahr der Weimarer Republik', in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 34 Jhg., Heft 3 (Juli 1986), pp. 311–339; Jack L. Wertheimer, '"The Unwanted Element". East European Jews in Imperial Germany', in *Year Book XXVI of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1981, pp. 23–46; *idem*, *Unwelcome Strangers. East European Jews in Imperial Germany*, Oxford–New York 1987.

[36] See the vivid descriptions in Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion. The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, London 1972; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration 1880–1910. A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx*, Oxford 1971; Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914*, London 1960; see also Joseph Buckman, *Immigrants and the Class Struggle. The Jewish Immigrant in Leeds 1880–1914*, Manchester 1983; Aubrey Newman (ed.), *The Jewish East End 1840–1939. Proceedings of the Conference held on 22 October 1980 jointly by the Jewish Historical Society of England and the Jewish East End Project of the Association for Jewish Youth*, London 1981.

general were supposed to be or look like. As it was, in the autumn of 1888 myth became hysteria in the Whitechapel area of the East End of London when it was supposed that Jack the Ripper was an East European immigrant Jew.[37] Furthermore, many of those same immigrant Jews in that part of London were associated, actively and in myth, with anarchism, radicalism, Socialism – all sins against the stability which the English parliamentary and monarchical system supposedly epitomised.[38]

Yet whatever the myths and received perceptions were about these immigrants, it was the actual change they wrought in their new surroundings which created the strong feelings of the indigenous population against them and which led, through the agitation of political activists, to the Aliens Act of 1905. As the journalist and author, William Zukerman noted, they were "sufficiently different in appearance, language, mode of life and thought from the surrounding native majority to act as a psychological irritant to a people not used to foreigners".[39] The East End of London beyond Aldgate was described as though "one walks into a foreign town", while another comment has it, "the aliens were objects of West End benevolence rather than of affection or respect. East End and West End tended to be 'racial' and ideological terms as well as geographical".[40]

The fact is that by tending to congregate (of necessity) in the poorer parts of the major cities of London, Manchester, and Leeds – especially in the East End of London – the immigrants exacerbated, often to beyond breaking point, existing problems of work and unemployment, housing and rents, and water supplies and sanitary arrangements. They came to be accused by native Londoners and others, often with truth but mostly out of forms of hostility, of a variety of sins, of dirtiness, of overcrowding, of avarice. Not themselves notorious for personal cleanliness, East Londoners recoiled from the aliens, who allegedly "only wash themselves once a week", or as some believed, "never buy any soap at all".[41]

Another sore point in relations between immigrant Jews and native English in immigrant districts revolved around the rent question. Specifically, it concerned the higher rents which Jews seemed willing to pay for houses, speeding up the displacement of English tenants. The Jews' alien status and the higher rents which accompanied them incited severe hostility when they settled in a new street as the Jewish quarter gradually spread out. Sensing they would soon be submerged, some of the English and Irish inhabitants moved out at once. Others remained behind to give vent to cold or hot hostility, although they too soon left. In the words of a London County Councillor to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration (1902–1903), "the aliens will not conform to our ideas, and, above all they have no sort of

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[37] Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, p. 8; William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals 1875–1914*, London 1975, p. 73; Stephen Knight, *Jack the Ripper. The Final Solution*, London 1986, p. 248; see Cheyette, *loc. cit.*, *passim*, for the mythical Jewish figure in the writings of H. G. Wells.

[38] Fishman, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[39] Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[40] Vivian D. Lipman (ed.), *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History. A Volume of Essays*, Cambridge 1961, pp. 108, 111.

[41] Gainer, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–49.

neighbourly feeling... Then his habits are different... These are little things, but they all serve to make a difference."[42]

It is clear, therefore, that where there were instances of hostility or discrimination against German-Jewish immigrants, more often than not this was a backlash from the tensions generated by the presence of Russian-Jewish immigrants. Nor can one dismiss entirely the notion that some British opinion may have been confused as to the true origins of whom it was they were attacking or disliked since the majority of Russian Jews embarked for England from German ports. Certainly, that anti-alienism became a political issue in England around the turn of the century was due to the mass immigration of Russian-Jewish aliens, not those of German descent.[43]

Significantly, it was domestic agitation which finally resulted in government action. Cutting across class and party lines and for a variety of social, economic, religious, and even health grounds, there was widespread concern about the massive influx of alien Jewish refugees from Russia from the 1880s onwards because of the persecution and pogroms unleashed there.[44] From the 1880s, a political and press campaign for government control of immigration gathered pace, although for many years British governments were reluctant to take such steps. Enquiries by Select Committees of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords (1889), by the Board of Trade (1894), and by the Royal Commission of 1902–1903, brought no concrete recommendations, except an impracticable call for preventing aliens from concentrating in specified areas. Anti-alienism became a political issue in East London, where it led to the formation of the British Brothers' League under the presidency of the Conservative MP for Stepney, Major (later Sir) William Evans-Gordon. The anti-alien lobby called for curbs on the entry of "aliens" or "pauper aliens", not Jews as such, and disavowed antisemitism, although in fact everyone knew that Russo-Polish Jewish aliens were meant. Finally, before the election of that year, the Conservative government passed the Act of 1905.[45]

The points about the emotions generated by the presence of Russian-Jewish immigrants and aliens notwithstanding, there remained the serious issue of the direct hostility of sections of the British public towards German-Jewish refugees in England at the time of the Great War, or against English Jews of obvious German descent. This animosity – repeated during the Second World War – was prompted more by British perceptions of these people as "aliens" of German extraction, rather than as Jews, at a time when the nation was involved in a life-and-death struggle with enemy national forces, i. e. Imperial (and later, Nazi) Germany: "in truth, war gave believers in the doctrine of national superiority unusual opportunities to

[42] Gartner, *op. cit.*, pp. 156–157.

[43] Black, *op. cit.*, chap. 10: 'The Struggle for the Aliens Act', pp. 271–301; Cowen and Cowen, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi–xvii, 144–148.

[44] Cf. Geoffrey Alderman, *The Jewish Community in British Politics*, Oxford 1983; Garrard, *op. cit.*; Israel Finestein, 'The New Community 1880–1918', in Lipman (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 107–123; Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England*, London–Toronto 1982; see also Gisela C. Lebzelter, 'Anti-Semitism – A Focal Point for the British Radical Right', in Kennedy and Nicholls (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 88–105. For the Jewish situation in Eastern Europe and the minorities question see Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew under Tsars and Soviets*, New York 1987; Simon Dubnov, *History of the Jews*, vol. V, *From the Congress of Vienna to the Emergence of Hitler*, New York 1973; Ismar Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life*, Philadelphia 1944; William W. Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews. The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East, 1772–1914*, Chicago 1980; Raymond Pearson, *National Minorities in Eastern Europe 1845–1945*, London 1983.

[45] Cowen and Cowen, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi–xvii; Gainer, *op. cit.*, pp. 166f.

indulge in the practice of national hate... And in the poor quarters of London crowds rampaged against people of German and Austrian origin. These were ugly events. Shops were looted and wrecked."[46]

Intensified by government legislation in the form of the Aliens Restriction Bill of 5th August 1914 which became law the selfsame day, and which removed all possibility of reviews and appeals under the 1905 Act,[47] such behaviour can only be described as the chickens of Social Darwinism and nineteenth-century nationalism and xenophobia coming home to roost; the result of decades of popular and intellectual emphasis upon national and racial differences and conflict in the international arena.[48] Nevertheless, an anti-Jewish element was not entirely absent in such hostility.[49]

Yet something else is clear. During the Great War, particularly in 1916 and 1917, it was the Russian-Jewish immigrants more than the Germans who were the targets of most individual and group violence in England, particularly in the East End of London and Leeds. This violence and the accompanying publicity and mythology focused on the initial exemption of Russian Jews from military service and, after an Order in Council in August 1917 cancelling this exemption, the campaign waged against conscription by the Russian-Jewish community. This hostility against the Russian-Jewish immigrants was aggravated because of England's difficulties in the war, a situation complicated by the opposition to a continuation of the war for a clear-cut victory which became increasingly evident. At the same time, the rest of the adult male population were liable for conscription to feed the guns on the Western Front.[50]

Much of the discrimination or hostility directed against German-Jewish immigrants in England in the years to the end of the Great War and beyond could be seen, therefore, as secondary in motive to the primary target for such acts of intolerance, the Russian-Jewish immigrant. However, several developments occurred which dramatically changed this general pattern.

Firstly, a great deal of war-time English anti-German hostility, not to say hysteria, continued through the early 1920s, particularly when disillusionment with a land "unfit" for heroes impressed itself upon most of those returning from the slaughter-fields of France. Secondly, anti-Jewish feeling in England and elsewhere was maintained or even generated by the high Jewish profile during the Versailles Peace Conference and in the new League of Nations.[51] Thirdly, and most importantly, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 was seen then and afterwards as the work of Jews of German extraction and in German pay. Fourthly, the notion of the "separateness" of aliens (and therefore of alien Jews) was further emphasised for the British public in the early years of peace by more government legislation, the

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[46] Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War. Britain and the Great War 1914–1918*, Oxford 1986, p. 160; see also Holmes, *op. cit.*, chap. 8: 'Antisemitism in the First World War', *passim*.

[47] Black, *op. cit.*, p. 321; Wasserstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 64.

[48] See, for example, the important studies by A. J. A. Morris, *The Scaremongers. The Advocacy of War and Rearmament 1896–1914*, London 1984; Roland N. Stromberg, *Redemption by War. The Intellectuals and 1914*, Kansas 1982.

[49] Cf. C. C. Aronsfeld, 'Jewish Enemy Aliens in England During the First World War', in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. XVIII, no. 4 (1956), pp. 275–283.

[50] Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–136.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Aliens Restrictions Act and the Aliens Order of 1919 and 1920: "gone was the statutory protection of 1905 for political asylum. The unrestricted movement of people, axiomatic in a free trade economy, checked in 1905, was closed in 1919. Anti-Bolshevism completed what anti-Semitism had begun."[52]

When all these highly emotive ideas were joined in the early post-war years to the sensational distribution in England and Europe – including to one Adolf Hitler – of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, supposed proof of an international Jewish conspiracy to rule the Aryan world, English antisemites and public opinion gradually differentiated less between Jewish immigrants of Russian or German descent, but came to see all Jews in England, immigrant or otherwise, as guilty of all the sins which might be laid at Jewry's door.[53] One long-term consequence of this general development was to shift the previous emphasis and to highlight instead the question of Jewish immigrants from Germany, something which became especially acute when the German Jews became the focus of international attention after 30th January 1933.

Such English attitudes and relationships between Gentile and Jew, between English national and alien Jew, together with the institutionalisation of government control over the immigration of Jews into England under the all-embracing aliens legislation, continued throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. The matter was complicated further by the legal status of the majority of those who had immigrated into Britain: did they remain aliens or were they able to obtain naturalisation? This was hard to get, and the fact that throughout the 1920s and even the 1930s very many thousands of immigrant Jews continued to be socially and officially classed as "aliens" – threatened even with deportation in the early post-war years – exacerbated the whole question of their acceptance or otherwise in British society. In fact, the "otherwise" of the case has even been documented as active discrimination during the 1920s.[54]

Nor was the February 1925 debate in the House of Commons an isolated instance of the expression of anti-foreign, anti-alien, and British racist thought, the purpose of which was to ensure that the government maintained the strictest control over alien immigration into the United Kingdom. The pages of *Hansard* throughout the 1920s are filled with Parliamentary Questions and discussions on the aliens (or "Jewish") question framed in a racial context.

On 28th February 1923, for example, Mr. Charles Crook, MP for East Ham

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[52] Black, *op. cit.*, p. 322; Wasserstein, *loc. cit.*, p. 65. Sharman Kadish also makes the point that "it is certain, however... that the so-called 'Jewish Bolshevik' threat (which replaced the somewhat ironic one of Jewish pro-Germanism) fuelled antisemitism in the years after the First World War": 'Boche, Bolshie and the Jewish Bogey. The Russian Revolution and Press Antisemitism in Britain 1917–21', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XXII, no. 4 (Winter 1988), pp. 24–39. For a detailed study of British-Jewish attitudes to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and its consequences, see the study by Sharman Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews. The Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain, and the Russian Revolution*, London (forthcoming).

[53] Holmes, *op. cit.*, chap. 9, *passim*; Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, chap. 1, *passim*; see also *idem*, 'The *Protocols* in England', in *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. XXXI, nos. 47/48 (1978), pp. 111–117.

[54] For a more detailed examination of this question see David Cesarani, 'Anti-Alienism in England After the First World War', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. VI, no. 1 (March 1987), pp. 5–29; *idem* (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, Oxford 1990; see also Shmuel Almog, 'Antisemitism as a Dynamic Phenomenon. The "Jewish Question" in England at the End of the First World War', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XXI, no. 4 (Winter 1987), pp. 3–18; David Cesarani, 'Anti-Zionist Politics and Political Antisemitism in Britain, 1920–1924', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XXIII, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 28–45.

North, declared that he was "content to maintain our stock as nearly as possible from those four races", i.e. the Saxons, Normans, Danes and Celts.[55] Furthermore, while on 6th March 1924 the Labour Home Secretary, Arthur Henderson, emphasised in the House of Commons that the new government would administer the laws regarding alien immigration with regard "on the one hand, to the needs of this country, which demand vigilant control over alien immigration, and, on the other hand, to the desirability of avoiding unnecessary individual hardship",[56] the position of Sir William Joynson-Hicks in the second Baldwin Cabinet was entirely different. On 11th February 1925, *inter alia* he declared: "the dominating factor, in my mind, in all these questions is the well-being of my country, and not the well-being of aliens who desire to come into it from other quarters".[57]

In this connection it is salutary to be reminded of Mr. Stanley Baldwin's election speech of 16th October 1924: "I want to examine the laws and regulations as to the entry of aliens into this country, for in these days no alien should be substituted for one of our own people when we have not enough work at home to go around."[58] However, on 28th July 1931 one brave soul in the House of Commons, Mr. Halford Knight, MP for South Nottingham, raised the question whether the time had not come for a more relaxed administration of the Aliens Acts.[59]

Nevertheless, anti-alienism and therefore anti-Jewishness or even antisemitism, could be said to have been as much a component of British official thinking as public opinion in the years after the "war to end all wars". On 17th November 1922, for example, commenting on various arrangements and difficulties over entry papers to Britain of Russian Jews recently arrived in Poland, H. G. Spencer of the Foreign Office wrote: "I think this is very likely a ruse on the part of the Zionist organisation with a view to assisting Russian Jews to come to the United Kingdom where I think they are not wanted anyway in most cases."[60]

In this connection it is also worth quoting the words of the Permanent Under Secretary of State in the Home Office, Sir John Pedder, on 28th May 1924 when commenting on Britain's naturalisation policies and the practice of demanding from some classes of applicant a period of residence far longer than the minimum statutory five-year term: "It rests on experience that different races display very different qualities and capabilities for identifying themselves with this country... the Latin, Teuton and Scandinavian races... with a certain kinship with British races, prompt and eager to identify themselves with the life and habits of this country and are easily assimilated ... Slavs, Jews and other races from Central and Eastern parts of Europe stand in quite a different position.

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[55] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 160, cols. 2083–2127, esp. col. 2084.

[56] *Ibid.*, House of Commons, vol. 170, col. 1584.

[57] *Ibid.*, House of Commons, vol. 180, col. 298.

[58] Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Lane, *The Alien Menace. A Statement of the Case*, London 1934 p.v. This author-acknowledged "anti-alien and pro-British" tract went through five editions between 1928 and 1934.

[59] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 255, cols. 2150–2152.

[60] Public Record Office, Kew, Foreign Office Treaty Series 372, vol. 1928, T 12909/10271/338.

They do not want to be assimilated in the same way and do not readily identify themselves with this country. Even the British born Jews, for instance, always speak of themselves as a 'community', separate to a considerable degree and different from the British people."[61]

The early inter-war years also saw the establishment of three major antisemitic organisations in the United Kingdom: "The Britons", the Imperial Fascist League, and the British Union of Fascists, much of whose propaganda was directed not merely at preventing further Jewish immigration into the United Kingdom but indeed espoused the removal of Jews from Britain.[62] Such fringe-like fervour was generally contained by the rigours of English law, while politically organised antisemitism failed "to become a relevant political force in England", because of "its lack of historical tradition in England".[63]

Against this background of a far from totally sympathetic English environment for alien and immigrant Jews, the dramatic change of regime in Germany on 30th January 1933 acted as yet another catalyst for the polarisation of English attitudes towards Jews and the Jewish refugee question in the inter-war period – and indeed towards the ideologies of Nazism, Fascism, and Bolshevism – much as the influx of Russian Jews at the turn of the century had served to crystallise British opinion then. It is also clear that British attitudes regarding German-Jewish immigration into England from 1933 were influenced to a large degree by the emotional and mythical debris still in the British consciousness as a result of that earlier experience of mass Russian-Jewish immigration. Not surprisingly, the German-Jewish immigration issue which arose after January 1933 was one fraught with difficulty for everyone concerned, not least for the British Foreign Office.

However, an important caveat must now be entered into the discussion of the years 1933 to 1939 especially – because of what happened to the Jews of Germany, Austria and the rest of Europe between 1941 and 1945. It is essential to assess two developments – English attitudes towards those German-Jewish refugees who managed to enter the United Kingdom, and government policies towards that refugee question as a matter of foreign policy – from the perspectives of the 1930s and of the recent history which many participants had actually experienced then. It is logically, historically and, above all, morally indefensible to allow the perspective of the years of peace to be distorted by teleological inferences to the Nazi Holocaust of the Jews from 1941 to 1944, especially so far as this concerns the false Messiah of widening the field of responsibility for that horror to include the immigration policies of the Western powers in the 1930s.[64]

[61] Cesarani, 'Anti-Alienism in England', *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

[62] Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–109. For British Fascism, see Robert Benewick, *Political Violence and Public Order. A Study of British Fascism*, London 1969; Colin Cross, *The Fascists in Britain*, London 1961; Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain. A History, 1918–1985*, Oxford 1987.

[63] Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[64] See my reviews of Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939–1945*, Oxford 1979, in *European Studies Review* (January 1980), pp. 138–146; and of Monty Noam Penkower, *The Jews were Expendable. Free World Diplomacy and the Holocaust*, Urbana, Il. 1983, in *International Affairs*, vol. LXI, no. 3 (Summer 1985), pp. 512–513; John P. Fox, 'The Holocaust as History. The Issues. A Review Article', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XIX, no. 1 (January 1985), pp. 44–45; see also Richard Breitman, 'The Allied War Effort and the Jews, 1942–1943', in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. XX, no. 1 (January 1985), pp. 135–156; David Engel, 'The Western Allies and the Holocaust', in *Polin. A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies*, 1 (1986), pp. 300–315; John P. Fox, 'German and European Jewish Refugees 1933–45. Reflections

That said, the continuing history of British antipathy towards Jews in the 1930s, and the unashamedly open opposition of many sections of British society and the popular press to what they feared might then be an influx of German Jews escaping Nazi persecution,[65] becomes more understandable within its historical context – if at the same time still morally and humanly reprehensible. As one author has observed concerning the peak of antisemitic agitation in England from 1934 to 1937, "some contemporaries mistook the wave of anti-Semitism in England as a straightforward imitation of Nazism. A closer investigation shows that anti-Semitism had its separate roots in England."[66] However, it could not be denied that in Britain there existed a body of opinion favourable and receptive to the ideology of National Socialism.[67]

Yet changes there had been, and as a contributory factor to such change the new means of mass communication and a more literate population continued to be of particular significance. For while the educated Victorian readership of the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*[68] were admittedly "educated" as to the "push" factors involved in the emigration of the Russian and Polish Jews then, nothing could quite match (for the 1930s at least) the greater immediacy of the press and other reports which graphically described the "push" factors for emigration at work in Nazi Germany and which, initially at least, affected the decisions of more Gentile Germans to leave their homeland.[69]

Nowithstanding, therefore, the long-lived British antipathy towards Jews, foreign Jewish immigrants, and opposition to any increase in German-Jewish immigration into the country, the starting point for the debate in the United Kingdom on all aspects of the Jewish situation under Nazism was less an emphasis on the negative features of discrimination and exclusion as might have been expected – and which had dominated the British response to the influx of Russian-Jewish refugees earlier in the century. Instead, what caused the subsequent furore, which continues to this day in historical debate, was the expression of public concern for British action to alleviate Jewish suffering in Nazi Germany. Two courses of action were envisaged: alleviating the lot of the persecuted Jews inside Germany, and the possibility of easing the formalities of entry into foreign countries and the provisions for their residence and employment once there.[70]

Fuelled by widespread press reports of the anti-Jewish persecutions in Nazi

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on the Jewish Condition under Hitler and the Western World's Response to their Expulsion and Flight', in Bramwell (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 69–85.

[65] A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973, pp. 94, 217.

[66] Lebzelter, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[67] Cf. Richard Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right. British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany 1933–1939*, Oxford 1983.

[68] Cowen and Cowen, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[69] Cf. John P. Fox, 'Nazi Germany and German Emigration to Great Britain', in Hirschfeld (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 29–62.

[70] Cf. Sherman, *op. cit.*, *passim*; John P. Fox, 'Great Britain and the German Jews 1933', in *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. XXVI, nos. 1/2, New Series nos. 26/27 (1972), pp. 40–46; Haim Shamir, *Public Opinion in Western Europe and Nazi Policy Towards German Jews 1933–1939* (in Hebrew), diss., Jerusalem University 1969; Joshua Berton Stein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1933–1939*, diss., St. Louis University 1972.

Germany,[71] committees were established countrywide by Christians, Quakers, Socialists, Conservatives and Jews to help in different ways the Jews who had fled from the persecutions in Germany, or if possible to get help to those forced to remain under the Nazis. One of the most important Jewish organisations was the Central British Fund for German Jewry, a fund-raising body for all activities on behalf of the German Jews. An association was also formed by different non-Jewish bodies, including the German Refugees Assistance Fund, and of these perhaps the most important and influential was the Academic Assistance Council, later transformed into the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, whose function it was to find places in universities and research institutes for displaced scholars.[72]

Nor was this all. From 1933 to 1939 Ministers in the House of Commons were constantly pressed on the need for more positive action by His Majesty's Government to help the Jews of Germany: by easing the immigration, i. e. alien, restrictions for their entry to the United Kingdom or easing entry restrictions into Palestine, or even intervention with the authorities in Berlin for a modification of Nazi behaviour towards the German Jews. Nevertheless, such questions were often joined by others "prompting" the Minister in question to affirm that the United Kingdom's alien immigration restrictions would not be adjusted in favour of Jewish refugees from Germany seeking admission to the United Kingdom.[73]

How, then, may one explain the apparent dichotomy in British attitudes between humanitarian concern on the one hand, and the maintenance of widespread and sometimes virulent antisemitism and anti-alienism on the other? In the 1930s, as before, the two forms of prejudice were both separate and joined, anti-alienism being particularly prevalent within many of the English professions, which closed ranks against the employment of suitably qualified German-Jewish refugees who actually made it into the United Kingdom.[74]

That there can be no easy explanations for this dichotomy also highlights the dilemmas faced by the governments of the day. There were two reasons for this dilemma. The first concerned the responsibility of any government in the world for the control of immigrants – or alien foreigners – into its society. This was a duty determined – as the Home Secretary emphasised in the House of Commons on 21st February and 9th March 1933 and on subsequent occasions[75] – by prime consideration for the interests of the country. Whilst this could refer to levels of domestic employment, the availability of housing, and whatever degree of antisemitism it was felt existed, such answers also meant that the individual interests of the would-be immigrant came last on the scale of the priorities applied to immigration questions.

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[71] Cf. Franklin Reid Gannon, *The British Press and Germany 1936–1939*, Oxford 1971; Andrew Sharf, *The British Press and Jews under Nazi Rule*, Oxford 1964.

[72] Cf. Norman Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany. April 1933 to December 1935*, London 1936; *idem, The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists 1933–1952*, The Hague 1953; *idem, They Found Refuge. An Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression*, London 1956; Peter Ludlow, 'The Refugee Problem in the 1930s. The Failures and Successes of Protestant Relief Programmes', in *The English Historical Review*, vol. XC, no. 356 (July 1975), pp. 564–603.

[73] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, *passim*.

[74] Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 206; Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 123–124, 259.

[75] *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 274, col. 1957, 21st February 1933; *ibid.*, House of Commons, vol. 275, cols. 1351–1352, 9th March 1933.

Indeed, much official and popular anti-alien or immigrant-Jewish feeling between 1933 and 1939 repeated attitudes and emotions reminiscent of the pre-1905 anti-alien agitation. On 31st July 1938 *The Observer* stated baldly that if a further accretion of perhaps 100,000 Jews came into Britain, the danger of antisemitic feeling could not be averted. One month later six trade unionists wrote critically to the *Daily Herald* that "we appreciate that often the refugees have committed no crime against the country that harries them; but charity begins at home, and we shall never keep the standards that have been won for us, if the influx of aliens goes on unchecked". In October 1938, Lord Winterton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, declared unequivocally that a government grant in aid of the work of the Co-Ordinating Committee for Refugees would cause "an immediate outcry from all anti-alien and anti-Semitic elements in this country that the Government were subsidising the admission of aliens at a time when there was widespread unemployement and economic distress among our own people", and that one danger which must at all costs be averted was that of "stirring up anti-alien and anti-Semitic feeling in the United Kingdom".[76]

In addition, most Western governments in the 1930s feared that a more liberal immigration policy *vis-à-vis* the German-Jewish refugees would saddle them not only with unwanted burdens, but with people they themselves would be unable to pass on to other countries because of Nazi Germany's policy of making such people that international pariah of the twentieth century: stateless persons.[77]

The second inhibiting factor on the British government's handling of the German-Jewish question, this time with regard to widespread British concern at the anti-Jewish discrimination and persecution proceeding within Nazi Germany, was the question of official Anglo-German relations. British governments constantly trod between the Scylla of British public opinion and the Charybdis of Nazi Germany's justifiable response – in a legal sense, that is – that what occurred within Germany was of concern to her alone. Above all, there hung the sword of Damocles threatening diplomatic efforts for an appeasement of European animosities if the United Kingdom broke with international convention and made official protests about the Nazi treatment of the German Jews as opposed to the fate of any British Jews caught up in events in Germany.[78]

In one sense it is easier to offer explanations for the maintenance of British prejudice and hostility towards Jews and the German-Jewish refugees. Given certain essential features of mankind, such manifestations of the human power struggle can be said to be constant and, therefore, ineradicable from human society. In *Quo Vadis*, for instance, Petronius easily deflects Nero's question of whether he was a Christian by denouncing the concept of Christian brotherly love because the nature of man made it impossible for him to accept that notion. It is slightly more difficult, then, to account for the equally widespread manifestations within the United Kingdom of humanitarian concern for, and action on behalf of, the Jews of Nazi Germany and German-Jewish immigrants. Likewise, the anti-Jewish and anti-alien traditions of British society also make it difficult to explain exactly why certain

[76] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 126, 156–157.
[77] Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Age of Total War*, New York 1985, p. 178.
[78] Cf. Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 37, 72, 170.

crises of conscience are to be found in government circles, e. g. the Foreign Office, when dealing with the two-fold problem of balancing British public concern for the fate of the Jews in Germany against the maintenance of previous restrictions on alien immigration into the United Kingdom.

While not complete explanations in themselves for the somewhat surprising manifestations of British public, and some official, concern for the Jews in Germany and those refugees in England, it is worth considering two important developments in international affairs which differentiate the 1930s from the Jewish immigration crisis confronting England at the turn of the century. Consequent upon the creation of the League of Nations and the institutionalisation of the international refugee question through the League's Consultative Committee and the International Nansen Office for Refugees, any refugee question after 1920 was bound to become of international concern, and not only for governments but also for their respective public opinions, given literacy levels and the widespread use of modern forms of mass communication.[79]

The second point follows directly from this. With the creation of the League of Nations and other developments in education and world-wide communications after the Great War, no longer could any nation hope to remain an island, isolated from and therefore indifferent towards important human and political developments elsewhere. Moreover, in the case of Nazi Germany in the 1930s, the rest of the world soon recognised that here was something new in the recent history of the modern State which, taken together with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, ultimately posed a threat to the Western democratic way of life. Paradoxically, Adolf Hitler went to his own form of Valhalla believing that it was his mission in life to save the West from Bolshevism.

However, the nature of the world's reaction to one manifestation of that Nazi threat, the German-Jewish crisis under Nazism, would indicate the esteem other nations placed on the values they supposedly espoused in the post-1914 and Versailles world. As the Bishop of Durham emphasised in his introduction to a well-documented publication of 1936 on the Nazi persecution of the Jews, "it is urged in some quarters that, however grievous the treatment of the 'non-Ayrans' in Germany may be, the subject lies outside our legitimate concern. Germany must be free to take her own course, and to solve her domestic problems without interference from outside. There are, however, limits to the application of this reasonable argument. Nations cannot live in isolation: and their membership of the comity of civilised peoples imposes on them some obligations, which they cannot be suffered to repudiate... The wardship of the fundamental assumptions of Civilisation, as it has come to be understood in modern Europe, is the common concern of all civilised communities, for if the repudiation of those assumptions can prevail unchecked *anywhere* it will surely in the end endanger their authority *everywhere*. The solidarity of modern Civilisation is jeopardised by the persecuting policy of Germany. It is no smaller issue than that which now confronts the nations."[80]

Yet on the eve of war, in 1938 and 1939, it was the hidden "persecuting policy" of

[79] Marrus, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[80] *The Yellow Spot. The Outlawing of Half a Million Human Beings. A Collection of Facts and Documents Relating to Three Years' Persecution of German Jews, Derived Chiefly from National Socialist Sources, Very*

Britain and the "groundswell of anti-refugee feeling" which was implicitly addressed when two publications at least set out to "educate" the British public on the realities of "the Jewish problem" and what the facts were about "the Jews of Britain".[81]

The precise nature of the Nazi threat to the values and existence of Western democracy manifested itself as of 1st September 1939 with the German attack on Poland – above all by the monstrosity of the Nazi *Endlösung der Judenfrage*, or Holocaust, the *Shoah* which finally began on the morning of 22nd June 1941 in Soviet territory. Yet following in the footsteps of Petronius, and as I have argued elsewhere,[82] it must be said that there are few good reasons for being surprised by such an event. Likewise, one should hardly be surprised by the fact that at the same time as the persecution of European Jewry proceeded apace and the Nazi extermination machine started rolling, there occurred in England not only continuing manifestations of antisemitism and anti-German feelings against alien Jews of German descent – but even their internment in special camps.[83] In this respect, one must also mention the contemporaneous anti-Black race riots and lynchings in the United States of America. Nevertheless, while prejudice was hardly the prerogative of any single nation, exterminatory policies clearly were.

Given these and other depressing facts that easily spring to mind about individual human nature and group human behaviour, the surprising thing that one may say in conclusion about British attitudes and reactions towards German-Jewish refugees in the United Kingdom, is that in the world league table of intolerance Britain should appear so low in the scale. On the immigration question, for instance, Britain's record has been judged "a generous one by contemporary international standards".[84] While this hardly says a great deal, it has also been observed that "the internments of mid-1940 marked the low point of British policy towards emigrants in Britain".[85]

Yet that low point was in itself a product of the fact that prejudice is not the prerogative of any one nation. In England, therefore, there was always some feeling against Jews, an antisemitic "undertow that expressed itself sometimes subtly, occasionally in crude aggression. Its manifestations are important to the story of the German-Jewish refugees because a strand of anti-Jewish feeling – always real, if

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Carefully Assembled by a Group of Investigators, London 1936, pp. 7–8; see also Gustav Warburg, *Six Years of Hitler. The Jews under the Nazi Regime*, London 1939.

[81] Cf. Louis Golding, *The Jewish Problem*, Harmondsworth 1938; Sidney Salomon, *The Jews of Britain*, London 1938, 1939; Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

[82] John P. Fox, 'The Holocaust, a "Non-Unique" Event for all Humanity?', in *Remembering for the Future. Working Papers and Addenda*, 3 vols., Oxford 1989, vol. II, *The Impact of the Holocaust on the Contemporary World*, pp. 1863–1879.

[83] Kushner, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe*, *op. cit.*, p. 94; see Ronald Stent, *A Bespattered Page? The Internment of 'His Majesty's Most Loyal Enemy Aliens'*, London 1980; Marion Berghahn, *German-Jewish Refugees in England. The Ambiguities of Assimilation*, London 1984; Connery Chappell, *Island of Barbed Wire. Internment on the Isle of Man in World War Two*, London 1984; Peter and Leni Gillman, *'Collar the Lot!' How Britain Interned and Expelled its Wartime Refugees*, London 1980; Aaron Goldman, 'The Resurgence of Antisemitism in Britain During World War II', in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. XLVI, no. 1 (1984), pp. 37–50; Miriam Kochan, *Britain's Internees in the Second World War*, London 1983; Alexander Ramati, *Barbed Wire on the Isle of Man. The Wartime British Internment of Jews*, New York 1980; Michael Seyfert, 'His Majesty's Most Loyal Internees', in Hirschfeld (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 163–193.

[84] Wasserstein, 'The British Government and the German Immigration', *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

[85] *Ibid.*

rarely emphasised or even acknowledged – ran through the thoughts and emotions of the men who formed the Establishment... At no time could the government be accused of definite anti-Semitic bias, but it would be naive to suppose that certain anti-Jew and anti-foreigner attitudes, working their way downwards through the mass consciousness, did not colour thoughts and affect decisions."[86] Indeed, as the most recent study of British attitudes towards Jews in the Second World War has noted, "the fact that Britain had no death camps in the war, and indeed little violence towards its Jewish minority, does not mean that British antisemitism should be dismissed as unimportant... the internationalism of antisemitism in the war must not disguise the domestic roots of the British variety".[87]

Nevertheless, as during the final years of peace in Europe between 1933 and 1939, so during the years of the Second World War the same phenomenon of dichotomy towards Jews and aliens was seen once more: on the one hand continuing feelings, even action, of dislike, hate and prejudice, and on the other genuine concern that something be done to ease the lot of those resident in Britain, and for rescue or alleviation for those under the Nazi jackboot in continental Europe. Then, of course, the chances of any kind of success of a humanitarian kind were even less than before 1939.

In conclusion, it may be said that whilst only Nazi Germany formulated and executed the policy of racist mass extermination against the Jews of Germany and Europe, nevertheless it was upon the stones of the English forms of anti-alienism and prejudice, racism and antisemitism, that one of the sayings from the *mishnah* could be said to have broken itself: "Mankind was created in the form of a single man for the sake of peace, so that no man can say to his neighbour, 'My ancestor was greater than yours'."[88]

[86] Austin Stevens, *The Dispossessed. German Refugees in Britain*, London 1975, p. 236.
[87] Kushner, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 194.
[88] Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

LOUISE LONDON

British Immigration Control Procedures and Jewish Refugees 1933–1939

During the first few days of April 1933, a small change occurred in the way in which British immigration officers were dealing with certain aliens arriving from the Continent.* This change was described by the Home Secretary, Sir John Gilmour, in a memorandum written later that week:

"Jewish refugees, who have left Germany owing to persecution, or fear of persecution, have now begun to arrive at the ports in this country. There is reason to believe that a number of persons who have recently arrived from Germany and been given leave to land as visitors, are in fact Jews whose journey has been prompted by the desire to escape from prevailing conditions in Germany. In the last few days there has been a marked increase in the numbers of alien visitors allowed to land on time-conditions at Harwich and Dover: in the first two days of this week 100 aliens were so landed, and on Tuesday 50. This is far in excess of the normal traffic, and analysis of the records shews that the bulk of this increase is due to an influx of Germans, mainly of the professional classes and probably Jews. These persons have of course satisfied the Immigration Officer as to their means etc., and have been allowed to land in accordance with ordinary procedure. Many of them have, however, admitted to the Immigration Officer that they are refugees."[1]

Here we have the first formal notification which the British immigration authorities would give to other government departments that they had adjusted their practice in order to control the entry of refugees from Germany. In itself, this was no more than a minor ripple in the aliens statistics. Procedurally, all that had happened was the invocation of the routine precautions for cases of visitors whose intentions caused doubts. Yet this small change marked the arrival of the new question of Jewish refugee immigration on the agenda of British government.

At that time it was the normal practice of immigration officers to admit the vast majority of alien visitors without any formal conditions. Time limits or conditions against employment would be attached only in cases where extra caution seemed necessary. An estimated 300 to 400 German Jews had been admitted on this basis in the three months up to 30th March. Now immigration officers, acting on new instructions, were attaching time limits (of one month, in most cases) and non-

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[1] Sir John Gilmour, Home Secretary, memorandum, for Cabinet Committee on Aliens Restrictions, 'The Present Position in regard to the Admission of Jewish Refugees from Germany to this Country', AR (33) 2, 6th April 1933, Public Record Office, Kew (henceforth PRO), CAB 27/549.

employment conditions to the stay of those allowed to land in early April. The number of those who had been refused admission was, so far, under ten.[2]

This new wave of immigration posed urgent questions for the government. In the months since the Nazi regime had seized power in Germany, Nazi persecution of Jews and political opponents had caused outrage in Britain and had become an obstacle to good relations with Germany.[3] Now it was the turn of the British immigration authorities to become concerned about the impact of events in Germany, where the refugee exodus showed no sign of abating. The government was facing pressure for a review of immigration controls to deal with the new influx. Many voices demanded a relaxation of restrictions so that Britain could offer refugees asylum. Others loudly opposed refugee admissions, and called for stronger controls. How should the authorities react? Were existing procedures and policies adequate to deal with the changed situation? The way in which the British government answered these questions over the next half-dozen years is the subject of this article. It will focus in particular on the role played by Home Office ministers and officials in determining admission policies and procedures.[4]

The question of entry to Britain was only one among many issues which confronted the British government as a result of Jewish efforts to flee from Nazi persecution. Another major preoccupation was the question of refugee admissions to Palestine, which was to become a source of increasing conflict. Both the government and Jewish bodies saw Palestine as capable of making a far more substantial contribution than Britain to mitigating the refugee problem. Palestine offered permanent settlement to Jews from Central Europe: in the five years from 1933 to 1937 it provided a home for some 38,400 Jewish immigrants from Germany.[5] This

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[2] Conclusions, Committee on Aliens Restrictions, 6th April 1933, AR (33) Ist Cons., PRO, CAB 27/549: for further details of this meeting see pp. 495–496 and notes 32, 34, and 40 below.

[3] See Michael Heaton Huxley, minute, 28th April 1933, PRO, FO 372/2949/241 ff., T4295/509/378; Huxley refers to a speech by Sir John Simon, Foreign Secretary, *Hansard*, 5th series, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, vol. 276, cols. 2808–2810, 13th April 1933; see also the remarks of Sir Austen Chamberlain, a former Foreign Secretary, in the course of the same debate, *ibid.*, col. 2759. On 5th July 1933 Chamberlain and Simon made further speeches referring to the issue, see *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 280, col. 358 (Chamberlain) and col. 452 (Simon), 5th July 1933.

[4] For British policy on refugees from Nazism in the pre-war era, see the standard work by A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and the Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933–1939*, London 1973; see *ibid.*, pp. 27–28 for interchanges about refugee admissions in Parliament on 21st February 1933 and 9th March 1933; Bernard Wasserstein, 'The British Government and the German Immigration 1933–1945', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*. Leamington Spa – Atlantic Highland, N.J. 1984, pp. 63–81; for British policy during the Second World War, see *idem*, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945*, Oxford 1979 (repr. in paperback 1988); for the role of Anglo-Jewry in refugee immigration in the pre-war era, see Louise London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy, 1930–1940', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, Oxford 1990, pp. 163–190; for the relationship between refugee policy and immigration restrictions before and during the Second World War, see *idem*, 'British Government Policy and Jewish Refugees, 1933–1945', in *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (1989), pp. 26–43.

[5] "Palestine is our contribution to the refugee problem, it is a very considerable one and one which involves us in great difficulties", Maurice D. Peterson, Head of the League of Nations and Western Department of the Foreign Office, minute, 18th February 1935, PRO, FO 371/19676/113 ff., W 1370/356/98; for refugee policy and Palestine, see generally Sherman, *op. cit.*, and Wasserstein, *Jews of Europe*, *op. cit.*; for Jewish emigration to Palestine, see Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany – Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (II)', in *Year Book XXVI of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1981, pp. 343–409; Werner Rosenstock, 'Exodus 1933–1939 – A Survey of Jewish Emigration from Germany', in *Year Book I of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1956, pp. 373–390. During the course of 1933, refugees from Germany went on from Britain to Palestine, while others proceeded to South Africa, Kenya,

figure contrasts with the much smaller numbers who came to Britain in the same period. At the beginning of 1938 there were perhaps 10,000 Jewish refugees in Britain, most of whom possessed rights of temporary residence only.[6] Several thousand more had been admitted and since re-emigrated.

In contrast to Palestine, the United Kingdom was designated by both the British government and by Jewish bodies as a small-scale and temporary refuge. Britain was to be a country of transit. The story of the reception of Jewish refugees in the United Kingdom is marked by repeated efforts by the authorities to limit Britain to this minor and transitional role. In 1938–1939 the government would alter the machinery of immigration controls several times in response to the growing pressures of the refugee crisis. Some of these changes were intended to limit admissions. Other changes were designed to speed them up. The figures for refugee admissions to Britain in the last twelve months before war broke out in September 1939 show a sudden increase, and totalled well over 40,000. It is the contention of this article that neither the succession of procedural changes, nor the striking growth in the rate of admissions, can be taken as reflecting major shifts in British priorities. On the contrary, these changes stemmed from the consensus among policy-makers that Britain was a country of temporary refuge, as opposed to a country of settlement. This perception of Britain as a country of transit provided an underlying continuity to British policy. This continuity would persist despite alterations in the international situation and in the character of the refugee problem.

Whether it is measured in absolute terms, or viewed in relation to the numbers who might have been allowed in, the total number of Jewish refugees admitted to Britain in the six and a half years from 1933 to 1939 does not seem large. Between 60,000 and 70,000 Jewish refugees were present in the country at the outbreak of war.[7] This article argues that these figures must be understood as the outcome of a not altogether successful attempt to maintain a policy of firm immigration control. It is hoped that this article will help both to show the degree to which this policy was successful and to identify the main factors which had the effect of undermining it. The net result was that when war broke out the number of Jewish refugees present in the country, and, as E. N. Cooper of the Home Office's Aliens Department put it, "marooned in this country for the duration of the war", while it represented only a fraction of the number of Jewish refugees who had sought entry to Britain, was far higher than had been envisaged either by the Home Office or the refugee organisations.[8]

Brazil and the Argentine: see Schiff to Beaverbrook, 25th September 1933, PRO, HO 45/15882/666764/25; see also note 42 below.

[6] See C. B. McAlpine, memorandum, 1st March 1938, PRO, HO 213/94; for figures of refugees in various Western European countries including Great Britain, see Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany – Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I)', in *Year Book XXV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1980, pp. 313–361, esp. Table X, pp. 354–355.

[7] See Sir Alexander Maxwell (Permanent Under Secretary at the Home Office) to A. V. Hill, 16th April 1943, PRO, FO 371/36725, W 11797/6711/48. This estimate was not substantially revised by the Home Office subsequently. Maxwell estimated the number of refugees in Britain at the outbreak of war as totalling 78,000, of whom 90 per cent were thought to be Jews; see also the appendix, 'Migration Statistics', in Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 269–272; see also pp. 512–513 below.

[8] Cooper, memorandum, 20th September 1939, PRO, FO 371/24708/230 ff., W 14035/45/48; Cooper to A. W. G. Randall (two letters), 23rd September 1939, *ibid.*; the archives of the Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief (CBF), now deposited at the Greater London Record Office, contain case files and

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The priority which Home Office ministers and officials gave to the maintenance of firm immigration controls reflected a continuing quest for procedures which would shield Britain from an influx of unwelcome refugees. To prevent the spread of the refugee problem from the mainland, the British government had no need to tackle the refugee problem in Europe. Cordoned off by the Channel, Britain had few worries about maintaining physical control over entry from abroad. The question the Home Office had to resolve was how to strike the correct balance between two objectives. It was important to exclude unwanted refugees, yet it was also vital not to interfere unduly with normal passenger traffic. By 1933, Home Office officials had years of accumulated experience in the administration of immigration controls. This experience provided the background for their assessment of how the system would cope with an influx of refugees. An exploration of the decisions made from 1933 onwards should, therefore, include a brief historical sketch of the British system of immigration control on aliens.

The modern system of immigration control dates from the Aliens Act of 1905. The Act was brought in largely in response to anti-alien agitation opposing large-scale immigration of Jews fleeing poverty and persecution in Eastern Europe. The 1905 Act introduced a system of controlling aliens at the ports, which subjected the bulk of the poorest class of passengers to inspection by immigration officers, but placed no such obstacles in front of the vast majority of alien visitors. Alien steerage-class passengers, if they could not establish on inspection that they were capable of "decently" supporting themselves and their dependants, were liable to be refused entry as "undesirable immigrants". As a result of Liberal critics' concern that Britain's tradition of granting political asylum should not be abandoned, a limited concession for refugees was included in the Act. This took the form of an exemption from refusal of leave to land on grounds of poverty, for immigrants who could prove that they faced "prosecution or punishment, on religious or political grounds or for an offence of a political character" or that they were in flight from "persecution, involving danger of imprisonment or danger to life or limb, on account of religious belief". This limited exception to the poverty test, interpreted generously by a Liberal administration, enabled many refugees who might otherwise have been refused entry to gain admission between 1906 and 1914. Yet the impact of these provisions should not be overstated, as the majority of aliens who were inspected passed the poverty test, while the total numbers entering declined in this period.[9]

On the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the government passed the

correspondence concerning well over half a million persons seeking refuge in Britain before the outbreak of war (this estimate was given by the CBF's Director in July 1990; access to the archive itself is restricted).

[9] The refugee exemption was contained in S. 1(3) of the Aliens Act 1905, which came into force on 1st January 1906. On the 1905 Act see Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914*, London 1960; Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion. The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, London 1972; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration. A Comparative Study of the Jewish Influx, 1880–1910*, Oxford 1971; Jill Pellew, 'The Home Office and the Aliens Act, 1905', in *The Historical Journal*, vol. XXXII, no. 2 (1989), pp. 369–385, provides the story of the administration of the Act from the point of view of those charged with carrying it out.

Aliens Restriction Act, which brought in sweeping powers to make orders imposing restrictions on aliens. After the end of the war, the Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act 1919 was passed. This Act, together with the 1914 Act, provided the statutory basis for immigration control in the post-war era. The detailed regulations for the administration of control were contained in the Aliens Order 1920, which was not replaced until 1953. In addition, the government possessed wide non-statutory powers over aliens by virtue of the Royal Prerogative. The acquisition of British nationality by aliens was dealt with in separate legislation, which provided for the grant of certificates of naturalisation as British subjects, for which aliens could normally apply after five years residence.[10]

The 1919 system was more comprehensive than the repealed 1905 Act, as all aliens were now subjected to immigration controls. The new code also swept away protective measures which had mitigated the impact of the 1905 system. Immigration Boards, which had heard appeals against refusal of leave to land under the 1905 Act, were abolished. Another casualty was the exception from the poverty test for refugees, which also disappeared. Nevertheless, there remained certain features of the old system which could weigh in favour of refugees. Britain had a history of granting asylum to those fleeing persecution. Since the repeal of the 1905 Act no part of this tradition had been enshrined in the law. There was thus no legal right of asylum for refugees. The only right was that of the state, to grant asylum if it saw fit. In July 1929 the government's consciousness that the law gave it complete freedom to choose whether or not to admit any particular refugee was underlined by the then Home Secretary, in the course of the explanation he gave to Members of Parliament of the government's decision to refuse admission to Leon Trotsky.[11] Nevertheless, in the rhetoric of debate on refugee questions, the tradition of asylum was accorded a quasi-constitutional sanctity. The demand that British policy show greater adherence to this tradition was a weapon which advocates of a more generous response to refugees would use repeatedly. They could be certain that no British government spokesman would think it politically viable to concede that this tradition could be abandoned.[12]

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[10] The Aliens Restriction Act 1914, S. 1(1)(c) introduced unlimited powers to make orders for the deportation of aliens from the United Kingdom, while very limited powers to expel "undesirable aliens" had been contained in the 1905 Act (see Aliens Act 1905, S. 3); for the provisions on nationality see the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914, which remained the principal Act until a new code was introduced in 1948.

[11] For the impact of the 1919 Act on Jews, see David Cesarani, 'Anti-Alienism in England after the First World War', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, vol. VI, no. 1 (1987), pp. 5–29; for British government policy in the absence of any legal right of asylum, see H. H. C. Prestige, memorandum, 'The Right of Asylum', 11th July 1929, PRO, HO 45/15156/541506; speech of John Robert Clynes, Home Secretary, on the refusal to admit Leon Trotsky, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 230, cols. 1441–1443, 24th July 1929; Home Office [S. Hoare?] to Under Secretary of State, 22nd December 1932, PRO, HO 45/15156/541506/2; Paul F. Grey, memorandum, 'The "Right of Asylum" for Political Refugees: developments in the general attitude adopted by Great Britain and in the powers possessed by the executive', 10th January 1935, PRO, FO 371/19653/8 ff., W 291/7/98; Roger M. Makins, minute, 16th February 1935, PRO, FO 371/19675/113 ff., W 1370/356/98.

[12] See, for example, the statement on the refugee crisis made soon after the *Anschluß* by the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, to the House of Commons, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 333, cols. 991–994, 22nd March 1938. See also the announcement made nearly five years previously by the then Home Secretary, Sir John Gilmour, in April 1933, stating "in accordance with the time-honoured tradition of this country no unneccessary obstacles are placed in the way of foreigners seeking admission". *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 276, cols. 2557–2558; for a critical view of the government's

Two other features of the existing system provided persons who had already succeeded in entering the United Kingdom with protection against removal in certain circumstances. Firstly, the Extradition Act 1870 gave protection against extradition to persons alleged to have committed political offences.[13] Secondly, stateless persons were safe from deportation, since no country could be forced to receive them. One consequence of this rule was that the British authorities granted visas very sparingly in such cases, as, once stateless persons had been allowed to enter the country, there was no way of enforcing their departure.[14]

The administration of immigration control was the province of the Home Office. The Home Office was also responsible for the related field of nationality, as well as public order, the police and prisons. The minister responsible for the Home Office was the Home Secretary, assisted by a junior minister, the Parliamentary Under Secretary. At the head of the permanent officials of the Home Office stood the Permanent Under Secretary. The day-to-day running of individual divisions was carried out by officials with the rank of Assistant Secretary. At the next level down were Principals, the lowest grade concerned with policy-making.

Within the Home Office, aliens were dealt with by a division known as the Aliens Department. Attached to the Aliens Department was the immigration inspectorate, which formed the Aliens Branch, later the Immigration Branch. A sizeable immigration service had been set up after the First World War. At its head was the Chief Inspector of Immigration, assisted by two senior inspectors. There were also several Inspectors with regional responsibilities. Controls at specific ports were the province of some dozen Chief Immigration Officers, with a staff of over 100 immigration officers. The staff of the immigration service dealt with persons arriving in the United Kingdom at certain ports designated as Approved Ports for the landing of passengers.[15]

From the First World War, all passengers had to be in possession of passports or other documents showing nationality and identity. Passport control by means of visas was also introduced during the war, under the supervision of the War Office's Military Intelligence Department. After the war, it was decided to continue the visa system, as a security device as well as for the purpose of immigration control. The visa system was now placed in the hands of Passport Control Officers, who were answerable to the Passport Control Department of the Foreign Office, but received their instructions, in effect, from the Home Secretary.[16] In the inter-war period

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record on asylum see, Sir John Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem. Report of a Survey*, London 1939, esp. p. 345.

[13] Extradition Act 1870, S. 3(1).

[14] Stateless persons were granted visas "very sparingly, only for limited periods, and only where the person was in possession of a return visa": Gilmour, memorandum, 6th April 1933, see note 1 above.

[15] For particulars of the personnel of the Home Office, see the *British Imperial Calendar and Civil Service List*, London 1933–1939; William Haldane Porter, memorandum, 'The Control of Passengers and of Alien Seamen in Time of War', 31st January 1921, Subcommittee on Treatment of Aliens, Committee of Imperial Defence, Standing Subcommittee on the Co-ordination of Departmental Action on the Outbreak of War, 29th March 1923, pp. 21–24, CIC paper No. 411B, PRO, CAB 15/10A; for numbers of immigration officers whose employment was sanctioned by the Treasury during the period covered by this article, see PRO, T 162, Box 847, E. 20500/2 (for 1929–1936) and *ibid.*, E. 20500/3 (for 1936 to 1946); at the peak of refugee admissions in May 1939 the authorised number of immigration officers totalled only 170, including temporary and supernumerary staff: *ibid.*, H. R. Foyle to W. Wilson, 5th May 1939.

[16] See Haldane Porter, memorandum, note 15 above.

Passport Control Officers had some discretion in deciding applications, and could also refer doubtful decisions back to higher authority in London.

Immigration control on arrival at the port of entry in the United Kingdom began with inspection by the immigration officer. Not all passengers would need to produce visas. As the architects of the post-war system had hoped, visa requirements had been progressively reduced in the course of the 1920s by means of visa abolition agreements with Western European countries, and by the end of 1927 this included the ex-enemy nations, Germany and Austria. A requirement which affected all aliens coming for employment, whether or not they needed visas, was that they needed to be in possession of a permit obtained in advance from the Ministry of Labour.[17]

On entry, passengers might have formal conditions attached to the grant of leave to land. The most usual conditions were a time limit and/or a condition against employment or restricting employment. Aliens over sixteen were also required to register with the police, and to notify changes of address and occupation, if they remained for more than three months, and would be advised of this by the immigration officer. As had been the case before 1914, the vast majority of aliens arriving in Britain were not subjected to any formal conditions on landing. The system was designed to cause the minimum interference with normal passenger traffic. There were even special arrangements for passport-free excursions to Britain.[18] The absence of conditions also reduced the need for follow-up, and thus avoided large quantities of unprofitable casework. Another economy was achieved through the exemption of transmigrants from visa requirements.[19] This freed Home Office manpower resources to deal with the exclusion of "undesirables" and aliens who might outstay their welcome.

Once an alien had entered the country, the responsibility for dealing with any application for an extension of stay passed to the Aliens Department. This involved the small staff of the Aliens Department in dealing with numerous callers and conducting many interviews.[20] Shortages of manpower in both the immigration service and the Aliens Department led to repeated efforts to short-circuit the need for casework. Junior staff were often asked to take on extra responsibility to help ease the pressure. Some expansion of the workforce took place in 1938–1939, but this was by no means proportional to the greatly expanded scale of casework produced by the refugee crisis.

The Aliens Department had wide-ranging contacts with other government departments over casework. The Ministry of Labour issued work permits to employers who wished to take on aliens who were currently residing abroad.

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[17] Aliens Order 1920, Art. 1(3)(b).

[18] See *ibid.*, Art. 1(4) for the imposition of conditions on entry and after entry. For Home Office practice on the imposition of conditions see: S. Hoare to Ronald Morrison, 22nd June 1933, PRO, FO 372/2949/288 ff., T 7159/509/378, explaining that no formal permission to reside in Britain was given to any foreigner; in 1935 Sir Ernest Holderness, a Home Office official, wrote a memorandum which includes a description of how Aliens Department control procedures operated: PRO, HO 213/328; on "no-passport" facilities see Gilmour to Danesfort, 25th November 1933, PRO, HO 45/15882/666764/50.

[19] Article 4 of the Aliens Order 1920 exempted transmigrants from many of the restrictions imposed on persons not in transit.

[20] Holderness memorandum, see note 18 above; for Home Office concern about the adequacy of arrangements for interviewing callers on aliens matters in 1936–1937, see PRO, HO 213/1.

Applications from aliens already in the country for permission to take employment, were dealt with by the Home Office in consultation with the Ministry of Labour. In either case, the Ministry's policy was to protect the domestic workforce by refusing applications which might displace British residents. In the case of applications by aliens to set up in business, the Board of Trade was consulted.[21] The Commissioners for the Special Areas also became involved in dealing with alien manufacturers who might set up factories in the depressed areas.[22] The security services were a source of advice on aliens who might be undesirable. The Special Branch of the police also provided information on aliens. The police, as well as handling aliens registration, conducted investigations for the Aliens Department. The Home Secretary received recommendations and certificates from courts regarding the conviction of aliens for criminal offences which rendered them liable to deportation.[23]

Home Office officials also had frequent dealings on aliens matters with the permanent officials of the Foreign Office. Foreign Office officials would pass on the representations they received in connection with immigration cases. These often resulted from Foreign Office responsibility for the Passport Control Department (PCD). The PCD was managed by the Treaty Department of the Foreign Office, which had a general concern with visa questions. On aliens matters the Foreign Office functioned mainly as an intermediary. Policy was made by the Home Office. The Foreign Office's basic duty was to play its part in the execution of this policy, and to ensure that it was explained to foreigners and foreign governments. Within the Foreign Office, specialised departments dealt with the parts of the world which lay beyond the bounds of the Empire.

In addition, a Foreign Office department concerned with the League of Nations was involved in the formulation of British policy towards international efforts to help refugees. From early 1939, this work was taken over by a new Refugee Section, which would later become the Refugee Department. These developments within the Foreign Office did not diminish the primacy of the Home Office in matters concerning the immigration of refugees to the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, several of the Foreign Office officials concerned with this work became expert on refugee matters, and were a source of frequent and well-informed criticisms of Home Office policy.

At the core of central government there was little time for aliens questions, still less for refugees. The Home Secretary brought up aliens questions in the Cabinet on the rare occasions when Cabinet decisions seemed necessary. Specific issues were sometimes referred by the Cabinet to interdepartmental committees. Certain senior Treasury officials also became involved in negotiations over the financing of international and British efforts to help refugees.

There was no department or committee within the government whose duty it was to promote the interests of refugees. There was no standing committee on aliens questions. The last such committee had been dissolved in 1932, after it had not

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[21] Holderness memorandum, see note 18 above.

[22] See Herbert Loebl, 'Refugee Industries in the Special Areas of Britain', in Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *op. cit.*; see also his contribution to this volume.

[23] See Aliens Order, 1920, Arts. 6–8 on aliens registration; *ibid.*, Arts. 12 and 13 for deportation of aliens.

met for five years. Very shortly before the start of the Second World War, E. N. Cooper, the Aliens Department's "expert" on refugee questions, made the following remarks on the gaps which resulted from the lack of clearly defined responsibility for refugee matters.

"One is almost forced to the conclusion, therefore, that the time has now come for setting up a Special Commission to deal with general questions of policy which frequently arise in the consideration of refugee problems, and to carry out the decisions which are taken by the government in these matters. It is becoming increasingly difficult to put one's finger on the point where the responsibility of one Department ends and another Department begins. There is even some danger that, with the divided responsibility which now exists in dealing with this complicated and constantly evolving problem, Departments may be disinclined to shoulder as much responsibility as perhaps they should, with the result that work which ought to be done may be left undone."

Cooper concluded that "an *ad hoc* Body" might be created to carry out government policy "in connection with the refugee problem up to the point where the work clearly falls within the province of a Department". This memorandum was circulated to officials in the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Dominions Office and the Treasury.[24] Cooper was by this time recognised as holding a leading position in dealing with the refugee problem within the Home Office. Yet his suggestion was not acted on. Nevertheless, his observations provide an apt postscript to the foregoing outline of the machinery of government. They also highlight questions which will be raised by the ensuing account of how Home Office ministers and officials adapted the administrative means at their disposal to deal with the influx of Jewish refugees before the war.

II

The Home Office's reaction to the first wave of refugees was to make do with the immigration system as it was. No additional controls seemed necessary at this stage. Entry requirements and post-entry controls, together with the ultimate sanction of deportation, provided a comprehensive formal framework. The system also had the great virtue of being highly flexible in practice. The Home Office jealously guarded its discretion to apply the machinery of control according to the merits of the particular case.[25]

The practical problems of managing the tide of refugees lay not in any lack of rigour in the Aliens Order, but in the lack of resources for handling casework. Large-scale investigation of refugees' circumstances and the adequacy or otherwise of their proposals for maintenance was a task for which the Aliens Department had neither the staff nor the inclination. Fortunately, the voluntary sector was able to supply enough help with casework to contain the influx without expanding the official machinery of control.

The Home Office had a long-established practice of co-operating with voluntary

[24] Cooper, memorandum, 'Refugee Conference in Washington', undated, written mid-August 1939, PRO, FO 371/24078/75 ff., W 12458/45/48.

[25] See John Hope Simpson, *Refugees. Preliminary Report of a Survey*, London 1938, p. 111.

bodies over matters concerning aliens. The Aliens Department had many such links with the Jewish community. Prominent Jews served on Home Office committees concerned with aliens. There was a history of mutually beneficial collaboration with the Jews' Temporary Shelter (JTS), whose charitable activities ensured that transmigrants from Eastern Europe did not become a burden, or outstay their welcome. The Home Office was also indebted to the JTS for help in arranging the rapid repatriation of the majority of Jewish war refugees after the 1914–1918 war.[26] The outstanding representative of Jewish co-operation with the Home Office was Otto M. Schiff, President of the Shelter since 1922. Schiff was particularly trusted by the senior staff of the Aliens Department. From 1933 Schiff worked especially closely with E. N. Cooper on Jewish refugee immigration, and they became friends.[27] Schiff also advised on such matters as who might be a suitable Jewish member of a Home Office committee.[28] He was concerned with the new refugees from the start, as the Shelter had helped some of the first refugees from Germany. In March 1933 Schiff took the initiative of founding a separate body, the Jewish Refugees Committee (JRC), becoming its Chairman.[29]

In April 1933, Jewish communal leaders approached the government and asked for temporary asylum for refugees from Germany. In return, they gave a written guarantee on behalf of the Jewish community that no refugee would be allowed to become a charge on public funds. They also promised that refugees would be met, offered hospitality, maintained if necessary and helped to re-emigrate as soon as possible. These new proposals affecting refugees from Germany grew out of the tradition of Anglo-Jewish charitable work with Jewish immigrants which Schiff represented. Yet the formal guarantee on behalf of Britain's Jewish community set a new precedent, promising that, "All expense, whether in respect of temporary or permanent accommodation or maintenance will be borne by the Jewish community without ultimate charge to the State."[30]

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[26] For the Jewish community's work in repatriating Jewish war refugees, see 'The Jewish Refugees', in *Report on the Work Undertaken by the British Government in the Reception and Care of the Belgian Refugees*, Ministry of Health, London 1920, pp. 26–27, and Erich Turk (Secretary of the JTS), 'Note on the Work of the Jewish War Refugees Committee', 15th November 1919, *ibid.*, Appendix no. 4: pp. 52–58, PRO, HO 45/10738/261921: fuller details of the work of the JTS are contained in its *Annual Reports*.

[27] See London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy', *loc. cit.*; for fuller information on Schiff's character and activities, see Joan Stiebel (Schiff's private secretary), 'The Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 27 (1982), pp. 51–60.

[28] Col. Fred Samuel, DSO, who had been recommended by Schiff, was appointed by the Home Secretary, Sir Herbert Samuel, as the one Jewish member of a new six-member Aliens Deportation Advisory Committee, in February 1932. See Frank A. Newsam to Secretary of State, 17th February 1932, PRO, HO 45/14909/617473/2; Sir John Pedder of the Home Office thought Schiff should not chair the new committee, see, minute, 15th October 1930, PRO, HO 45/15171/552811/1; for a suggestion that Schiff might be a suitable advisor for the proposed new High Commissioner for Refugees, see memorandum [n. d.] sent by Alexander Maxwell to J. V. Perowne of the Foreign Office, 30th November 1933, PRO, HO 45/15883/666764/78.

[29] For Jewish refugee organisations, see Norman Bentwich, *They Found Refuge. An Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression*, London 1956; for the CBF, see Stiebel, *loc. cit.*; Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 340–343; for discussion of the working relationship between Jewish voluntary bodies and the Home Office see London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy', *loc. cit.*

[30] 'Proposals of the Jewish Community as Regards Jewish Refugees from Germany', undated, Appendix I to Gilmour memorandum of 6th April 1933, note 1 above. The four signatories were Neville Laski KC, President of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews (the Board of Deputies), Lionel L.

The government had three options: to tighten immigration controls; to leave them more or less as they were; or to do as Jewish leaders were asking, and relax restrictions in favour of Jewish refugees. The Home Secretary understood that he was being asked to admit all German-Jewish refugees "without distinction" and that those "already admitted for the purpose of visits or who may be admitted in the future should be allowed during the present emergency to prolong their stay indefinitely".[31] A new interdepartmental committee was specially constituted by the Cabinet to hammer out the government's line on the Jewish proposals. When this committee met on 6th April 1933, its members faced the fact that the probable scale of the influx was an unknown quantity and that, therefore, only an interim decision was possible. They were told that Schiff had predicted that only three or four thousand German Jews, mostly of the professional classes, would come to Britain. Yet the Home Secretary, who chaired the meeting, read out two fresh telegrams from the British Ambassador in Berlin which suggested that this might be an underestimate. Figures from Germany showed that a large-scale Jewish exodus to many foreign lands was in progress. There were also indications that Nazi policies might yet drive out far greater numbers. One of the telegrams passed on a confidential report that, at a recent Cabinet meeting, at which the informant had been present, the German Chancellor, Hitler, had asked:

> "for information about the number of Jews who had left Germany recently and remarked that he hoped, in time, to get rid of every Jew in the country. One of his colleagues replied that this was impossible; every country had restrictions on immigration and no country bordering on Germany would accept fugitives in such plentiful numbers as was suggested. Chancellor looked very surprised and admitted that this had never occurred to him."[32]

The advice the Cabinet received from this committee included a warning that, if Jews in Germany continued to be deprived of their employment, increasing "pressure to emigrate" might be expected. The committee recommended that, while the authorities might wish to make use of the Jewish guarantee in considering individual cases, it would not be safe to relax existing immigration controls.[33] The Cabinet accepted this advice. Ministers also agreed that the new practice of imposing strict landing conditions on refugees should continue, and that the extra precaution should be taken of requiring refugees to register with the police as soon as they reached their destinations.[34] Thus, for the time being, the only modification in the

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Cohen KC, Chairman of the Board's Law, Parliamentary and General Purposes Committee, Leonard G. Montefiore, President of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and Schiff; a brief reference to the Jewish initiative was made in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 14th April 1933, p. 21.

[31] See Gilmour memorandum, note 1 above.

[32] The matter had been raised in the Cabinet on 5th April 1933, by the Home Secretary, Sir John Gilmour, Cabinet 23(33) Concl. 5, 5th April 1933, CAB 23/75; for the one meeting of the Cabinet Committee, on 6th April 1933, see note 2 above; the two telegrams sent by Sir Horace Rumbold, British Ambassador in Berlin, to the Foreign Office on 5th April, which were read to the meeting by the Home Secretary, were included as Appendix I (the confidential report of the recent meeting of Hitler's Cabinet) and Appendix II (Rumbold's attempt to estimate an exodus of Jewish refugees from Germany) to the record of the proceedings: only the telegram in Appendix II was appended to the Committee's report to the Cabinet. Of the eleven persons present at this meeting, two were Home Office ministers and four were senior Home Office officials.

[33] Report, Committee on Aliens Restrictions, 7th April 1933, CP 96(33), PRO, CAB 27/549.

[34] *Ibid.*, recommendations; Cabinet 27(33) Concl. 8, 12th April 1933, PRO, CAB 23/75; the suggestions about police registration had been made at the meeting by Sir Ernest Holderness of the Home Office,

existing system of controls was that conditions would be more tightly administered. Yet the path had also been opened to granting permission more freely in cases covered by the Jewish guarantee.

While the Home Secretary had concentrated on questions of control, other ministers, notably the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, saw advantages in encouraging selective refugee immigration, and put forward the argument that the nation could utilise the refugee crisis for its benefit, while showing sympathy to refugees.[35] The possibility of offering hospitality to distinguished men, displaced by persecution in Germany, had been discussed by ministers, but instructions to follow up this suggestion were not carried out by the new Cabinet committee, which never reconvened.[36] No other initiative was taken by the government. Instead, the project of fostering selective refugee immigration was taken up by voluntary organisations. The Academic Assistance Council (AAC) was set up in May 1933 by William Beveridge, then Director of the London School of Economics. The AAC's help to displaced scholars and scientists was at the same time a means of recruiting persons of intellectual distinction who might, and in many cases did, prove to be valuable assets.[37] Sir John Simon, who had taken a personal interest in the work of the AAC since its beginning, and who was now Home Secretary, agreed in December 1935 to the permanent settlement of a selected group of thirty-one academic refugees put forward by the AAC, together with their families. These fortunate individuals were to be asked to avoid possible embarrassment for the Home Office and the AAC by keeping their new privileged status secret.[38] Yet most displaced academics could obtain only temporary posts, and were expected to re-emigrate like other refugees. Ministry of Labour officials dealing with alien employment made it clear to the AAC that, while academics were regarded as a highly desirable group, even for this élite there was a sliding scale of celebrity. A flexible approach to the policy of protecting the jobs of British subjects was easier to defend in the case of "persons of unquestioned repute, e. g. Professor Einstein" (who chose to go to the USA), than for the "rank and file" of young academic researchers, who posed "a greater threat to British labour".[39]

Official government policy was that refugees, like other aliens, must not cause

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see note 2 above. See Conclusions, note 32 above; ministers approved a statement which was made by Gilmour in Parliament on the same day. *Hansard, op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 276, col. 2558, 12th April 1933.

[35] See Simon, *Hansard, op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 276, col. 2810, 13th April 1933; see also, Sir Herbert Samuel, *ibid.*, col. 2807; Simon, *ibid.*, cols. 2811–2812.

[36] Cabinet 27(33) Concl. 8, 12th April 1933, PRO, CAB 23/75; see account of this meeting in Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33; for the Committee's failure to reconvene, see also Foreign Office minutes, 4th and 10th October 1933, PRO, FO 372/2949/273ff., T 4351/509/378; Conclusions, note 32 above.

[37] On the AAC, later the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) see William Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning*, Oxford etc. 1959; Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars. The Story of Displaced Scholars and Scientists 1933–1952*, The Hague 1953; Nicholas Baldwin, *Report on the Records of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning*, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Oxford 1988.

[38] See correspondence between the AAC and the Home Office, November and December 1935, Archives of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (hereafter SPSL), Box 111/6, folios 370–406r.

[39] Gent, memorandum of interview with R.E. Gomme, Aliens Restriction Branch, Ministry of Labour, 26th May 1933, SPSL, Box 113/5, folios 731–732r.

unemployment among British workers.[40] Refugees would therefore be refused permission to take a job unless no suitable British person was available. This led to uncertainty as to whether refugees who could fulfil the employment requirements of the Aliens Order should really be classified as refugees. In October 1934, a Ministry of Labour official concluded from an analysis of records of 773 refugees who had been granted permission to take employment, that only 215 should be classed as refugees "as such". These were cases in which "the humanitarian and compassionate aspect of the case has been the deciding factor i. e. cases which in normal times would have been rejected on various grounds".[41] Evidently, Ministry officials were making many exceptions to the letter of the regulations for refugees.

A scheme for training newly-admitted Jewish refugee males was launched by the JRC in May 1933. In negotiations with Schiff and I. B. Davidson of the JRC, the scheme was approved by Home Office and Ministry of Labour officials on the basis that the trainees were to be left in no doubt that they could not stay in Britain. It was also agreed that the JRC would select the trainees carefully, and that, as with ordinary employment cases, there would be no inroads into the home labour market.[42] Cooper, the Home Office official concerned with the scheme, agreed soon afterwards to a suggestion from Schiff that persons might be placed in posts pending consideration of their applications.[43] This concession demonstrates how the degree of trust between the Aliens Department and the JRC sensibly solved the practical difficulty of keeping prospective employers waiting. Cooper subsequently intervened to criticise unjustified pressure by the JRC on refugees to stay in jobs on the trainee scheme. He learned in December 1933 that an official in the Ministry of Labour had allowed Davidson of the JRC, who ran the trainee scheme, to inveigle him into writing a letter to the JRC, which contained the threat that if refugees left trainee jobs they would have their permission to stay in Britain cancelled. When Cooper discovered this, he pointed out to the Ministry of Labour official that these refugees had not been admitted on any condition that they enter training, and could not, therefore, be made to leave if they gave up a trainee post, reminding him that Home Office policy was

> "not to raise objection to the prolongation of stay of German Jewish refugees so long as they have means to support themselves without employment, unless, of course, in particular cases, you are able to recommend to us that their employment should be permitted".[44]

[40] See contributions of Henry Bucknall Betterton, Minister of Labour, to the meeting of the Committee on Aliens Restrictions on 6th April 1933, note 32 above; Hope Simpson, *Refugee Problem*, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[41] Ministry of Labour, memorandum, 'Refugees from Germany irrespective of nationality', 3rd October 1934, PRO, LAB 8/78; most refugees who obtained permission to work had originally entered as visitors. Holderness (Home Office) to Under Secretary (Foreign Office), 26th October 1934, PRO, LAB 8/78.

[42] Gomme, minute, 20th May 1933; Wolfe to Schiff, 16th June 1933. PRO, HO 45/21069; the severe restrictions of the scheme and the JRC's insistence on the lack of employment prospects for refugees were emphasised by Schiff in a letter to Lord Beaverbrook, proprietor of the *Daily Express* newspaper, in which an article calculated to heighten anxiety about refugees from Germany taking British jobs, had appeared on 21st September 1933; Schiff to Beaverbrook, 25th September 1933, PRO, HO 45 15882/666764/25; see also Schiff to Cooper, 26th September 1933, *ibid.*

[43] S. Hoare to Schiff, 1st August 1933, PRO, HO 45/21069.

[44] *Ibid.*, Gomme to Cooper, 13th December 1933, enclosing copy letter to Davidson of 12th December 1933; Cooper to Gomme, 21st December 1933; Cooper, minute, 30th December 1933; Gomme to Cooper, 3rd January 1934.

Thus although the formal controls were restrictive, in practice both the Home Office and the Ministry of Labour would make limited exceptions to the rigours of the system, for individuals and for groups. Publicly, a cautious and conservative stance was maintained. The Home Office was always reluctant to admit either how many refugees it was letting in, or how high a proportion of entrants were Jews.[45] To minimise the numbers of refugees shown in the statistics of admissions, Home Office officials excluded many employment cases from categorisation as refugees.[46] Nor did the authorities publicise their readiness to allow refugees to stay on the basis of the Jewish guarantee, yet in practice they placed great reliance on it.[47]

When they first came to Britain and were admitted as visitors, many Jews from Germany did not regard themselves as refugees. Many soon found themselves turning to the refugee organisations for advice and help, however, in obtaining extensions of stay. A proportion of the refugees received actual financial support, but the benefit of the guarantee was much broader, as the security it offered the authorities underpinned the admission and stay of numerous persons who were unaware of its existence.[48]

On 12th April 1933, the Home Secretary had fended off questioners in Parliament, who asked how refugees might qualify for permission to come to Britain, with the uninformative answer (whose text had been approved by the Cabinet) that the Home Office intended to preserve its discretion to deal with each case on its individual merits.[49] Advice from refugee organisations was, therefore, invaluable in compensating for this absence of public guidance from the Home Office.

Most of the day-to-day management of the flood of refugees was carried out through voluntary organisations, such as the JRC, the AAC and the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, all set up in the spring of 1933. These bodies worked in close co-operation with the immigration authorities. The major organisations attained a quasi-official status, which reflected the sheer scale of their operations, their close links with the authorities, and their undoubted ability to influence someone's immigration prospects.[50] The refugee bodies acted as an important source of statistics and of information on individual refugees, making the task of control much easier, and saving the Aliens Department a great deal of administrative effort.[51] It was Home Office policy to foster the growth of voluntary

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[45] See e. g. record of a meeting at the Foreign Office on 16th November 1938, PRO, FO 371/22637/296ff., W 15119/1041/98.

[46] For example, many refugees who entered as domestic servants were not included in pre-war refugee statistics.

[47] "Any who cannot satisfy us in regard to their maintenance are refused admission." Sir Ernest Holderness to Blight (London County Council), 19th October 1933, PRO, HO 45/15882/666764/46; Foreign Office officials also relied on the guarantee. See Laski to Vansittart, 27th July 1933, PRO, FO 371/16756/171ff., C 6860/6839/18; Perowne, memorandum, 9th August 1933, PRO, FO 371/16756/284ff., C 7633/6839/18.

[48] Interviews: Susan Horwell, 19th April 1988; Fred Baerwald, 9th January 1990.

[49] Gilmour, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 276, col. 2558, 12th April 1933.

[50] A list of eight "Don'ts" for refugees demonstrates concern that refugees should not cause needless friction. Jewish Refugees Committee, Monthly Circular, May 1934, SPSL, Box 116/2; for writings on refugee organisations, see note 29 above; two detailed articles by the economist J. L. Cohen, listing numerous refugee organisations with their areas of specialisation, appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* on 10th February 1939, pp. 14–16 and 17th February 1939, pp. 28–29. By this stage, the Jewish Refugees Committee was employing a staff of several hundred.

[51] An early example of the readiness of the refugee bodies to provide statistics for the use of the Home

bodies and to do nothing which might threaten friendly relations with the refugee bodies. The Home Office urged the voluntary bodies to take increasing responsibility for refugees and, when the number of organisations grew in 1938, encouraged them to form representative committees to co-ordinate their activities and act as a channel for communications.[52]

Relations between the voluntary sector and government departments became increasingly close and interdependent. The Aliens Department came to rely on the voluntary bodies to do much of the work of sifting refugees, to assess which of them were desirable immigrants. Emphasis on the need for refugees to re-emigrate was quietly dropped in many cases. The situation in Britain appeared so well under control that S. Hoare, a Home Office official concerned with aliens matters, observed optimistically in May 1935:

> "The number of refugees in this country is of modest dimensions and with the assistance of the Jewish Refugees Committee we expect to be able, within a reasonable time, to absorb the greater part of the refugees who have now been here for one year and upwards into the economic life of the country."

This comment was made in the context of rejecting on behalf of the Home Office the proposal that the current refugee problems should become the responsibility of an organisation under the League of Nations. Hoare commented that such an organisation might prove a source of embarrassment, "if it pressed us to admit more refugees to this country".[53] The *Anschluß*, in March 1938, would finally put an end to what had been a relatively tranquil period for the Home Office, during which the number of Germans seeking entry to Britain had not been such "as to occasion any great anxiety either as regards number or quality".[54] It also became increasingly clear that one consequence of the burden of the guarantee was that the Jewish refugee organisation looked to government regulation to keep the flow of refugees at a manageable level.

Office, is a memorandum by Ernest Cohen based on the case cards of some 2,500 refugees registered with the JRC. This referred to some of the reasons why it was hard to collect accurate statistics. These included the impossibility of ascertaining the numbers of dependent children accompanying their parents, and the problem of refugees who did not register with the committee. Cohen, 'Some Notes on the Problem of Jewish Refugees from Germany' [n. d.], Cooper to Gomme, 13th December 1933, PRO, HO 45/15883/666764/77; the AAC, too, was ready to ask grantees for information useful to the Home Office, Gent (AAC) to Cooper, 28th November 1933, Cooper to Gent, 5th December 1933, PRO, HO 45/15883/666764/84.

[52] R. S. Gomme to Adams, 22nd September 1933, Adams to Gomme, 27th November 1933, SPSL, Box 113/5, folio 741; on the formation of the Co-ordinating Committee, see, minutes, 1st April 1938, PRO, HO 213/42, on p. 3, and memorandum, 'The Treatment of Refugees in the United Kingdom', PRO, HO 213/43, para. 10.

[53] S. Hoare to Makins, 15th May 1935, PRO, FO 371/19676/334ff., W 4255/356/98.

[54] Home Office memorandum [n. d.], sent by J. D. R. Pimlott to Oliver C. Harvey, 15th March 1938, PRO FO 372/3282/18ff., T 3517/3272/378. On the one occasion between April 1933 and the *Anschluß* when the Home Office referred the question of admission of refugees from Germany to the Cabinet, the issues were political, and not connected with asylum. See Cabinet 36(35) Concl. 9, 10th July 1935, PRO CAB 23/82.

III

Since the start of the refugee influx, the Home Office had relied on visas to restrict the entry of non-German refugees. Jews of Polish and Hungarian nationality fleeing from Germany were generally refused visas for Britain. They could, in theory at least, return to their own countries. Unwelcome refugees, such as Communists, who were regarded as politically undesirable, could be identified in good time if they needed to apply for visas before coming to Britain. Their names could be added to the official "black list" of undesirable aliens who were to be denied entry, and warnings sent to Passport Control posts abroad not to grant them visas without reference to London.[55] No exceptions to the practice of restricting the granting of visas to stateless persons would be made for stateless Jewish refugees.[56] The authorities caught several stateless persons (described, in answer to a parliamentary question about "German-Jew refugees" as "aliens coming from Germany"), who had taken the gamble of unlawful entry in late 1933, and the Home Secretary had to admit to the House of Commons that they could not be disposed of by deportation, as no country would receive them, although he was able to say that it had been possible to deport three others, a German, a Pole and a Hungarian.[57]

Since 1927, neither Germans nor Austrians had needed visas to come to Britain. In April 1933, the Permanent Under Secretary at the Home Office, Sir Russell Scott, advised that if, at a later date, the government wished to stop or restrict German-Jewish immigration: "In practice the means adopted would have to be a reintroduction of the visa system for [all] German entrants to the United Kingdom."[58] In 1933 there was no pressure for such drastic measures. It was agreed that the limited number of refugee passengers holding German passports could be processed along with the rest of the normal passenger traffic from Germany. For the next five years the Home Office was content to keep the additional restriction of a visa in reserve for future use if circumstances should change.[59]

By the beginning of March 1938, the Home Office was reviewing its stance. The arguments for a change as regards future arrivals were summarised by C. B. McAlpine, a Principal in the Aliens Department. The present system of control was not adequate because increasing numbers of Germans admitted as visitors would later apply to remain as refugees and would become impossible to get rid of. The way to stop, or at least check, the flood was, "to prevent potential refugees from getting here at all", through the reinstitution of a visa system for Germans and Austrians. This would make it possible to select immigrants "at leisure and in advance". McAlpine argued that this was the proper course, "if the restriction of

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[55] See copy correspondence concerning two such cases from Col. Sir V. G. Kell (MI5) and Home Office minutes, May 1933, PRO LAB 2/2084/ETAR/4174/33.

[56] See the Home Office letter to the Foreign Office, setting out British policy towards stateless refugees, 28th April 1934, PRO, HO 45/15883/666764/115.

[57] *Hansard, op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 281, cols. 576–577, 12th November 1933.

[58] Conclusions, Committee on Aliens Restrictions, 6th April 1933, note 2 above; for comment on the existing visa-abolition agreements with Germany and Austria, see note headed "Confidential" summarising an interdepartmental conference on 17th March 1938, McAlpine to Bland, 18th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/27 ff., T 3605/3272/378 (incorrectly giving 1928 as the date of the agreement with Germany: the correct date was 1927).

[59] See above, pp. 495–496.

Jewish immigration is deemed to be a national necessity". Increasing numbers of refugees would soon become stateless, and thus undeportable, after arrival in Britain, particularly through the impact of a new German decree of 3rd February 1938. This measure penalised exiles who failed to register at a German consulate within a prescribed period of three months, depriving them of German nationality. It was to be expected that most refugees would refuse to report. McAlpine also referred to the prospect of an exodus from Austria. Recent events in Austria were regarded as a prelude to persecution of Jews and Austrian Jews were making enquiries in preparation for seeking refuge in Britain. Austrian expatriates would either be unacceptable as German citizens or would lose German nationality through the operation of the new German decree: either way, they too would soon swell the ranks of the stateless.[60]

It was also growing harder to get rid of refugees by voluntary methods. In the early years many had returned home or resettled overseas, frequently after refusal by the Home Office. It was through such voluntary arrangements, rather than through the blunt compulsion of refusal at the ports of entry or deportation, that the main reduction in the numbers in Britain had been achieved. The threat of deportation was the ultimate sanction without which pressure to re-emigrate lacked credibility, but deportation was becoming an increasingly unavailable option. This was only partly because of the growth in statelessness. Another factor which made it almost impossible to compel refugees to depart abroad was the public outcry this would cause in Britain. It was considered inhumane to force refugees to return to the conditions they faced in Nazi Germany, and, with rare exceptions, refugees were no longer choosing repatriation. Re-emigration was becoming harder by the day, as impassable barriers to refugees were raised around the world, while refugees became steadily less desirable from a financial point of view. There were now some 10,000 Jewish refugees in Britain, most of whom were concentrated in certain parts of London. The failure of refugees to disperse more widely was viewed with mild alarm within the Home Office, where highly visible groups of refugees were seen as a potential trigger for hostility, and for criticism of the government for letting them in. McAlpine argued that the acknowledged benefits which many refugees had brought had to be weighed against the danger of the spread of anti-Jewish feeling.[61] It seemed that further measures would be necessary to prevent the accumulation of stateless, destitute Jewish refugees in Britain. Nevertheless, as late as 3rd March 1938 Home Office officials told officials in the Foreign Office that they did not think that the introduction of visas would really assist them and that the answer was to strengthen control at the ports.[62]

McAlpine had expected that it would take some time for a decision to be made about visas, but the *Anschluß* proved to be the turning point for the Home Office. The new influx would not strike Britain with its full force until the borders of Austria reopened, but there was a noticeable increase in the number of Jews with

[60] C. B. McAlpine, memorandum, 1st March 1938, PRO, HO 213/94.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] Harry Jones, minute, 15th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/8 ff., C 3398/3272/378. Jones remarked on the Home Office's "'volte face'" since the meeting on 3rd March.

Austrian passports arriving at the ports, a number of whom were refused entry.[63] Within hours, the *Anschluß* brought in its wake a further problem for the Home Office. The Austrian state collapsed on the evening of Friday 11th March 1938. By the following morning, one of the leaders of the Jewish refugee organisation had already thrown the Home Office's system of control off balance with the news that the government could no longer depend on the Jewish guarantee: automatic cover for new refugee admissions to Britain was at an end.[64] This disturbing information was speedily followed up by a letter from Schiff, explaining that commitments to refugees already in Britain would be honoured, but new admissions could only be guaranteed if cleared with his organisation in advance.[65]

The Home Office now resolved that visas were needed to check the flow of both Austrians and Germans. Within a matter of days, agreement to this change had been secured.[66] In interdepartmental discussions Home Office representatives had claimed that their main concern was to prevent the accumulation of undeportable, stateless aliens in Britain, and that fears of fostering the growth of antisemitism were a subsidiary issue.[67] Yet these issues were obviously connected in the mind of the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare. When Hoare met a deputation from the Board of Deputies on 1st April, and made it clear that the changeover to visas was agreed (the change was not publicly known until late April), he emphasised fears of stimulating antisemitism. He also made it clear that the Home Office's concern was with the quality as well as the quantity of refugees who might arrive. Schiff, who was present, endorsed the policy of reintroducing visas, as it was "very difficult to get rid of a refugee... once he had entered and spent a few months in this country". He added that Austrians "were largely of the shop-keeper and small trader class and would therefore prove very much more difficult to emigrate than the average German who had come to the United Kingdom".[68]

The German Embassy in London appeared to accept the Home Office's position that it needed a means of selecting refugees in advance. The Germans nevertheless attempted to avert the reimposition of visas for all German passport holders, with a counterproposal that unwanted entrants could be prevented from coming to Britain by the German government. The aspiring emigrant would not get a passport valid for travel to Britain unless and until written evidence was produced that the British government had authorised admission.[69] This proposal was seized on enthusiasti-

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[63] William Strang, memorandum of telephone conversation with Holderness, 12th March 1938, Michael J. Creswell, Sir Andrew N. Noble, Makins, memoranda, 14th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/1 ff., T 3272/3272/378; Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–93.

[64] Strang, memorandum, 12th March 1938, see note 63 above.

[65] Schiff to Under Secretary, 14th March 1938, PRO T 161/997, Robinson to Bland, 14th March 1938, PRO FO 372/3282/8 ff., T 3398/3272/378.

[66] Robinson to Bland, 14th March 1938, Noble, memorandum, 15th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/8 ff., T 3398/3272/378; J. D. R. Pimlott to Oliver C. Harvey, 15th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/18 ff., T 3517/3272/378; Cabinet 14(38) concl. 6, 16th March 1938, PRO, CAB 23/93; "Confidential" note of interdepartmental conference on 17th March 1938, McAlpine to Bland, 18th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/27 ff., T 3605/3272/378.

[67] Sir A. N. Noble, minute on interdepartmental meeting on 17th March (wrongly given as 16th), 21st March 1938, PRO, FO 371/22317/214 ff., R 2907/137/3.

[68] Minutes of meeting with deputation, 1st April 1938, PRO, HO 213/42 (see also note 52).

[69] See minutes and correspondence, April and May 1938, PRO, FO 372/3283/193 ff., T 5565/6053/6352/6620/6639/6718/3272/378; for the Home Office side of these discussions, see PRO, HO 213/95.

cally by the head of the Foreign Office's Treaty Department, Sir Neville Bland, as a "perfectly reasonable" alternative to visas, which preserved the essential element of choice for the British authorities.[70] Bland's opinion was emphatically not shared by the Home Office, which responded, to his chagrin, with a swift veto.[71] Home Office officials took the view that the proposed collusion with the German authorities to detain people in Germany was unacceptable in principle. Furthermore, the German proposals were far from watertight, failing to address the problem of control posed by thousands of refugees already beyond the borders of German territory, who had passports valid for travel to the United Kingdom.[72] The Home Office was far from seeking a blanket exclusion of refugees, but a refinement of selection procedures was urgently required to achieve effective control. This was all the more important if many more of the refugees who would now be admitted would have to be absorbed in Britain. The authorities needed to be sure that a prospective long-term resident would be an asset and not a liability, and this had to be established before a potential refugee set foot in the United Kingdom. The problem of immigration control which now faced the Home Office was not just that too many people wished to come, but that the existing criteria for entry failed to exclude "visitors" who might be potential refugees. At the ports the opportunities for enquiries were too limited to make it possible to refuse leave to land "to persons who are apparently respectable and state that they are coming for a short visit to see friends, relatives or business acquaintances".[73] The Home Office wished to avoid both the difficulties of refusing such persons entry and the risks of admitting them. Home Office spokesmen also argued that it was more humane to save unsuitable persons from starting on a fruitless journey.[74]

New instructions for handling these cases were sent out to guide Passport Control officials. The circular which set out the new regulations emphasised that the main purpose of the new visa procedure for German and Austrian passport holders was to regulate the flow of refugees. It was necessary to separate *bona fide* visitors from visa applicants who claimed to be "going to the United Kingdom for some temporary purpose, but whose real object is to apply after arrival, to be allowed to remain indefinitely". The assumption that Jews were more likely to be potential refugees, and thus more likely to be concealing such undisclosed intentions, provided the rationale for an instruction that it was especially necessary to investigate the circumstance of persons "who appear to be of Jewish or partly Jewish origin, or have non-Aryan affiliations". The new regulations set out a policy for deciding the applications of individuals who admitted a wish to emigrate, or were suspected of it. The rank and file of people in commerce and the professions were to be excluded as a rule; the applications of persons of "international repute in the field of science, medicine, research or art", and successful industrialists who might

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[70] Bland, minute, 19th May 1938, PRO, FO 372/3283/304ff., T 6620/3272/378; [J. Nichols] minute, 19th March 1938, PRO, FO 371/22317/214ff., R 2907/137/3.

[71] Holderness to Bland, 20th May 1938, PRO, FO 372/3283/333ff., T 6718/3272/378.

[72] Holderness to Bland, 18th May 1938, PRO, FO 372/3283/315ff., T 6639/3272/378.

[73] Robinson to Bland, 14th March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/8ff., T 3398/3272/378.

[74] See e. g. Hoare's statement on 22nd March 1938, note 12 above.

transfer their businesses to Britain were either to be granted on the spot, or in any event not refused without reference to London.[75]

The new procedure came into operation on 2nd May 1938 for Austrian passport holders and 21st May in the case of holders of German passports.[76] It became the dispiriting duty of officials in the Foreign Office to field the volumes of complaints about the chaos, discrimination, delay, discourtesy and discouragement which refugees were encountering over visa applications, especially in Vienna. Non-refugee travellers too were upset at being caught up in the chaotic scenes at consular offices, and at being mistaken for refugees, sometimes because they were wrongly thought to be Jews. Refugees and their friends scoured their connections for someone who might intercede for them with the immigration authorities. The Consul-General in Vienna conceded that accusations of favouritism directed at Passport Control officials had some foundation. He and his colleagues all had some "'pet' Jew" for whom they tried to make an extra effort.[77]

The new arrangements were a far from unmitigated success from the point of view of the Home Office. Greater control had been achieved, but at the price of efficiency. Under the new system, which necessitated lengthy dealings between London and posts on the Continent, the entry even of the restricted categories of refugee whom the Home Office was prepared to admit was now subject to a *de facto* quota, determined by the slow and inefficient processing of visa applications.[78] Moreover, the new system was still letting through too many undetected refugees. Many persons claiming to be visitors were prepared to sign a standard form of undertaking not to seek to extend their stay in Britain, in order to get a British visa. Having succeeded in gaining entry to the United Kingdom, they would plead that they could not go back to Germany or Austria. A policy of writing secret signals on the passports of people who had signed such undertakings failed to produce satisfactory results. The Home Office finally decided to discontinue using them altogether in refugee cases.[79]

The burden of casework was becoming unmanageable for the Aliens Department. At the Home Office's suggestion, a representative Co-ordinating Committee of the refugee organisations had been formed in April 1938. The Home Office enlisted the help of bodies affiliated to the Co-ordinating Committee in dealing with correspondence and investigating visa applications. The voluntary bodies themselves were under intolerable pressures and desperately short of funds. The Co-ordinating Committee became an increasingly critical pressure group, and its

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[75] Passport Control Department, circular, 'Visas for Holders of German and Austrian Passports entering the United Kingdom', 27th April 1938, PRO, FO 372/3283/326 ff., T 6705/3272/378.

[76] The Home Secretary made a statement of policy in the House of Commons on 22nd March 1938. See note 12 above; see minutes and correspondence, 21st March 1938, PRO, FO 372/3282/56 ff., T 3807/3272/378.

[77] See correspondence regarding Vienna, May to August 1938, PRO, FO 372/3283/287 ff., T 6515/3272/378, and PRO, FO 372/3284/47 ff., T 7388/7657/9533/9715/10728/3272/378, and particularly D. St Clair Gainer (Consul-General in Vienna) to Hutcheon, 9th August 1938, PRO, FO 372/3284/258 ff., T 10774/3272/378.

[78] Hope Simpson, *Refugee Problem*, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[79] See correspondence about signals, May–June 1938, PRO, HO 213/96, and Passport Control Department (PCD) circulars, 10th June 1938 and 30th August 1938, PRO, FO 372/3284/1 ff., T 7056/3272/378; Holderness to Jeffes, 19th July 1938, R. T. Parkin (PCD) to PCOs Berlin and Vienna, 20th July 1938, PRO HO 213/98.

members mounted collective protests about Home Office policies, withdrew their co-operation over sifting refugee correspondence, and objected that the Home Office admitted refugees without consulting them. By October it was clear that both the public and the private sector were in a state of near collapse.[80] In the aftermath of the Munich Agreement, the plight of refugees from Czechoslovakia generated a lobby of vocal and organised support in Britain. An anomalous commitment of £4,000,000 of taxpayers' money was made to help resettle refugees who had fled from the portions of Czech territory now ceded to Germany. Yet few refugees from Czechoslovakia were being allowed to come to Britain.[81]

A "more liberal" policy had been formulated on the question of admission of refugees from Germany and Austria for the purpose of the international conference on refugees called by President Roosevelt, which was held in July 1938, at Evian in France. The new policy statement put forward at the conference claimed that, within the narrow limits occasioned by the UK's domestic, demographic and economic problems, and the fact that it was not a country of immigration, Britain was now prepared "on the ground of humanity to adopt an even more liberal policy in the matter of admission and employment". The gulf between these vague, high-sounding words, and the bald statement of the limited categories of refugee who would now be admissible to the United Kingdom which followed, reflected the fact that the latter had been drafted by Home Office officials as a statement of existing policy, while the former had been added at the last minute by Lord Winterton, the minister chosen to represent Britain at the conference. The substance of the British document did not go much beyond restating existing policy. What was novel in it was the expansive tone it adopted. There were intimations of greater flexibility and generosity in the interpretation of the employment restrictions in the Aliens Order. There was also encouragement to the voluntary organisations to seek out suitable jobs for refugees.[82]

On the question of re-emigration, the British position was also apparently far from inflexible. While emphasising that persons admitted for education and training were allowed in on the basis that they would eventually re-migrate, the Evian statement also hinted at prospects of ultimate absorption in the United Kingdom for a certain proportion, especially the younger elements. Winterton's speech to the conference stressed Britain's role as a country of transit, but he too spoke of prospects of absorption in Britain. He underlined the fact that the majority of refugees who had been admitted had not re-emigrated. Many had been given permission to establish themselves, and had made useful contributions to the national life, and it was intended to accelerate this process of assimilation. Other countries of first refuge were urged to follow this example.[83] Details were not

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[80] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–135, 131–132, 155–158.

[81] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–165.

[82] 'Contribution which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is able to make to the Problem of Emigration from Germany and Austria', 11th July 1938, Intergovernmental Committee, Evian – July 1938, Technical Sub-Committee, CIE/CT/15, PRO, FO 919/9; an expanded version of this statement of policy was circulated by the Home Office. Memorandum, sent by Cooper to Secretary of State, 9th September 1938, PRO, FO 371/22534/1 ff., W 12713/104/98.

[83] See 'Contribution', cited note 82 above; speech of Lord Winterton, 6th July 1938, Intergovernmental Committee, Evian – July 1938, Verbatim Report of the First Meeting, CI/E/CR1, PRO, FO 919/8.

given, but Home Office files show that the conditions of several categories of refugee had been cancelled. For example, 66 out of 142 medical practitioners who had been allowed to work in private practice had had their conditions revoked by September 1937.[84]

Home Office practice on the admission of refugee industrialists in the summer of 1938 confirms that officials were genuinely contemplating the absorption of certain categories of refugees. At the same time there was concern in the Aliens Department that unsuitable persons who might not leave were being allowed in. For example, the staff of the Commissioners for the Special Areas for England and Wales were told that it was embarrassing for the Home Office if they invited foreign persons to come to Britain for exploratory interviews, without preliminary investigation of their cases by the Passport Control Officer. Such persons were likely to claim that they were refugees, and it would then be impossible to make them leave. Cooper of the Aliens Department warned: "These unfortunate German Jews get up to all sorts of dodges in order to gain a footing in this country, and as I have already said, once they are here they become refugees who cannot be got rid of."[85]

The Home Office was still committed to preliminary investigation abroad through the visa system, notwithstanding the impossibility of carrying it out expeditiously with the resources available. Without reform of the bottlenecks of the visa system, there was a ceiling above which the rate of admissions could not rise, however much the government might claim it was liberalising admissions.[86]

IV

The long-awaited overhaul of British policy and procedures did not take place until after the *"Kristallnacht"* in November 1938. Following Cabinet discussions, procedural changes were at last instituted to eliminate some of the delay caused by investigation of visa cases abroad. Additional staff were allocated to consular posts and to help in the Aliens Department. The process of approval was simplified and the mechanics of entry were speeded up. The voluntary committees were now allowed to select persons for admission to Britain. Working through their contacts and representatives in Berlin, Vienna, Prague and elsewhere, the voluntary societies would submit lists of names to the Home Office. These lists ("nominal rolls") largely replaced the cumbersome process of individual visa applications, making possible the use of block visas. The Home Office approved the lists on the basis that the voluntary bodies undertook that the refugees would be maintained and were suitable cases for admission. Serially numbered cards, colour-coded for the particular category under which admission was being authorised, were stamped at the Home Office and sent out to the refugees for submission to the Passport Control Officer. These procedures covered unaccompanied children, whose case had been singled out for a special effort at streamlining, and several categories of adult

[84] T. B. Williamson to R. Derenburg (JRC), 2nd September 1937, PRO, HO 213/255.
[85] Cooper to Roberts, 23rd August 1938, PRO, HO 213/270.
[86] See London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy', *loc. cit.*, pp. 177–180.

refugee, including domestic service cases and persons in transit.[87] The standard system of individual visas was still in operation for all other categories, but here too, recommendations from the voluntary organisations were now often accepted as a substitute for official investigation. This improvement in procedures removed crucial obstacles to any speed-up of the rate of refugee admissions. Nevertheless, the scale of the increase which occurred in the following months could not have taken place without the simultaneous success of public appeals for financial contributions, and a mass of offers of support and hospitality to refugees, especially children. Whereas there had only been some 11–13,000 refugees in Britain in November 1938, well over 40,000 entered in the nine months preceding the outbreak of war.[88]

A detailed exploration of the reasons for these modifications in British policy would involve assessment of the weight given to humanitarian considerations, the role of public opinion, the impact of lobbying efforts, relations with Germany and Britain's preparedness for war, the Palestine problem, and several other aspects of home and foreign affairs. It is not possible to examine these questions fully here, but, nevertheless, it may be said that Cabinet records of discussions on 14th and 16th November 1938 suggest that not enough of the credit for the decision to expand Britain's role as a temporary refuge has been given to the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain.[89] A Foreign Office official, Roger Makins, had warned Chamberlain that it was "very doubtful whether an increase in the number of Jewish immigrants in the UK would be welcomed by the Home Office". The recorded interventions of the Home Secretary, Hoare, in these discussions suggest that this prediction was correct. Citing the fears of the Jewish refugee organisations about hostile reactions, Hoare did not express support for any substantial increase of refugee admissions to Britain, but wished to retain a check on individual immigrants.[90] Chamberlain persisted in arguing that the government should undertake to allow Jews to come to Britain as a temporary refuge, pending permanent resettlement, and he stressed the urgency of the need for action.[91]

Hoare announced the changes which had been agreed, in the course of a major debate on refugees in the House of Commons on 21st November. He emphasised that, while steps were now being taken to reduce unnecessary delay to the minimum, careful selection was needed for those who might stay permanently, so that the government had to check in detail the individual positions of adult refugees, even if this caused delay. On the other hand, persons admitted merely for temporary refuge did not require such detailed scrutiny. This was "a class of case which we can deal with en masse... cases in which individual inquiries will not be essential". These included transmigrants, "for whom we might provide a temporary home

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[87] For procedures speeding up the entry of transmigrants, see Schiff to Holderness, 23rd November 1938, Jagelman to Davidson, 28th November 1938, Jeffes to Holderness, 24th November 1938, PRO, HO 213/100.

[88] On statistics, see note 7 above.

[89] See Conclusions, Cabinet Committee on Foreign Policy, FP(36) 32nd Mtg, 14th November 1938, PRO, CAB 27/624; Cabinet 55(38) concl. 5, 16th November 1938, PRO, CAB 23/96.

[90] R. M. Makins, memorandum, 'Anti-Semitic measures in Germany', 10th November 1938, PRO, PREM 1/326.

[91] See note 89 above.

here, upon the understanding that, at some time in the future, they will go elsewhere for their permanent home". The government would also look kindly on proposals for keeping refugees in Britain during a period of training in preparation for eventual settlement in the Colonial Empire. To illustrate this point Hoare mentioned "an interesting experiment which has already been started under the auspices of the Co-ordinating Committee for the training of Jewish boys for agriculture and Jewish girls for domestic service".[92] Persons who were expected to re-emigrate could now therefore be admitted on an unprecedented scale, and more speedily.

Officials involved in immigration control at home and abroad worked exceptional hours in order to catch up with the backlog of cases. The Council for German Jewry (CGJ) made a special effort to save men from German concentration camps. On the site of a disused army camp at Richborough in Kent, the CGJ established a camp for male refugee transmigrants aged eighteen to forty-five, who did not need to have funds of their own. British consular officials in Germany made arrangements with the German authorities that detainees would be released on confirmation that a British visa had been authorised.[93] On arrival in Britain, the passports of persons in transit, such as men bound for Richborough camp, were endorsed to show that they had been admitted pending re-emigration.

Within weeks, Hoare was expressing his concern at the accumulation of refugee transmigrants in Britain. In January 1939, he took the initiative in launching a new Cabinet committee on refugees.[94] At the committee's first session, he focused immediately on the need to explore ways of ensuring that the "stagnant pool of refugees" admitted on a temporary basis did not remain in Britain. He mentioned in particular the training camp which had been established at Richborough although construction work was still incomplete and the camp was not yet ready for any inmates.[95] In the subsequent months the Home Secretary's concern regarding "the continued retention of large numbers of German refugees" in Britain did not abate. He emphasised the possibility that this might give rise to "an awkward political situation", making it "imperative that we should neglect no opportunity which

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[92] Hoare, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 341, cols. 1471–1472, 21st November 1938.

[93] Berlin Chancery to Central Department, 9th November 1938, Creswell, minute, 15th November 1938, Makins to Cooper, 1st December 1938, PRO, FO 371/21757/349 ff., C 13766/2412/18; Cooper to Makins, 14th December 1938, P. L. Rose, minute, 20th December 1938, William I. Mallet, minute, 21st December 1938, Richard L. Speaight to Cooper, 23rd December 1938, PRO, FO 371/21757/400 ff., C 15535/2412/18; for the Home Office side of this correspondence, see PRO, HO 213/101; see also Berlin Chancery to Central Department, 29th December 1938, enclosing memorandum [n. d.] from Capt. Frank Foley, Passport Control Officer, Berlin, on procedures for obtaining release of persons detained in Germany, Creswell, minute, 4th January 1939, Capt. Maurice Jeffes, Director, Passport Control Department, minute, 12th January 1939, PRO, FO 371/21753/384 ff., C 16070/2311/18; in selected cases the *Chargé d'Affaires* in Berlin was authorised to intervene where a person in detention in Germany had been accepted for entry into the UK. Such intervention was authorised in the case of the son-in-law of the aunt of Lord Reading. Reading to Lord Halifax (the Foreign Secretary), 18th November 1938, Speaight, minute, 19th November 1938, Halifax to Reading, 23rd November 1938, PRO, FO 371/21753/165 ff., C 14141/2311/18. For subsequent developments on this case see correspondence and minutes, 28th November to 21st December 1938, PRO, FO 371/21753/254 ff., C 14718/15055/2311/18.

[94] Cabinet 1(39) concl. 5, 18th January 1939, PRO, CAB 23/97.

[95] Cabinet Committee on the Refugee Problem, CRP(39) 1st Mtg, 24th January 1939, PRO, CAB 98/1.

presented itself of pushing on with refugee settlement in other parts of the world".[96] In his search for a solution, he developed the theme of earmarking some of the men at Richborough for settlement in British Guiana.[97]

Colonial settlement schemes, in British Guiana in particular, had generated a great deal of paper, but as yet no places to speak of for refugees to go to. By July 1939, it was clear that refugee bodies were unable to finance settlement schemes, needing all their funds for administration, maintenance and casework. If the voluntary societies could not meet their existing commitments, refugees already in Britain would become candidates for public assistance. Hoare advised that the government should break with its policy of refusing to provide finance for refugee settlement and emigration. He proposed that funds should be made available on a basis proportional to amounts subscribed privately, provided other governments agreed and would also contribute, although only the USA's co-operation was regarded as essential. This reversal of previous policy was agreed in principle by the Cabinet in July.[98] As war approached, resettlement projects remained hypothetical, while the numbers entering Britain continued to rise.

Re-emigration abroad, the safety valve essential to the success of the policy of temporary refuge, was static. During the first eight months of 1939 refugee re-emigration from Britain remained at the rate of a few hundred monthly, while every month saw the arrival of several thousand. The most important factor blocking re-emigration was the reluctance of the USA to speed up the admission of refugees coming via the United Kingdom. Early in 1939, American consular representatives in London, Berlin and Vienna forced British officials to face belatedly the fact that the long delays inherent in the US quota system meant that refugees admitted in transit to the USA might not be able to depart for years, if ever. A person on the German-Austrian US quota who registered after July 1938 would not expect to get an American visa before March 1940. Cooper also obtained from Schiff a copy of a letter in which the US State Department had informed Lady Reading that delays must be expected and no exceptions could be made for persons in danger. Home Office officials, therefore, tried to re-establish control over admissions by spelling out the dangers to the refugee committees and by the introduction of new restrictions. In April, British officials were instructed to check that transmigrants bound for the USA had a reasonable chance of admission to the USA at a date that was not too remote. In these cases, exceptions to the rule that all refugee cases were to be backed by a voluntary organisation were to be made with the greatest of caution.[99] New restrictions were imposed at the Passport Control

[96] These were Hoare's final comments at the committee's meeting on 1st March 1939, CRP(39) 3rd Mtg, 1st March 1939, PRO, CAB 98/1.

[97] "The Home Secretary said that there were a number of very suitable men of the pioneer type under training at Richborough", CRP(39) 4th Mtg, 9th May 1939, PRO, CAB 98/1.

[98] Cabinet Committee on the Refugee Problem, Interim Report, CP 151(39), 7th July 1939, PRO, CAB 98/1; Cabinet 37(39) concl. 11, 12th July 1939, PRO, CAB 23/100; Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–250.

[99] Foley to Jeffes (reporting on a meeting with the American Consul-General in Berlin on 12th January), 17th January 1939, Cooper to Reilly, 26th January 1939, PRO, HO 213/115; Jenkins (US Consul-General in London) to Cooper, 13th February 1939, PRO, HO 213/116; Department of State to Lady Reading, 16th February 1939, Schiff to Cooper, 22nd March 1939, M. G. Russell, minute, 31st March 1939, W. Jagelman, minute, 3rd April 1939, Home Office, Aliens Department circular, 'Refugees desiring to come to the United Kingdom temporarily while waiting for US visas', April 1939, PRO, HO 213/117; Theodore Hohenthal (US Vice-Consul in charge of visas, Vienna), to G. W. Berry, British

Office in Paris. The Home Office decided to discontinue use of the streamlined card procedure for refugee applicants residing in France, who were not thought to be in danger, and to institute a more rigorous selection of those applying for admission as domestic servants.[100]

In practice, the overriding restriction on the number of entrants was the limited supply of private funds for refugees. The refugee organisations, facing the long-predicted exhaustion of their funds, evolved supplementary controls of their own.[101] Although children were the class whose admission was regarded as the highest priority, their entry was restricted by an upper limit on the numbers who could be admitted without guaranteed support. For "guaranteed" children, who formed the great majority, mandatory deposits of £50 per child were introduced to cover the cost of re-emigration, although this requirement was later rescinded.[102] For persons not able to earn their living, or not allowed to work, the exceptions to the requirement for privately guaranteed finance were limited to the isolated instances in which the refugee organisations themselves undertook financial responsibility. The archives of British refugee committees contain much sad correspondence, with people writing from addresses all over Nazi Europe, who could not surmount the hurdle of sponsorship.[103]

Grumbles came from the Passport Control Department that the Home Office was undermining the basis of control and letting Britain be swamped by refugees.[104] The Director of Passport Control, Captain Maurice Jeffes, on his return from a tour of European Passport Control Offices, sent Cooper his criticisms of the results of the new selection procedures. In Vienna Jeffes had been "appalled to see the bad type of refugee presenting committee authorisation cards and Ministry of Labour permits".[105] Most of Jeffes's complaints were either already being dealt with or could be politely dismissed.[106] It was true that pre-selection procedures, whether they

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Passport Control Officer, Vienna, 2nd March 1939, Berry to Jeffes, 7th March 1939, Home Office to refugee committees, 21st April 1939, PRO, HO 213/118.

[100] Instructions to Passport Control for Paris, 2nd June 1939, Russell to Schiff, 5th June 1939, PRO, HO 213/105.

[101] See John Hope Simpson, *Refugees. A Review of the Situation since September 1938*, London 1939, pp. 68–78; London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy', *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

[102] *Movement for the Care of Children from Germany. First Annual Report 1938–1939*, pp. 6–7, PRO, HO 213/302.

[103] See casework correspondence in the papers of Rabbi Solomon Schonfeld, which include records of the Chief Rabbi's Religious Emergency Council, whose Executive Director Schonfeld was: Anglo-Jewish Archives, Parkes Library, University of Southampton.

[104] W. H. Hindle, memorandum, HM PCO Budapest to Director PCD, 15th June 1939, PRO, HO 213/109; Capt. V. C. Farrell, PCO in Prague, complained that "The tendency appears to be to get refugees into the UK under any pretext whatsoever, as long as the Home Office and Ministry of Labour are prepared to issue some sort of authorisation which provides a cover for refugees to 'dig' themselves in in British territory." He claimed that immigrants were usually ignorant of the conditions attached to their stay which were the result of "plausible assurances given by bankrupt Refugee organisations and guarantors who are unable to accept financial liability for their protegés". Farrell, memorandum, 'Withholding of visas by examiners', PCO Prague to Director PCO, 7th June 1939, PRO, HO/213/111; in February, Passport Control Officers had protested about overwork and at the way in which their objections to issuing visas to refugees were being overruled by the Home Office, memorandum from Passport Control Officers (handwritten comments by Home Secretary), 14th February 1939, PRO, HO 213/103.

[105] Jeffes to Cooper, 5th June 1939, PRO, HO 213/107.

[106] *Ibid.*, marginal notes in pencil by Home Office official; Cooper to Jeffes, 15th August 1939 (this reply had taken two and a half months), PRO, HO 213/107.

involved visas or not, were now largely in the hands of the refugee committees, who might be less rigorous than Passport Control Officers. Nevertheless, the Home Office regarded the Domestic Bureau, which had been set up by the refugee organisations for selecting domestic service cases, as producing superior results to the old machinery for selection of recipients of Ministry of Labour permits. This machinery was still being phased out in refugee cases and was still a source of complaints.[107] Generally, the refugee advisory committees were trusted by the Home Office, and took their duties extremely seriously.

Yet, while it was possible to keep critics such as Jeffes at bay, and questions of the desirability of refugees were matters on which a wide range of views might be held, it was not so easy to dismiss anxieties about whether refugees would really re-emigrate. As far as the Home Office was concerned, in terms of sheer numbers, Britain now had a refugee problem. The scale of the influx had been held down for the nine months between the *Anschluß* and the *"Kristallnacht"*, largely by means of the visa system. The visa system was still operating to keep down the rate of authorisations to a considerable extent. Yet now the Home Office found itself presiding over the by-passing of visa procedures on a grand scale. The avowed aim of the post-*"Kristallnacht"* policy had been to bring about a controlled increase in the number of refugees in Britain. The means by which this increase was being achieved involved a partial surrender of Home Office control to the refugee committees, but the principle of pre-selection remained intact. All refugees were still pre-selected, whether or not they needed visas. Stowaway refugees were still being deported to the Continent in the summer of 1939.[108] Home Office spokesmen steadfastly resisted proposals that Britain should set up any facility similar to Ellis Island in the USA, where persons whose entry had not yet been approved could have their cases investigated.[109] The increase in refugees was thus subject to a considerable degree of control, but it was simply too large in relation to the unexpectedly poor prospects for early re-emigration. The Home Office was also confronted by cutbacks in entry to Palestine, which affected refugees from countries of intermediate refuge, such as Britain, as well as those still in countries where they faced persecution. British policy in Palestine, set out in the controversial White Paper of May 1939, had reduced both immediate and future propects of Jewish refugee immigration to that destination. The Colonial Office had made things worse by suspending admissions to Palestine as a punitive measure against illegal Jewish immigration. The Home Office tried, and failed, to obtain an exception to this ban in the case of refugees in transit to Palestine, now stranded in the United Kingdom.[110]

In the last months preceding the war British ministers and officials co-operated across departmental divides in an effort to restrict unregulated Jewish emigration

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[107] *Ibid.*; the decision to revise procedures for domestic servants in 1938 is in PRO, HO 213/4.

[108] There were questions in Parliament about five Jewish stowaways who had landed off a Dutch ship *Velocitas* from Antwerp on 24th July 1939. They were prosecuted, remanded in custody, recommended for deportation and deported on 2nd August. *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 350, col. 1979, 31st July 1939; *ibid.*, col. 2808, 4th August 1939.

[109] See minutes of meeting with deputation, 1st April 1938, PRO, HO 213/42 (note 68); Hoare, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 342, col. 3082, 22nd December 1938; Hoare, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 345 cols. 2455–2457, 3rd April 1939. On this occasion Hoare expressed once again his concern about the entry of people "who would remain, so to speak, like a stagnant pool".

[110] Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–243.

from Nazi Europe. To this end, the help of foreign, Dominion and Colonial governments was enlisted, together with the resources of Jewish bodies and the new Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGC).[111] The Foreign Office wished to discourage any further growth of the refugee problem in Europe, and to give no encouragement to governments, like those of Poland and Romania, who threatened to expel their Jewish populations. It was also important that Britain should be seen to be taking a firm line with the German government, rather than giving in to Nazi blackmail by admitting destitute refugees. Britain had agreed reluctantly at the Evian Conference to the creation of the IGC. The brief of the IGC was to use diplomatic means to persuade the German government to contribute to the cost of expelling its Jews, by allowing emigrants to depart with at least some of their funds, with the object of achieving orderly migration in place of a chaotic exodus. Officials and ministers were united in the determination that Britain would not be dictated to by any external force – whether it be a foreign government, an international organisation, or the sheer pressure of the refugee exodus – as to the numbers or the types of refugees it would admit, or the terms on which it would accept them. This commitment to British sovereignty over refugee admissions provides a clue to the apparently ambivalent and contradictory postures which representatives of the British government adopted towards the highly dubious prospects of the IGC: undermining its work at one moment; the next moment insisting that refugee emigration outside IGC auspices should be discouraged.[112] The positions adopted by government spokesmen shifted uneasily and often illogically between reliance on private funds to achieve a solution of the refugee problem, and the view that the success of private efforts must be curtailed, as it as was a threat to the work of the IGC.[113] Yet, as Sir John Hope Simpson, the authority on the refugee problem, had pointed out, the reality remained that, although private efforts remained impotent to deal with more than the fringe of the problem, the response of private charity to the humanitarian claims of the refugees was providing the only actual means of escape.[114]

By the time war broke out, over 78,000 refugees from Nazism were in Britain. Of these, adult refugees from Germany and Austria numbered some 55,000, Czechs a further 10,000. There were some 13,000 children who had been admitted unaccompanied, and an unspecified number of children who had come with their parents. It is perhaps a measure of the Home Office's loss of control over the details of the influx, that the above figures, which were released by the Home Office in 1943, are considerably higher than those produced at the start of the war.[115]

[111] British efforts focused particularly on obstructing refugee emigration to Palestine and to Shanghai.

[112] See, for example, the doubts expressed at the first meeting of the Cabinet Committee on the Refugee Problem, about the prospects of success for the IGC, especially the contribution of S. D. Waley of the Treasury. CRP(39) 1st Mtg, 24th January 1939, PRO, CAB 98/1.

[113] The British Chairman of the IGC, Lord Winterton, Paymaster-General (who was to provide a wildly inflated account of the IGC's achievements in his memoirs, *Orders of the Day*, London 1953, pp. 187, 236–239, 250–251), made the IGC the beneficiary of a charitable conspiracy to make statements praising its non-existent achievements and its dubious potential. At Winterton's instigation, representations were made aimed at curtailing the effectiveness of Lord Baldwin's historic broadcast appeal for funds for Jewish refugees on 8th December 1938. See Makins, minute, 1st December 1938, Makins to Fry, 5th December 1938, PRO, FO 371/22539/120ff., W 16055/104/98; Sherman, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185.

[114] Hope Simpson, *Preliminary Report*, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–189; *idem*, *Refugee Problem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 546–550.

[115] See above, note 7.

Speaking in October 1939, Sir John Anderson, the new Home Secretary, had given a figure of 49,500 refugees from Germany and Austria, including 9,000 children, plus a further 6,000 refugees from Czechoslovakia, making a total of 55,000.[116] The large discrepancies between the 1939 and the 1943 figures may reflect the fact that the incentive to show how much Britain had done for refugees was greater in 1943, when these figures were utilised to reinforce the argument that, having done so much for refugees, Britain had done enough.[117]

The outbreak of war put an end to the large-scale entry of Jewish refugees. From that moment on, refugee admissions were evaluated, together with other alien admissions, with reference to the immigration requirements of a country at war. Alien refugees of Allied nationality, few of whom were Jews, were admitted to join the armed forces and to swell the ranks of civilians engaged in war-related work, according to criteria which were no longer the province of the Home Office, but of the authorities responsible for the direction of the war.[118] Refugees were admitted for political reasons. Political admissions were the province of the Foreign Office, which also had to consider the requests of Allied governments in exile.[119] One case which attracted attention in the highest quarters was that of ex-*Kaiser* Wilhelm of Germany, then residing in Holland: at Churchill's insistence, Wilhelm was eventually offered asylum, during the German advance into Holland, but the offer was declined.[120] Security considerations now posed an additional obstacle to the admission of aliens, epecially enemy aliens. All aliens now required visas, and the security services now vetted all admissions.

Thus the Home Office's authority over admissions was greatly circumscribed and much contracted, compared with its powers in peacetime. Immigration restrictions were still imposed on refugees who entered Britain, and the Home Office could promote or obstruct admissions, in concert with or in opposition to other departments. Refugee immigration now took up relatively little Home Office time. This was needed to deal with issues raised by the presence of alien refugees in Britain. The immediate security questions about how to deal with enemy aliens were very soon followed by the final collapse of the Jewish bodies' efforts to honour the guarantee. This led to a subsidy for the refugee organisations from public funds, to finance maintenance, administrative costs, and also emigration.[121]

A memorandum written by Cooper soon after the outbreak of war, shows how the concept of temporary refuge could operate to blur the distinction between cases where the person was truly in transit, and the cases of persons who had been

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[116] Anderson, *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 352, col. 538, 12th October 1939.

[117] See e. g. the use made of these figures in the official Report submitted to the US and UK governments by the delegates to the Bermuda Conference on the Refugee Problem, 29th April 1943, PRO, FO 371/36725, W 6711/6711/48, pp. 8–9.

[118] Summary of Conclusions and Conclusions of War Cabinet Committee on the Refugee Problem, CRP(39) 6th Meeting, 25th September 1939, PRO, CAB 98/1.

[119] For the potential for the Foreign Office to take a greater interest in groups of refugees who were not recognised as allies, see memorandum by R. T. E. Latham, then a temporary clerk in the Foreign Office's Refugee Department, 'The Foreign Office interest in Aliens Policy', 21st January 1941, PRO, FO 371/29180, W 962/3/48.

[120] See Llewellyn Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*, vol. I, London 1970, p. 182; Cabinet WM 81(39) concl. 7, 13th November 1939, PRO, CAB 65/2; Cabinet WM 118(40) 5(2), 10th May 1940, PRO, CAB 65/7.

[121] Records of negotiations over the subsidy are in PRO, HO 213/294 and 295.

admitted on a temporary basis, but none the less in the expectation of being allowed to stay. It was this expectation which had been Hoare's justification for the lengthy enquiries which had delayed the processing of their cases.[122] Cooper listed the categories under which about 49,452 refugees had been admitted. His figures indicated that well over half this number, although they had been subjected to landing conditions, as was normal with anyone coming to work, had been admitted in the expectation of eventual settlement. These consisted of 28,685 persons, described as "refugees for settlement in the United Kingdom", who would either earn their living in the UK or would not need to work. There were also 877 elderly persons admitted "for permanent residence", on the basis of guarantees. Those who were expected to re-emigrate were in a minority. These were "Persons awaiting emigration" (1,707), unaccompanied children (9,028), "Young persons for agricultural and technical training" (2,493) and Richborough clearing-camp cases (1,700). Domestic servants (4,461 – a gross underestimate), the last category on this list, were neither described as being for settlement nor as in transit. Refugee domestics had for some months been admitted on open-ended employment conditions, without any time limit on their stay, in order that they should be tied to domestic service, while saving officials the work of granting extensions. Cooper, nevertheless, made no distinction between the settlement and transit categories, when he said that these 49,452 refugees "had been admitted on the assumption that they would eventually emigrate". He added that they were now in the UK without resources of their own and made the observation (already quoted) that the majority were in all likelihood "marooned in this country for the duration of the war". The figures themselves, he noted, would need some adjustment.[123]

During the war, the Home Office adopted a policy of refusing to give any indication as to whether refugees would be allowed to stay at the war's end.[124] This uncertainty was used to press both adults and children to take up chances of re-emigration.[125] At least 13,000 refugees, mostly transit cases bound for the USA, re-emigrated abroad between 1939 and 1945, most departing in 1940.[126] The distinction between persons who had always been in transit, and persons who had been led to expect that they would be allowed to settle, was blurred by constant reminders from Home Office spokesmen that refugees must wait to learn their fate at the end of the war, and that persons in the country temporarily might then have to leave.[127] Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary from October 1940 to May 1945, insisted in the last months of the war that not even successful refugee industrialists, whose

[122] Cooper, memorandum, 20th September 1939, Cooper to Randall, 23rd September 1939, PRO, FO 24078/230ff., W 14035/45/48, see p. 487 and note 8 above; for Hoare, see p. 507 above.

[123] See p. 487 above.

[124] Herbert Morrison, as Home Secretary, repeatedly claimed that to allow Jewish refugees to remain in Britain risked inflaming antisemitism. See Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice. Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War*, Manchester 1989, pp. 152–162.

[125] For a statement of government policy of expecting refugee children to re-emigrate if they had the opportunity to go to the USA, see H. H. C. Prestige (Cooper's successor) to Mrs. D. H. Hardisty (General Secretary of the Refugee Children's Movement), 9th March and 21st April 1944, PRO, HO 213/994; Prestige, circular, 'Emigration of Refugee Children', 25th May 1944, *ibid.*

[126] Carew Robinson, 'Alien refugees', 30th March 1945, PRO, HO 213/1009; Robinson, 'Alien refugees', 10th May 1945, PRO, HO 213/1008.

[127] See records showing policy and practice in the cases of children and young people between February and May 1944, PRO, HO 213/994.

potential as exporters the Department of Overseas Trade wished to retain, could be offered any formal reassurance which might deter them from leaving in search of more welcoming surroundings.[128] While this policy was designed to keep the Home Office's options open, and the suspense it produced did cause people to depart, the position that it would be possible to compel many of the refugees to leave at the end of the war was neither practical politics, nor was it compatible with the Home Office's liberal traditions. Herbert Morrison nevertheless clung to this stance in the face of recommendations from a group of his senior officials, who had concluded in late 1944 and again in May 1945 that most of the refugees in Britain should be allowed to remain permanently.[129]

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This article has demonstrated how high a priority the Home Office gave to the maintenance of firm immigration control. It has also tried to show that Home Office concern with tight regulation of refugee numbers and careful selection of refugee admissions was not simply a search for machinery to enforce predetermined policies. Considerations of control also played such an active part in shaping policy on refugees that the policy itself can be seen as, in essence, a quest for control.

Refugees stood low on the national agenda, regarded as a mere humanitarian problem. Home Office officials frequently reminded enquirers that there was no such thing as a legal claim to asylum for refugees. The priority for the Home Office was not only to exclude persons seen as undesirable immigrants, but also to guard against the admission of persons who appeared to fulfil the requirements for entry but who might become a burden at some future date. Refugees were required to fit in with the immigration regulations. Yet those who could not qualify under the Aliens Order could still be admitted if the authorities exercised discretion in their favour. To qualify as desirable immigrants, refugees had to fit into the limited range of categories of admissibility. Thus what qualified people for entry was not the persecution they were trying to leave behind, but what they could bring with them. For some the key to admission was their capital assets, expertise, or learning; others qualified through sheer youth, or through the adaptability which enabled thousands of Jewish women to turn their hands to domestic service. Many people sadly failed to fit into any class of desirable immigrant. Persons aged over 45, for example, were regarded as unsuitable for schemes of organised emigration, which placed a premium on youth. Thus the principles of selection emphasised the needs of Britain, the country of refuge, rather than the plight of the refugee.

Such harsh distinctions led to agonised debate about priorities within Britain's

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[128] See memorandum by the Minister of Reconstruction, Lord Woolton, 'Refugee Industrialists', R (I) (44) 12, 25th July 1944, PRO, CAB 124/702; Morrison, memorandum, 'Refugee Industrialists', R (I) (44) 14, 11th August 1944, *ibid.*; minutes of meeting of Reconstruction Committee, Subcommittee on Industrial Problems, 13th December 1944, *ibid.*

[129] See records of interdepartmental and internal discussions in PRO, HO 213/1009 (August 1944 to April 1945) and PRO, HO 213/1008 (May to October 1945), Morrison, minute, 23rd May 1945.

Jewish community.[130] Yet there was little formal challenge to the government's policy of careful selection of refugees who could fit in with Britain's immigration needs. As the crisis intensified, certain experts argued that Britain could admit many more in need of refuge without causing unemployment, and that larger scale immigration would benefit the economy and halt population decline.[131] Yet while different views of economic and demographic factors led to conflicting estimates of the numbers who should be admitted, there was an underlying consensus that what was essential was to maximise the benefit to the nation. The refugee organisations, partly because there seemed no alternative, adopted a similar stance. Certain unworldly individuals, such as Eleanor Rathbone MP and the Bishop of Chichester, carried less weight in Whitehall because they distanced themselves from this consensus. For the most part, however, humanitarian considerations alone were not seen as sufficiently compelling to constitute a serious challenge to the prevailing assumption that the national interest precluded significant concessions to refugees.

The Home Office's narrow task of maintaining immigration control could be pursued without a policy on the refugee problem as a whole. Suggestions that the British government should put financial and diplomatic resources into solving Jewish refugee problems in Europe were not well received within the Foreign Office, where the refugee problem was not seen as a serious threat to international peace or to British interests. Indeed, officials and ministers thought that to develop a refugee policy, in the sense of engaging in the active consideration of refugee questions, was not only unnecessary, but risked perpetuating the problem.[132] Public elucidation of such policies as the government did make on refugee immigration was minimal, keeping the authorities' options open and preserving room for manoeuvre. No co-ordinating body such as that Cooper proposed in August 1939 was ever set up to ensure the effective discussion and implementation of refugee policy.[133] The role of the interdepartmental committees set up by ministers at moments of crisis was to exchange information, produce consensus, and to try to ensure that the needs of refugees did not interfere with departmental or national priorities. Once the immediate crisis was past, the committee meetings would stop.

The spirit of pragmatism, opportunism and reluctance to take the initiative with which Whitehall met the refugee problem, was a characteristic response to an issue which ranked low on the list of priorities. By the time that Cooper was inspired, by his unrivalled expertise and by his humanitarian instincts, to write the ponderous memorandum of August 1939 suggesting minor administrative reforms, it was far too late to reorganise the Whitehall machine to make it more sensitive to the plight of refugees in the pre-war era. Of course, the questions raised by the record of the British response to Jewish refugees go far beyond the issue of administrative

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[130] Lord Rothschild was one who spoke out against the abandonment of elderly Jews in Germany. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 28th October 1938, pp. 17–18.

[131] One such tract was a book by Norman Angell and Dorothy Buxton, *You and the Refugee. The Morals and Economics of the Problem*, Harmondsworth 1939.

[132] Patrick M. Roberts, minutes of recent departmental meeting, 5th December 1934, PRO, FO 371/18462/187ff., R 6930/5524/92; Makins, minute, 16th February 1935, PRO, FO 371/19676/113ff., W 1370/356/98; Makins, briefing for deputation, 'The League of Nations and refugees', 14th May 1935, PRO, FO 371/19676/328ff., W 4252/356/98.

[133] See above, pp. 493.

efficiency. The foregoing account has given some indication of the severe limitations which resulted from the making of refugee admissions policy by a government department preoccupied with administering law and order and firm immigration control. In addition, it has demonstrated how the impact of these limitations could be tempered by the flexibility and compassion with which a civil servant like Cooper approached his day-to-day duties as an administrator of the immigration system. The record of Cooper's work on the question of Jewish refugees also shows the striking degree to which he himself reflected both the humane traditions of the Home Office and its narrow horizons.

VIVIAN D. LIPMAN*

Anglo-Jewish Attitudes to the Refugees from Central Europe 1933–1939

"The work of the Board during 1933 was dominated by the tragedy which overwhelmed the Jews in Germany."[1] Thus the 1933 *Annual Report* of the Board of Deputies, the representative body of Anglo-Jewry, described the impact of the coming to power of Hitler on the Anglo-Jewish communal establishment and its work. Because the effect of the immigration on many aspects of Anglo-Jewish life is the subject of other papers, as is the community's aid machinery for refugees, I intend to concentrate attention on the policies of the communal establishment, as exemplified by the Board of Deputies, which can be shown to mirror underlying conflicts of opinion in the community as a whole.**

The primary concern of the communal establishment in 1933 was with the impact of what was happening in Germany upon British public opinion: how best was it possible to explain it to the British public and how could protest against it be effective. There were long and recurring debates on the propriety of open demonstrations, and whether these would be effective if prominent non-Jews did not take part, or whether there should be an official or merely individual boycott of German goods. In this context, the coming of refugees to Britain was a secondary issue, because the numbers were initially limited to a few thousand. This was small in relation to a community which then numbered about 335,000:[2] it was a problem rather than an invasion. But to deal with the crisis as a whole the Board of Deputies set up a comprehensive committee structure to respond to a variety of challenges. The nearest Anglo-Jewry had to a cabinet was the Joint Foreign Committee, composed of representatives of the Board and of the Anglo-Jewish Association. The presidents of both bodies were its joint chairmen. In 1933 the president of the Board was the lawyer, Neville Laski, then 43 years old, and with a growing legal practice.[3] His father, Nathan Laski, the leader of Manchester Jewry, was of Eastern

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* Because Dr. Lipman died before his article went into print, this essay has been published without the benefit of his corrections or revisions. Professor Aubrey Newman undertook the last revision of the text–(Eds.).

[1] Board of Deputies, *Annual Report*, 1933, p. 29.

** The archival sources used are mainly the Home Office and Cabinet papers in the Public Record Office (PRO), Kew and the Archive of the Board of Deputies. Quotations from Crown-copyright records in the Public Record Office appear by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. The author would like to express his gratitude to Mr. David Massel, Executive Director of the Board of Deputies, for the courtesy, trouble and knowledge he showed in helping him to use the archives of the Board; and also to Mr. Joseph Munk, for his generous help with material from the Anglo-Jewish Archives.

[2] *Jewish Year Book*, London 1935.

[3] Neville Jonas Laski (1890–1969), British lawyer and Anglo-Jewish leader; successively Recorder of Burnley, Judge of Appeal for the Isle of Man and recorder and judge at the Crown Court in Liverpool; served in the First World War as an officer in the Lancashire Fusiliers; President, Board of Deputies, 1933–1940; son-in-law of Moses Gaster and active in the Sephardic community.

European origin. Laski was the son-in-law of Haham Gaster, a fervent Zionist, but he soon identified himself with non-Zionists and opposition to Jewish Nationalism at the Board. The other president, Leonard G. Montefiore,[4] was the son of the theologian, Claude Montefiore, who had himself, in the same position in 1917, been one of the leading opponents of the Balfour Declaration.

During the spring and summer of 1933 the Joint Foreign Committee met weekly, sometimes twice a week. An elaborate structure of sub-committees was set up to deal with refugees, information, parliamentary affairs, (public) meetings, finance, and co-ordination with the activities of popular movements in East London.[5] The sub-committees included co-opted members and each was intended to assemble the relevant activists and experts in its sphere of operations. The immediate initiative for dealing with the refugees as they arrived in Britain was taken by Otto M. Schiff.[6] Otto Schiff was a member of the banking family, nephew of Jacob Schiff, and had been born in Frankfurt a. Main. He was a City of London merchant banker and had long been associated with the Jews' Temporary Shelter, which had provided short-term accommodation on arrival for countless East European immigrants since the 1880s. Schiff had been involved with the Belgian Jewish refugees in the First World War and had for his services been awarded the OBE. This had given him useful contacts with government officials and Schiff took the leading role in dealing with the needs of German refugees. The Shelter could accommodate 160 at a time, and had emergency arrangements for temporary accommodation for another 340 at other places, like the Salvation Army in Middlesex Street, E1.[7] Schiff organised and became chairman of the German Jewish Refugees Committee; this was later renamed the German Jewish Aid Committee, a revealing change of name because the word "refugee" might imply prolonged refugee status and the communal leadership was anxious to avoid any implication that the refugees would remain so – they might temporarily require aid, but then they would either establish themselves economically in Britain or go elsewhere.[8] The Committee was the executive body concerned with the admission, hospitality, accommodation, financial help, training and emigration of refugees. It dealt with adults from Germany and their children, but only with children under sixteen and accompanying their parents. The committee received its funds from the Central British Fund for German Jewry (CBF), which had launched its first appeal in May 1933, and raised over £1,000,000 in a year. In 1936 the CBF became part of a wider structure when the Council for German Jewry was founded to represent the American, British and other major Jewish communities, in funding the settlement of refugees, notably young people,

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[4] Leonard Nathaniel Goldsmid Montefiore (1889–1961); President, Anglo-Jewish Association, 1926–1939; member of the council, later Chairman of the Jewish Colonization Association; OBE.

[5] Minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, April 1933, p. 204 (Board of Deputies Archive).

[6] Otto Moritz Schiff (1875–1952), banker and Jewish communal leader; born Frankfurt a. Main, nephew of the banker Jacob H. Schiff; after coming to England, took up charitable work under the influence of Hermann Landau whom he succeeded as Chairman of the Jews' Temporary Shelter, 1922-1948; awarded the OBE for his work for 12,000 Belgian refugees in the First World War; Treasurer, Jews' College; Overseer of the Poor, United Synagogue; Chairman, Jewish Ecclesiastical Advisory Committee (on the admission of rabbis and ministers from abroad); awarded the CBE for his work for refugees after 1933.

[7] PRO, CP 96/33, Annexe, 'Proposals of the Jewish Community', para. 2.

[8] Board of Deputies, minutes of the Aliens Committee, 6th January 1933.

and particularly in Palestine. A third major body was formed in 1938 specifically for children, not all Jewish, the Movement for the Care of Refugee Children from Germany (The Refugee Children's Movement). In 1938 Earl Baldwin, the former Prime Minister, made an appeal for what became known as the Lord Baldwin Fund: this was a temporary organisation for the collection of funds to help refugees from Nazi persecution, and between December 1938 and July 1939 it distributed over half a million pounds for various relief organisations, nearly half for the Refugee Children's Movement. The Allocations Committee of the Lord Baldwin Fund distributed funds to the Council for German Jewry, the Christian Council for Refugees and the Scottish Council for Refugees, who then sub-allocated to relief bodies like the German Jewish Aid Committee.[9] With the increasing number of non-Jewish refugees, whether religious like the Quakers and non-Aryan Christians, or political refugees, and refugees from countries other than Germany like Austria and Czechoslovakia, it became necessary in 1938 to form a Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees, whose chairman was the distinguished former Governor of the Punjab, Lord Hailey. The main caseworking organisations – German Jewish Aid Committee, Friends Germany Emergency Committee, the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, International Student Service, Catholic Committee for Refugees from Germany – together with specialised functional agencies, such as the Domestic Bureau, which placed refugees as domestic servants, were accommodated together from 1938 in a Central Office for Refugees, known as Bloomsbury House, in Bloomsbury Street, London WC1.

Refugees began to arrive in Britain soon after Hitler took office as Chancellor on 30th January 1933. The German national boycott of Jewish businesses and the first anti-Jewish legislation (relating to Jews in the Civil Service, the law, medical and dental practice and in education) began in April 1933;[10] and the first report of refugees arriving in London and being accommodated in the Shelter appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* on 14th April 1933. It reported: "Refugees are allowed to stay in England for one month only... negotiations are being conducted with the Government with a view to the refugees being given the right of asylum irrespective of whether they have funds or not, the fact being made clear that the Jewish community would be responsible for them." This refers to an undated document but which must have been drafted in March 1933, since it is annexed to a Home Office memorandum dated 7th April 1933. This shows that the communal leadership had moved into action very promptly. These 'Proposals of the Jewish Community as regards Jewish Refugees from Germany' were signed by Neville Laski, as president of the Board of Deputies, Leonard G. Montefiore as president of the Anglo-Jewish Association (joint chairmen of the Joint Foreign Committee), Otto Schiff as chairman of the Shelter and Lionel L. Cohen[11] as chairman of the Law and Parliamentary

[9] Joan Stiebel, 'The Central British Fund for World Relief', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 27 (1982), pp. 51–54; Philip Jones, *Britain and Palestine 1914–48*, Oxford 1979, p. 151.

[10] A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973, pp. 19–22.

[11] Rt. Hon. Sir Lionel Leonard Cohen, Lord Cohen of Walmer (1888–1973), British judge and Anglo-Jewish communal leader; judge of the High Court, 1943–1946; Lord Justice of Appeal, 1946–1951; Lord of Appeal, 1951–1960; Chairman of the Company Law Amendment Committee and responsible for the Companies Act, 1948; Chairman of the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors, 1946–1956; Chair-

Committee of the Board of Deputies. The document details the arrangements for the reception of refugees, including the provision of "more permanent homes among the Jewish community", with a view to "the ultimate transmigration of the refugees to countries other than England". The Home Office said that the "British Jewish authorities" estimated that the total number of refugees entering the United Kingdom should not exceed three to four thousand, the bulk being members of the professional classes. The Cabinet Committee on Aliens Restrictions, appointed as "a matter of urgency" to consider the proposals made by the Jewish community to the Home Secretary, doubted whether it was possible to form any correct estimate, "as much must depend on events in Germany".[12]

The document contained the pledge: "All expense, whether in respect of temporary or permanent accommodation or maintenance will be borne by the Jewish community without ultimate charge to the State."[13] So far, I have been unable to find in the archives of the Board of Deputies any discussion of the memorandum in general, or of this pledge in particular, or of discussions leading to the preparation and submission of the memorandum. Nor does it seem to have been reported to the Joint Foreign Committee or to the Board, although knowledge of it is hinted at in the *Jewish Chronicle* report of 14th April 1933, and it became generally known.

It has been suggested that this pledge was harmful to the cause of the refugees because it prevented the Anglo-Jewish community from calling on the government for help for refugees beyond those the community could support and therefore limited the number of refugees who might have been able to come to Britain.[14] However, the report of the 1933 Cabinet Committee makes clear that it was only "provided that the Jewish community were prepared to guarantee, so far as may be necessary, adequate means of maintenance for the refugees concerned", that those refugees who had been given permission to land for a temporary visit would have it extended.[15] This has to be considered in the light of the then established policy, under the Aliens Order of 1920, of refusing leave to land to those who could not show there were means available for their maintenance. The Committee specifically considered and rejected the option of extending permission to land to those who could not show there were guaranteed means available to maintain them. It is true that in November 1939 the government did authorise a grant for maintenance when in the circumstances of war-time the voluntary organisations were no longer able to cope. But the papers show that this was not an easy decision to reach and that an important factor was the effort government officials knew the Jewish community had made up to then to maintain the refugees.[16] There is no reason to suppose that the Treasury would have agreed that the government should take responsibility for maintaining German refugees or that local authorities would have done so. The

man of the Council on Prices, Productivity and Incomes (the "Cohen Committee" or "Three Wise Men"), 1957–1959; President, Board of Guardians, 1940–1947, Jewish Historical Society, 1947–1949, Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues; Vice-President, Board of Deputies, 1934–1938.

[12] PRO, CP 96/33, para. 5.

[13] PRO, CP 96/33, Appendix I, para. 4, to Home Secretary's memorandum.

[14] Geoffrey Alderman, 'Anglo-Jewry and Jewish Refugees', in *AJR Information*, vol. XLII, no. 6 (June 1987), p. 3. The author is grateful to Professor Alderman for sending him a copy of this article.

[15] PRO, CP 96/33, para. 18.

[16] PRO, HO 213/294, letter of Sir Alexander Maxwell to G. T. Reid of the Unemployment Assistance Board, 8th November 1939.

existence of the pledge therefore, backing the personal guarantees under which most refugees entered, is likely to have been essential to ensure that refugees were allowed to land; and the readiness with which it was given showed that the communal leadership was able to react swiftly to a new situation.

Strenuous efforts were made to obtain unity in the Anglo-Jewish community on matters affecting German Jewry and the refugees. It was originally proposed to set up a widely representative consultative body to give direction and control to all activities connected with the German crisis but there was opposition to this within the Board of Deputies as derogating from the status of the Board as the community's representative body. Instead, the Joint Foreign Committee, as the community's *de facto* "Cabinet", was expanded by co-options to bring in personalities either not on the Board or, if on the Board, not on the Committee. These included the Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz;[17] Lionel Cohen, who was vice-president of the Board of Guardians (the predecessor of the Welfare Board) as well as chairman of the Law and Parliamentary Committee of the Board; Norman Bentwich,[18] who was active, after his return from Jerusalem, in work for refugees; Professor Selig Brodetsky;[19] Sir Robert Waley Cohen, the dominant figure in the United Synagogue and, less obviously, in other Jewish activities in relation to Palestine and Jewish defence;[20] the Reverend J. K. Goldbloom, Zionist and Hebrew educator;[21] Harry A. Goodman, as representative of the *Agudath Israel*; Sir Philip Hartog,[22] the veteran anti-Zionist and supporter of religious reform; Simon Marks,[23] Zionist and partner in Marks and Spencer; Otto Schiff; Major H. L. Nathan MP[24] and Nahum Sokolow, then presi-

[17] The Very Rev. Joseph Herman Hertz (1872–1946); Chief Rabbi, United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire 1913–1946; Companion of Honour.

[18] Norman de Mattos Bentwich (1882–1971), Anglo-Jewish Zionist, author and British administrator in Palestine; Ministry of Justice, Cairo, 1913–1915; Attorney-General, Palestine, 1920–1931; Director, League of Nations Commission for Jewish Refugees from Germany, 1933–1936; Professor, International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1932–1951; OBE.

[19] Selig Brodetsky (1888–1954), Zionist leader and mathematician; Professor of Applied Mathematics, Leeds University, 1924–1948; member of the Executive, World Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency for Palestine; President, Zionist Federation of Great Britain; President, Board of Deputies, 1940–1949; President, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1949–1951.

[20] Sir Robert Waley Cohen (1877–1952), British industrialist and Anglo-Jewish communal leader; joined Shell petroleum company, 1901; represented company in negotiations leading to merger with Royal Dutch Petroleum Company; played key role in ensuring oil supplies for Allies in First World War and created KBE, 1920; subsequently second-in-command of Shell Group; Vice-President, 1918–1942, President, 1942–1952, United Synagogue; Vice-President, Board of Deputies, 1936–1943.

[21] Rev. Jacob Koppel Goldbloom (1872–1961), Zionist and educator; introduced *Ivrit b' Ivrit* method of Hebrew instruction to Britain; Principal, Redman's Road Talmud Torah; member of the Zionist General Council from 1901; Chairman of the Executive, Zionist Federation of Great Britain, 1920–1940; Chairman, World Confederation of General Zionists, 1936–1938; Executive Director, Canadian Jewish National Fund, 1940–1945.

[22] Sir Philip Joseph Hartog (1864–1947), British educator and Anglo-Jewish leader; lecturer in chemistry, Manchester, 1891–1903; Academic Registrar, University of London, 1903–1920; Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca, 1920–1925; Chairman, committee of enquiry on Hebrew University, 1933; Chairman, Jewish Professional Committee to assist refugees from Germany; Chairman, Liberal Jewish Synagogues; knighted 1930.

[23] Simon Marks, 1st Baron Marks of Broughton (1888–1964); Chairman of the Board, Marks and Spencer, 1917–1964; Secretary, Zionist delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919; Chairman, Keren Hayesod Committee; Vice-President, Zionist Federation; member, Zionist Executive; President, Joint Palestine Appeal; knighted 1944; peerage 1961.

[24] Harry Louis Nathan, 1st Baron Nathan of Churt (1888–1963), British politician; Liberal MP, 1929–1935; Labour MP, 1937–1940; peerage 1940; Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for War, 1945–1946; Minister of Civil Aviation, 1946–1948; Privy Councillor, 1946; Chairman, Committee on

dent of the World Zionist Organization.[25] These were in addition to the existing members of the Joint Foreign Committee who included figures untypical of the then Anglo-Jewish communal leadership such as the Zionist administrator and writer, Israel Cohen[26] and the editor of the Yiddish newspaper, *Die Zeit*, Morris Myer. Writing in 1956, Norman Bentwich was at pains to stress the attempts made to secure unity and drew attention to the foundation of the Central British Fund as a compromise between Zionists and non-Zionists, having no fewer than five joint presidents: the Chief Rabbi, Lord Reading,[27] Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow and Lionel de Rothschild:[28] it was de Rothschild who acted as conciliator and worked out the terms of the agreement. Zionists and non-Zionists had equal representation on the governing council and the allocations committee of the Fund, with Sir Osmond d'Avigdor Goldsmid, a former president of both the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association, as a mutually agreed chairman. The secretariat of the CBF also showed this effort at compromise, being shared by Myer Stephany, the secretary of Jews' College, and Lavy Bakstansky,[29] the General Secretary of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and the future strategist of Zionist political action within the Anglo-Jewish community.[30]

Yet in spite of these external marks of unity, there were recurring conflicts, not between Zionists and non-Zionists as such – though these did roughly represent the two sides – but between what may be called the "activists", or those in favour of demonstrative measures, and those who advocated a low profile. The attitude of the community towards the refugees has to be set in the framework of conflicts over related issues of policy between the activists and the advocates of a low profile. Conflicts arose in relation to other responses to the developing tragedy in Central Europe, such as the organisation of protests and the boycott of German goods and services. Generally the line of the leadership was to reject any official boycott of German goods, as likely to be prejudicial to the interests of German Jewry itself: Dr. Hertz quoted a letter from Jakob Rosenheim, president of the World *Agudath Israel* to this effect.[31] When the second Lord Melchett,[32] who supported the idea of a communally organised boycott, was co-opted to the Joint Foreign Committee, it

Charitable Trusts, 1950–1952; Honorary Colonel, TD, DL, JP; Treasurer, Board of Deputies; Chairman, Jewish Hospitality Committee for HM Forces, 1944–1949.

[25] Board of Deputies, minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, 12th July, 14th July 1933; *Annual Report*, 1934.

[26] Israel Cohen (1879–1961), writer and Zionist; Secretary, Zionist Central Office in Cologne and Berlin, 1910–1914; interned Ruhleben, 1914–1916; General Secretary, Zionist Organization; member of the Joint Foreign Committee from 1931; prolific author on Zionism and Jewish affairs.

[27] Sir Rufus Daniel Isaacs, 1st Marquess of Reading (1860–1935), British lawyer and statesman; MP, 1904–1913; Solicitor-General, 1910; Attorney-General, 1910–1913; Lord Chief Justice, 1913–1921; Special Ambassador to USA, 1918–1919; Viceroy of India, 1921–1926; Foreign Secretary, 1931.

[28] Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1882–1942); MP, 1910–1923; President, United Synagogue, 1918–1942; son of Leopold and nephew of 1st Lord and cousin of 2nd Lord Rothschild.

[29] Sir Osmond d'Avigdor-Goldsmid (1877–1940); son of Elim d'Avigdor and added the name Goldsmid on inheriting the estate of his cousin Sir Julian Goldsmid; High Sheriff of Kent, 1912; baronetcy originally created for Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid revived for him, 1934; President, Anglo-Jewish Association, 1921–1926; President, Board of Deputies, 1926–1933; Chairman, Jewish Colonization Association.

[30] Norman Bentwich, *They Found Refuge. An Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression*, London 1956, p. 20.

[31] Board of Deputies, minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, 14th June 1933, p. 227.

[32] Henry Mond, 2nd Baron Melchett (1898–1949); MP, 1923–1924 and 1929–1930; succeeded his father as Chairman, Council of the Jewish Agency; President, World Maccabi Union.

was on the understanding that he renounced his public advocacy for such a boycott.[33] The policy was for the question of a boycott to be a matter for individual rather than collective Jewish action.

There was a similar division of opinion over forms of protest. The leadership of the Board was against demonstrations of protest if they were organised and largely, if not exclusively, addressed by Jews; they favoured public meetings only if organised and addressed largely by non-Jews. There was a protest meeting at the Queen's Hall addressed by the British political party leaders in 1933. But the Joint Foreign Committee tried to damp down Jewish demonstrations, mass meetings and protest marches. When the United Jewish Protest Committee called for a mass demonstration, the Joint Foreign Committee reaffirmed its attitude of "strong disapproval".[34] This official attitude of the community leadership in favour of keeping a low profile was maintained until fierce controversy broke out after the *Anschluß* in 1938. Those favouring a more active line, like the Zionist Israel Cohen and the Yiddish editor, Morris Myer, as members of the Joint Foreign Committee pleaded for public protests to be organised by the community; they argued that, if protests had been held earlier, the persecution of the Jews in Austria would not have been so severe, and protests now could act to deter other countries, like Romania and Hungary, from acting in the same way. In the discussion at the Joint Foreign Committee meeting on 24th May 1938, Neville Laski, as chairman, thought it impossible to get the help of "persons of prominence and standing in the general community" for protest meetings. But he had discussed the idea of simultaneous intercession services with the Chief Rabbi; a genuine "mass movement of prayer" would have no political significance. Dr. Israel Feldman, a prominent member of the Board of Deputies and the United Synagogue, supported this view. The time was not opportune for Jews to organise protest meetings. The sanction and encouragement of British official authorities would not be given and, without them, the effect on British public opinion would be neutralised. Although Barnett Janner[35] thought non-Jewish opinion was expecting Jewish protest meetings and was amazed they had not been held, the majority of the Committee backed Laski.[36]

However, following pressure at the Board of Deputies' meeting on 19th June 1938, Laski and Louis Gluckstein[37] saw the chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Lang, and their predictions about the reactions of some at least of the non-Jewish notables were confirmed. The chaplain said the Archbishop would not associate himself with any platform that might be deemed "political" and might embarrass the government in the "present delicate international situation". Israel Cohen advocated a more independent line: he saw no risk in a mass meeting to protest against persecution of Jews affecting the political situation or embarrassing the government, and he doubted whether the Foreign Office would object; and if

[33] Minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, 26th July 1933.

[34] Minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, 7th, 15th June 1933.

[35] Sir Barnett Janner, Lord Janner (1892–1982), Anglo-Jewish leader and British politician; Liberal MP, 1931–1935; Labour MP, 1945–1970; President, Zionist Federation; President, Board of Deputies, 1955–1964; knighted 1965; created life peer 1970.

[36] Minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, 24th May 1938, p. 169.

[37] Sir Louis Halle Gluckstein (1897–1979); MP, 1931–1945; President, Liberal Jewish Synagogue; Chairman, Jewish Lads' Brigade; TD, QC, DL.

the Archbishop of Canterbury would not come, other leading churchmen would. The Committee stressed the need, if a public meeting were held, to have a representative platform of speakers; and it is clear that the attitude of the Chamberlain government, and its hopes of rapprochement with Germany, influenced non-Jewish, and thus indirectly Anglo-Jewish, opinion. The *"Kristallnacht"* however induced Neville Laski to organise a protest meeting at the Albert Hall on 1st December 1938; and this was attended by the Archbishop of York (Dr. William Temple), the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council and the Chief Rabbi, with the former Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey, in the chair.[38]

While the leadership of the community generally succeeded in maintaining its policy of a low profile, in view of what it considered would be non-Jewish reactions, there was considerable dissatisfaction with this in the community. Even Neville Laski's father, Nathan Laski JP, the leader of Manchester Jewry, was bitter at what he considered the lack of action by the Board of Deputies in the face of Nazi actions. He wrote to his son on 22nd July 1935 that the "citizens of the country must be told what was going on in Germany" and he suggested a public meeting in Manchester with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford on the platform. "This is an opportunity of getting the Catholics and Free Churches to stand on platforms all over the country to protest against the persecution of religion in Germany and to ask the Government to intervene against the Nazi tyranny." In his reply, his son condemned the "usual frothy" discussion at the Board, and the well-worn recital of speeches by characters (whom he named). There was no point in protest meetings which only Jews would attend and that would not influence the government. Only pronouncements by "respectable persons, the higher the better, who are national figures would do – the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Minister for League of Nations Affairs [Anthony Eden], the Archbishop of Canterbury... Not [Sir Herbert] Samuel as a Jew, or [Lord] Reading". But he claimed the Board had inspired leading articles in various newspapers.[39]

The attitude of the leadership of the Anglo-Jewish community towards the refugees reflected this division of opinion between activists and advocates of a low profile. There was also a certain ambivalence between what they said publicly and privately. This came to a head in 1938 when the number of refugees in the country dramatically increased after the *Anschluß* and the *"Kristallnacht"*. Of the 49,500 German and Austrian refugees admitted to Britain up to the outbreak of war in 1939, about half came in the last twelve months.[40] At the end of 1938 the Board of Deputies prepared two documents. One, which was for a booklet for general consumption was called *The Refugees. The Plain Facts.* This was, of course, in praise and defence of the refugees. They were making a substantial contribution to the British economy and, far from taking away jobs from native Britons, they were in fact increasing employment.[41]

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[38] Minutes of the Joint Foreign Committee, 21st June 1938; 16th November 1938; report to Board, 14th December 1938.

[39] Correspondence in Board of Deputies, C11/12/14, pt. 2.

[40] Sherman, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, p. 270.

[41] Board of Deputies, G 6/26.

But at the same time as this booklet was being issued, Neville Laski, as president of the Deputies, was writing to Otto Schiff, as chairman of the German Jewish Aid Committee, on 8th December 1938: "The attached letter (from a Mr. Henry Slade of 113 Canfield Gardens, London, NW6) shows how serious this matter is, as I am bound to say from my own personal experience, which is confirmed by the experience of a large number of my friends, that the refugees are pestilential in the matter of the derogatory remarks about various things in this country. I think this is a matter which demands immediate attention, and I do hope that, in the midst of your many preoccupations, something is being done quickly". The "something" turned out to be a booklet to be handed to every refugee on arrival in Britain. It was drafted by Max Rittenberg (Chairman of Max Rittenberg and Partners, Registered Practitioners in Advertising) and is dated 10th December 1938. As a covering note on the draft, inviting comments, said: "The text has been drafted to help the refugee to fit into his new environment and also to give public expression to the principles of the British Jewish community towards the Refugee Problem." The booklet was the well-known *Helpful Information and Guidance for Every Refugee*. In it, in addition to names and addresses of useful organisations, the refugee was told that "if you are kept waiting, do not complain. We are all doing our very utmost to help you and a large number of others whose plight is as tragic as your own." It added: "The traditional tolerance and sympathy of Britain... towards the Jews is something which every British Jew appreciates profoundly. On his part he does all in his power to express his loyalty to Britain... in word and deed, by personal service and by communal effort. *This loyalty comes first and foremost and every refugee should realise how deeply it is felt.*" This was in fact making a statement about what the author felt the attitude of the existing Anglo-Jewish community should be. The thirteen "do's" and "don'ts" for refugees included conduct aimed at impressing the non-Jews favourably: learning English, not speaking German in public, not being conspicuous by talking loudly or by manner or dress; and not saying "how much better this or that is done in Germany", even if "it may be true..." But the points also included guidance about relations with British Jews, which suggest how the author perceived the latter's likely reactions to the presumed conduct of refugees. The refugee was not to tell British Jews: "It's bound to come in your country"; British Jews objected to this "craven thought"; and, "*above all*, please realise that the Jewish community are relying on you – *on each and every one of you* – to uphold in this country the highest Jewish qualities, to maintain dignity, and to help and serve others".

The basic feeling of insecurity in their own position which the authors of these precepts seem to show is confirmed by the private reactions which Laski received from prominent Jews to whom he sent a draft of the booklet. Alexander L. Easterman, then a journalist on the *Daily Herald* and later political director of the World Jewish Congress, wrote that it was an "excellent production";[42] Herbert Adler, Director of Jewish Education, that it was "admirable – it ought to do a lot of good";[43] Lord Rothschild: "absolutely first-class".[44] Following a suggestion by an

[42] Letter of 16th January, in Board of Deputies, G 6/26.
[43] *Ibid.*, letter of 16th January 1939.
[44] *Ibid.*, letter of 14th January 1939; Nathaniel Mayer Victor, 3rd Baron Rothschild (1910–1990),

Anglo-Jewish personality that refugees should be dispersed and prevented by legislation from taking up work, Laski wrote to Lord Rothschild that it was not a bad thing that refugees should live in the big towns: "I can well imagine that five Jewish refugees in a small Shropshire town would create a much greater sensation and the cry of 'being overrun with refugees' than a thousand in the Greater London suburbs. Furthermore, the English Jews of Golders Green have a strongly critical attitude to the refugees and to some extent keep certain undesirable Teutonic excrescences under control."[45]

A similar critical appraisal of the habits of refugees, and fear of how they would impress the host society, is shown in a note for guidance of refugee dentists, prepared by the Board of Deputies in March 1939. In addition to warning them not to use the title "Dr.", instead of "Mr.", they were told not to comment adversely on other dentists' work: "if in your opinion it is not good work, you should advise the patient to return to his own dentist first"; not to praise the treatment "in your own country" to the detriment of practice in this country; not to advertise directly by using "a large professional plate or a lamp at your address" or indirectly "by seeking to get friends to recommend you". "If you do either of these things, not only will your brother medical and dental practitioners shun you but patients whom you wish to attract will resent such behaviour as not being the custom in this country... you must do nothing to influence or interfere with the inherent right of free choice of dentist which British dentists recognize."[46] This obsessive nannying betrays not only insecurity but a very negative perception of what refugees, if unrebuked, might get up to; and again the irritation which comparing British and continental practice, to the detriment of the British, must cause.

While this attitude reveals a degree of dislike for, and even disapproval of, the expected conduct of refugees, it must be remembered that there was extreme sensitivity on the part of the communal leadership because of the current manifestations of antisemitism. This was the period of Mosley and the British Union of Fascists and it is perhaps significant that at the very time, the end of 1938 and beginning of 1939, when these booklets were prepared, Laski and A. G. Brotman, the secretary of the Deputies, called on the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare,[47] to complain about misleading press statements on the refugees: in particular, an article in the *Sunday Pictorial* was headed 'Refugees get jobs – Britons get dole'. Sir Samuel Hoare was sympathetic but warned Laski about "a strong impression that Jews wanted war because of their feelings against Nazis", and said that it was generally believed that the *Daily Mirror* was in one way or another "under Jewish control".[48]

At an earlier meeting with the Home Secretary, on 1st April 1938, to discuss

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biologist; i. a. Chairman of the British Agricultural Research Council, 1948–1958; research coordinator of the Royal Dutch Shell Group, 1965–1970; Director-General of the Central Policy Review Staff, 1971–1974; Chairman of N. M. Rothschild, 1975–1976; GM 1944, GBE 1975.

[45] Letter of 30th January 1939, Board of Deputies, E6/286/26/2.

[46] Board of Deputies, E3/280.

[47] Sir Samuel John Gurney, 2nd Baronet Hoare, 1st Viscount Templewood (1880–1959), British statesman; MP, 1910–1944; Secretary of State for Air, 1922–1924, 1924–1929, 1940; for India, 1931–1935; for Foreign Affairs, 1935; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1936–1937; Home Secretary, 1937–1939; Lord Privy Seal, 1939–1940; Special Ambassador to Spain, 1940–1944; GBE 1927; GSCI 1934; created Viscount 1944.

[48] Adolph G. Brotman's note of meeting, Board of Deputies, E6/286/26/2.

Austrian refugees, a deputation from the Board of Deputies, led by Otto Schiff, were told that "it would be necessary for the Home Office to discriminate very carefully as to the type of refugee who could be admitted to this country. If a flood of the wrong type of immigrants were allowed in, there might be serious danger of anti-semitic feeling being aroused in this country. The last thing which we wanted here was the creation of a Jewish problem. The deputation said they entirely agreed with this point of view."[49] There were, therefore, reasons for sensitivity on the part of the communal leadership about refugee behaviour. But it has been suggested that there was another, more widespread element of antipathy to refugees on the part of Anglo-Jewry. This is not to underestimate the immense efforts which Anglo-Jewry made, both financially and in personal service, to help the refugees. For instance, between 1933 and the outbreak of war in 1939, over £2 million was raised by Jewish organisations in Britain from voluntary sources.[50] However, there is evidence of cool relations, to say the least. Difficulties of language, the isolation of the unaccompanied children and young people in hostels, differences of religious tradition all tended to reduce social relations.[51]

In Glasgow, for instance, there were acrimonious disputes in the local Jewish press about the alleged isolation of the refugees from Central Europe from the main Glasgow Jewish community. Members of the latter accused the refugees of keeping aloof because of "their pride in the superiority of German culture" and the spokesmen for the refugees argued that, while the refugees had received a great deal of help from Jewish circles, there were still many problems which could be solved only in the society of those who had shared the same experience of suffering.[52]

It has been suggested that the underlying cause of friction was that Anglo-Jewry after 1881 was mainly of fairly recent East European origin and "they had been traditionally regarded by German Jews as their cultural inferiors". When the German Jews came to Britain as refugees, the British Jews of Eastern European origin reacted against them because of the past, and put the worst interpretation on the natural tendency of recent immigrants to find comfort in their own society rather than in a wider group.[53]

I think the crucial question is how long the refugees were perceived by British Jews, and perceived themselves, as a separate entity in a "them and us" relationship. My own recollection of the Oxford Jewish community from 1939 to 1941 suggests that during that period the German-Jewish element in the community, which was substantial, felt themselves, and were felt to be, a distinct element though joining for religious services with the main community; there was also a small Reform group meeting for religious services, which was, I think, almost entirely refugee. The process of integration was easier, often indeed immediate, when the newcomers could join a body with a common interest, such as the Jewish Historical Society;

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[49] PRO, HO 213/42.

[50] Norman Bentwich, *The Refugees from Germany. April 1933 to December 1935*, London 1936, p. 121 gives figures for 1933–1935; letter from Sir Alexander Maxwell of 8th November 1939, PRO, HO 213/294, for figures from 1936 to 1939.

[51] Zoë Josephs, *Survivors. Jewish Refugees in Birmingham 1933–1945*, Birmingham 1988, p. 80.

[52] Rainer Kölmel, 'German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in Kenneth Collins (ed.), *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, Glasgow 1987, pp. 73–77.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

or when the Geman-Jewish immigrants could join a synagogue, whether on the religious Right or Left, which was precisely equivalent to the congregation they had left in Germany. This was not often true of the Anglo-Jewish "central Orthodox" – i. e. the United Synagogue or its provincial analogues – because there was no exact equivalent in Central Europe. The process of integration was aided in the later years of the war by service in the British armed services, by progress in learning English, and by success in British economic life. It was also helped by the fact that, in the evacuation areas during the war, the Jewish communities consisted of people most, or indeed often all, of whom had been uprooted from their own homes; and therefore the differences between natives and newcomers were removed. Everyone was equally an immigrant. A recent study of Scottish Jewry has concluded that, by the end of the 1939–1945 war, the refugees were "on the whole well integrated in their local Jewish communities".[54]

In summing up the attitude of Anglo-Jewry to the Central European refugees, before they became absorbed in the Anglo-Jewish community, one can discern not only the traditional sense of solidarity with fellow-Jews – manifested in financial support and personal help – but also an element of reserve, even disapproval: perhaps the cynic might say that this was also traditional between Jews of different backgrounds, since by a half century after 1881 the great majority of Anglo-Jewry was of non-Central European background. In analysing these feelings, it may be useful to contrast the Central European immigration of the 1930s with the Eastern European immigration between 1881 and 1914. If we accept the usual figure of 55,000 for the Central European refugees who stayed in Britain after 1945, this was about a sixth of the previous Anglo-Jewish community. This contrasts with the relationship of the Eastern European immigrants with the previous Anglo-Jewish community in 1881. These immigrants and their first-generation descendants outnumbered the previous community by about four to one. Thus the Eastern European immigrants absorbed the previous community but the Central Europeans could be absorbed by it. In both cases the existing community feared that the newcomers would prejudice their standing in the eyes of the surrounding host society. But the reasons were different. The Eastern European immigrants were predominantly poor and working-class; they were regarded by the native Anglo-Jews as uncivilised, superstitious proletarians, who had to be civilised and westernised, even if their contribution to religious standards was appreciated. But the Central European refugees were essentially middle-class, and substantially professionals, regarded as being of a high Western cultural level. In November 1939 Otto Schiff, at the request of Home Office officials, gave an estimate of the 55,000 adult refugees as being 15% professionals, 50–60% commercial, 15-20% technicians, agricultural or domestic workers, and only 5–10% manual workers.[55] The Anglo-Jewish fear was that, while the refugees had to be Anglicised, they would be unpopular because of their superiority, so incongruous with the often menial occupations they were forced to follow. In the correspondence on the 1939 booklet, *Helpful Information and Guidance for Every Refugee*, what comes through is the

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[55] Ms. addition to letter of 17th November 1939 from J. N. Beckett, Ministry of Health to Miss J. Williams, Home Office, PRO, HO 213/294.

criticism of the "superiority" of the refugees and their perceived tendency to say that things were done better in Europe than in Britain; and this caused resentment in Anglo-Jewry even beyond the ranks of the communal establishment. Yet Anglo-Jewry, which is a community developed by successive waves of immigration, has always been quick, after an initial period of adjustment, of about one generation, to absorb immigrants and their immediate descendants, and accord them positions of leadership. Otto Schiff, who was the key figure within the communal establishment, responsible for policy and administration, for dealing with the refugees, was himself a native of Frankfurt a. Main (admittedly he was a merchant banker, which no doubt eased the transition). Within a generation, the refugees, or at least those of them who wished to be, had been fully integrated into the body of Anglo-Jewy.

JILLIAN DAVIDSON

Geman-Jewish Women in England

The intransparency of women, through the lens of traditional historiography, has created manifold problems of concept and methodology for historians focusing on the female experience. From this kind of distortion through neglect, the portrayal of German Jewry has not been free.[1] To take a rather extreme and individual case of this unfortunate misrepresentation, the family tree which features at the beginning of a recent biography of Sir Siegmund Warburg, "shows Siegmund as an only child whereas he had three sisters".[2] For the historian of German-Jewish emigration, whose intent it is, however, to move beyond the realm of compensatory history, into the field of comparative, critical and analytical collective biography, the task of rescuing women from the fate of oblivion is all the more complicated.

By way of introduction to, and illumination of the issues involved, author Patrick White provides us with pertinent and graphic illustration. German Jewesses figure prominently and symbolically in White's novel, *The Living and the Dead*, which is significantly set in London in the 1930s, and concerns the story of a middle-class family caught in the desperation and despair of a world engulfed by two catastrophic and cataclysmic wars.

The book's opening sequence pictures protagonist Elyot Standish reflecting upon the sight of a German Jewess, as he leaves Victoria Station, alone and withdrawn. Quoting from the text,

"Outside the station, people settled down again to being emotionally commonplace. There was very little to distinguish the individual feature in the flow of faces... It was better like this, he felt... It was better to swim in the confused sea that was anybody's London...

Elyot Standish bumped his way through the crowd outside Victoria... He remembered the face of the German woman, moments earlier on the platform, resting on her husband's shoulder in a last unseeing embrace. Or rather, you were drawn beyond the eyes of the little German Jewess into a region where the present dissolved, its forms and purpose, became a shapeless directionless well of fear...

The little Jewess [had] stood with a purposeless handkerchief. She held it crumpled against her cheek. With the train, the man turned back into Europe on what errand?... The whole

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[1] This paper was inspired by the memory of Ilse Windmueller, who came on one of the last children's transports to England. From December 1938 to September 1942, she stayed at the home of my grandparents in Edinburgh. Thereafter, she went to Glasgow to learn the millinery trade. Three weeks later, she died from diphtheria, aged seventeen.

[2] This quote was taken from a review by Fred S. Worms of Jacques Attall's biography of, *A Man of Influence. Sir Siegmund Warburg 1902–1982*, London 1986: '"A Puritan and Romantic Prince"', in *The Jewish Quarterly*, 125 (1987), p. 58. According to Dr. A.J. Sherman, however, even this is not correct. It was, rather, Max Warburg who had the three sisters. In any case, this correction perhaps strengthens, rather than undermines, my point, that German-Jewish women have suffered from the fate of historiographical obscuration.

business was either a mystery or else meaningless, and of the two, the meaningless is the more difficult to take."[3]

What this description shares, in common with those other descriptions of German Jewesses in *The Living and the Dead*, are the qualities of irrelevant anonymity combined with a conspicuous, and, at the same time rather puzzling, if not indeed disquieting, feeling of personal and individual enigma. There is also a sense of fragile and fragmentary transience which weighs upon each episode. Questions of context, background, continuity, direction, consequence, meaning and ultimate significance all arise from the detailed pieces of the images; questions such as must be addressed here in this paper.

Daunting indeed is the task of the historian who must grapple to find an authentic perspective when seeking to select examples from, or to impose some kind of order onto, a panorama of such immense scope – which spans almost two hundred years and involves many thousands of women, whose geography, occupational profile, religious commitment, and family life differed so vastly. In addition, there is, for instance, the overwhelming presence of the Second World War in our story, which threatens to distract the more discerning eye and to cloud one's overall vision. The Nazi's Final Solution was, after all, ultimately insensitive to such considerations as gender, Orthodoxy, wealth, social status and profession.[4]

Skillful and agile, therefore, are the acrobatics needed to attend to, and balance the tensions between, heterogeneity and uniformity; between the outstanding and exceptional individual, and the more typical or average immigrant; between the interacting determinants of gender, ethnicity and class. The demand to integrate the "Anna Freuds" amongst the immigrants into an overall picture, and to place the public figures alongside the more private lives poses, potentially, a very real problem.

The pitfalls of isolationism, which emphasises the uniqueness of women's experience and examines that experience in a vacuum, need also to be avoided. No less searching is the subsequent question of what is the underlying purpose behind, and overall significance in drawing distinctions between the activities, responses and roles of these German-Jewish women and their male counterparts. Considering too, the mythical image of women, their symbolic differentiation, the ancient tendency to clothe women in propagandist purposes, status does not necessarily correspond to a fixed position, grounded in social reality: how, then, is identity designated?

Conversely, there is the question of, why rescue from oblivion those women whose collective character has yet to be defined? What does one expect their story to represent or reflect? This after all was exactly the issue raised by the lack of interest accorded to the play *Dark Summer*, performed on the London stage, as soon after the

[3] Patrick White, *The Living and the Dead* (first publ. 1941), Harmondsworth 1987, pp. 7–9. Also, for Elyot's visit to Frau Dr. Rosenheim, in Germany itself, see pp. 133–135: "... Through the living-room door Frau Rosenheim was telling of a walk they had gone near Goslar. It was a story of no particular point. But it disturbed him. More likely than not, he would never see the Rosenheims again."

[4] However, Sybil Milton's essay on 'Women and the Holocaust. The case of German and German-Jewish Women', in *When Biology Became Destiny. Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. by Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann and Marion Kaplan, New York 1984, shows how women's experiences differed in some ways from men's.

war as 1947. This drama depicted a Viennese Jewess, Gisela Waldstein, once a successful chemist, then a cook in an English household, *déclassé*, lonely and much older-looking than her thirty-five years.

There were many Gisela Waldsteins in England in the first years of the war, but this one met with a special fate: she fell in love with the son of the house, a young flyer who had been blinded. He subsequently broke with his young and beautiful fiancée whom he could no longer see, and promised to marry Gisela whom he had never seen; but a last-minute operation restored his eyesight and what he saw was an ageing Jewess and a young English girl. As the cultural correspondent of the *AJR Information* commented, with more than a touch of cynicism: "If the heroine had been a negress who had feared ever to be seen by the blind lover, I am sure the play would have been destined to be a great success in the West End. But here was a story only of a Jewess, and that one from Vienna..."[5]

I

A substantial body of literature has, however, already appeared, which clearly recognises the quite considerable influence exercised by women in German-Jewish modern history. In fact, more than a touch of singularity and fame has been accorded to them, and their role has been emphatically referred to as both "central" and "vital", in two important respects. Both concern the dynamics of emancipation and assimilation, and, as will be suggested here, point towards a better understanding of the intricate workings in the process of immigration and integration of German-Jewish women into England.

According to Jacob Katz, German-Jewish women played an informative role in distinguishing Jewish emancipation in Germany as a "social revolution – with a difference". Ashkenazi women apparently found it easier to adopt the cultural values of their Gentile neighbours, whereas for men enlightenment and secular education still had to compete with Torah learning.[6] As Deborah Herz has stated; "What impressed gentile observers so greatly was that this social integration was engineered by several of Berlin's most special women... their salons constituted a miniature social utopia where noble commoner, Jew and gentile seemed to leave their ascribed status outside the door".[7]

In her biography of one such prominent salon lady, Hannah Arendt did, however, discern that Rahel Varnhagen's life story not only mirrored the strivings and achievements of the Enlightenment, but equally, its limitations and failures. Varnhagen was herself to lament the abrupt dispersion of her salon circle once French troops occupied Berlin in 1806. Thereafter, the representatives of the romantic movement, whose inner struggles she had shared became increasingly

[5] *AJR Information*, December 1947.

[6] Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, see especially pp. 83–84, 86.

[7] Deborah Herz, 'Intermarriage in the Berlin Salons', in *Central European History*, vol. XVI, no. 4 (December 1983), p. 307.

reactionary and antisemitic. "As the salons gradually disappeared from the Berlin scene, so too a stage for wealthy cultivated Jewish women vanished."[8]

This precedent of female cultural pursuits and prominence found a new platform in England. Jewesses from Central Europe, like the brilliantly gifted Helen Lichtenstadt, who married the painter Solomon J. Solomon, brought with them a high standard of general and Viennese/German culture, into their English homes.[9] So impressive was Josef Neuberg's sister that Thomas Carlyle's wife Jane Welsh was eager to have Miss Neuberg as her sister-in-law. Although Mrs. Carlyle was subsequently to be disappointed, she had enthusiastically encouraged John Carlyle, pressing upon him that, "You must marry her – she will make you an excellent wife."[10]

Perhaps the "most peculiar characteristic" of German-Jewish immigration in the nineteenth century was, however, as C. C. Aronsfeld has said, that in England, "wherever they went they joined commerce with culture as well as philanthropy". In forging this special combination, what is more, German Jewesses were often invaluable partners and promoters. The conductor Sir Henry Wood was, accordingly, most appreciative of Lady Speyer's support as well as that of banker Sir Edgar Speyer: "The kindness of the Speyers", said Wood, "I cannot recall without a lump in my throat". The composer, Chopin, too, had cause to acknowledge the benevolence of another artistically-minded German-Jewish merchant, together with his wife.

Although numerous other celebrities stayed at the Schwabes, including John Bright, Mrs. Gaskell and Mrs. Carlyle, it is Aronsfeld's considered opinion that, "perhaps one of the most remarkable of them all was the hostess herself, Mrs. Schwabe, a fervent champion of education, of liberalism and, inspired by her friendship with Garibaldi and Mazzini, of the cause of a united Italy".[11]

Another German-Jewish cultural hostess who, like Mrs. Schwabe, supported the progressive educational ideas of Froebel was the outstanding Frida Mond, wife of the great industrial chemist, Ludwig. Upon arriving in England, Frida found that with her high intellectual standards, and passion for Goethe, Rousseau and Jean Paul, she had very little in common with the other mothers from Liverpool or Manchester. To escape the dullness of her uneducated female neighbours, and by way of solution to her loneliness, Frida invited her girlhood friend, Henriette Herz, to come and live more or less permanently as her companion. Beneficiaries of Frida and Miss Herz's joint hospitality and patronage were the composer Max Bruch, art historian Professor Jean Paul Richter, dramatist Alfred Sutro, novelist Maurice Hewlett, poet Arthur Symons and the young Shakespearian scholar, Israel Gol-

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[8] Hannah Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen. The Life of a Jewess*, London 1958, publication of the Leo Baeck Institute; quoted in Herz, *loc. cit.*, p. 308.

[9] Olga Somech Phillips, 'The Painter Solomon J. Solomon', in *AJR Information*, November 1951, p. 4.

[10] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Nottingham', in *AJR Information*, December 1955, p. 8.

[11] C. C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Victorian England', in *Year Book VII of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1962, pp. 319–320. See also, Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany. Exile and Asylum in Victorian England*, Oxford 1986, chap. 5 is on 'The Women of the Exile'. For mention of Mrs. Salis-Schwabe, see p. 207.

lancz. One of Frida's particular interests was, in fact, the founding of the British Academy.[12]

II

Partly in response and partly in contradistinction to the attention accorded to these philanthropic ladies of the salon, comes the second corpus of literature: Marion Kaplan's writings on the German feminist movement. Kaplan sees, in the position of the *Jüdischer Frauenbund* (JFB), founded in 1904, a microcosm of the dilemmas confronting modern minorities which seek assimilation.

According to Kaplan's perception, "the images of the apostate Salon Jewess and the newly rich, bourgeois woman who neglected her religion in the pursuit of material pleasures was dramatic, but exceptional".[13] Secularisation affected women later than men. As many as twenty per cent of German-Jewish women over the age of thirty joined the JFB. Many considered themselves "culture bearers" responsible for the preservation and furtherance of the Jewish religion, and remained more traditional than their husbands. At the same time, German-Jewish feminists challenged and attacked the genteel cult of "the lady", which put women on a pedestal where they were protected "angels of the home", respected as moral superiors and guardians of religion, but which kept them as powerless wives who were treated more like children. They demanded their own independence.

Ambivalence certainly lies at the heart of Kaplan's analysis. It is the ambivalent nature of the JFB's programme which epitomises the ambivalent position of Jews in German society. Endeavours to preserve their own minority distinctiveness conflicted with the JFB's desire to be acceptable in the eyes of the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, the German feminist movement. At the root of this ambivalence lay a further ambivalence. The JFB's efforts to become more acceptable contradicted socio-economic patterns beyond its control. It was the fact that they were mainly middle-class which enabled these leisurely women to participate so actively in the movement. As with Jewish men, although admittedly to a lesser extent, the job distribution profile of Jewish women was quite different from that of their German counterparts. This helps to explain the tenacity and popularity of the cult of "the Jewish lady". Only because German-Jewish women had long been further emancipated from the kitchen and domesticity than most women, did German-Jewish men nostalgically try so hard to cling to symbols of traditional female practice and virtue.

There was another reason for this, though, which caused alarm amongst women as well as men. There was widespread concern for those women who represented not only the loss of traditional virtue, but its most radical inversion: the Jewish prostitutes. Migration, it has been well noted, was a factory of prostitution and, as

[12] John Michael Cohen, *The Life of Ludwig Mond*, London 1956, pp. 13, 77, 123–124, 148, 170, 183–184, 234.

[13] Marion A. Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany. The Campaigns of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904–1938*, Westport, Conn. 1979, pp. 19–20. See also Kaplan's 'Sisterhood under Siege. Feminism and Antisemitism in Germany, 1904–1938', in Bridenthal *et al.* (eds.), *op. cit.*

Bertha Pappenheim, the JFB's leader, rightly recognised, white slavery amongst Eastern European immigrants in Germany was the most effective issue around which to mobilise her generation of Jewish women. By comparison, when the problem of Jewish immigrant prostitution had first materialised amongst, principally German, although also other Ashkenazi female immigrants in London, around the turn of the nineteenth century, it remained largely a problem with which Anglo-Jewry's male population had to deal.[14] English Jews had then sought to rescue and remould the lower-class German female immigrants by teaching them housework and especially by training them for domestic service.[15] German-Jewish feminists acted likewise: they concentrated their communal efforts on helping immigrant and German-Jewish working-class girls to find jobs in homes. Coincidentally, of course, they thus served their own middle-class interests in a period in which a servant shortage preoccupied most bourgeois housewives. Not surprisingly, the drive to turn their own "höhere Töchter" (fine ladies) into "Haustöchter" (domesticated girls) proved more or less ineffectual, emphasising only further how far removed the majority of the middle-class German-Jewish women were from the kitchen and world of domesticity.

In certain, major respects then, the similarities between the salon Jewesses and the feminist Jewesses are of equal importance with their declared differences. In fact, for our purposes, a more useful way of viewing these two trends in German-Jewish emancipation would perhaps be not as in opposition to each other, but in progression and succession. In both instances, German-Jewish women stood at the forefront and excelled publicly and prominently. By the close of the nineteenth century, the voluntary, more leisurely promoters of art, philanthropy and education had, however, been superseded by a pioneering generation of professional practitioners. Significantly, though, they remained devoted to, and pivotal in, the same spheres of action. The special triangular combination of culture, education and philanthropy was renewed, although with different emphases and with related new fields such as fashion, the media, educational psychology and politics. It is to the implications which all this had upon their immigration to Great Britain and integration into its society which I would now like to turn. And it is hoped, that a pattern might here emerge which will offer meaning where at the present there is still much chaos.[16]

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[14] Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice. The Jewish Fight Against White Slavery 1870–1939*, Oxford 1982, p. 248 and *passim*.

[15] Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England 1714–1830. Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society*, Philadelphia 1979, p. 237.

[16] In microcosm, Mrs. Hannah Norbert-Miller raised this question of meaning in an interview with me. Mrs. Miller was one of the leading artists of the *Laterndl* cabaret in exile, and was married to the famous cabaret actor, Martin Miller, whose photographs figure prominently in Lisa Appignanesi's chapter on 'Cabaret in Exile' in her book, *Cabaret. The First Hundred Years*, London 1984, pp. 165–167, by courtesy of Hannah Norbert-Miller herself.

Interestingly enough, Appignanesi describes the cabaret as a novel and "flexible medium". Similarly, Eva Figes in her *Patriarchal Attitudes. Women in Society*, agrees with Virginia Woolf who "thought that one of the reasons why women had been so successful at writing novels was that this was a relatively new art form where all the rules had not been laid down", London 1970, p. 19.

The question which Mrs. Miller asked was then as follows: "Although it is true that German Jewish Women were greatly involved in freelance translation for the B. B. C., and I can think of over twenty-two such women off-hand, it is just silly to separate off women. That's just feminist nonsense... But it is necessary to redress the balance because there is already an imbalance. As for having a 'theory' about the impact of actresses, no, I have no such theory. To me it remains a mystery why refugee actresses were so

III

For the refugees fleeing from Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied Austria, domestic service offered virtually the only available opening into England. Women were thus more likely to receive work permits, and indeed women with domestic permits, whose destination was an English kitchen, did represent the majority of the refugees. One in three, or 20,000 of the refugees who came to Britain before the war came to join the ranks of what was the most common form of employment for women until the Second World War.[17] Seen within this context, it must be stated that Jewish refugees constituted approximately no more than one per cent of the total army of domestic servants, and that by 1941 domestic service had been marginalised and become very much a minority experience not only for Jewish refugees but also for British citizens. This view of the reality of the whole does little, however, to diminish the dramatic irony which was inherent in transplanting these women from their "upstairs" life in Central Europe to their "downstairs" life in England. Of the five hundred women saved, for instance, by the Cambridge Refugee Committee on domestic permits, only two had any appropriate training, which again points to the lack of any significant success in the German feminists' bid to restructure their career profile, and again emphasises their strong middle-class background. Only too often, what is more, this dramatic irony expressed itself in terms of extreme tragedy.

The tragi-comic quality of this rather incongruous set-up is perhaps best captured and brought out by Lore Segal's description of her mother being shown around the Willoughby's house, which she was expected to clean.

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successful in England but not in France, nor even in America where even the most famous ones had difficulties; only here did it become even fashionable. But an explanation?..." (Some obvious examples are Elisabeth Bergner, Lilli Palmer, Marianne Kupfer, Lucie Mannheim etc.)

Nonetheless, one cannot but be impressed by the sheer number of talented German-Jewish women, whose biographies appeared, for instance, in *Art in Exile in Great Britain, 1933–45*, a catalogue written to accompany an exhibition at the Camden Arts Centre, Arkwright Rd., 20th August to 5th October 1986.

As for those German-Jewish women who "stood at the forefront and excelled publicly and prominently" in cultural activities in a manner so like their nineteenth-century predecessors, we must include, Elisabeth Jungmann (see *The Second Lady Beerbohm* by Corry Nethery, London 1987, which was presented to Dr. Eva Reichmann, the sister of Elisabeth, and herself an eminent historian and sociologist, on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday); art historian Professor Helen Rosenau, who, significantly, contributed enormously to the *AJR Information*; Gertrud Bing, who, as a true daughter of the German Enlightenment (she was a pupil of Ernst Cassirer in Hamburg and wrote her doctoral thesis on Lessing) was largely responsible for bringing over to England, the Warburg Institute/Library for the History of Art, which, under her directorship, was incorporated into the University of London (*AJR Information*, August 1964, p. 9) and Hilde Spiel, described by *The Times Literary Supplement* as "a Vienna female Proust" who, significantly, wrote *Fanny von Arnstein oder Die Emanzipation*, the biography of the Viennese Jewish *salonière*, and *Vienna's Golden Autumn 1866–1938*, London 1987.

As a final mention in this sprinkling of a survey, there is Professor Marie Jahoda who has continued, at the University of Sussex, the pioneering work which she began, in Vienna, in the field of modern social psychology. Co-author of *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* (1933), she has also written *The Psychology of Social Issues. Employment and Unemployment. A Social-Psychological Analysis, inter al.* For an interesting, but quite different, perspective of part of Marie Jahoda's career, see Isabelle Simone Lucille Tombs, *Socialist Politics and the Future of Europe. The Continental Socialists in London, 1939–45*, Ph. D. diss., Cambridge University 1988.

[17] For this whole discussion see Tony Kushner's 'Asylum or Servitude? Refugee Domestics in Britain, 1933–1945', in *Bulletin of the Society for Labour History*, vol. LIII, pt. 3 (1988).

"'And this is our drawing room.' 'Ah,' my mother cried, 'a piano! It is a Bechstein, no?' and she told Mrs. Willoughby that she had had a Blüthner, which the Nazis had taken, and that she had studied music at the Vienna Academy. 'Oh really?' said Mrs. Willoughby. 'In that case you must come in and play sometime when everyone is out.'"

Lore's mother continued to experience further humiliation:

"And so the Willoughbys had put my parents in their place; the refugees belonged to the class of people who eat in the kitchen, sleep on cheap mattresses, and throw their wives down the stairs in an argument – which goes to show that people have, after all, an innate sense of justice and cannot with equanimity be served by their fellows when these too closely resemble themselves."[18]

The juxtaposition between the old "matriarchal" style of the German-Jewish community, and the new meaning given to the status of the independent woman in the exiled German-Jewish community in England is also curiously illuminating.[19] In writer Gabriele Tergit's phraseology, the woman now became "the breadwinner". But, as Tergit is quick to say, this new situation did not come without its own problems. Family life was one of the first victims: "Looking for a job in middle age is never easy, but looking for a job when one does not even know exactly how to write a letter and is dependent on one's wife's work or charity plays havoc with the personality of all but the most insensitive."[20] In many cases, though, husbands, of course, found great comfort and inspiration in their wives' indomitable physical and spiritual fortitude.[21]

This last point only goes to show how extremely difficult it is to make any generalisations here. To take another example: for one domestic worker, the only alternative, that of nursing, might have seemed preferable; whereas for one who was already a nurse, she might have felt that domestic service held the better opportunity.[22]

Contained within the story of their plight it has been suggested, however, that there lies one crucial answer to the question of what kind of reception was given to the refugees. Tony Kushner has recently posed and probed this question in the following way: "As refugee domestic service was so short-lived, and given the economic problems of Britain in the 1930s, is it not possible to maintain the analysis that this country's refugee policy was 'compassionate, even generous'?" As Kushner argues, it is not possible.

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[18] Lore Segal, *Other People's Houses*, London 1965, pp. 78, 85.

[19] Eg., it has been suggested that "... the German Jewish community was in many ways matriarchal..." Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[20] Gabriele Tergit, 'How They Resettled', in *Britain's New Citizens. The Story of the Refugees from Germany and Austria*, Tenth Anniversary Publication of the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain, London 1951, p. 62.

[21] George Clare, whose parents left Ireland for France in the hope of improving their situation describes in his book, *Last Waltz in Vienna. The Destruction of a Family, 1842–1942*, London 1982, p. 182, how his father grew increasingly to depend on his mother. As he quotes from a letter his father wrote him, "'She is a great and true human being. Had she had the good fortune of meeting Goethe, or rather, had he had the good fortune of meeting her, he would most certainly have said, and with greater justification: *'voilà une femme'*. This *'Voilà une femme'*," Clare then comments, "*There* is a true woman, not as Father would have called her in Vienna, 'a good wife and mother' seems to me to show how much more clearly he now recognised her qualities".

[22] Zoë Josephs, *Survivors. Jewish Refugees in Birmingham, 1933–1945*, Birmingham 1988, pp. 124–132 on nursing and pp. 137–143 on domestics.

Although the British government expressly chose to ignore trade union demands to impose restrictions on the number of domestics allowed to enter, it did so for exactly the same middle-class reasons which prevented it from resisting the strict exclusiveness of the professional associations of doctors, lawyers and, to some extent, dentists.[23] In other words, class prejudices were more decisive here than any gender or ethnic considerations. A sense of *déjà vu* cannot but be discerned as the tables were turned, and German-Jewish women became the victims of middle-class interests, in a way in which they had once been the practitioners. And, as Kushner concludes, the refugees were given asylum, but at the price of servitude. Thus, "If in the 1930s and 40s the Nazis succeeded in dehumanizing the Jewish people, Britain, through its use of refugee domestic servants, continued this process of humiliation and destruction of dignity."

Although there is, no doubt, much truth in what Kushner says, not many of the ex-domestic servants themselves would probably agree. Accepting that it is difficult to disentangle the retroactive from the contemporaneous thoughts, the overwhelming realisation among the refugee domestics, as amongst the refugees in general, was that "we were the lucky ones". The most important point for them was that they had been "saved" from the camps; thoughts regarding their being "stuck" in the kitchen were entirely secondary. Desire to please and show their gratitude prevailed. As one woman now recalls, her mother spent almost three hours trying to make English toast, back in Vienna, when two Quaker ladies came to interview her as their prospective employee.[24] Surely this is a blatant exaggeration, but that does not detract from the underlying message. And, as Hildegard Forres spelt out that message in an article for the *AJR Information*, entitled, 'The Limits of Integration': "And, after all, have we not been spared torture and murder? The concentration camps set the standard by which we, the survivors, should measure our frustrations to the end of our lives."[25]

IV

Even when one takes into consideration the humiliation inflicted upon the Jewish refugees by way of the tribunals, followed often by that of internment, this judgement, I think, still holds true. As with the treatment of domestics, this policy of internment showed rather a complete lack of understanding on the part of the British authorities, with regard to who the refugees were, and what was their situation.

Suspicion of them was due more to a fear of foreigners than an actual animosity towards Jews. Thus Patrick White recalled in his autobiography his fellow tenants in London, at the beginning of the war, which was also exactly the same time that he was working on *The Living and the Dead*: there were "a couple of intellectual Viennese sisters with wheedling ways [who] had come to roost, adding to my still limited experience of the Central European Jew. The full horror of persecution and

[23] See, for instance, the contributions by Kurt Lipstein and Paul Weindling in this volume.
[24] In interview with Mrs. Johanna Braithwaite, to whom many thanks are due.
[25] *AJR Information*, December 1960, p. 9.

genocide had not yet torn our complacency apart. We still flickered with irritation meeting refugees on the landing; our buried anti-Semitism flared over some drama of the dust-bins."[26] A lack of familiarity thus governed attitudes towards these Jewesses at all levels.

Certainly, many recall the episode of internment with more than a touch of bitterness. At the same time, however, it must be added that conditions were good, if not enviable, on the Isle of Man. Nowhere else, in fact, were food provisions more plentiful and if anyone was safe, then it was those on the Isle of Man.[27] Since considerably less women were affected, this meant that many of them fared worse than the men. Often they suffered much more from the loneliness and also from worrying about how to secure a living on their own. I think that it is exactly this which makes White's image of the German Jewess at Victoria Station so powerful and real. There could be no better way of epitomising his own protagonist's extreme sense of loneliness in the changing world of the late 1930s.

For many women, then, these years were ones of a great struggle, especially since, simultaneous to the internment of men, women were, for the same reason, sacked from their domestic positions – 8,000 in all – often without anywhere to go.[28] During internment itself though, gender hardly played a role. Both the men's and the women's sections were centres of great cultural and educational activity. This need only be stated because, that this is true of the women's section on the Isle of Man is not so well known. At the same time, interned men, just like interned women, had to go through the same routine of daily chores. Gender barriers were broken down, even if somewhat playfully, as interned men sang in 'A Song of Internment', "We jolly Viennese washerwomen we're proud of our white linen!"[29] Class, however, again proved the more important variable, as Margot Pottlitzer has emphasised: "Look, there wasn't all that much difference [between the men and women]. The only thing is, I suppose, housewives were much better able to cope because they could do lots of things which we couldn't do. But, as I explained before, there weren't all that many ordinary housewives, at least not in the group which came from Germany. Among the Austrians, yes. And they were utterly housewifely... But, you know, the people from Germany who came to England and who, apart

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[26] Patrick White, *Flaws in the Glass. A Self-portrait*, Harmondsworth 1983, p. 77.

[27] Imperial War Museum (hereafter IWM), refugee tape 004494/04 (Friedel Hallgarten).

[28] Tony Kushner, 'Asylum or Servitude?', *loc. cit.*, p. 12. Here too, the concept of the German Jewess's "independence" took on a new connotation. And yet, certain activities had to come to a halt once the male participants had been interned – for example, the "Black Sheep" cabaret ('London's Refugee Theatres', in *AJR Information*, August 1957, p. 9). On the other hand, internment when it did affect women, came, at least initially, as a greater shock. Women never imagined that they would be interned, and as Margot Pottlitzer has explained, this prevented them from taking the precautionary measure of not being in at around 6 a.m., the notorious time of arrival for the police. Thus, several men would escape, while many women became "fair game" (IWM, refugee tape 003816/05). Such a situation was almost an exact repeat of what had happened back in Central Europe. Many women had believed that only men would be marked out for the Nazi camps, and so showed less readiness to emigrate. (They were also unable to emigrate and obtain visas in the same numbers as single Jewish men. See, Milton, *loc. cit.*) The fact that the men were the first to be sent before and during the war lent credence to their presupposition, but did not assuage the reality of their vulnerability.

[29] Josephs, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

from that easily defined group of Austrians, formed the bulk of the women internees, had come from certain circles – not necessarily intellectual but at least educated."[30]

V

Substantial recent scholarship has explored war "as a gendering activity", which acts as a "clarifying moment", either altering or reinforcing existing notions of gender, the nation and the family.[31] Since these ideas are not created afresh, but rooted in previous social and cultural developments, a study of them is all the more worthwhile for a longer-term appreciation. With German-Jewish women living in war-time England the issues are, however, quite different. Gender was a less central variable than race, ethnicity, or class, as the story of internment and even of domestic employment has already indicated, in the initial construction, reconstruction or deconstruction of personal, and collective identity and experience. Indeed, for many refugees, war-time opportunities and frustrations offered their sole means of entry via which they could begin their new life in this country. What avenues were open to women and their path along them, therefore, fills an important part of the story of absorption.

The war period for the refugees divides itself best into two phases. The first is mostly covered by domestics and came to a close with the demise of internment. In the second phase, gender actually became a more influential variable. This is because, as they returned from internment, the male refugees "did what from the beginning they had so earnestly wished to do, namely to play their part in the war effort. By January 1941, 4,610 had been enrolled in the Pioneer Corps" from which they were often transferred to other services and fighting units in Britain and abroad.[32] Back at home, however, dull jobs remained the lot for most German-Jewish women, even if they were accepted into the Women's Voluntary Service (WVS). As Friedel Hallgarten, who had been one of five women in a class of five hundred to qualify in law, back in Germany, recalled: "I applied to the WVS and after some consideration they took me in, but not as a full member... They ran a canteen for bombed out Londoners, women and children, who were living in the village. And once a week I went there cleaning vegetables, washing up and at the end I was made permanent cashier because I never lost the money."[33]

Now the world's leading ceramic artist, Lucie Rie's war experience was also fairly representative of, if not more exciting than, that of the majority of German-Jewish female refugees. She, too, was grateful, and so anxious to show her loyalty to her adoptive country. When she tried to join a local course to train officers in how to deal with the population in the event of a poison gas attack, she was, however,

[30] IWM, refugee tape 003816/05. With regard to this, Marion Kaplan is, however, sceptical. She has written, in correspondence with me, that "an 'ordinary housewife' had only one servant and so *could* still do everything that needed doing; she could be educated and still do housework".

[31] *Behind the Lines. Gender and the Two World Wars*, edited by Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel and Margaret Collins Weitz, New Haven–London 1987, p. 4 and *passim*.

[32] Josephs, *op. cit.* p. 105.

[33] IWM, refugee tape 004494/04.

turned away because she was foreign. Distressed, she became a fire-watcher instead, and was issued with an axe and stirrup-pump, but remembers that she was not actually sure how to use it. Lucie later worked in a button factory in Soho, but one day, after German bombers had produced a direct hit, all she found left of the Bimini factory was her apron, on its peg, on a solitary wall. After that, Lucie played her part in the war effort at the optical industries' factory of Hilger and Watts in Camden Town, waiting for the day when the government would let her reopen her ceramics "factory" in Albion Mews. This did not happen, though, until the end of 1945.[34]

For so many German-Jewish women, then, their contribution to the English war effort consisted mainly of knitting: often on behalf of the Red Cross, especially for the Air Force. Eva Figes remembers how the local women tried to copy her mother's continental style of knitting, adding that: "There is no doubt about it, had the outcome of the war depended primarily on the nation's knitting effort, Germany would certainly have won."[35] More seriously, though, the image from 1943 onwards, of her mother working hard and her father away in the Army, made a lasting impression on Figes. "Only now, looking back, I can begin to think what that lonely war, with the whole family gone, must have been like for her. She had begun to adapt to our new circumstances. Trained as a dressmaker because her family considered commercial art too risky a profession without something practical to fall back on, she fell back on it now." Still, "It must have been a hard year for her, quite alone in that small flat, husband and children away [at school], the strain of heavy bombing at nights."[36]

Here, I feel sure, Eva Figes is speaking on behalf of many, if not most, of the German-Jewish women in war-time England. Although she has subsequently experienced motherhood herself, coping alone, and knows how easily unhappiness and anxiety can build up to the point of explosion; "I also know that during those six years, my mother was coping alone, with stresses which my generation has not had to face."[37]

Since, furthermore, so many German-Jewish women were only able to find jobs in war-time England because English women had been mobilised elsewhere for the war effort, peace offered for only too many no solution, but rather more acute problems. This point indeed forms one of the main themes in the second and third parts of Judith Kerr's semi-autobiographical trilogy. In *The Other Way Round*, the reversal of dependency, with the increasingly evident vulnerability of the mother, is brought out most fully by the news that Anna's mother will lose even her third-rate secretarial job to someone coming out of the Women's Land Army: "once everyone comes out of the Forces it'll be even more difficult for her to find a job than before... It doesn't sound as though the peace would be much help to them."[38]

On the contrary, with peace, middle-aged parents, both mothers and fathers, never lost their strong sense of being refugees. Many women had, however, to

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[34] Tony Birks, *Lucie Rie*, London 1987, *passim*.
[35] Eva Figes, *Little Eden. A Child at War*, London–Boston 1978, p. 32.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 129–130.
[38] Judith Kerr, *The Other Way Round*, London 1977, p. 218.

carry on alone, for the strains of looking for work took their toll. Many husbands, who were in any case some years older than their wives, died soon after the war. Judith Kerr's mother was one such widow. In *A Small Person Far Away*, the children have grown up. They belong in England, whereas their mother has returned to Germany, to work with the Americans there. Memories of war-time hardships coalesce with post-war feelings of impotency and a personal crisis, together provoking Anna's mother to try and commit suicide. Anna's mother's overriding complaint is that even though she had such a dreadful war experience; "It was the most awful time of my life", at least then she was needed; whereas now she is no longer needed by anyone. Judith Kerr does not, however, allow her fictional mother to win the reader's unadulterated sympathy. She has one other German-Jewish female refugee, who has also returned to work with the Americans in Germany, say: "I know what happened to the Jews who stayed behind. They had a bad time... [and] it seems to me your mother is lucky because at least she can choose for herself if she wants to live or die."[39]

VI

The Holocaust does, therefore, cast its hideous shadow, infusing the story of German-Jewish (female) refugees with an overhanging sense of tragedy as well as a sense of perspective, which encourages more positive thinking. It is interesting, though, how it is this negative push that has proved so decisive in shaping the work of so many German-Jewish female artists, rather than the more positive pull of their German-Jewish cultural heritage.

In common parlance, this negative force might be referred to as "survivor guilt". Eva Figes is certainly affected by this: "I am rather like a war veteran with a piece of shrapnel buried in my flesh." It is, moreover, this which separates Figes from other English writers. For the English, so Figes feels, did not have the same Second World War experience as the rest of Europe: "they do not see the brute which lurks beneath the human skin", and this is strongly reflected in the English novel. Whereas English authors believe that the post-Second World War world is no different from the pre-war world, Figes considers herself "a European survivor, wrestling with a different reality". And, it is this past reality which stimulates Figes to write: "I used to think that one could outgrow the past, exorcise it through art, but some spectres can and perhaps should never be laid for good."[40]

Perhaps the spokeswoman for all German-Jewish female refugees and their experiences in England is, however, Karen Gershon. Unfortunately, for want of more space, it is not possible to give here an overview which might do justice to the vast mesh of complicated emotions expressed in her poetry and prose. It would, however, be most worthwhile to highlight her major concerns, and they are exile, bereavement, guilt, atonement and renewal. The need and search for a home, and a feeling of belonging, is indeed a constant throughout her writings. She has even adopted her father's Hebrew name "Gershon" which she herself has emphasised:

[39] Judith Kerr, *A Small Person Far Away*, Glasgow 1978, pp. 132 and 179.
[40] Eva Figes, 'The Long Passage to Little England', in *Observer*, 11th June 1978, p. 29.

"I should not wish there to be any doubt that I am a Jew and... I was not born in this country. My parents were liberal, assimilated Jews; as a child I saw my grandfather keeping orthodox observances and the memory of them means much to me. My parents died during the war in concentration camps... Here are my emotional roots, out of which my writing grows in justification of my survival. I must commemorate my parents and all Jews and all refugees because I believe that life has conditioned me to this purpose."[41]

Perhaps not surprisingly, much of Gershon's literary commemoration strongly accords with Jewish conventional forms. A strong sense of historical precedent, set against a sense of having surpassed that historical reality, disturbs her poetry. This placing of events on a Jewish continuum whilst, at the same time, destroying that Jewish continuum lies at the heart of traditional responses to catastrophe in Jewish liturgy and literature.[42] This is strongly brought out in her *Haggadah* poem, 'The Children's Exodus':

"When we went out of Germany
carrying six million lives
that was Jewish history
but each child was one refugee
we unlike the Egyptian slaves
were exiled individually
and each in desolation
created his own wilderness",

but,

"the exiled Jew in me was old
and thoughts of death apalled me less
than knowledge of my loneliness".[43]

Significantly too, Gershon identifies, on a more personal level, with the female figures of Jewish biblical history. Since almost all Jewish writers of the "Hebraic tradition" have been male – most renowned among the moderns is, probably, Elie Wiesel – Karen Gershon's poetry is particularly special. Rather than comparing and contrasting herself to Isaac, offered up for sacrifice, Gershon sees herself as an Esther or a Ruth, since:

"I too have chosen to belong
where people see me as a stranger;
I think of Ruth in Bethlehem".[44]

Perhaps even more expressly Jewish is Karen Gershon's determined effort to fight against hatred, so as not to let herself surrender to hopeless despair. In her poem, 'Kaddish', this resoluteness comes across most decisively:

"I will not curse mankind because
men have made concentration camps

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[41] Karen Gershon, 'A Stranger in a Strange Land', in *The Jewish Quarterly* (Winter 1959/1960), pp. 11–11.

[42] See, especially, David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse. Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture*, Cambridge, Mass. 1984.

[43] Karen Gershon, *Selected Poems*, London 1966, p. 26.

[44] Karen Gershon, *Coming from Babylon. 24 Poems*, London 1979, p. 19.

a grief like mine is only stilled
by the inborn need to celebrate".[45]

VII

Refugee status and the presence, if not burden, of the Holocaust not only shaped the life and work of German-Jewish female cultural figures in England but had a similarly potent effect on German-Jewish female educators and psychoanalysts. Expediency certainly played its part here: the more fortunate amongst these women émigrés, probably those who arrived before 1938, seized the opportunity to become teachers of the German language. This was an obvious answer to one very practical problem of their employment predicament; a solution often resorted to during both centuries by German women and, of course, by other minority groups.

But there was far more to this. One could even claim that a sense of special mission inspired German-Jewish women into the areas of education and psychology. As Judith Grunfeld recognised when documenting her Shefford epic in *The Story of a Jewish School Community in Evacuation, 1939–1945*: "Every child released from the inferno and saved for the future was a kind of miracle of destiny."[46]

Perhaps, however, there can be no better example of how the danger of Hitler informed an education project in England with the urgency of a rescue mission than the case of the Bunce Court School, with its organising leaders, the three sisters, Anna, Paula and Bertha Essinger. No doubt about it, the primary concern at Bunce Court, a school literally transplanted from Germany to England, was the necessity to save lives.[47]

Dr. Hilde Lion was another German Jew who, after losing her position, in 1934, as principal of the *Akademie für soziale Frauenarbeit* in Berlin, came to England, where she founded the Stoatley Rough School, which catered mainly for refugee children. Hundreds of boys and girls from Germany, Austria, and some from Poland, not only received a well-rounded education, but, more importantly, they found a place of refuge and even a home.[48]

Alice Goldberger, with her team of German-Jewish women, and aided by Anna Freud, was, similarly, to continue her work in special education after the war, when she helped child survivors from the concentration camps learn what it meant to live in a free world, and what it meant to be really and constantly loved.[49]

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[45] Gershon, *Selected Poems*, *op. cit.*, p. 20. See also, Karen Gershon, *The Bread of Exile*, London 1985; *The Fifth Generation*, London 1987; and *We Came as Children. A Collective Autobiography of Refugees*, edited by Karen Gershon, London 1966.

[46] Judith Grunfeld, *Shefford. The Story of a Jewish School Community in Evacuation, 1939–1945*, London 1980, p. 6.

[47] An obituary of Anna Essinger appeared in *AJR Information*, July 1960, p. 10. See also an 80th birthday tribute to her in *AJR Information*, September 1959, p. 7. For reference to the Bunce Court School, see chap. 6 of Josephs, *op. cit.*

[48] *AJR Information*, March 1955, p. 5; and May 1963, p. 13; see also, *"Since Then..." Letters from Former Stoatley Roughians*, Boston 1971.

[49] "Like a life-sustaining river, Alice courses through these lives, here a fundamental source, powerful and wide, there a narrow contributer stream deep underground, a constant presence through which to strengthen or against which to define." Sarah Moskovitz, *Love despite Hate. Child Survivors of the Holocaust and their Adult Lives*, New York 1983, p. 223; see also, 'An Appreciation of Alice Goldberger', in *The Path. The United Synagogue Magazine* (Rosh Hashanah 1986), p. 33.

VIII

Closely connected to all this, is the area of social and communal work, where one finds developed the most striking display of a parallel structure, through which endeavours pursued prior to emigration were continued and maintained, and yet, which, at the same time, represented a response to a new and emerging exigency. Although, of the organisations to evolve, the Association of Jewish Refugees provided an apparatus most fully and obviously designed to mirror and absorb previous activities, as well as being equipped to cater for the new demands of changing circumstances, there were others. Some women could, without too much difficulty, just transfer their involvement from, for example, the Youth *Aliyah* Movement or from the Women's *Mizrachi* Association in Germany to their British equivalents. Allegiance to such a movement did not, of course, preclude an involvement in the AJR.

Some communal activists did, of course, work on a more personal level, from their homes, in addition to, or instead of, from within an organisation. This is especially true of German-Jewish women who had emigrated to England before 1933; after all, very few others would have been in the position to offer their home to refugees. Mrs. Hedwig Ettinghausen, who came to this country in 1919, was thus able to save many lives by securing visas for people and by making her house a kind of temporary shelter.[50]

Another German-Jewish woman whose hospitality in England became legendary was Mrs. Anna Schwab. From as early as the outbreak of the First World War, when a swarm of refugees came from Belgium and other countries invaded by the German army, Mrs. Schwab gave her best bed away to a newly arrived Belgian family in grave distress. Continuing throughout the Second World War, her son, Walter, has recalled how, "she *still* provided a home and meeting-place for hundreds of those who were seeking to build a new life on England's hospitable shores". In addition to this, Mrs. Schwab gave active support to the rescue endeavours of the Central British Fund and the Jewish Refugees Committee.[51]

In the case of Mrs. Johanna Selig-Simmons, her club activities grew directly out of her domestic hospitality. Being in a more privileged position than most, by virtue of the fact that she had moved to Birmingham before the First World War, Mrs. Simmons, after 1933, was determined to devote the rest of her life to saving others, by making her home open to refugees. As the number of refugees needing help rapidly increased, however, Hanna Simmons had to find a centre where they could all meet and discuss in comfort their situation and receive sympathetic aid to meet their problems. The result was a Birmingham Jewish Refugee Club and it was only appropriate that Simmons should become the Club's chairwoman.[52]

Even more direct and frequent was the path which led from involvement in the Jewish feminist movement, back in Germany, to social work under the umbrella of the Association of Jewish Refugees, in Britain. This was, indeed, a logical develop-

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[50] *AJR Information*, March 1966, p. 15.

[51] 'In Memoriam – Mrs. Anna Schwab', in *AJR Information*, May 1963, p. 9; 'Tribute to Anna Schwab', in *AJR Information*, September 1955, p. 9; November 1957, p. 8.

[52] Josephs, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–8, 43.

ment. From having focused their attention outside the sphere of their own community in Germany, where Eastern European immigrants had attracted their services, to looking inward and caring for themselves, as immigrants, was not a radical step to take. It was, however, imperative. As Kushner has pointed out, it was because the National Union of Domestic Workers refused from the beginning to accept foreign domestic workers as members that it was left to the refugees, through their own clubs, to organise resistance to their conditions of work.[53] However, perhaps the most important condition for which the AJR catered was that of loneliness. For so many domestic workers, the AJR especially with its artistic programmes and friendly atmosphere provided a welcome change and chance to make contact with fellow refugees and their shared cultural past.

At least one instance is even recorded in the *AJR Information* of an attempt made to revive the *Frauenbund* in England. In July 1947, the death of Paula Massauer was reported. She had come from Frankfurt a. Main where she had been one of the leading figures of the *Jüdischer Frauenbund* (JFB) and a true follower of Bertha Pappenheim whose great work she continued. "In London, after the war, she had just begun to rebuild the Frauenbund, when her death intervened."[54]

Far more uniformly common as a way of helping refugees was the direct path from JFB to AJR. Countless women took this path, including even the last chairwoman of the *Jüdischer Frauenbund*, Ottilie Schoenewald. During the war years, Mrs. Schoenwald was active in the AJR in Cambridge, where she then lived.[55] There can, however, be no better way of demonstrating the close links between the German-Jewish feminist movement and the AJR than by re-living the opening, in 1966, of the communal centre at the AJR which was fittingly called "Hannah Karminski House". Hannah Karminski was the National Secretary of the *Jüdischer Frauenbund* before its dissolution and a leading Jewish social worker who voluntarily stayed in Germany and perished at the hands of the Nazis.

At the opening meeting, Mrs. Margaret Jacoby, the then co-chair of the AJR club, who had, together with Hannah Karminski, been responsible for organising the immigration of Jewish women and girls as domestics into this country, said;

> "We who were fortunate enough to work with Hannah Karminski knew her greatness of mind and her deep devotion to the Jewish cause, which led to the bitter end. I hope and wish with all my heart that in this house there will always prevail the spirit and spell of Hannah Karminski."[56]

IX

Alongside the forward-marching, progressive and often assertive side of so many of these German-Jewish women, conventional and hierarchical gender relations were maintained, if not reinforced. German-Jewish women, on the whole, expanded rather than challenged the female, and in particular, the "mother's" role.

[53] Kushner, 'Asylum or Servitude?', *loc. cit.*, p. 14.
[54] *AJR Information*, July 1947, p. 54.
[55] "Birthday Tributes. Ottilie Schoenewald 75', in *AJR Information*, February 1959, p. 11; obituary, July 1961, p. 14.
[56] *AJR Information*, January 1966, p. 8.

As Marion Kaplan has written of the Jewish feminist movement in Germany: "Women simply stepped from their role as housewife and mother to that of social housewife (household manager, administrator of rest homes, social worker) and social mother (kindergarten teacher, nursery school director)."[57] This could serve as an equally fitting comment on German-Jewish women in England.

This double helix is reflected in the outlook and priorities of the "big" personalities. Bertha Pappenheim, in Germany, pressed, on the one hand, for equal educational, social and career opportunities, whilst on the other hand, she believed in the sacredness of the family and insisted that every women should fulfil her obligations as a wife and mother.[58] Frida Mond, a more practical example in England (Pappenheim did not marry), never allowed her intellectual interests to deflect her from the duties of a housewife and mother. The former always remained secondary.[59]

It has already been hinted how, in the literary consciousness of German-Jewish female artists, particular attention has been accorded to the maternal figure. This is certainly true of artist Else Meidner. Especially in her early work she shows a preoccupation with death which is symbolised as a skeleton snatching a child from the arms of a mother.[60] The mother is indeed the term of reference *par excellence* around which Karen Gershon too draws her definitions. "Mankind is like a comet with a tail of ruined mothers with accusing eyes", is from her poem, 'Moses' Mother' and, arguably, presents her most powerfully poignant and memorable image.[61] Similarly, violinist Ilse Joseph has emphasised that she tells her own story in *Playing for Peace. A Survivor's Mission*, "out of a conviction that if one Jewish mother who mourns her children can clearly speak forgiveness, and work for [that] reconciliation, so can others..."[62]

On another level, perhaps more practical, marital status often proved the decisive factor in typical German-Jewish female experiences in this country. For the wife whose husband was interned, whether or not she would visit him often depended on whether there were children for her to look after.[63] Similarly, the ability to go out and earn a living was restricted for those who had children in need of care and attention. "I remember that cry of a mother", at Bloomsbury House, Gabriele Tergit recalls, "'For God's sake, hurry. I have a small boy at home. I don't know what will happen to him.'"[64]

The quite remarkable commitment shown to family problems and children by so many German-Jewish educators, social workers and psychiatrists often, in part, took the form of surrogate motherhood. Mrs. Lily Pincus, co-founder of the Family

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[57] Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[59] Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 234.

[60] 'Else Meidner. An Appreciation', by Judith Japha, in *Jewish Chronicle*, 4th December 1953, p. 22; see also, 'Portrait of a Painter – Else Meidner', in *AJR Information*, November 1953, p. 6, and also *AJR Information*, November 1947, p. 7; *AJR Information*, February 1953, p. 6; *AJR Information*, February 1956, p. 5; *AJR Information*, December 1959, p. 9; *AJR Information*, February 1962, p. 10.

[61] Gershon, *Coming from Babylon*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[62] Ilse Joseph, *Playing for Peace. A Survivor's Mission*, Lewes 1986, p. 81.

[63] IWM, refugee tape 004494/04: "No, I never tried [to visit him in internment]. My place was with the children and he wouldn't have liked me to do anything about this."

[64] Tergit, 'How they resettled', *loc. cit.*, p. 63.

Discussion Bureau in 1948 (which later became known as the Institute of Marital Studies), "quickly made a great impact on the social work profession in this country" by her "use of a psychodynamic understanding of interactive processes".[65]

Even more renowned was, of course, Anna Freud as the creator of psychoanalysis for children. In this and other respects, Freud only superficially stands apart from, and is difficult to integrate amongst, the rest of German-Jewish women. (Her name does after all "bring to mind Anna O., pseudonym for Bertha Pappenheim, who is considered the actual inventor of the talking cure", and thus neatly completes our circle.)[66] And one can but agree with Freud's most recent biographer's concluding remark: "Although Anna Freud was honoured like no other emigrant she remains a symbol of a hard fate that is at once Austrian, German, psychoanalytic, and Jewish."[67]

Perhaps, however, there can be no better testament to the power of motherhood than that given by Judith Grunfeld in her recounting of the Shefford educational epic. "The great power of motherhood", so she wrote, "which is international and knows of no race or boundaries started to work. The mothers who kept their homes bright and cheerful throughout the grim days of peril, who had their sons and husbands fighting in the war, extended their motherly love and care to these little evacuees who had lost the security of their homes."[68] Whilst the experiences and achievements of these women speak, therefore, of a certain universality which goes beyond religion, nationality and culture, they also point towards the ways in which women's experiences, style, and points of reference differ from those of men.

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[65] From an obituary in *The Times*, 22nd October 1981.
[66] Uwe Henrik Peters, *Anna Freud. A Life Dedicated to Children*, London 1985, p. 4.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[68] Grunfeld, *Shefford*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Tony Kushner

An Alien Occupation – Jewish Refugees and Domestic Service in Britain, 1933–1948

The key development in modern Jewish historiography has been the pursuit of contextualisation – Jewish history is no longer viewed in isolation from the wider society.* In theory under this new professional approach the internal dynamics of the Jewish experience are connected to political, social, economic and ideological developments in the "host" community. Such a task is not an easy one – the Jewish specialist has to be familiar not only with the Jewish minority being studied, but also the history of the country in which it lives and, in addition, reactions and responses towards the Jews from the state and public. European, and even more so, world Jewish history, offer an even greater challenge, to the extent that one leading historian has suggested that "the writing of such history is a near-impossibility, and carries with it very dangerous pitfalls".[1] Yet such risks have to be taken if Jewish history is not to be relegated to a minor footnote, or ignored all together as has so often been the case (and continues to be the case) in many general "mainstream" histories.

However difficult it is to achieve, Jewish history has to be placed in many contexts, international as well as within the nation state. Indeed, when one considers the persecution of the Jews in the 1930s and the Second World War, culminating in the Holocaust, a pan-European and ultimately, with the refugee crisis, a global perspective becomes absolutely essential. The response of every individual free world country depended not only on changes in Nazi policy but also on each other's refugee policy. Nevertheless, the domestic background, including its economic and political features, was of perhaps paramount importance. Much that has recently been written about the response to the plight of the Jews of Europe in this period has been marred by its accusatory nature. For this danger to be avoided, it is vital to analyse, in detail, the domestic situation of the receiving countries before international comparisons are made of refugee policies and league tables of generosity drawn up.[2] This more inclusive approach will be employed with the following case study of refugee policy in the Nazi era, concentrating on Jews who escaped to become domestic servants in Britain.

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* I would like to thank Bill Williams and Edgar Feuchtwanger for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] Jack Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers. East European Jews in Imperial Germany*, New York 1987, p. 5; and Richard Breitman and Alan Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945*, Bloomington–Indianapolis 1987, pp. 1–11, stress the need to place Jewish immigration policy in its domestic as well as international context. For the critique of Jewish history see David Katz's comments in his review of Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750*, London–New York 1985, in *English Historical Review*, 102 (April 1987), pp. 424–427.

[2] From Arthur D. Morse, *White Six Million Died*, New York 1967, to Cecil Genese, *The Holocaust. Who are the Guilty?*, Lewes 1988. See Breitman and Kraut, *op. cit.*, for a critique of this approach.

I. Historiography

The value of refugee studies has only recently been recognised in academic circles in Britain.[3] Nevertheless, some progress has been made since the 1970s on the particular subject of Britain's responses to the Jews of Europe in the period from 1933 to 1945. Studies on a national and local level, as well as state and popular responses towards Jewish refugees from Nazism have already created firm foundations for future debates.[4] Yet there are still major gaps and weaknesses in the existing literature. One of the most blatant lies in the area of gender. Little or no indication is given in the research so far undertaken that of the 55,000 refugees who came to Britain in the 1930s, over 55% were women. Furthermore, the fact that nearly 20,000, or over one in three, of the refugees came as domestic servants (the vast majority of these being female) has also been overlooked.[5] Current studies thus give little assistance on the subject of refugee domestics. However, the requirement that these women's experiences be put in their British setting is made even more problematic by the virtual absence of studies of women and work, and specifically domestic service, in inter-war Britain.[6]

But aside from gender there is a further problem in existing refugee studies, part of what Bill Williams has referred to as "a tendency... to evaluate an immigrant group in terms of its 'contribution' to British life."[7] Nowhere is this easier than in the case of the Jewish refugees from Nazi Europe whose industrial, scientific, artistic and scholarly impact on British society has been enormous (although it has only recently been recognised). In the current and justified concern to locate the achievements of the élite minority, however, there is a grave danger that the experiences of what the Association of Jewish Refugees once called the "ordinary refugee", or what Viscount Swinton (the government official responsible for the mass internment of aliens in the summer of 1940) more cruelly referred to as those who "did not really matter very much", are ignored.[8] Moreover, as time passes and the remnants of the refugee community slowly die away, it will become increasingly difficult to recover the experiences of the "humble majority".[9] The history of

[3] The *Journal of Refugee Studies* (Oxford University Press) was launched in 1988.

[4] See in particular, A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich, 1933–1939*, London 1973; Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945*, London 1979; Norman Bentwich, *They found Refuge. An Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression*, London 1956; Austin Stevens, *The Dispossessed. German Refugees in Britain*, London 1975; Marion Berghahn, *German-Jewish Refugees in England. The Ambiguities of Assimilation*, London 1984; Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Exile in Great Britain. Refugees from Hitler's Germany*, Atlantic Highlands, N.J.–Leamington Spa 1984; Zoë Josephs, *Survivors. Jewish Refugees in Birmingham 1933–1945*, Birmingham 1988.

[5] François Lafitte, *The Internment of Aliens*, Harmondsworth 1940, pp. 37–39, 63 for statistics. Berghahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–120; Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–143, 167–169; Rainer Kölmel, 'Problems of Settlement. German-Jewish Refugees in Scotland', in Hirschfeld (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 258–263, have passing references to domestics. Josephs, *op. cit.*, devotes a chapter to the subject.

[6] Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870–1950. Sexual Divisions and Social Change*, Brighton 1984, p. xiv, comments on this gap. See, however, Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place. An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890–1940*, London 1984. Pam Taylor, *Women Domestic Servants 1919–1939*, MA thesis, Birmingham University 1978, is the only detailed account.

[7] Bill Williams, '100 Years of British "Toleration"', in *The Jewish Quarterly*, 133 (Spring 1989), p. 67 (review of Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island. Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971*, London 1988).

[8] *AJR Information*, vol. XX, no. 4 (April 1965); *Hansard*, 5th series, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Lords, vol. 140, col. 55, 12th March 1946.

[9] The phrase is from Lafitte, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

the refugee domestics is thus one particularly at risk from present neglect and future obscurity.

In terms of the female refugees who came to Britain, over half initially as domestics, one must not ignore a significant "contribution". Culturally and in the scientific and academic world their achievements have been impressive. In no area was there an exception – for example, in the war, wives of refugee industrialists showed ingenuity and resourcefulness in continuing the factories built up by their interned husbands.[10] There were also unique features of this female contribution. On the Isle of Man exciting new educational techniques were pioneered at children's schools by interned women.[11] Even in domestic service the refugees, often seen as totally unsuitable in their new occupations, actually brought improvements and innovations in cooking and home care to the technologically backward and conservative British household. But as Williams suggests, to measure an immigrant or refugee group only in terms of how much it has given to British society is likely to distort its overall experience. As he adds, "each [group] also ha[s] a rich 'inner life', certainly related to British society, but with its own vitality and a range of dynamics and divisions..."[12] Through a study of refugees as domestic servants it will be possible to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of British responses to the crisis of European Jewry from both state and public. But it will also be important to examine the experiences of a large, neglected group of women who entered Britain through what was to all, but a tiny minority, an "alien occupation".

II. The German and British Backgrounds: Class, Gender and Race

A British psychologist, Violet Firth, examining the "servant problem" in 1924, pointed out the changes that had occurred in the profession in the past fifty years. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the chief complaint of the employing class concerned the quality of domestic servants. Since the end of the First World War the problem was now one of obtaining any servants at all.[13] Although referring to the situation in Britain, Firth's analysis had a general European application. The availability of other, more attractive, forms of employment for women particularly in factories and clerical work diminished the appeal of the career of domestic service. In terms of conditions of work, freedom and pay, life as a servant became increasingly unattractive to young women. In Germany between 1895 and 1907 the number of domestics declined by half and although the absolute number of servants before the First World War in Britain continued to rise, other forms of women's work did so at a much more spectacular rate. At the same time, however, the increasing bourgeoisification of Europe led to the demand for more servants.[14]

In such a situation of a diminishing and reluctant supply of labour and an

[10] See Herbert Loebl, *Government-Financed Factories and the Establishment of Industries by Refugees in the Special Areas of the North of England, 1937–1961*, M. Phil. thesis, Durham University 1978.

[11] Inspector Cuthbert, the governor of the Women's Camp in the latter part of the war, gives a sympathetic account, see Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter PRO), HO 213/1053.

[12] Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 67.

[13] Violet Firth, *The Psychology of the Servant Problem*, London 1925, pp. 11–13.

[14] German statistics in Marion A. Kaplan, *The Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany. The Campaigns of*

unsatisfied demand, the logic of wage theory might have suggested that conditions for domestics should improve and pay increase. Nevertheless, until the outbreak of the Second World War, domestic service persisted, along with agriculture, as the most common occupation for women in Western Europe. Moreover, conditions for the "slaveys" in the inter-war period had changed little from those in the nineteenth century. Two factors explain this continuity of experience. First, on the "mistress" side, despite the efforts of middle-class feminists to promote domestic service as a profession, few employers were willing to change their attitudes to servants. This was an issue where status concerns mattered as much as economics. As mistress and maid inhabited the same household, a strict delineation between the two had to be instituted. The employment of the servant brought not only advantages in terms of domestic help, it also gave prestige to the mistress. As Violet Firth bluntly stated, the mistress class did "not reckon upon their servants being human beings with feelings similar to their own" and therefore conditions of domestic service changed little. Second, on the supply side, post-war economic dislocation and the displacement of female workers by demobilised soldiers created, through economic necessity, a fresh supply of servants. Domestic service, often seen as a classically Victorian institution, not only persisted but actually expanded in inter-war Europe.[15]

The experience of Jewish women in many ways falls into this broader pattern, at least until the Nazi period. Before the First World War, middle-class Jewish women in countries such as Germany, Britain and America (in the last two also largely of German origin) attempted to solve the servant shortage problem by encouraging newly arrived East European immigrants to become domestics. The policy of organisations such as the *Jüdischer Frauenbund* (JFB) – the League of Jewish Women (Germany) – the Union of Jewish Women (Britain), and the Jewish Women's Congress (America) was one of philanthropy mixed with a heavy dose of self-interest.[16] On the one hand, the attempt to encourage the *Ostjuden* to train in domestic science was designed to improve the latter's position and in particular to avoid the dangers of prostitution and white slavery. On the other it was a clear attempt to provide a ready supply of servants for middle-class households desperate for domestic help. In addition, such an employment policy would help make invisible the embarrassingly different East European "sister" and thus remove a source of possible antisemitism. This philosophy would be revived in the 1930s but this time used by the now-established *Ostjuden* against German-Jewish women. In all these countries before 1914 such attempts were largely unsuccessful. Young Jewish women, even more than their Gentile counterparts, were reluctant to become servants when other alternatives such as white collar and factory work were

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the Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1904–1938, Westport, Conn. 1979, p. 174, and British ones in Pamela Hörn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant*, Dublin 1975, p. 25.

[15] Firth, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Taylor, *Women Domestic Servants*, *op. cit.*, chap. 3 and Agatha Chapman and Rose Knight, *Wages and Salaries in the United Kingdom, 1920–1938*, Cambridge 1953, pp. 215–217, for confirmation of this expansion.

[16] Kaplan, *op. cit.*, chap. 6 and Steven Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers. The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923*, Madison 1982, chap. 2; Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880–1920*, Oxford 1988, pp. 117, 224, 227; Nora Sinkoff, 'Educating for "Proper" Jewish Womanhood. A Case Study in Domesticity and Vocational Training, 1897–1926', in *American Jewish History*, 77 (June 1988), pp. 572–599.

available. Even prostitution was chosen in preference to a life of restrictions and poor pay as a servant.[17]

After 1918 in Germany the severity of the economic dislocation forced a change of strategy in the JFB. Previously only working-class and largely immigrant women were encouraged to become servants. By the 1920s programmes were expanded to allow women from more "respectable" backgrounds to retrain as domestics, if only on a temporary basis, thus helping middle-class families recover from financial ruin. Here the foundation was laid for a rapid increase in such work in the 1930s with the onset of Nazism.[18] As the Nazis began their process of removing the Jews from the German economy, domestic service became one of the few openings available for the Jews – first in Germany itself and then outside it as the desperate search for refuge began.

Despite the shortage of servants in Germany itself, poor pay and bad conditions had led to a tradition of domestic servants seeking work in other European countries. Indeed for the first five years of the Nazi regime, Jewish refugees were only a part of a larger movement of German women who came to Britain to find work in domestic service. By 1931 some 10% of the 111,000 foreigners gainfully employed in Britain were German and Austrian servants. An even greater number of German women were attracted to Holland.[19] Until 1931 no restrictions were imposed on the use of foreign domestic servants in Britain. But in November of that year, in the heart of the Depression, "in view of the fact that the supply of British domestics was found to be increasing", the Ministry of Labour decided to impose a "higher standard of compliance" and to issue permits to householders seeking foreign workers.[20]

The new regulations required that wages of no less than £36 *per annum* be offered to the foreign worker and stipulated that each household could employ a maximum of two foreign domestics. As a further concession to concerns that British workers might be displaced, and also reflecting hopes that unemployed men would become servants to the rich, no permits were to be offered to male aliens or to married couples. In addition, arrangements over the employment of *au pairs* were tightened so that they would not be used as a way "to obtain cheap foreign domestic labour".[21] These then would be the regulations facing Jewish refugees attempting to escape from the Third *Reich*. It was not the open door policy towards foreign domestics that had operated during the 1920s, but, as will emerge shortly, it was one of the few real possibilities of finding asylum in Britain, and even then, limited to the female sex.

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[17] Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 180 comments on the failure of such schemes; Lara Marks, 'Jewish Women and Jewish Prostitution in the East End of London', in *The Jewish Quarterly*, 126 (1987).

[18] Kaplan, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–187; Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany – Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (II)', in *Year Book XXVI of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1981, p. 400 refers to "the sexist nature" of these policies.

[19] For British figures see, PRO, LAB 8/871; Bob Moore, 'Jewish Refugees in the Netherlands 1933–1940 – The Structure and Pattern of Immigration from Nazi Germany', in *Year Book XXIX of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1984, p. 94.

[20] PRO, LAB 8/871 and LAB 8/77.

[21] Memorandum, November 1938, 'Au Pairs', in PRO, LAB 8/871. See the life story of Elli Adler in, Jewish Women in London Group, *Generations of Memories. Voices of Jewish Women*, London 1989, pp. 133–154, for the experiences of a very young (thirteen) refugee *au pair*.

The Nazi regime, through its radical and reactionary tendencies, managed to appeal to both the mistress and maid classes. To the former, it promised to improve the status of women's occupations, including housewifery. Middle-class women's organisations thus supported the regime believing it would provide a ready supply of domestics to enable the professionalisation of domestic service to take place. Yet the more radical aspects of National Socialism also allowed the movement to appeal to the servants who hoped that the new classless society would raise their status and conditions of work. Both sides were to be disappointed. Numbers increased only marginally and conditions altered little.[22] The only exception to this was the Jewish minority, whose experience inevitably deviated from the rest of German society as the Nazi's economic war against the Jews intensified. The antisemitic legislation of the Nazis ensured that there would be both a demand and a supply for Jewish domestics.

On the demand side, the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 forbade the employment of non-Jewish women under the age of 45 in a Jewish household – an attempt to maintain the racial purity of German womanhood. As most servants in such households had been non-Jewish (only 8.8% of employed Jewish women worked as domestics in the 1920s), many positions now became available.[23] On the supply side, the Nazis' "Aryanising" of the German economy created havoc in Jewish households. Previously dominated by male incomes, Jewish women were forced into a more prominent economic role to keep their families financially afloat. It was a role that was to continue and intensify in their lives as refugees in Britain.[24]

From the late eighteenth century the household played a major part in the Jewish search for respectability in German society. In this the employment of servants was vital in the upholding of standards and status.[25] Until the Nazi era middle-class Jewish women and their daughters were not expected to play a role beyond managing domestic affairs. The labour itself was supplied by servants. It was for this reason that the classes organised by the JFB, which continued to function until closed down by the Nazis in 1938, were so important. Domestic schools provided training in such basics as cooking, sewing and repairs in the home. First, they enabled, as Marion Kaplan has suggested "Jewish middle-class women and their families to adjust to a lower standard of living." Second, they helped to prepare Jewish women ranging from school-children to those in their forties for future lives as servants in Germany and beyond.[26]

In the early years of Nazism there was some reluctance to take this course of action. There was a natural hesitation to accept the change of status involved from being an employer of servants to an actual domestic. Indeed, throughout the 1930s, Austrian- as opposed to German-Jewish women dominated immigration to Britain

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[22] Tim Mason, 'Women in Germany, 1925–1940. Family, Welfare and Work', in *History Workshop*, 1 (Spring 1976), p. 15; Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland. Women, the Family and Nazi Politics*, London 1987, pp. 160–164.

[23] Kaplan, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–174; Strauss, *loc. cit.*, pp. 343–411.

[24] See Jillian Davidson's contribution in this volume.

[25] Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin*, New Haven 1988.

[26] Marion Kaplan, 'Sisterhood under Siege. Feminism and Antisemitism in Germany, 1904–1938', in Renate Bridenthal *et al.* (eds.), *When Biology Became Destiny. Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, New York 1984, p. 191; see Lore Segal, *Other People's Houses*, London 1965, p. 21 for a refugee perspective on these schools.

as domestic servants – reflecting the harsher economic climate in Austria but also, perhaps, the greater percentage of *Ostjuden* in that country who were more flexible in their approach to escape. Nevertheless, as persecution intensified during the 1930s, and with it the desire to emigrate from Germany, demand for places in the Jewish household schools and classes increased in centres such as Berlin and Vienna.[27]

III. British Refugee Policy

In terms of emigration to Britain, the numbers of foreign domestics increased significantly in 1936 – nearly doubling from the year before to a total of 8,449. The upward trend continued in 1937 when 14,000 foreign permits were granted. By the end of 1938, when regulations were changed, at least 7,000 Jewish women had escaped to Britain through the Ministry of Labour scheme.[28] Knowledge that domestic service in Britain offered one of the best methods of escape came through classic "immigrant" sources of information. First, there were letters from British friends and relatives pointing out vacancies and sometimes even offering jobs themselves.[29] Second, those who had already come to Britain encouraged family and friends to join them.[30] Third, British domestic employment agencies had offices in Europe. One large company specialised in recruitment from Vienna and is another reason why so high a proportion of foreign domestics, Jewish and non-Jewish, were Austrian.[31] Fourth, Jewish communal organisations provided up-to-date information on the different immigration policies operating throughout the world in journals such as *Jüdische Auswanderung*.[32]

Despite the efforts of the domestic schools, most Jewish women remained untrained – out of the 500 women rescued by the Cambridge Refugee Committee on domestic permits, only two were found to have suitable experience for their new occupation. Some resorted to last-minute techniques to persuade British consular officials that they were suitable – such as roughening hands before interviews or learning to make tea the "English" way.[33] Indeed rejection was a real possibility. In

[27] On reluctance to leave see Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 73 and Imperial War Museum (hereafter IWM), refugee tape 003790. For Austria see the statistics in, PRO, LAB 8/77; see also Josef Fraenkel (ed.), *The Jews of Austria. Essays on their Life, History and Destruction*, London 1967, essays by Meir Henisch ('Galician Jews in Vienna'), Norman Bentwich ('The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Austria 1938–42') and Herbert Rosenkranz ('The Anschluss and the Tragedy of Austrian Jewry 1934–45'), pp. 361–374, 467–546.

[28] PRO, LAB 8/77; Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[29] See, e. g., IWM, refugee tapes 004296, 003816; Hilde Gerrard, 'We Were Lucky', unpublished ms., Museum of Jewish Life, 34/84, p. 11.

[30] Frances Goldberg's 'Memoirs', unpublished, Manchester Jewish Museum (hereafter MJM), give a graphic account of a young girl helping her sister and then her parents to escape. See also letter from Marion Smith, in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIII, no. 4 (April 1988), p. 13; MJM, refugee tape J283.

[31] On the importance of the recruitment agencies see, PRO, LAB 8/92; MJM, refugee tape J283; Julie Hoglund, letter to the author, 14th February 1988.

[32] Published in Berlin by the *Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland*. See Strauss, *loc. cit.*, for general comment.

[33] Cambridge statistics from IWM, refugee tape 004588; Gerrard, *loc. cit.*, p. 12; Segal, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Anne Fields, letter to the author, 18th August 1989; Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 7 for various forms of preparation.

1938 of 16,281 applications for the domestic worker scheme, 15% were turned down. This was due to many factors, such as the age of the applicants, but there is some evidence that personal prejudice on the part of British officials was not irrelevant. It is not clear, however, how many of those refused permits were non-Jewish, non-refugee women. Such rejections could have grave consequences for the individuals involved, but nevertheless a large number of foreign domestics were accepted. This stands in stark contrast to the overall immigration policy of the government at this point which, in the words of the Ministry of Labour was "in view of the prevailing volume of unemployment to safeguard the interests of British workers" by "closely restrict[ing]" the admission of newcomers. Yet through a curious paradox of class considerations, domestic service would largely remain outside this restrictionist policy.[34]

It has been suggested that during the 1930s "Jews leaving Europe were seen by British policy makers as problematic immigrants rather than refugees with a claim to asylum".[35] The example of refugee domestic servants in some ways reinforces this analysis, although it also indicates that economic considerations (where refugees were not necessarily seen as problematic) played a vital role in policy. In addition, whilst revealing the cold, self-interested side to British responses in the 1930s, the arrival of up to 20,000 Jewish domestic servants highlights some of the flexibility, and even, at times, humanitarian impulses within government policy.

Two years after the Nazis had come to power, a senior Ministry of Labour official wrote with regard to rescuing German Jews that:

> "up to the present... British policy has been not to vary the aliens administration in favour of or against the refugees. In the result here has been very little criticism of such assistance as has been given to refugees in this country, but the numbers admitted have been very small as compared with those admitted to other countries."[36]

In a few exceptional cases – scientists, engineers and industrialists – the British government actually encouraged immigration to Britain. Even here, however, there was caution; it was feared that the potential success of German Jews might cause resentment, although at the same time providing much-needed employment in Britain's depressed areas.[37] Generally, however, the government was careful not to antagonise middle-class British professional groups such as doctors, dentists, lawyers and academics who feared for their livelihoods in the insecure economic climate of the 1930s. Efforts were made to rescue individual scholars through the Academic Assistance Council (later the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning), but generally the virulent anti-alienism of the medical world reflected the antagonism of the professions towards a potential Jewish influx into Britain. In the case of the doctors, the Home Office believed that the hostility of organisations such as the British Medical Association was unreasonable, yet it was still unwilling

[34] PRO, LAB 8/92, W. Crookenden memorandum, 28th November 1945, gives statistics for the 1930s. For general policy in 1938 see, PRO, LAB 8/871. For evidence of prejudice see the comments of Maurice Jeffes, 5th June 1939, in PRO, HO 213/107, E409.

[35] Louise London, 'Jewish Refugees, Anglo-Jewry and British Government Policy', in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry*, Oxford 1990, p. 163.

[36] Humbert Wolfe, 5th March 1935, in PRO, LAB 8/78.

[37] Loebl (see note 10); Elaine Blond with Barry Turner, *Marks of Distinction. The Memoirs of Elaine Blond*, London 1988, p. 60 for Home Office caution with industrialists.

to challenge its restrictionist position. Only during the war, with a severe shortage of medical staff, were restrictions on trained alien doctors relaxed – even then with the BMA's disapproval.[38]

Ironically, however, with the refugee domestic servants, the class biases inherent in government policy were actually to work to the benefit of the newcomers. In the case of the professional occupations, the government decided to appease middle-class sentiment and allowed only handfuls of German Jews to practice their own skills in Britain. As will emerge, the threat of foreign competition in domestic service also created a strong response from the British workforce at an organised and un-organised level. The Ministry of Labour reported in December 1937 that in recent weeks the increase in foreign domestics had led to "a number of complaints as to the effects [of] this influx", but that these had not been "from any representative body of opinion". In fact at the same time both the Home Office and Ministry of Labour had received a resolution from the National Council of Women, a middle-class organisation with over two million members, urging the government "to grant [domestic worker] permits freely to approved young women of other nationalities".[39]

In 1938 one of the first actions of the Trades Union Congress (TUC)-sponsored National Union of Domestic Workers was to protest against foreign labour, but again the government remained unimpressed – its middle-class constituency was its greatest concern. Groups such as the National Council of Women saw not only its own lifestyle but the whole future of Britain threatened by the servant shortage and it was this voice, rather than that of native labour, which was listened to. As one official noted at the end of 1937: "I presume that the influx can be safely permitted to continue."[40] Indeed, late in 1938, when trade union protests were at their most vocal against the refugees, government policy, if anything, actually relaxed. Responsibility for Jewish alien domestics was transferred from the Ministry of Labour to the Home Office – reflecting more than anything the administrative chaos that came with the increased number of women applying for permits after the *Anschluß* and the *"Kristallnacht"*.[41]

The transfer to the Home Office brought its own problems as most of the administrative load was now passed onto the central refugee co-ordinating body in Britain – the Central Office for Refugees – known as Bloomsbury House. Nevertheless, this move did also mark a slight liberalisation of policy corresponding to the intensification of Nazi antisemitism. First, it recognised that these Jewish

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[38] IWM, refugee tape 004469, for an account of the Academic Assistance Council by its secretary; on the British Medical Association see, PRO, HO 213/259 and 263; E. Hearst, 'A Brain-Gain Rejected. Refugee Doctors in Britain', in *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. XIX, no. 2 (1965).

[39] Memorandum, December 1937, PRO, LAB 8/77 and resolution in the same file, October 1937, from the National Council of Women. Similar shortages in the nursing profession allowed another, but more limited, route of escape. See Tony Kushner, 'Asylum or Servitude? Refugee Domestics in Britain, 1933–1945', in *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, vol. LIII, pt. 3 (1988), p. 20; Josephs, *op. cit.*, pp. 123–132.

[40] On the Union see, Kushner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 21–22; PRO, LAB 8/77, R. A. Butler minute, 13th October 1937; for the National Council of Women see, PRO, HO 213/322; PRO, LAB 8/77; Trades Union Council Archive, University of Warwick Modern Records Centre (hereafter TUC), 54/76 (4).

[41] The shift of responsibility to the Home Office is detailed in PRO, LAB 8/82 and PRO, FO 371/22534, W12173, memorandum of 9th September 1938. For a full list of the new regulations see, TUC, 195/910/454.

women, whilst coming to Britain to provide labour, were refugees. Block visas of up to 400 per week were given to the Domestic Bureau of Bloomsbury House to distribute at the start of 1939, much to the concern of the TUC. More specifically, the regulations of 1931 were slightly relaxed for the refugee domestics. A strictly limited number of domestic permits for married couples were introduced and the age limit lowered from eighteen to sixteen for refugee girls.[42]

The policy was thus defined through self-interest (that is of the middle classes) refined by a humanitarian impulse. As was the case in Holland, where many Jews also escaped to become domestic servants, trade union and labour opposition were for once conveniently ignored.[43] Although recruited for their labour many British officials were aware that some of the refugees made unlikely servant material. Some were thus antagonistic to recruiting Jewish women. Captain Jeffes of Foreign Office Passport Control, who visited offices across Europe in June 1939 was "appalled to see the bad type of refugee presenting... Ministry of Labour permits... who were so filthily dirty both in their person and their clothing that they were utterly unfit to go inside a decent British home". Here the turn-of-the-century prejudice against the *Ostjuden* was resurfacing. Another Foreign Office official regretted that the immigration policy of the government was so geared to domestic service that "the better type of refugees... were ruled out at the start".[44] Nevertheless, those like Jeffes who wanted to impose a more rigorous selection procedure, although not without influence, were generally unable to change the *laissez faire* approach of the Home Office. This, in effect, left procedure in the hands of the refugee organisations. Holderness, a senior official in the Home Office, summed up his department's view in a letter to the Governor of Jersey in 1938:

> "We know... that many of the women who are coming here on Ministry of Labour permits for domestic service are of Jewish origin and once admitted will have to be allowed to stay here. Many of the women are not of the domestic class and we anticipate that they will not be content to remain in domestic service and will probably wish to take up some other occupation."[45]

Nevertheless the Home Office intended "to keep them to domestic service for at any rate two or three years" which given the "large unsatisfied demand" for servants was regarded as a reasonable deal by the government. Thus although the entry of these refugees was dependent on them taking up domestic service, and all effort would be made to keep them in the occupation, there appears to have been a tacit acceptance that this could not be maintained on a long-term basis when the refugee women would seek other jobs. This contrasts with the other elements of the government's refugee policy where most of those admitted were on strictly tem-

[42] PRO, HO 213/324 for the slight relaxation of procedure; on block visas see, TUC, 195/910/454, memorandum of 26th January 1939.

[43] The TUC representatives in the Domestic Bureau were constantly frustrated in their attempts to change government policy, see, E. Harries to Walter Citrine, 29th August 1938, TUC, 54/76 (4). Bob Moore has confirmed that the situation in the Netherlands was similar, letter to the author, 17th March 1989.

[44] M. Jeffes to Ernest Cooper, 5th June 1939, in PRO, HO 213/107, E409; R. Parkin, 8th May 1939, in PRO, FO 371/24100, W7740.

[45] E. Holderness to Major General Martelli, 4th July 1938, PRO, HO 213/281. I am grateful to Louise London for this reference.

porary transit visas (including the 10,000 on the *Kindertransporte*).[46] In a sense, therefore, British refugee policy with regard to domestics was at its most liberal level but it was also clearly motivated by opportunism and blatant self-interest. An overall assessment of the government's policy will be left to the conclusion, but here it is only necessary to point out that the very laxness of the state's control of refugee domestic procedures, both in Europe and Britain itself, meant that non-official responses were to be of vital importance in the lives of these Jewish women.

IV. British Popular Responses

Once in Britain, the state's role in the life of the refugee women (until the outbreak of war) was minimal. They could change jobs (but not occupations) and only needed to keep the police informed of such moves.[47] Otherwise the treatment of the refugees depended on an enclosed world made up of their employers, their fellow employees (as well as the trade union movement) and, of great significance, the refugee organisations in Britain, who, in many ways, acted as mediators between both the maid and mistress and the state and public.

The Refugee Organisations

In a provocative article, Louise London has suggested that Anglo-Jewish leaders and refugee bodies "played a crucial and unprecedented role in the evolution of government policy towards Jews seeking admission" in the 1930s. London's work echoes some of the critical studies carried out on American Jewish leadership in this period and the Second World War.[48] There can be a danger with such literature in that the power and freedom of Jewish communities in the free world to liberalise refugee policy may be overestimated. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that in the British example the refugee organisations were influential in choosing which refugees received visas and also in controlling the lives of refugees actually in Britain.

In late 1938, when the Home Office took over responsibility for granting permits to the refugee domestics, effective control over selection rested with the Domestic Bureau of the Refugee Co-ordinating Committee (Bloomsbury House). It was responsible for the issuing of green forms which were sent to Jewish/refugee organisations across Europe. If the report from the organisation was favourable then the Bureau could apply for a permit which would generally be granted by the Passport Control Office.[49] Until the start of 1939 entry to Britain depended on having a prearranged post to come to but after that the Bureau was allowed to admit up to 400 a week without the assurance of work. This, on the one hand, enabled a great increase in the numbers of Jewish women coming in – in the first three weeks

[46] *Ibid.*; Mary Ford, 'The Arrival of Jewish Refugee Children in England, 1938–39', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2 (July 1983), pp. 135–151.

[47] For these regulations see PRO, LAB 8/83 and 84.

[48] London, *loc. cit.*, p. 164; Haskel Lookstein, *Were We Our Brothers' Keeper? The Public Response of American Jews to the Holocaust, 1938–1944*, New York 1986, for an extreme example.

[49] On procedure see, Mrs. Waley Cohen at a meeting of the Board of Deputies and the German Jewish Aid Commitee, 23rd April 1939, in Barash Papers, M533, in Manchester Central Reference Library.

of January 1939, 1,400 permits were granted. On the other, it put enormous stress on the Bloomsbury House organisation – at best a semi-voluntary set-up – who resented their new powers and rightly perceived that the Home Office was "delegating its responsibility in this respect to the Co-ordinating Committee".[50]

At this stage the lack of staff, resources and professional expertise led to a serious crisis at Bloomsbury House – correspondence was lost and applications delayed.[51] The organisation did its best in visits to Berlin and Vienna "to ensure that proper arrangements were made" in giving domestic permits to suitable women. It thus hoped to dampen down trade union criticism. From May 1939 applicants had to pass a test in German and Austrian Jewish training schools before permits were granted. But the chaos in Europe and in its own offices meant that there was little it could effectively do in selecting the "right type of refugee".[52] Rescue was the priority and in this Bloomsbury House had some success – up to 14,000 Jewish women escaped to Britain through Domestic Bureau/Home Office permits. Many thousands of others were, however, frustrated in their attempts to come to Britain as domestics – the newspaper adverts in the last year before war, with heart-rending appeals for domestic work, are a graphic illustration of the desperation of European Jewry at this stage. The picture that emerges of domestic service-related refugee policy under Bloomsbury House administration is thus complex. Many thousands of domestic permits were issued, yet possibly less than one in two were actually used.[53] Some were waiting in Europe for better opportunities, others for posts to be arranged in Britain, whilst many were allowed entry on block visas without having jobs fixed up.

The confusion that resulted from this policy, and the inevitable mixed ability of the Jewish women that resulted from it, pushed the refugee organisations into more rigorous control of their charges in Britain. In the world of native domestic servants, Pam Taylor has written of the decisive role of working-class mothers in pushing their daughters into domestic service in the inter-war period. This was primarily due to economic necessity in this depressed period, but Taylor also points out "that the place and training of the working-class girl in the home contributed not just to her skills but also to her willingness and obedience in service. There is a sense in which mothers were contributing to the exploitation of their daughters." In many ways the refugee bodies on a national and local level attempted to emulate the role of the domestic's mother.[54]

Generally the policy of the refugee organisations was to "see refugees spread more evenly throughout the country, rather than having a vast majority living in

[50] Permits policy and Bloomsbury House objections in Domestic Bureau report, 28th January 1939, TUC, 54/76 (7).

[51] For contemporary criticism see, *Jewish Chronicle*, 6th January 1939 revived in *The Sunday Times*, 23rd February 1986 and *Jewish Chronicle*, 28th February 1986.

[52] Waley Cohen in Barash Papers, *loc. cit.*; Domestic Bureau minutes, 1st May 1939, TUC, 456.

[53] See, e. g., *The Manchester Guardian* or *The Times* throughout the spring and summer of 1939, or the tragic photograph album consisting of German- and Austrian-Jewish women looking for domestic work through the offices of the Manchester Jewish Refugee Committee, in Barash Papers, M533 Box 9. Few of these women found positions. Yet in May 1939, of 79,271 visas granted to refugees, only 29,000 had actually arrived: R. Parkin memorandum, 8th May 1939, PRO, FO 371/24100, W7740.

[54] Pam Taylor, 'Daughters and Mothers – Maids and Mistresses. Domestic Service Between the Wars', in John Clarke, Chas Critcher and Richard Johnson (eds.), *Working Class Culture. Studies in History and Theory*, London 1980, p. 139.

the North West districts of London".[55] The aim was to achieve as great an invisibility as possible and so limit the risk of antisemitism. The nature of domestic service and its potential for dispersing the refugees – servant shortages were most acute in the country – was therefore attractive to the refugee organisations and possibly why they were eager to encourage it as a method of escape. Indeed this was in contrast to their general policy which was one of extreme caution.

Those refugee women who were sent to the countryside were obviously more prone to isolation, but were also easier to control.[56] In the cities several hostels were set up by Bloomsbury House for refugee domestics looking for work. Regulations were harsh, training compulsory and stay, as with Kershaw House in Manchester, limited to six weeks maximum.[57] By such monitoring the refugee bodies hoped to Anglicise their charges and prepare them for their new careers. Above all the Refugee Co-ordinating Committee wanted to keep the women in domestic service – to keep the Home Office satisfied but also to avoid them being a further charge on the Jewish community which, since 1933, had promised to maintain the refugees. Refugee children also found themselves pushed in the direction of domestic service when they embarked on vocational training and discouraged from thinking of a career in the professions.[58] This overall policy reflected the insecurity of Anglo-Jewry during this troubled decade and a desire to keep the refugees out of the public eye. The "needs" of these Jewish women were perceived less in the way of emotional support and more in the form of practical training. Bloomsbury House is not remembered, unsurprisingly, with any affection by former domestics and other refugees.[59]

The Mistresses

Whilst the refugee organisations put much effort into attempting to improve the quality of refugee servants, they spent relatively less on checking the conditions under which the women would have to work. Once the employer had paid a nominal fee to secure a refugee and agreed to pay a minimum wage of fifteen shillings a week, the mistress was at liberty to treat her new servant as she saw fit.[60] Much then would depend on the nature of that relationship. The motivation of the mistress was thus of great importance, and the huge variation in the experiences of the refugee domestics largely reflects the diverse reasons for seeking a foreign worker.

It is easiest to identify the two extremes of employer behaviour. On the one hand there were those motivated by cynicism who saw the opportunity to exploit a

[55] Schiff, in Barash Papers, 23rd April 1939; Bloomsbury House was requested not to support refugee domestics who "were unwilling to work in the provinces", German Jewish Aid Committee minutes, 22nd November 1939, Barash Papers, M533 Box 1.

[56] See, IWM, refugee tape 003822; Martha Lang, *Austrian Cockney*, London 1980, *passim*.

[57] Kershaw House minutes, Barash Papers, M533; report on the training hostels by Ruth Tomlinson, 18th March 1940, PRO, HO 213/519.

[58] See, Harris House Diary, MJM, where one third of the fifteen refugee girls were being trained for domestic service, despite their greater ambitions; Karen Gershon (ed.), *We Came as Children. A Collective Autobiography of Refugees*, London 1966, p. 40.

[59] MJM, refugee tapes J283 and J282; *Jewish Chronicle*, 6th January 1939.

[60] Report on meeting of Local Domestic Committees, Bloomsbury House, 1938? (date unidentified), Barash Papers, M533 Box 5.

powerless group in society. On the other, there were those who believed it was their duty to help a persecuted minority in any way that they could. Reflecting this, many Christians, particularly from Nonconformist groups such as the Quakers and the Christadelphians, as well as the Anglo-Jewish community, offered positions as servants to the refugees without exploiting their labour. These sympathetic households offered emotional support to these uprooted women and valuable practical advice and financial support for those hoping to help friends and relatives still in Nazi Europe. Close and often lifelong friendships developed despite the imposed mistress-servant relationship.[61] At the other extreme, the refugee organisations and the government were aware that there were some employers who were unable to keep British servants because of their appalling treatment, but who could, in a Ministry of Labour official's words: "always... secure aliens from abroad who... would not know... to what type of place they would be coming... certain employers regarded domestic servants as of an inferior race and treated them accordingly." The secretary of the Domestic Bureau had also come "across undesirable employers who exploit these terrified girls and threaten deportation".[62] Most often this manipulation of the refugee's marginality was in the form of work exploitation, but the other major abuse associated with the servant occupation – sexual harassment from males in the households – was also not absent in the case of these Jewish women.[63]

The treatment of the refugee domestics, therefore, ranged from extreme to extreme. Some provided labour for the very worst of employers and others the very best (reflecting the latter one refugee recalls that she never did "so little domestic work as in those days").[64] The experience of the majority, however, cannot be so easily categorised. The motives of most employers of refugees were not cynical, but their treatment of their servants was nevertheless consistent with general practices in the occupation: as one refugee recalls "anyone who came as a domestic, was treated as a domestic. There was no quarter given."[65] To put this in perspective, most domestics in Britain worked for twelve hours a day, six and a half days a week with strict regulations concerning their limited free time. In short, "philanthropy" in helping rescue the Jewish women was not incompatible with exploitation.[66]

The refugee organisations did attempt to give employers "the whole story... who the people were, what their background was, and so on". A leaflet produced by Bloomsbury House, *Mistress and Maid*, whilst mainly aimed at getting the

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[61] For the Christian response see, Josephs, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–67; Anne Fields, letter to the author, 18th August 1989, comments that her employers "treated me as though I had been *their* daughter"; long-lasting friendships are referred to in IWM, refugee tape 004588 and *Picture Post*, 16th October 1948, letter from M. D. Ellis.

[62] W. Crookenden memorandum, 28th November 1945, PRO, LAB 8/92; Franklin to Bezzant, 19th December 1938, TUC, 54/76 (4).

[63] For sexual harassment in domestic service see James Young, *Socialism and the English Working Class. A History of English Labour 1883–1939*, London 1989, p. 70, and with specific regard to refugee domestics, Lucy Long, 'Memoirs', unpublished, pp. 1, 3 (in the author's possession); Inge Ader, letter to her mother, 22nd May 1939 and letter to the author, 11th February 1988 (in author's possession).

[64] IWM, refugee tape 003816.

[65] Isabelle Beck, letter to the author, 16th February 1988.

[66] For restriction on free time see, W. W. Brown's comments in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIII, no. 1 (January 1988). Taylor, *Women Domestic Servants*, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–139 gives an indication of inter-war domestic service.

refugees to "adapt yourself as quickly as possible to your new surroundings" also warned the employer that: "Many of these girls are trying to forget their terrible experiences before they found shelter in this country."[67] Yet such information made little difference to actual treatment. Many refugee servants faced the frustration of Lore Segal's mother who failed to convince her mistress of what was happening to the Jews in Austria and Germany.[68] As I have suggested elsewhere, the persecution of the Jews was beyond the comprehension of most of the British public in the 1930s.[69] Even when there was greater knowledge, as with Anglo-Jewish households, treatment was not necessarily changed. The nature of domestic service, which depended on the absolute division of employer and servant, denied the refugee domestic the basic requirements to adjust to normal society. On the practical side there was little money to be made to help relatives abroad or in Britain. In terms of psychological needs, the inferior treatment in the way of food and accommodation and the loss of individuality involved with the occupation – domestics were often given a new name – meant that even "neutral" treatment of refugees was unhelpful.[70]

The worst treatment of refugees generally occurred in small lower-middle-class households – those who could least afford servants but expected the most from them. Many refugees remember that their worst treatment was in Jewish homes, reflecting partly the continuing ethnic tensions within the Jewish community, but more importantly the marginal middle-class status of much of Anglo-Jewry at this time.[71] Class considerations between the worlds of upstairs and downstairs were thus of utmost importance in determining the treatment of the refugees. Much to the frustration of women and men who were formally employers of servants and leading professionals in Berlin and Vienna, they were now cooks, maids and gardeners and treated as such.[72] Margareta Burkill, secretary of one of the biggest provincial refugee committees, in Cambridge, was stunned to find "that dons' wives could treat somebody who was in every way as good as them in an absolutely terrible manner". The artificially created class barriers had to be maintained and, in the majority of cases, any attempt to bridge them was frowned upon.[73] If the refugees had been redefined by their employers as working-class, how then did their fellow servants respond to them?

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[67] *Mistress and Maid*, London 1940 (copies in TUC Archive).

[68] Segal, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 46, 67, 83; Erica Marks, letter to the author, 17th February 1988; IWM, refugee tape 004588.

[69] Tony Kushner, 'Beyond the Pale? British Reactions to Nazi Anti-Semitism, 1933–39', in *idem* and Kenneth Lunn (eds.), *The Politics of Marginality. The Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*. London 1990, pp. 143–160.

[70] Segal, *op. cit.*, p. 85 eloquently describes this process; on differential treatment in terms of food and accommodation see, MJM, refugee tape J283; Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 12; A. Gotthelf, letter to the author, 14th February 1988.

[71] See, MJM, refugee tapes J277 and J281; IWM, refugee tape 004296; on Anglo-Jewry and the domestics see Ronald Fraser, *In Search of a Past*, London 1984, p. 134; Charles Myers, 'The Servant Problem', in *Occupational Psychology*, 30 (April 1939), pp. 85–86, on small households.

[72] Segal, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–170.

[73] IWM, refugee tape 004296.

THE MAIDS

Traditionally influxes of foreign workers have been greeted with opposition and hostility from native labour in Britain. Responses to refugee domestics were no exception.[74] In July 1938 the TUC's Women's Department sponsored the formation of the National Union of Domestic Workers. Its organiser, Beatrice Bezzant, made clear to the Refugee Co-ordinating Committee as early as August 1938 her "keenest opposition... to the continued importation of foreign domestic workers" adding that she had "had so many complaints from domestic workers... of the way in which foreign nationals [were] making the bad conditions in domestic employment even worse" – allegedly undercutting wage rates and lowering conditions overall.[75] Reflecting on these accusations after the war, the Ministry of Labour believed that as foreign workers represented less than 1% of the workforce, it was unlikely that they made any real impact. Indeed a survey carried out by the Union itself found only one example of Home Office regulations with regard to the employment of foreign workers being ignored.[76] The Union's opposition to foreign workers – it did not differentiate between the refugees and other aliens – reflected its own insecurity and desire to appease its small membership. Its members' opposition to foreigners in turn reflected the desperate state of an occupation where collective action was practically impossible.[77]

Within domestic service, despite the clear class and status divisions, militancy amongst the servants was rare. There was, as Paul Thompson suggests, a "complex mixture of loyalty and hostility which bound servant to servant and servant to employer".[78] The introduction of the refugees upset this uneasy balance and often led to personal jealousies against the Jewish women, sometimes expressing itself in the form of antisemitism. Indeed there is some evidence that the British Union of Fascists made some recruits amongst the domestics by playing upon fears of alien competition.[79] Opposition to the refugees went beyond demanding their restriction – Bezzant reported that many servants had "stated that if foreign nationals were admitted they would not join the Union" and the refugees were excluded from membership.[80] As with most aspects of this question, labour responses were not always hostile – friendships did develop between native and foreign servants and even the trade union response was not totally negative. Bezzant continued to push the Home Office to restrict entry until the outbreak of war but she was still willing,

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[74] Kenneth Lunn, 'Race Relations or Industrial Relations? Race and Labour in Britain, 1880–1950', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4 (1985), pp. 1–29.

[75] Bezzant to Franklin, 20th December 1938, TUC, 54/76 (4).

[76] PRO, LAB 8/92; National Union of Domestic Workers, minutes, 1st February 1939, TUC, 54/76 (7).

[77] On this lack of differentiation see, Bezzant in the *Evening Standard* [December 1938?], quoted in TUC, 54/76 (4), but *Jewish Chronicle*, 23rd December 1938, for clarification of her position. For the Union's weakness see Norbert Soldon, *Women in British Trade Unions 1874–1976*, Dublin 1978, p. 144; Sheila Lewenhak, *Women and Trade Unions*, London 1977, pp. 181–184, 230–231.

[78] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History*, Oxford 1988, p. 151.

[79] For servant antisemitism see, Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–138; IWM, refugee tape 003816; A. Gotthelf, letter to the author, 14th February 1988. On Fascist support see, Tony Kushner, 'Politics and Race, Gender and Class. Refugees, Fascists and Domestic Service in Britain, 1933–1940', in Kushner and Lunn (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 48–57.

[80] Bezzant, 14th March 1939, TUC, 54/76 (4) and Union minutes, 7th December 1938, TUC, 54/76 (7).

on an unofficial level, to give advice to the refugees who reported that "she is always assisting us in a very friendly way". By the middle of the war, applications on an individual basis for membership from refugees were considered sympathetically by the Union.[81] Nevertheless, it remains true that for most of the refugee domestics it would be left to their own resources to struggle for survival in British society.

V. The Refugee Domestic Experience

As will emerge later, most of these refugees would remain as servants for only a short time. To many of them it was an unhappy period which possibly explains the near-silence on the subject, both in refugee publications and in the secondary literature.[82] It has been only the rare moments of humour in this experience that have tended to be recalled, leaving an important, if painful, gap in our knowledge of refugee life in Britain.[83] The section that follows, based on refugee memoirs, several oral history projects, as well as contemporary accounts, cannot claim to be totally comprehensive – there were over 20,000 Jewish refugee domestics and, as has been indicated, life as a servant was a diverse and personalised experience. Moreover, the family circumstances of these women varied greatly. Its purpose is to highlight the pressures under which these women operated and to suggest that, by keeping their own self-respect and often holding families together, this was one of the remarkable but neglected "achievements" of the Jewish refugees in Britain.

Expectations and First Encounters

It is clear that for many German and Austrian Jews, coming to Britain on a domestic permit was an option to be used as a last resort. Many had affidavits for America, but realised that after the *Anschluß* and the *"Kristallnacht"* the situation was now desperate and it was unwise "to sit waiting for [one's American quota] number to come up".[84] This, and the training undertaken before emigration, do suggest some sense of realism as to the prospects life as a domestic would offer in Britain. The contemporary anecdote "about the young lady of wealthy Viennese stock who came downstairs on her first morning in the house of the English people she believed to be her saviours, at half past ten... wearing a blue crepe-de-Chine dressing gown with tassel, looking for her breakfast" represented refugee wishful thinking and such treatment was not seriously expected.[85] Nevertheless, quite a few did arrive at Bloomsbury House from the Continent hoping, as did Hilda Dahl, that "she would be able to get out of it". The organisation had, of course, little time for such complaints. By 1939 the view of the majority of those emigrating to become

[81] See the comments of the refugees [1940?] in TUC, 54/76 (4). A request for membership from fifteen refugees in Llangollen was eventually approved by the Union. See its minutes, 8th July and 9th December 1941, TUC, 54/76 (7).

[82] *Britain's New Citizens. The Story of the Refugees from Germany and Austria*, Tenth Anniversary Publication of the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain, London 1951, p. 61 mentions the domestics only in passing.

[83] Brown, *loc. cit.*, typifies this approach.

[84] MJM, refugee tape J283 and similarly, Mrs. H. Jahn, interview with the author, February 1988.

[85] Segal, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

domestics was that "it didn't matter, it was a question of life and death".[86] Yet even for those prepared in the Jewish domestic schools with this philosophical attitude, the shock of first experiences in service could be traumatic.

Whilst to Eva Freeman, arriving from Berlin in June 1939, "the minute I put my feet down on the London pavements I felt I [had] landed in paradise", many more felt homesick.[87] Some, still in their teens, were leaving home for the first time and had left all their family and friends behind. Not surprisingly, surrounded by strangers and often unable to communicate in English, Britain appeared a bewildering and alienating place.[88] In this sense domestic service, described by Ronald Fraser as a "very closed world... a world to itself", was far from the ideal situation to start a new life as a refugee. Without sympathy and understanding from the employer, fellow servants or friends, life could be very isolated. It was only when she discovered that she was able to listen to German radio that Frances Goldberg, a domestic in Liverpool, "did not go to bed praying not to wake up in the morning".[89]

Whether sympathetic or not, employers expected work to be done and, for an initial period, cultural and linguistic differences created difficulties as well some tragi-comedy. Making tea and toast the "English" way was one hurdle to cross, although perhaps the greatest was overcoming the mysteries of lighting the fire. "You are of no use to us playing the piano or speaking a few languages. Before you came to England you had no idea of how to make a fire. I wish I had not let you come", shouted one "lady" at her distraught young refugee girl.[90] Employers had little understanding of the refugees' background and expected "normal" service almost immediately. A group of refugees associated with the Austrian centre recorded their first experiences: "'You have to get up at 7 o'clock in the morning. I'll wait for you in the kitchen.' These were our lady's last words. Very tired from the long journey we went to bed."[91] The experiences of Lucy Long – "the work was entirely unaccustomed and hard for one of my background. I learned fast but worked slowly" – were typical of most.[92] Some householders were willing to persevere with their foreign domestics, others quickly gave them the sack. The refugees themselves soon realised if they were being unnecessarily exploited and would seek new appointments. The Jewish refugee domestics, even more than their native counterparts, were highly mobile and it was not unusual for them to have three or more jobs in the relatively short time that they were in the occupation.[93]

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[86] MJM, refugee tapes J281 and J15.

[87] Letter to the author, 12th February 1988.

[88] See particularly, Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, *passim*; Erica Marks, letter to the author, February 1988.

[89] Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14; Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8; Eva Freeman, letter to the author, 12th February 1988; Marianne von Kahler, in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIII, no. 4 (April 1988).

[91] 'The First Breakfast', TUC, 54/76 (4).

[92] Long, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

[93] Letters to the author from, Julie Hoglund (14th February 1988), A. Gotthelf (14th February 1988), Anne Fields (18th February 1988) and Eva Freeman (12th February 1988), all stress the importance of moving positions – not all with beneficial results.

RESISTANCE

Generally speaking changing positions would improve a domestic's situation, but even at its best, as the refugee collective at the Austrian centre put it: "Domestic work is not a very pleasant one." The hours of work left "very little time for private life".[94] Even then the women were tired from all the physical effort and the close monitoring of free time was a further burden. Food varied but was usually inferior or the left-overs of the meals from "upstairs". The British cold and the lack of central heating were other grumbles, but in this the refugees faced only the same conditions as their British colleagues.[95] Nevertheless, as *Our Paper*, a refugee domestic circular, put it: "... most of us are still worse off. Why [is] that? Because we are expelled from our homeland, because we lost our friends, because for some time we lost our home, our mountains, our forests, our lakes."[96] In particular the pressure to help family still in danger bore heavily on the refugees. Memoirs and contemporary accounts indicate the efforts of these women, despite the huge burden imposed upon them through work, to get visas, guarantors or work for relatives on the Continent from a generally uncaring British society. Hilde Gerrard – who needed to raise £200 each for her parents, and eventually realising that she was not able to help, nearly had a nervous breakdown – was not an extreme or isolated example.[97]

Fighting for family outside Britain was one challenge facing the domestics. Another was trying to keep relatives actually in Britain together. In a reversal of traditional roles, even at fifteen shillings a week, the refugee women became chief breadwinners. Often children would be in different parts of the country, rescued through the *Kindertransporte*, and husbands without any source of income. The female refugees, there is little doubt, showed greater flexibility and adaptability in this period.[98] Through their efforts, which often meant a whole series of job changes, families were often kept together, even with the disruption caused by war – a subject which will be dealt with shortly. That so much was achieved in this period owed much to the internal resources of the refugees and their collective activities. With little or no help from the trade union movement, and the refugee organisations anxious only to keep these Jewish women in service, it was left, as *Our Paper* stated, "on us to do as much self-aid as possible".[99]

In London, the refugee domestics ran their own hostel for women needing temporary help. This became particularly important during the war when many of the refugees lost their jobs as domestics. In addition, two clubs were organised where the refugees met to talk about common troubles and to give each other

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[94] *Our Paper* [1940?], TUC, 54/76 (4).

[95] For complaints about food see, Mrs. "K.", interview with the author, 8th June 1988 (she comments that "her [employer's] heart did not let her give us the same food on the same day"); Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 12; A. Gotthelf, letter to the author, 14th February 1988. On the cold and other problems see, Marta Herz and Inge Nord, letter to their mother, 22nd May 1939 (in the possession of the author).

[96] *Our Paper*, *op. cit.*

[97] Gerrard, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15–16; Segal, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Eva Freeman, letter to the author, 12th February 1988.

[98] See Jillian Davidson's contribution to this volume and Berghahn, *op. cit.*, p. 119; IWM, refugee tape 004599; Segal, *op. cit.*, *passim*. See also a contemporary fictional account of refugee domestic service life: Helen Ashton, *Tadpole Hall*, London 1941.

[99] *Our Paper*, *op. cit.*

advice.[100] A self-organised domestic club also met in Liverpool which was "very important to us as refugees... There we came together and discussed our problems, failures and shared our worries."[101] Through such contact the refugees could learn of the availability of better positions, share ways of coping with the job and ways of helping relatives abroad. Domestic servants have often been unfairly portrayed as passive victims of exploitation. Generally forced through economic necessity to keep their jobs, they still managed to keep their self-esteem and integrity by resisting the depersonalising aspects of the occupation. The same could be said of the refugee domestics, who faced even less opportunity of changing their occupations, but maintained a sense of dignity at a time of most difficult physical and mental stress. These pressures would increase even more, however, with the outbreak of war and their transformation from "refugees" into "enemy aliens".

VI. War, Internment and After

Opposition to the refugee servants in the pre-war period was mainly confined to economic matters – the accusations that they were stealing "British" jobs, bringing down wage rates and worsening working conditions. Nevertheless, there were employers and fellow domestics who distrusted the refugees on xenophobic and even antisemitic grounds. In some cases this hostility surfaced in a mild form of insularity, such as the actress Joyce Grenfell's decision to "not have a foreigner... There's something a bit un-cosy about a non-Aryan refugee in one's kitchen." But there were also those "who were prejudiced indiscriminately against German-speaking persons". Others were actually biased in favour of the refugee domestics, believing the German girls to be cleaner and better cooks.[102] With the outbreak of war, however, suspicions about these foreign women began to dominate all other considerations. By the second week of war some 8,000 Jewish domestics had been sacked. This was for a variety of factors, including the disruption caused by evacuation, but, according to Lord Reading (speaking to the Home Office on behalf of the refugee organisations), "not the least of [these] was probably the unwillingness of British employers to continue to employ Germans".[103]

Indeed, the indiscriminate sacking of the refugee domestics in September 1939 illustrated how the plight of these Jewish women had never been fully comprehended by the British public. Thus rather than being perceived as victims of the Nazis, the removal of the domestics at the start of the war reflected fears that the Jewish refugees were really pro-German in their sympathies. This distrust was also reflected in the initial tribunal classifications instituted by the government. Nearly all the 73,400 Germans were put into one of three categories. Overall 64,200 out of 71,600 (90%) were given "C" classification – those for whom there was no doubt

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 8.

[102] James Roose-Evans (ed.), *Joyce Grenfell. Darling Ma. Letters to Her Mother 1932–1944*, London 1988, pp. 231–232; Segal, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121. For bias in favour see, MJM, refugee tape J283; Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–138.

[103] Lord Reading, 13th September 1939, PRO, HO 213/452; see also the Domestic Bureau, 14th September 1939, TUC, 456.

about their loyalty to Britain. Yet of a sample of 9,624 domestics only 6,132 or 64% were in the "C" grouping. Initially those in "B" category (of whom the tribunals had some doubt) were only restricted in the areas of employment and residence. In the invasion panic of spring/summer 1940 such classification would make a far greater impact as only "A" category (where the tribunals had serious doubts) and "B" category women were interned.[104]

The dismissals in September 1939 inevitably created enormous difficulties for the refugees, but they were also a source of great embarrassment to the refugee organisations. Thousands of refugees were left homeless and jobless, their position made more desperate by their ineligibility for state relief. In the process of survival the refugees' self-help organisations and friendship networks thus became vital in the early months of the war.[105] For the refugee organisations the problem of the 8,000 unemployed domestics brought their funding shortages to crisis point. The government – realising that otherwise the refugees would become a public charge – eventually agreed to lift the restrictions on refugee domestic employment, enabling them to be considered for other occupations. The Home Office also decided to lend money to the refugee organisations so they would avoid bankruptcy.[106] Although "B" category refugees were greatly restricted in the jobs they were allowed to take up, most "C" category domestics jumped at the opportunity of leaving service. Like many British servants, the refugees had no desire "to continue life as [a] domestic".[107] Margaret Ramsay, a refugee in Clapham, when told by her mistress that "she'd never make a real maid", spoke for many when she "replied that it wasn't her target"! Nursing, factory work and other occupations that opened up for women also sucked in the refugees. By March 1940 the Domestic Bureau had less than 1,600 women out of work and the occupation had ceased to dominate female refugee employment patterns.[108]

Ironically at the stage when the refugees were starting to recover from the dislocation at the start of the war, and enjoy greater liberty than at any time since their arrival, a campaign from large sections of the Right-wing popular press was gaining momentum – one which sought to end their freedom absolutely. The gender aspect of the fifth column scare in the spring of 1940 has not received sufficient attention from historians.[109] It is clear, however, that unlike the First World War, sex as well as national origin were grounds for suspicion for those who wanted to intern the "enemy" aliens. In the atmosphere of fear associated with this period of crisis in British history, the refugee domestics became triply

[104] Lafitte, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–39, 62–63 and *passim*.

[105] On self-help see, *Our Paper*, *op. cit.*, and Goldberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 22. The problem of unemployment assistance is referred to in the minutes of the Christian Council for Refugees, 8th March 1940, University of Southampton Archive.

[106] PRO, HO 213/519 and HO 213/298.

[107] Eva Freeman, letter to the author, 12th February 1988.

[108] MJM, refugee tape J320; Ruth Tomlinson, 'Domestic Position at the end of February 1940', PRO, HO 213/519.

[109] Miriam Kochan, *Britian's Internees in the Second World War*, London 1983, has two chapters entitled 'The Isle of Men'!; Ronald Stent, *A Bespattered Page? The Internment of 'His Majesty's Most Loyal Enemy Aliens'*, London 1980, also does not do justice to the subject of gender and internment; but see Peter and Leni Gillman, *Collar the Lot! How Britain Interned and Expelled its Wartime Refugees*, London 1980, pp. 101–102, 110–112.

suspect, representing an additional threat "from below the stairs". "These girls are a danger to the country" a Labour MP warned the Home Secretary in March 1940.[110]

But at this point, in the last stages of the phoney war, the campaign of such MPs and the Beaverbrook, Kemsley and Rothermere press empires made little impact on public opinion or state policy.[111] By the end of May, however, when Sir Neville Bland, British Minister at the Hague, broadcast to the nation to warn that "the paltriest kitchen maid not only can be, but generally is, a menace to the safety of the country", he had the government's backing and wide popular support. Employers and neighbours informed the police that they suspected the refugee servants of being spies and mass internments followed.[112]

The government's internment policy, it must be emphasised, was a mass of inconsistencies reflecting both muddle and prejudices. Because of the suspicions against the domestics, proportionally more women than men were put into "B" category at the start of the war, guaranteeing internment in May/June 1940. Yet "C" category women were left at liberty, prompting the following comments from Viscount Elibank in the House of Lords: "Is it not well known that some of the greatest and most famous spies in the world were of the female sex? Is it not also well known that very often one female spy is better than ten men?... Today this country is ridden by domestic servants of alien origin... and many of them are not trustworthy."[113] In the summer of 1940 many refugee domestics would have to pay with their loss of liberty for the xenophobic, class-biased and sexist assumptions of the men now directing government internment policy.

Internment proved to be another situation in which the refugee women were forced to show resilience against difficult circumstances. It is a reflection on how traumatic their recent experiences had been that to some "internment was a nice time".[114] To others, it was a further strain, leading to another separation from family and friends. Nevertheless, their time as internees on the Isle of Man was constructively spent organising classes and cultural events as well as developing a complex mini-economy in the camps.[115] Like domestic service itself, the internment episode was generally a brief part of the refugees' lives. Release procedure was, however, as random and haphazard as the summer internments. Some women were given their freedom if they had jobs to go to – in this sense internment was a sophisticated method of giving relief to the unemployed refugee domestics.[116] Nevertheless, the liberalisation of internment policy in the autumn of 1940 was such that not all those women released could find work. By November 1940, 3,000 refugees were registered as unemployed with the Domestic Bureau. The demands of the war economy

[110] Parkinson, in *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Commons, vol. 357, col. 2410, 1st March 1940; see also Beverly Nichols, in *Sunday Chronicle*, 26th May 1940; leader in *The Times*, 23rd May 1940; Panikos Panayi, '"The Hidden Hand". British Myths about German Control of Britain during the First World War', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, 7 (November 1988), pp. 253–272, indicates the lack of concern over gender in the earlier conflict.

[111] Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice. Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War*, Manchester 1989, pp. 142–150.

[112] Bland, 14th May 1940, PRO, FO 371/25189, W7984. For suspicion that the domestics were spies see, IWM, refugee tape 003816; MJM, refugee tape J82; Long, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.

[113] Viscount Elibank, in *Hansard*, *op. cit.*, House of Lords, vol. 116, cols. 411, 415, 23rd May 1940.

[114] IWM, refugee tape 003822.

[115] Long, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4–5; PRO, HO 213/1053.

[116] Tomlinson to Barash, 30th October 1940, Barash Papers, M533 Box 6.

were also growing, however, and in the latter part of 1940 one hundred of these women were being employed each week; by the start of 1941 only 500 refugee domestics remained unemployed. Recognising this development the Domestic Bureau of Bloomsbury House closed its offices in September 1941.[117]

It is important to stress that most of these women had not gone back to domestic work – of 134 female refugees surveyed by the Manchester Jewish Refugee Committee in May 1943, only fourteen were still in domestic work, nineteen were nurses, three in engineering, twenty-four in clerical work and fifty-two in factory jobs.[118] This employment pattern was still rather narrow and the jobs low paid (reflecting the wider limitations of female occupational advancement in Britain during the war), but it nevertheless represented an improvement in terms of personal freedom and financial reward for the refugee women.[119] From this hesitant start, many of the women began the slow process of starting or rebuilding more rewarding careers as well as taking control of their own homes. Few refugees, therefore, were left in domestic service by the end of the war.

In 1944 several senior Home Office officials reconsidered the problem of the refugees based in Britain and what was to happen to them in the post-war world. They were concerned in case there should be popular opposition to the employment of foreigners. But the officials were also aware that refugees had given much and could still contribute further to British society. It was also thought that there would be a great need "of women-power for domestic service, for which most of the pre-war women originally came".[120] Nevertheless, the shortage of servants and domestic workers in post-war Britain would not be made up from Jewish refugees. Immediately after the war, pressure from middle-class women's groups again led the government to consider the use of foreign labour for domestic work. In the late 1940s most of these foreign workers consisted of non-Jewish displaced persons.[121] West Indian immigrants would fill these jobs in the 1950s and 1960s. Most recently the TUC has campaigned against "the enslavement of foreign domestics" in Britain – in this case mainly Filipino men and women.[122] The few Jewish exceptions to this pattern were close relatives of refugees who came to Britain in the years after the war. Generally these were people refused entry under the narrow terms of the Home Office's Distressed Relatives scheme.[123] The Ministry of Labour recognised that this Home Office scheme to help those Jews who had survived the war on the Continent was highly restrictive. It thus turned a blind eye to applicants turned down by the Home Office who now wanted to come under the Ministry's foreign domestic worker scheme. The Ministry of Labour realised that if "we were to try

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[117] Tomlinson to Barash, 19th September 1941, Barash Papers, M533 Box 6; Domestic Bureau minutes, 17th January 1941, TUC, 195/910.454.

[118] Minutes of the Manchester Jewish Refugee Committee, June 1943, Manchester Central Reference Library.

[119] Teaching and nursing were common new occupations. For general comments see, Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War. Production and Patriarchy in Conflict*, London 1984.

[120] Prestige to Maxwell, 7th August 1944, PRO, HO 213/1009, E409.

[121] See in particular, PRO, LAB 8/92.

[122] Michael Banton, *The Coloured Quarter*, London 1955, p. 61; *The Guardian*, 11th March 1988 on Filipinos and Columbians (see also Nony Ardill and Nigel Cross, *Undocumented Lives*, London 1987, pp. 15–16).

[123] PRO, HO 213/1360 for this scheme.

and exclude [Jewish] near relatives whilst admitting any other foreigners, the general public could not be expected to appreciate the reasons for such a policy or to accept it as fair".[124] Thus, in a grudging, back-handed way, a few Holocaust survivors such as Elisabeth Weisz, sister of the cartoonist "Vicky", came to Britain after the war. As "Vicky's" biographers comment: "She entered – such were Britain's requirements of a concentration camp victim – on a 'Domestic Service Permit' which allowed her to be somebody's maid." The refugee domestic story thus had one final, and typically mean twist in its development.[125]

VII. Conclusion

Marion Smith, like many former refugees, "cannot think with affection of the time I spent as a domestic".[126] It is not surprising given the hardship of their experiences that few refugee women have dwelt on this difficult period in their life. Nevertheless, the avoidance of the issue of domestic service in secondary literature on the refugees from Nazism is harder to defend. Although the time spent as servants was relatively short – for most women perhaps a year or eighteen months, it was still a period of great significance.

First, accounts of British refugee policy in the 1930s and 1940s are bound to be incomplete if the domestic worker schemes are not taken into consideration. This route of escape to Britain remained the most common, especially in the crisis period for European Jewry from the *Anschluß* to the outbreak of war, when emigration was still feasible. Indeed over one third of all the Jewish refugees in Britain came through the domestic service option. Does then the domestic service scheme confirm the analysis that British refugee policy was "comparatively compassionate, even generous"?[127] On one level, the answer is "yes", for in the period of greatest need the British government liberalised its policy to enable many thousands of women to escape from Nazi tyranny. In the last year before war some 40,000 refugees were allowed entry into Britain and 14,000 of these came as domestic servants.[128] On another level, the scheme was, despite some humanitarianism, deeply self-interested, concerned as it was to help meet the servant shortages of the middle classes. Even here there was flexibility, for government officials realised that the Jewish women would only stay in the occupation for a limited period – shorter than they anticipated because of the outbreak of war. It must also be remembered that a significant number of Jewish women were actually refused domestic permits.

Yet there is a danger of incorporating too many of the contemporary concerns of the state when assessing refugee policy. At that time the British government

[124] Denys minute, 5th July 1946, PRO, LAB 8/92; Home Office response in PRO, HO 213/1360.

[125] Russell Davies and Liz Ottoway, *Vicky*, London 1987, p. 79. A few Jewish children from the camps were also allowed entry on a temporary basis. See, PRO, HO 213/618, 781 and 782; Kitty Hart, *Return to Auschwitz*, New York 1985, and Charity Blackstock, *Wednesday's Children*, London 1967 are personal accounts.

[126] *AJR Information*, vol. XLIII, no. 4 (April 1988).

[127] Sherman, *op. cit.*, p. 267 and Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 1985, p. 154, for a critique of this analysis.

[128] Statistics on immigration are from, Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany – Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I)', in *Year Book XXV of the Leo Baeck Institute*, London 1980, pp. 354–355.

primarily saw the refugees as a problem and it was from this basis that the schemes were drawn up to help Jews escape. Policy was therefore designed to limit the visibility of the refugees – to retrain them for re-emigration, spread them across the country and limit their occupational freedom. The refugees' contribution has, therefore, been all the more remarkable because they faced so many barriers imposed by the British state. It must be suggested that had the government seen the refugees in a positive, rather than a problematic, way then perhaps much more could have been achieved and certainly more rescued. The domestic worker scheme was thus generous within a policy and philosophy that was itself extremely restrictive. One needs to question whether it was really necessary for academics, lawyers, doctors and other professionals in the 1930s, and Holocaust survivors after the war, to become menial servants in Britain before they could gain their freedom. As Hilde Gerrard, who escaped to become a domestic in Britain as a last resort reflects: "How much heartache, distress, homelessness would have been avoided if [her United States] permit would have come earlier!" The domestic service scheme thus illustrates both the strengths and weaknesses, the generosity and callousness of British refugee policy in the 1930s.[129]

The same can be said of British popular responses to the refugees – the second issue that domestic service sheds light upon. A. J. P. Taylor has suggested that "the refugees received a warm welcome in British society" and were "walking propaganda against the Nazis".[130] Some servants were treated with understanding by their British employers. Moreover, genuine friendships developed based on mutual respect and deep sorrow on behalf of the host towards the plight of the Jews in Nazi Europe. Yet, as this survey has shown, it was more common to treat the refugee domestics as ordinary servants and to make no allowances for their peculiar circumstances – the question of sympathy often did not even arise. Moreover, the refugees found it hard to explain why they had been forced to escape. This suspicion against them was reflected in the mass sacking and policy of internment that took place in the war. There was thus some warmth in the British popular response, but also a major failure of comprehension and elements of xenophobia and antisemitism.

Finally, however, the subject of domestic service must be considered to provide a balanced account of the Jewish refugee experience in Britain. To ignore the lives of these 20,000 refugees is to risk distortion, especially in the area of gender. The lives of these Jewish women were remarkable for the resilience they showed against so many difficulties – they campaigned collectively against their conditions of work with little or no help from the trade union movement, offered each other support and advice, kept families together, survived the traumas of losing their homeland as well as their status and, finally, the hurdles of war and internment – but maintained their dignity and self-respect in the process. With only limited help from the refugee organisations and the indifference and sometimes hostility of society as a whole, this was an immense achievement, a tribute to their determination and inner resources. To conclude, much has been made in this volume and elsewhere, and will continue to be made of the refugee élite; the Nobel Prizewinners and Fellows of the Royal Society who have transformed Britain in a variety of ways. But it is still vital to

[129] Gerrard, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.
[130] A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945*, Oxford 1965, p. 419.

remember the ordinary refugees, so many of whom originally came to Britain as servants. As Werner Mosse has pointed out: "It would be a mistake to dwell overmuch on the dozen or so knight-hoods". Perhaps, therefore it is fitting to end with the thoughts of an ex-refugee servant: "I came over, like all the best people, on a domestic permit."[131]

[131] Werner E. Mosse, 'Identity and Integration', in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIII, no. 8 (August 1988); IWM, refugee tape 003816.

RONALD STENT

Jewish Refugee Organisations

The appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor on 30th January 1933, set the alarm bells ringing in Jewish communities around the world. The exodus of refugees, Jews as well as political opponents (often synonymous), started immediately. At first it was only a trickle, but it caused concern to those who sympathised with these refugees as well as those who opposed their admission.[1]

Colonel Josiah Wedgwood (Labour, Newcastle-under-Lyme), a lifelong champion of political underdogs, asked the Home Secretary (Sir John Gilmour) on 21st February in the Commons to relax the Aliens Act so as to give refugees unhindered access. He replied, however, that the interests of the country must predominate over all other considerations. On the other hand the Conservative member for Tottenham North urged the Home Secretary to take all necessary steps to prevent any alien Jews from Germany from entering this country. The Home Secretary replied that there could be no discrimination against anyone on grounds of religious beliefs or racial origin.

The Foreign Secretary (Sir John Simon) requested H. M. Ambassador in Berlin (Sir Horace Rumbold) on 2nd March to inform the *Auswärtiges Amt* that the English Jews had expressed their profound alarm about the fate of their co-religionists in Germany.[2]

However it was the anti-Jewish boycott of 1st April, which sharply focussed public attention on the plight of the German Jews. The next day the Foreign Office received a detailed dispatch from the British Ambassador,[3] which the Cabinet decided not to publish so as "to avoid public pressure at home and unfavourable reaction in Germany". Instead it set up a sub-committee of the Aliens Registration Committee to consider urgently to what extent persecution might lead to an influx of refugees from Germany.

It also decided to show Sir Horace's dispatch to a few prominent British Jews such as the Marquess of Reading and Sir Herbert Samuel, who had been Home Secretary the previous year but was now out of the government.[4]

A Jewish delegation visited the Home Secretary on 7th April. It consisted of Neville Laski, KC – President of the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews

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[1] The author is very grateful for the help extended to him by the staffs of the Wiener Library, London and of Woburn House, and for the information given to him personally by Miss Joan Stiebel, Dr. Werner Rosenstock and Mr. C. T. Marx. An extremely valuable source of information was A. J. Sherman, *Island Refuge. Britain and Refugees from the Third Reich 1933–1939*, London 1973. Some of the figures quoted in this paper should be used with care. Various sources quote different statistics as to how many German-speaking refugees came to the UK in the period, how many re-emigrated, how many settled. It seems that not even the Home Office has really accurate statistics. See also Ronald Stent, *A Bespattered Page? The Internment of 'His Majesty's Most Loyal Enemy Aliens'*, London 1980.

[2] Public Records Office, Kew (hereafter PRO), FO 371/6718.

[3] PRO, CAB 23(33)5.

[4] PRO, CAB 27(33)5.

(usually referred to as the Board of Deputies), Leonard Montefiore – President of the Anglo-Jewish Association, Lionel L. Cohen, and the City banker Otto Schiff, who was to become the key figure in the community's efforts to provide help for the refugees.[5]

It was this historic meeting which set in train the whole rescue operation. The Jewish leaders pleaded for a generous response to the plight of their co-religionists in Germany and gave a formal undertaking to the government that the Jewish community in Britain would bear all expenses in respect of a temporary or permanent sanctuary for refugees so that they would never become charge on the public purse. They realised that this could at best be only a temporary expedient and that the ultimate aim must be the transmigration of the refugees to other countries.

They estimated that over the next few years the number seeking admission might be three to four thousand.[6] This figure soon proved to be a hopeless underestimate – in the remaining nine months of 1933 alone 2,274 German Jews were admitted[7] but the Anglo-Jewish community kept their promise of total support until after the *Anschluß* and the *"Kristallnacht"*, when it was forced to warn the government that it might no longer be able to maintain all those fleeing to this country. But it was only after the outbreak of war that the government agreed to share the costs.

The Home Secretary promised to have the whole situation examined by the Cabinet sub-committee. That committee then recommended that the present policy of strictly limited and controlled immigration should be maintained, notwithstanding the blanket guarantee given by the Jews. Only such people should be admitted who could maintain themselves adequately without having to seek employment or becoming a burden on the public purse. But a limited number of Jews who were prominent in pure and applied science, as well as in music, the arts and industry could be admitted, even invited. That would make a favourable impression abroad.[8]

The Jewish community lost no time in creating the organisational framework for its efforts on behalf of the refugees arriving in the United Kingdom as well as those left behind in Germany. Over the next few years a number of committees and organisations were set up, some independent, though often working in close liaison with each other; others being sub-committees of already existing bodies, called into being to perform specific functions.

Before looking at the various agencies and at the magnitude of the problems facing them, it is useful to consider the numbers of refugees who eventually landed on these shores. Exact statistics may be available in the Home Office Archives; they are not yet, if ever, available to researchers. What records exist often differ. A considerable number of refugees came over under their own steam and never registered with any aid bodies. Then there is the problem of what exactly constitutes a Jewish refugee? Some would include only those who were in any formal sense – however tenuous their commitment – confessing Jews. Others also included those of Jewish or partly-Jewish origin. But as a very rough guide these are the

[5] PRO, CP 96/33.
[6] PRO, CAB 23(33)2.
[7] PRO, CAB 16/193.
[8] PRO, CAB 27(33)8; PRO, CP 96(33)7.

figures of German-speaking Jewish refugees who arrived in the UK during the years 1933–1939:[9]
1933 – 2,274; 1934 – 1,600; 1935 – 1,838; 1936 – 6,685; 1937 – 11,000; 1938 – 20,000; 1939 – 27,000 plus 9,354 children.

Of those a not insubstantial number had re-emigrated again by September 1939. (Incredible as it may sound, several hundred of the earliest arrivals in 1933 went back to Germany at the end of that year under the illusion that the worst was over.)

On the other hand there were further last-minute arrivals just before hostilities commenced and, on a small scale, also during the "phoney war" and after the invasion of the Low Countries and France. One can assume with some degree of confidence that by the spring of 1940 some 60,000 German-speaking Jewish refugees men, women and children were in the United Kingdom, or approximately 25% of all the Jews who had managed to escape from Germany and Austria.[10] A minority of these never made use of the various aid agencies – they had no need to or were too proud – but for the great majority of them they were of cardinal importance. The object and scope of the different aid bodies varied considerably, but in the main they were meant to further the following tasks:

1. To facilitate the immigration into the UK of Jewish refugees, their absorption or re-emigration, and, where needed, to provide them with financial and other assistance.
2. To assist the Jewish agencies in Germany and Austria in their pressing problems, particularly in their efforts to prepare young people for emigration.
3. To use their connections with the government as the Mandatory Power to facilitate the admittance into Palestine of refugees, and provide financial and other assistance.
4. To look after the refugees' interests *vis-à-vis* the Home Office, the Police and other concerned authorities.

This work required constant lobbying in Whitehall as well as in Westminster, regular contact with Fleet Street, close liaison with other UK aid agencies (the Church of England, Quakers, universities, etc.), as well as with Jewish organisations in other countries, notably the United States. Anglo-Jewry also took a leading part in campaigning for the establishment of an international organisation to assist refugees, such as the League of Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees, and close liaison with Jewish refugee aid organisations in other countries.

We will now consider the various aid agencies in the United Kingdom, those created, financed and largely administered by Anglo-Jewry as well as those created somewhat later by the refugees themselves as an active expression of self help. British Jews brought into life a considerable number of such committees and agencies over the next few years, differing widely in size, importance and effectiveness. The two most important ones were no doubt the Central British Fund (CBF)

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[9] Report of the German Jewish Aid Committee, August 1939, in Bloomsbury House.

[10] PRO, CAB 16/193; Report of the German Jewish Aid Committee, August 1939, in Bloomsbury House; statistical survey by the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany; Andrew Sharf, *Nazi Racialism and the British Press 1933–1945*, London 1963.

and the Jewish Refugees Committee (JRC), closely interrelated, but, at least in theory, with very different functions.[11]

The Central British Fund for German Jewry

At the beginning of 1933 there existed in London only one significant organisation caring for the destitute; that was the Jews' Temporary Shelter in the East End of the city. Its chairman was Otto Schiff, a well-known City banker of German-Jewish origins whose experiences in dealing with Belgian refugees went back to the First World War. He was a public-spirited, well-connected, if somewhat imperious member of the community, but forthrightness was perhaps essential in tackling such complex human problems as are posed by an increasing swell of often distressed and disorientated refugees. It was he, more than any other single member of the Anglo-Jewish establishment, who read the danger signals early and lost no time in alerting the community. The Board of Deputies at its regular meeting on 3rd April 1933, expressed their shock and horror at what was happening in Germany and agreed to support whatever action was taken to help their co-religionists.[12]

A number of other Anglo-Jewish organisations also became alarmed. In order to co-ordinate efforts and avoid duplication, two of the Rothschild partners, Anthony and Lionel, called a meeting at the bank's premises at the suggestion of Schiff. Amongst them were Neville Laski, Leonard Montefiore, Sir Edward Baron (Careras), Simon Marks (Marks & Spencer), Sir Isadore Salmon (J. Lyons) and Lord Erleigh (soon to succeed his father as Marquess of Reading).

They decided that their first action (apart from approaching the government) should be to launch a public appeal and form an allocation committee to administer and disburse the funds received as a result of their appeals. The first appeal was launched in May and was supported by a number of further signatories, such as Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Chief Rabbi Dr. Hertz and Sir Herbert Samuel. The appeal was successful. Within the first ten months over £200,000 was subscribed. By the summer of 1939 the figure had risen to over £500,000. It is estimated that some 90% of this sum came from fellow Jews.[13] Because of the economic situation at that time public emphasis was placed on retraining and resettlement overseas rather than permanent settlement of the refugees, for whom aid was solicited in the UK.

The Allocation Committee was chaired by Sir Osmond d'Avigdor Goldsmid and consisted of three Zionists and three non-Zionists. The relationship between the two principal political bodies in Anglo-Jewry had not been very congenial ever

[11] Joan Stiebel, 'The Central British Fund for World Relief', in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 27 (1982); 'The Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief', report by its archivist, Amy Gottlieb, 1988; Esther Judith Baumel, *The Jewish Refugee Children*, M. A. thesis, Bar-Ilam University 1981; Joseph L. Cohen, *Salvaging German Jewry. A Guide to Those who Wish to Help (Jewish Chronicle* pamphlet), London 1939; Report of the Finance Allocation Committee of the Board of Deputies, in Board of Deputies Archive, Woburn House. The author also interviewed Dr. Werner Rosenstock and Miss Joan Stiebel.

[12] Board of Deputies, RC 11/2/28.

[13] *Jewish Chronicle*, 14th July 1939.

since the issue of the Balfour Declaration, but the shadow which the developments in Germany were now casting and their unanimous concern for the fate of the Jews there brought them much closer together. The non-Zionists, mainly organised in the Anglo-Jewish Association, now supported the allocation of substantial funds for the training and settlement of young people in Palestine. During its first twelve months the committee disbursed approximately £170,000, of which only £26,000 was spent on setting up the Jewish Refugees Committee and helping refugees in this country. £41,000 went to Germany to finance Jewish schools and help setting up training facilities whilst the rest was distributed amongst various organisations engaged in pioneering work in Palestine.[14]

The CBF worked closely with other aid agencies such as the Academic Assistance Council (later called the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning), founded in 1933 largely by non-Jewish academics, to whom CBF funds were made available. In October 1933 the CBF was represented at a meeting in Geneva of the League of Nations Committee of International Assistance to Refugees at which the British representatives were the prime movers in the appointment of James McDonald as League High Commissioner for Refugees.

As the Nazis tightened the screw, particularly after the promulgation of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws, it became evident to Anglo-Jewish leaders that the existing local organisations could no longer cope and that more international co-operation was essential. Simon Marks estimated that at least £3 million was needed to support an exodus of 25,000 Jews during the next four years.

Already in October 1933 Anglo-Jewry had invited representatives from major Jewish communities in Europe, as well as from the USA and from South Africa to attend a London conference to discuss the plight of German Jewry. They set up a General Advisory Council for Relief and Reconstruction. Headquarters were established in London under the CBF umbrella. Early in 1936 leading British Jews also journeyed to the United States. It is clear that from 1933 onwards until the outbreak of war the principal impetus to assist German Jewry came from the UK and that, relative to the size of the country and the proportion of indigenous Jews, more was done here to help Jews to emigrate and find refuge and that Anglo-Jewry contributed more to this than indigenous Jewries in other countries. As time went on and more and more Jews tried to get away from Nazi Germany, so the work of the CBF came under ever increasing pressure. Its operations became more closely intertwined with those of its sister organisation, the Jewish Refugees Committee and, therefore, will from now on be considered under the JRC heading. In the later stages of the war the CBF became increasingly concerned with post-war relief, in particular with the rescue and rehabilitation of the surviving remnants of European Jewry. Eventually it extended its fund-raising charitable activities further afield, wherever the life and possessions of Jews became imperilled: Iraq, Yemen, the Magreb States and latterly Iran and Ethiopia. The organisation changed its name to Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief and to this day continues its activities wherever Jewish people are in need.

[14] Board of Deputies, E3/524.

Jewish Refugees Committee

This was also known at times as the German Jewish Aid Committee.[15] The Jewish Refugees Committee has been described as the caseworking body of the CBF and for the majority of refugees this was the agency they knew and to whom they turned for advice and financial help. It was established in March 1933 under its first name "British Refugee Committee" at the instigation of Otto Schiff, because his own Jews' Temporary Shelter could not cope with the growing problem. Its headquarters were set up at Woburn House, the seat of the Board of Deputies. Later on, when the demand for its services had grown to such an extent that their offices there had become insufficient, they moved into the former Palace Hotel which was renamed Bloomsbury House. Schiff remained its chairman throughout the pre-war and war years.

By October 1933, 1,500 refugees had registered with and been helped by the JRC out of an estimated 2,500 admitted refugees.[16] In those early months only a relatively small percentage of German refugees actually chose or managed to come to the United Kingdom. During the same time 25,000 went to France, 4,000 each to Holland and Czechoslovakia, 3,000 to Belgium. But as time went on these figures changed dramatically. 4,300 had registered by the end of 1935, but of those only 1,500 had remained registered; the rest had either moved on overseas, mainly to Palestine or the USA, or returned to their country of origin (890 had done so). Of those early immigrants, two thirds were male and one third female; almost half of them had come from Berlin, where in pre-Nazi days roughly a third of Germany's Jews had lived.

By the time war broke out, the JRC's register contained 60,000 names, of whom 48,000 had remained in the country. Of those 4,500 were fully supported financially by the Committee. As previously shown, the great majority of them had arrived during 1938/1939 and now also included Austrians and German-speaking Czechs. Whereas the early immigrants were mainly children and young people, students, doctors and academics, the later immigration consisted of refugees of all ages, including a considerable number of elderly people. And whilst the early immigrants were often able to bring some of their capital with them, the great majority of the later ones arrived with only 10 *Reichsmark* in their pockets. The workload on the JRC, as well as the call on its financial resources, had therefore increased enormously.

By then the Committee employed either full- or part-time some 600 people and had initiated a number of subcommittees. These were:

Hospitality Committee – to find accomodation and homes, particularly for unaccompanied children; also collection and distribution of clothing.

Domestic Bureau – to find employment in domestic service and negotiate labour

[15] Board of Deputies, Jewish Refugee Committee reports for 1934, 1940; Baumel, *op. cit.*; Sherman, *op. cit.*; Cohen, *op. cit.*; Stiebel, *loc. cit.*; Dame Simone Prendergast, 'The Jewish Refugee Committee', in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIII, no. 2 (February 1988); interview with Joan Stiebel.

[16] Conference for the Relief of German Jewry, report by the Joint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies, 26th October to 1st November 1933.

permits (this being one of the few areas of employment where such permits were often available).
Immigration Department – processing with the Home Office the daily flood of applications for entry permits.
Emigration Department – primarily concerned with helping refugees to get into Palestine or obtaining USA immigration visas.
Nursing and Midwives Committee – helping girls to obtain training and employment in these professions.
Medical and Dental Committee – assisting the very limited number of qualified men and women who had been admitted to study afresh to obtain British degrees to allow them to practise.
Agricultural Training Committee – placing suitable youngsters in agricultural and artisan training establishments, such as the main one at St. Albans.
Academic Committee – in conjunction with the interdenominational Academic Assistance Council placing students and teachers in research and teaching appointments.

Amongst the refugees, particularly in the early waves, there were a number of former factory owners and other entrepreneurs who were able to re-establish their old commercial and industrial activities in the UK, through their old connections and with their own resources. They did not often need assistance from the JRC.

The leading Anglo-Jewish patrons of the JRC, in particular Otto Schiff, made use of their connections with government circles, especially with the Home Office, to plead for an open-arm policy towards the refugees. One of the results of their efforts was allowing doctors and dentists who had settled in the UK before July 1934 to practise after obtaining an equivalent British qualification. A year later 50 doctors and 8 dentists had so qualified and 130 doctors and 15 dentists were still studying.

By the end of 1938 the JRC had spent a total of £233,000 on direct individual assistance; during the next seven months it was called upon to disburse a further £250,000. First the *Anschluß* in 1938 and then the *"Kristallnacht"* caused a major crisis in both finances and manpower resources of the Committee. The incarceration of the majority of male German and Austrian Jews in November 1938 left them with only one hope of regaining their freedom, namely speedy emigration. Woburn House now became overwhelmed by relatives and friends already in the UK pleading for help for all those locked up in the concentration camps. Personal appeals, letters and telegrams averaged 1,000 per day.

There were complaints from prominent Anglo-Jews about inexcusable incompetence, extravagance and impotence, which, it was claimed, had "alienated and antagonised non-Jewish organisations and people".[17] During the period January-May 25% of outgoings, it was alleged, were spent on administration and organisation, engendered by a staff of 400 salaried employees plus 300 volunteers. Some of these complaints even reached the letter columns of the daily press which prompted Lord Hailey, Chairman of the interdenominational Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees to complain to Laski, that "such actions do not encourage those who have

[17] Board of Deputies, RC2/2/2/39.

no affinity with either Jews or Germans to sacrifice time and energy on behalf of these refugees".

There were also complaints about delays and evidence of inefficiency from various provincial refugee aid committees which were active under a variety of names. Some were direct sub-branches of the JRC, others were sub-committees of local synagogues, lodges and friendly societies. In order to explain their mounting problems, the JRC called a conference on 23rd April 1939 attended by the representatives of twenty-one committees in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.[18] The various heads of departments at Woburn House explained their problems; experiences were exchanged, suggested procedural improvements were agreed. The Secretary of the Glasgow German Jewish Aid Committee subsequently wrote to Otto Schiff that they had come to London full of prejudice, but after having seen the amount of work that was being done, nobody should have the slightest reason to complain; the enthusiasm shown by everybody had been most enlightening.

A month later Schiff unburdened himself of his annoyance and sense of frustration in a long letter to Neville Laski.[19] He objected to the constant criticisms which the entire Jewish community had seen fit to pour on the Jewish Refugees Committee, without ever taking the trouble to come and see the difficulties under which they worked. They were conscious of certain shortcomings. Two Marks & Spencer efficiency experts were presently going systematically through the whole German Jewish Aid Committee with the view to making recommendations. He, Schiff, would be only too delighted to be relieved of his chairmanship.

A Committee of Enquiry under the chairmanship of Simon Marks examined the experts' report in the following month. They expressed their admiration for the spirit of service of the JRC workers, but pointed out that, as a result of the events in 1938, the staff was now so overwhelmed that the whole edifice of the JRC must be restructured; a chief executive should be appointed and more effective premises had to be taken.

By the end of 1939 the various relief agencies had raised and spent £5 million in relief and retraining. The Central British Fund was no longer able to meet the ever-increasing call on its resources. Already a year before, on 15th November 1938, Herbert Samuel had told the Prime Minister on behalf of the central Council for German Jewry, that, whilst they were not advocating unrestricted admission of refugees which was neither feasible or desirable, the government should permit the free entry of children.[20] At the same time Otto Schiff told his committee in confidence that the JRC was almost on the point of collapse and a temporary halt in admissions might be necessary until those already in the country had either re-emigrated or had been absorbed.

In order to ameliorate the financial constraints to some extent, from July 1938 onwards the JRC requested a formal guarantee of maintenance from anybody wishing to bring over a relative or friend. At the same time the Home Office was advised, that notwithstanding the guarantee given by Anglo Jewry in 1933 that no

[18] Board of Deputies, RE3/525.
[19] Board of Deputies, E/532.
[20] PRO, FO 371/22536.

refugee admitted to the country would ever become a burden on the public purse, they could, in view of the changed circumstances, from now on only assume financial responsibility for such refugees whose applications had first been scrutinised by the Committee before further consideration by the Home Office. However this arrangement does not seem to have worked. On 20th October Lord Bearsted and Schiff had a meeting with Earl Winterton and Home Office officials. Schiff complained that they now had 3,000 refugees on their relief roll of whom only 10% had been sponsored by them. Winterton replied that the Home Office was in a desperate situation because of the flood of applications. Some of these had reached the Home Office via Members of Parliament and had to be considered separately. A special government grant to relieve the situation was out of the question as it would need parliamentary sanction. Any public airing of the whole issue would only lead to immediate anti-alien and antisemitic protests. The two Jewish delegates were not satisfied and in due course withdrew from the prior vetting procedure. Once again the Aliens Department of the Home Office became solely responsible.

On 7th December 1938 a delegation consisting of Samuel, Bearsted, Simon Marks, Laski and Sir Robert Cohen once again bearded Lord Winterton; this time urging the government to set up camps to receive refugees for the purpose of retraining them for eventual overseas settlement.[21] The expense would be very considerable. Was the government prepared to fund part of the cost? Winterton saw no objection to the establishment of such camps but any financial involvement by the government would only encourage Germany to expel more Jews. (!)

The financial situation was becoming progressively worse as war became more and more likely and the pressures increased. On 3rd July 1939 the Cabinet Committee on Refugees agreed that a decision on financial assistance to the refugee agencies could no longer be deferred.[22] It recommended that the government should participate jointly in providing assistance on a matching basis.

But it was not until 23rd February 1940 that the House of Commons was officially informed that the government was satisfied that the Jewish community had done everything in its power. They had spent £5 million, to which was to be added a further £3 million of private assistance. The various relief organisations were spending at a rate of £60,000 per month and were only able to carry on for a few more weeks. From the 1st January 1940 the government had therefore agreed to match as from 1st January 1940 the Jewish contribution pound for pound, up to a maximum commitment of £27,000 per month; and in addition to make a one-off payment of £5,000 for the period September to December 1939. In October 1940 the Government went further. It agreed to increase its grant to 100% of the cost of maintenance, on a scale assessed by the National Assistance Board; and in addition pay 75% of the cost of administration and general welfare.

The outbreak of war had confronted the British government with the difficult problem of how to treat the large number of aliens who were nominally nationals of a country with which Britain was now at war, but from which the great majority had fled and to whose regime they bore at least as much hostility as did the

[21] PRO, FO 371/21637.

[22] Conclusions, Fifth Meeting of the Cabinet Committee on the Refugee Problem, 3rd July 1939, CRP (39), 5th Mtg., PRO, FO 371/24077.

government. They lost no time in proclaiming their undivided loyalty to their country of refuge. Eventually quasi-juridical tribinals were set up to examine and grade the refugees. A few were interned immediately as security risks; some were left in somewhat restricted freedom; but by far the largest proportion were classified as friendly enemy aliens and freed from almost all restrictions. Many of those put into the first two categories, who were in fact just as committed to the cause of overthrowing the Nazi regime, bitterly protested and urged the JRC to intervene on their behalf.

This put the Committee into something of a dilemma. Endemic xenophobia deliberately nurtured by a few press organs, had to be carefully considered. National interests had to override individual complaints, however justified. A leaflet *(Helpful Information and Guidance for Every Refugee)* was handed to refugees warning them not to talk German in public and generally to behave as inconspicuously as possible.

In the spring of 1940 the various aid agencies and the JRC in particular were suddenly faced with a new crisis. As a result of the catastrophic events during the months from April to June; the German conquests first of Denmark and Norway, and a month later of the Lowlands and France, and the perceived dangers of fifth columnists and invasion, the government decided to intern all so-called friendly enemy alien men and such women whom the tribunals had originally put into the middle category. This decision naturally put a further workload on the diminished JRC staff.

When the internment action was suspended in August, mainly due to pressure by well-wishers inside and outside Parliament, some 20,000 people between the ages of 16 and 60, mostly men, had been put behind barbed wire on the mainland, on the Isle of Man, or transported to Canada and Australia. Others had lost their jobs and many families, who until now had been able to support themselves, now came to the JRC for assistance. At the beginning of 1940 the government had started to allow friendly enemy aliens to enlist in specially created A (for alien) Companies of the Pioneer Corps. By the end of 1941, some 5,000 men were serving in them, many of whom had joined straight from their internment camps. The majority of the remaining "friendly" internees were gradually released over the next twelve months; war work was now available to both refugee men and women.

However, the government kept to its undertaking to finance assistance for refugees until 1949, by which time almost all of them had either been naturalised and absorbed into the post-war economy or emigrated overseas, principally to the United States. Only a few of them returned to their countries of origin.

The JRC did not fold with the end of the war and the absorption of the German-speaking Jews into the general fabric of British society. It had been the plight of German Jewry that had initially brought about the major relief effort by Anglo-Jewry, but conscience once roused was not to be stifled again. The Jewish Refugees Committee continues its activities up to this day... Its first task after the end of hostilities was to render assistance to those few German Jews who somehow, in one clandestine way or another, had managed to survive the war years in Greater Germany and other Jews liberated and now in Displaced Persons' Camps. In the following forty years it was to continue to assist Jews who sought refuge in Britain and needed counselling and often financial help.

The relationship between the CBF and the JRC had always been a very close one, although they had operated separately and at arms' length, with the CBF collecting and administering funds and the JRC receiving part of them for individual and group relief operations. In post-war years it became even closer with the JRC now an integrated part of the CBF's global operations.

Lord Baldwin Fund

In the wake of the increasing persecution Britain's former Prime Minister Earl Baldwin of Bewdley was persuaded on 8th December 1938 to broadcast a wireless appeal asking the British people to come to the aid of those who were not the victims of any natural catastrophe such as famine, flood or earthquake, but of man's inhumanity to man.[23] He described the plight of the refugees from Nazi oppression and announced the launching of an appeal, asking his listeners to give generously. Its official title was the Relief Fund for Refugees from Central Europe, but it became known as the Lord Baldwin Fund. It was launched despite certain misgivings by the government minister Lord Winterton who had warned that the appeal might cause Germany and other countries to draw the conclusion that the best method of forcing other countries to take their Jews was through persecution.[24]

The appeal was supported by the Primates of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, the Lord Mayor of London, Lord Rothschild and many others prominent in public life. The response was gratifying. Within two months the fund had collected some £400,000. By the time it closed the total had reached £522,651. The money was distributed to a number of aid organisations. The biggest contribution was made to the Refugee Children's Movement (£235,000), followed by the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany (£104,500) and the Council for German Jewry (£61,466).[25] Many of the contributions came in small sums by way of pledges, of which only very few were later not honoured. The Fund finally closed on 31st July just a month before the outbreak of war. According to the *Daily Herald* more than one million people had contributed to it.[26]

Refugee Children's Movement

The rescue of children from Germany, and later also from Austria played an important part in the overall refugee problem. The Children's Inter-Aid Committee was formed in 1936 and initially became the main agency responsible for tackling it. It was founded on an first grant of £660 of which £200 came from the Council for German Jewry, £60 from the Save The Children Fund; the rest was donated anonymously. There also existed the Movement for the Care of Children

[23] Sherman, *op. cit.*; Cohen, *op. cit.*
[24] PRO, FO 371/22539.
[25] *News Chronicle*, 28th September 1939.
[26] *Daily Herald*, 28th September 1939.

from Germany, funded by the British Inter-Aid Committee. The two agencies were merged in March 1939 to become the Refugee Children's Movement.[27]

The number of unaccompanied children arriving in this country was relatively small in the early years, but the cataclysmic events of 1938 concentrated the minds of the caring public on the urgent priority of trying to rescue as many as possible. Mainly to appease the public outcry engendered by the *"Kristallnacht"* reports in the press, the government agreed to receive a deputation of leading British Jews. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax had warned the Cabinet about the adverse effect which any lack of positive response by the government would have on public opinion, particularly in the United States.

The Prime Minister himself, therefore, together with the Home Secretary, received a delegation consisting of Lords Samuel, Bearsted and Rothschild together with the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Weizmann and Neville Laski at 10 Downing Street on 15th November. They explained that they realised that it was unfeasible to expect the government to open the door to all the Jewish refugees, but they should at least admit a large number of children up to seventeen years of age. Once again they undertook that the Jewish community would give a collective guarantee that no public funds would be needed for such a rescue operation and that the children would be maintained and educated by them until they could eventually re-emigrate overseas.

At a subsequent Cabinet meeting the Prime Minister asked the Home Secretary to consider urgently to what extent Britain could become a temporary refuge outside normal immigration laws, bearing in mind that in the wake of the Spanish Civil War 3,000 Basque children had been admitted under similar circumstances.[28] The Cabinet then decided that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Earl Winterton) should prepare a policy statement. This was read to the House on 21st November 1938. He announced that the government was willing to admit up to 10,000 children up to the age of eighteen on a temporary basis, provided their maintenance was guaranteed and they were prepared for eventual onward migration to take place once their training had been completed or they had reached the age of eighteen, whichever occurred first. Whether anybody on either side believed that this constraint could really be implemented, is doubtful.

The Jewish community lost no time in acting on this major government concession. In close liaison with the *Reichsvertretung*'s department for *Kinderauswanderung* in Berlin, the Vienna *Kultusgemeinde* and a special Jewish committee in Prague, all of whom were responsible for selecting and dispatching the children, the first transports were quickly sent on their way. Some of the children arrived on their own to join relatives or family friends, but the majority came in organised and supervised group transports. The first such transport arrived on 2nd December 1938. Others followed. Places were found for them in temporary hostels or in foster homes, not only in London, but in the major provincial cities, where existing refugee aid

[27] See Baumel, *op. cit.*; Sherman, *op. cit.*; *Britain's New Citizens. The Story of the Refugees from Germany and Austria*, Tenth Anniversary Publication of the Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain, London 1951; Board of Deputies, E3/525; Women's Appeal Committee for German Jewish Women and Children, *Annual Report*, 1937 (available in Wiener Library); see also, Mary Ford, 'The Arrival of Jewish Refugee Children in England 1938–39', in *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2 (July 1988), pp. 135–151.

[28] Cabinet conclusions 55 (38)5, 16th November 1938, PRO, CAB 23/96.

committees formed special subcommittees to tackle the problem. Other children came with Jewish schools, which had been set up in Germany in the early years of the Nazi regime when Jewish children had been summarily ejected from normal state schools and which had transferred to the UK.

The local committees were responsible for the children's vocational training as well as for their religious education. Wherever possible they were placed in Jewish foster homes – Orthodox children into Orthodox households, Liberal into Liberal ones. But a substantial number of them went to non-Jewish foster parents. These were often deeply committed, charitable Christians. Although the committees always tried to maintain those children's links with the Jewish community and its faith, a number were permanently lost to their parents' religion.

Other organisations also became involved in the reception and dispersal of the childrens' transports, such as the Grand Order of the Sons of Jacob, the Women's International Zionist Federation, the B'nai B'rith Care Committee for Refugee Children, as well as the Youth *Aliyah* who took a number into their training centres.

The number of children who arrived in the UK under official auspices between December 1938 and the end of November 1939 amounted to almost 11,000, of whom 9,354 were brought over by the Refugee Children's Movement, 431 by the Children's Inter-Aid Committee and 1,850 by the Youth *Aliyah*.[29]

Obtaining finance produced problems. In order to ease the burden on the Refugee Children's Movement, in February 1939 sponsors were asked to deposit £50 for every child to cover the cost of eventual re-emigration. But the bulk of the financial backing came from the Lord Baldwin Fund. By the time the war broke out and the rescue work had come to an end, the Fund had donated £235,000.

The government's positive response to the plea for immigration concessions had been partially influenced by their desire to placate public feeling in the USA. Yet in the six years between 1934 and 1940 only 500 children were admitted into America under the sponsorship of their own European Jewish Aid committee. It is estimated that France took 300–400 children during the period from January to June 1939.

In the spring of 1939, after representations from community leaders, the government agreed to grant further concessions in respect of the 18–30 year old age group, again under the strict proviso that this rescue operation was to be of a temporary nature, until such time as these young people could be moved further afield. An old army transit camp, named after Lord Kitchener, and derelict since the First World War was put at the disposal of the Jewish Refugees Committee.[30] An advance party of youngsters arrived shortly afterwards, mainly freshly retrained craftsmen who built huts with bunks, mess halls, washrooms and classrooms, laid roads and even built a 1,000-seater cinema with money donated by the Odeon Cinema tycoon Oscar Deutsch. The camp housed 3,200 young men by September 1939: it had its own football team and its own orchestra. Where the inmates had wives and children, lodgings were found for them in nearby Sand-

[29] 7,752 children had been brought over by July 1939, of whom 5,673 were Jewish; the rest were either part-Jewish or baptised. (Statistical survey by the RCM.)

[30] Home Office memorandum, 20th January 1939; PRO, FO 371/24074.

wich. The inmates received 6d. (sixpence) pocket money per week plus one 2½d. (tuppence ha'penny) postage stamp. In addition to the opportunity to continue practising their *Umschulung* skills, they could attend language classes in English and Spanish.

On the outbreak of war the freedom of movement of the camp occupants was severely limited. Their passes were withdrawn and a curfew was imposed. It was an early forerunner of the internment measures taken later against the refugee community as a whole. Early in 1940 part of the camp was fenced off and used for the first unarmed alien companies of the Pioneer Corps formed under the overall command of Lord Reading, the only opportunity which then existed for the refugees to enlist in H. M. Forces.

Council for German Jewry

Late in 1935 Anglo-Jewish leaders became concerned that because of the ever-increasing pressure on Jews to leave Germany, particularly after the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws, their own efforts would no longer suffice and that some international co-ordinating organisation was needed. They anticipated an assisted emigration every year of some 16,000 young people and 7,000 children, in addition to a similar number of older German Jews who might be able to finance their emigration themselves, but would still require help in other ways.[31]

Sir Herbert Samuel and Lord Bearsted, therefore, crossed the Atlantic in January 1936 and persuaded the American Joint Distribution Committee and the United Jewish Appeal to join Anglo-Jewish aid agencies in the formation of a Council for German Jewry. Sir Herbert[32] and the US banker Felix Warburg were appointed Co-chairmen; headquarters were established in the CBF's London office and Sir Wyndham Deedes and Professor Norman Bentwich became Honorary Co-directors. The Council now became the main global agency for raising funds and distributing financial assistance, assisting in the emigration of young people, particularly of those left in Germany and Austria. It also became the principal channel of communication with the various Jewish organisations still extant in Germany and Austria.[33]

From the beginning the Council kept in close liaison with the League High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) who had been appointed in 1933 as well as with the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees which was appointed in July 1938 by the Evian Conference on Refugees.

Other Aid Agencies

There existed also a number of other committees and aid agencies, some of which were not only concerned with helping German-Jewish refugees; some were co-

[31] Sherman, *op. cit.*
[32] He became Viscount Samuel in 1937.
[33] Baumel, *op. cit.*

ordinating committees of existing aid agencies; others catered for specific interest groups. The plethora of all these often spontaneously generated committees and agencies is an indication of how much genuine alarm, and instinctive response to help, the events in Germany had been causing, even if particularly in the early stages their activities often overlapped and occasionally caused demarcation confusion. Here is a by no means comprehensive list:

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES (INTERDENOMINATIONAL)

It was formed in 1938 at the suggestion of the Home Office in order to maximise efforts and resources, avoid duplication, and reduce pressure on the authorities. Its headquarters were at Woburn House and it consisted of representatives of the following: JRC, Austrian Self-Help Committee, Catholic Action for Refugees, Society of Friends, WIZO, British Council for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, HICEM (the organisation formed from the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the Jewish Colonisation Association and *Emig.-Direkt*). The Chairman was Lord Hailey of Shapur.[34]

ANGLO-HICEM

A subcommittee of the well-established HICEM organisation, set up in August 1933.[35] Its objective was to undertake research in and then organise the settlement of young Jews in parts of the British Empire and in mandated territories, other than in Palestine, which was already handled by the main HICEM organisation. From the end of 1934 it was absorbed by the JRC.[36]

CHIEF RABBI'S RELIGIOUS EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Its chief function was to help rabbis from Germany to find congregations abroad. Once the children's transports arrived and shortly afterwards Kitchener Camp was established this council also became involved in arranging pastoral care and religious instruction for these young people.

JOINT FOREIGN COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF DEPUTIES AND THE ANGLO-JEWISH ASSOCIATION.

This established part of the Board formed, on 10th May 1933, a Sub-committee for Refugees, chaired by Otto Schiff and also a Sub-committee for Academics under Sir Philip Hartog.[37] They organised a major public protest meeting on 14th June 1933 at Queens Hall, followed by an Intercession Service at the Albert Hall on 9th July 1933, led by the Chief Rabbi.[38]

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[34] Cohen, *op. cit.*
[35] Board of Deputies, E3/531.
[36] Jewish Refugee Committee, *Annual Report*, 1934.
[37] Board of Deputies, RC11/2/28.
[38] Board of Deputies, C11/2/28.

General Advisory Council for Relief and Reconstruction

This was formed as the result of a conference for the relief of German Jewry held in London on 29th October 1933.[39] The conference was attended by all the main British Zionist and non-Zionist organisations, together with delegates from kindred bodies in France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, South Africa, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Greece and Poland.

Women's Appeal Committee for German-Jewish Women and Children

This Committee was started in the early summer of 1933 under the presidency of Mrs. Anthony de Rothschild. Within four years it had raised £100,000.[40] It financed the emigration of 2,000 young people through the Youth *Aliyah* for Palestine. It also trained several hundred women and girls, who had arrived in the United Kingdom, for suitable occupations.

Council for the Protection of Rights and Interests of Jews from Germany

This was formed as the war ended, in 1945 under the presidency of Rabbi Leo Baeck, liberated from Theresienstadt and now living in London. The Council's affairs were adminstered by the Association of Jewish Refugees (AJR). Together with other organisations such as the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe it began the task of claiming restitution of former Jewish property in Germany and Austria, as well as compensation for damage to life and limb and restoration of pension rights. Later it called itself the World Council of Jews from Germany and opened up United Restitution Offices (URO) in London and other major places worldwide.[41]

Self-Aid

All the agencies so far mentioned, with the exception of the last-named "Council", had been created for the benefit of the refugees by concerned well-wishers. The refugees themselves had been in the country too short a time and were too stretched in establishing themselves and their families to organise any mutual associations, apart from a few clubs catering for specific professional or cultural interests. However by 1938 some of the earlier arrivals had managed to put down roots – many of them had never needed to accept help for themselves. They now wanted to establish their own self-help organisation for their more recent and less fortunate fellow refugees.

A small body was formed which called itself Self-Aid for Refugees or *Deutsche Selbsthilfe* (German was then still the language of their meetings and minutes). The inaugural meeting was held on 1st February 1938 and was attended by a small number of German Jews who had already attained a modicum of prominence in academia, industry and the City, together with representatives from existing aid agencies such as Woburn House, the Quakers and the non-denominational Ger-

[39] Board of Deputies, RE3/524.
[40] *Annual Report*, 1937 (see note 27).
[41] *Britain's New Citizens*, *op. cit.*





Kindertransport
Above: Jewish refugee children board the steamer for England
Below: Arrival at British customs

By courtesy of The Wiener Library



Life at Kitchener Camp, Richborough, Kent
Taken from 'Some Victims of the Nazi Terror', published by the Kitchener Camp Committee

By courtesy of The Wiener Library



Life at Kitchener Camp, Richborough, Kent
Taken from 'Some Victims of the Nazi Terror', published by the Kitchener Camp Committee

By courtesy of The Wiener Library

many Emergency Committee. The chairman was the venerable *Geheimrat* Demuth. They elected as their first permanent chairman Siegmund Warburg and amongst the first subscribers were such future Nobel laureates as Francis Simon and Rudolf Peierls as well as the actors Lucie Mannheim and Conrad Veidt. From the outset the intention was to work in close liaison with the existing aid bodies.[42]

The objective of the organisation was defined as collecting money and distributing it to those in need, not only in the United Kingdom but also to assist indigent refugees stranded in other countries such as France and Czechoslovakia. Some of the potential donors had frozen bank accounts in Germany *(Sperrguthaben)* which could be used to help needy people still trapped in Germany.

In its early days the committee received complaints from the older bodies at Woburn House about duplication of functions and working at cross purposes, complaints that Self-Aid placed too much emphasis on helping academics, but on the whole they did much valuable work and managed to tap new sources. They organised fund-raising social functions in private homes; they distributed collecting boxes to refugee households; they published appeals; they collected surplus clothing and set up their own mending workshops. At a public meeting in June 1939 Stefan Zweig read extracts from his latest work. In liaison with the German and Austrian Employment Exchange they helped refugees to find war-related jobs. They worked together with the Citizens Advice Bureaus. They distributed tickets for the lunch-time concerts at the National Gallery.

During the committee's first year they collected £3,272.18s.5d., made up from the contents of the collecting boxes, regular monthly subscriptions and *ad-hoc* donations at social functions, and disbursed £2,352.19s.8d. The income during the next two years was £2,103 and £2,434.7s.0. respectively.

Together with the AJR, Self-Aid became the original sponsors of the first refugee old people's homes. In 1947 the organisation dropped the "from Germany" from its name and in the following year staged its first public, fund-raising concert at the Wigmore Hall. This was a considerable success and has become an annual event ever since. Nowadays it is held at the Queen Elizabeth Hall under the overall management of the AJR. In March 1954 Lady Violet Bonham Carter paid tribute on the BBC to Self-Aid's achievements.

Association of Jewish Refugees

Self-Aid had been a relatively small organisation with the principal emphasis on fund-raising and connected charitable activities.[43] As the war was creating an increasing number of common problems for the refugees, a number of them, some of whom had played a prominent part in their old home communities, were becoming more and more aware that some joint effort was needed to pursue their interests and concerns more effectively. Already in existence were a few, locally based, social clubs as well as small groups pursuing mutual cultural or religious

[42] Information given by Werner Rosenstock and Mr. C. T. Marx.

[43] See *Britain's New Citizens*, *op. cit.*; *Die Zeitung* (émigré paper published in the UK), 10th July 1942; interview with Werner Rosenstock.

interests, but what was needed was a central refugee organisation, the lack of which had also been deplored by the British-led refugee committees.

The outbreak of war had created many new problems for the British public in general; for the refugees the situation was aggravated by the fact that the bulk of them had only recently arrived, had few financial resources, or none at all, and were nominally "enemy aliens" whose peculiar and ambiguous status was so often misunderstood by the public. They were facing a very uncertain future.

Amongst the more visible German Jews, who had come to believe that they needed a nation-wide, non-political, self-help organisation which could rally and give succour to those in need, and at the same time represent them *vis-à-vis* the authorities as well as the general public, was Wilfrid Israel, the son of a German father and a British mother, a tireless advocate in the refugees' cause, and a bridge between them and the establishment; a man whose life was so tragically cut short when, on a rescue mission for Jewish children stranded in Portugal, his civilian airliner was shot down by the Germans.

Early in 1940 an informal meeting took place in Lady Reading's house, attended by Israel and a few refugee community leaders. But before they were able to carry forward any plans, the traumatic events in the spring of that year, resulting in the wholesale internment of thousands of so-called "friendly enemy aliens", halted any further progress. However the leisure inside the internment camps, on the Isle of Man as on the mainland, gave many of them ample opportunity to discuss the practicalities of such a self-help organisation, which had now become more important than ever before.

Release from internment started in earnest for the majority towards the end of 1940. By the summer of 1941 the bulk of them had either joined the armed forces or returned to civilian life. The time to act was ripe. On 20th July the AJR was officially born at a meeting attended by twenty invited people. They elected an executive of nine members: three each of Orthodox, Liberal and Zionist Jews, although at this stage the majority of German Jews were probably non-Orthodox and non-Zionist. Wilfrid Israel was one of the chosen executive members. One permanent official was appointed, who until almost the last moment had worked in Berlin for the *Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden (Juden in Deutschland)*, Dr. Werner Rosenstock, and who subsequently during his long years at the AJR has probably done more for the association and its members than anybody else.

The first manifesto of the association stated that its aim was "to represent all the Jewish refugees from Germany for whom Judaism was a determining factor in their outlook on life". "We want to make it clear to the authorities and to the public that a Jewish refugee is unconditionally opposed to Nazi Germany. We shall press for the removal of restrictions which prevent full utilisation of the services of those refugees in the common cause against Nazism. We want to share the life and fate of British Jews in all respects."

Bearing in mind war-time constraints, dispersal and often disorientation of the refugee community, the AJR's progress was remarkable. On 28th December 1941 it held its first public meeting at Woburn House where the objectives of the association were explained to a sizeable audience. Subcommittees were formed to deal with such matters as internment, employment, the education of children, cultural

activities, and problems arising from their legal status. (The German government had deprived émigrés of their German nationality, yet the Home Office did not recognise this.)

Membership rose within twelve months to 1,000. Many qualified members advised others on legal problems, helped in cases of social hardships or organised comforts for the increasing number of refugees serving in the British forces. Advice was provided for refugee manufacturers who had started small factories for toys, fancy goods and other non-essential products before the war, as to how to obtain essential warwork. Liaison was established with the special labour exchange for Germans and Austrians. Provincial branches were gradually established in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, Oxford, Cambridge, Bradford, Bedford and Guildford. Some of the existing cultural and social clubs such as the Theodor Herzl and Jacob Ehrlich Societies became affiliated.

Valuable contacts were made with sympathetic members of Parliament. Only a few weeks after the birth of the AJR, on 18th August 1941, a concert was held at the Wigmore Hall in memory of the late Otto Hirsch – once a senior civil servant in Württemberg and later Director of the *Reichsvertretung*. A public meeting at the West London Synagogue's Stern Hall in July 1942 in memory of the Jewish victims of Nazi terror with the Liberal MP Graham White as the principal speaker attracted 300 people.

By the spring of 1943 the AJR had spawned ten affiliated bodies which included associations of refugee doctors and dentists as well as rabbis. A Refugee Youth Committee was formed. Victor Gollancz was one of its first patrons. In April 1944 the AJR issued a press statement that the number of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria was now estimated to be 49,000 of whom 30,000 wished to settle permanently; 50% of all refugees were believed to be over fifty years of age.

By the time the war had ended membership had risen to 5,000. It declined for a while, but once the German authorities had agreed to compensate the surviving Jews for the losses which they had sustained and refugees needed expert advice on how to pursue their claims, membership numbers rose again.

The AJR was a member of the World Council of Jews from Germany. Together with the newly established United Restitution Office (URO) they played a crucial part in negotiating with Germany restitution of confiscated property, and pension rights as well as monetary compensation for physical and material losses sustained, not only on behalf of individual claimants, but also in receiving and allocating bulk compensation payments in respect of victims who had not survived and had no heirs. Ten per cent of these funds were allocated to the Leo Baeck Charitable Trust established by the Council of Jews from Germany who in turn channelled some of the money to the Central British Fund.[44] The CBF then made grants to a number of Jewish organisations for various social and cultural purposes of which the most important was to make provision for the setting-up and administration of old people's homes; of crucial importance for a community of ever increasing senescence. It was here that in post-war years the AJR found a new and essential field of activity.

[44] See C. T. Marx, 'Residential Homes for Refugees', in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIV, no. 2 (February 1989); *idem*, 'Annual Report', in *AJR Information*, vol. XLIV, no. 5 (May 1989).

The first of these homes, the Otto Schiff House in Hampstead opened its doors in 1955, followed in due course by the Otto Hirsch House in Kew (now closed), the Leo Baeck, the Heinrich Stahl, and the Osmond House, all in The Bishops Avenue in Hampstead. The Eleanor Rathbone House in Highgate, offering 54 sheltered flats was opened in 1969, followed not long afterwards by another house of sheltered flats, named again after Otto Hirsch. This sheltered housing was funded jointly by the CBF and the AJR.

The overall administration of all these homes is the responsibility of the CBF Residential Care and Housing Association, a separate entity from the Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief. The day-to-day management of the Housing Association is in the hands of its Council in which AJR members play a leading part.

The AJR now also operates its own, purpose-built Paul Balint Day Centre where, four days a week, elderly people can meet, are fed and entertained. Limited sheltered accomodation is available there and at Hannah Karminski House, the administrative headquarters of the AJR. Advice and help is also available for all former refugees from the AJR's volunteer Social Services Staff. With the financial contribution from restitution and compensation gradually drying up, the AJR Charitable Trust now relies primarily on legacies, donations and covenants for the funding of its caring activities.

The AJR played a leading role in the setting up of the "Thank You Britain Fund", a project sparked off by a letter in *The Times* from the then London Managing Director of the *Readers Digest*, an Austrian refugee named Victor Ross, to thank the people of Britain for the way in which they had received and helped the refugees. A committee was formed in which the AJR secretary Dr. Werner Rosenstock took a leading part. The fund was sponsored by such prominent refugee academics as Sir Hans Krebs, Sir Ernst Chain and Sir Ludwig Guttmann as well as by Lord Robbins and Sir Isaiah Berlin. Nearly £100,000 was collected from former refugees, much of it in modest amounts. The original intention had been to use the money to endow a wing in a hospital but there were legal problems. Eventually Sir Hans presented a cheque for the full amount to the British Academy to endow a trust fund from which annual awards of £12,000 are made for post-graduate research.

Membership of the AJR has remained more or less steady in post-war years at around 4,000. Bearing in mind that some of the original subscribers subsequently emigrated and that many more, then already middle-aged or older, have since died, this is a remarkable testimony to the AJR's continuing vigour and viability. In recent years the British-born children and grandchildren of former German-Jewish refugees have felt the need to maintain a link with their own origins and formed an Association of the Children of Jewish Refugees.

GERHARD HIRSCHFELD

"A High Tradition of Eagerness . . ." British Non-Jewish Organisations in Support of Refugees

A critical assessment of Britain's attitude towards German refugees after 1933 hovers between two extremes. On the one hand there exists a widespread condemnation of the government's restrictive policy on immigration and foreign nationals, of the initial refusal to accept any significant numbers of German refugees from political and "racial" persecution. Despite certain exceptions for wealthy businessmen and industrialists, who could contribute to a reduction in unemployment by establishing new businesses, as well as well-known scholars and artists ("this would not only obtain for this country the advantage of their knowledge and experience, but would also create a favourable impression in the world")[1] this policy of a "half-open door" (Michael Marrus) was maintained until late 1938. British authorities began to relax their entry restrictions only after the pogroms of the *"Kristallnacht"* and in the wake of the openly annexationist foreign policy of Nazi Germany after the Munich agreement. The number of people seeking asylum thereupon increased dramatically. By the outbreak of the war in September 1939 some 55,000 officially recognised refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland had found a temporary home in Britain.

On the other hand, no praise is too high for the relief work of British refugee organisations.* In the words of the Mansion House Appeal of December 1938 they had acted according to "a high [British] tradition of eagerness to come to the help of those who anywhere in the world find themselves forced by intolerable conditions to abandon their homes and seek elsewhere an opportunity to rebuild their own and their children's lives".[2] This is certainly how many people in Britain liked to view charitable support for German refugees during the 1930s. But the truth is more complex and does not offer an easy answer. British refugee policy was neither instigated solely by the self-interest of the middle classes "refined by a humanitarian impulse",[3] nor was it an act of pure charity which gave German refugees "a warm welcome in England".[4] The case is further complicated by the sheer numbers and often confusing structures of the various organisations and committees that supported, accompanied or simply supervised relief work.

A leaflet handed out by the Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee in December 1938 *(How you can help the Refugees)* lists eight relief committees

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[1] British Cabinet memorandum, Public Record Office, Kew (hereafter PRO), Cabinet 27 (33), Concl. 8, 12th April 1933, CAB 23/75.

* This essay is written in homage to Esther Simpson.

[2] 'National Fund for Refugees – Mansion House Appeal', letter to the editor signed by Frank H. Bowater (Lord Mayor), Cosmo Cantuar, Cardinal Hinsley, Lord Rothschild, *Daily Telegraph*, 9th December 1938.

[3] See the contribution in this volume by Tony Kushner.

[4] A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945*, Oxford 1965, p. 419.

(Jewish, Christian and non-denominational/non-party), five functional and joint committees dealing with special professional categories of refugees (among them the Domestic Bureau, the Medical and Dentists' Committee and the Midwives Committee), two special institutions (the British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia and the World Movement for Care of Children from Germany) and a further five fund-raising committees, largely composed of representatives of existing relief committees and refugee organisations.[5]

Bloomsbury House. The Care of German and Austrian Refugees published by the Central Office for Refuges, contains a directory and a manual of general information for German and Austrian refugees. It gives details of exactly thirty organisations and committees working at or in association with Bloomsbury House, which had been divided into three branches: administrative, caseworking and children.[6]

A complete and thorough analysis of British relief work on behalf of German-speaking Jewish refugees would, therefore, require more or less a whole dictionary to do justice to all the institutions and initiatives involved in this field. By concentrating on two of the most active organisations it is hoped that their cases might reveal the special voluntary character of British support for refugees during the period under consideration: the Academic Assistance Council (AAC), after 1936 re-named the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) and the (religious) Society of Friends' Germany Emergency Committee, later known as the Friends' Committee for Refugees and Aliens.

Both refugee organisations were set up in the spring of 1933 within a couple of months of each other and continued to exist even after the end of the war. The Friends' Committee finally ceased its activities in December 1948, whereas the SPSL still renders its services to refugee academics, in particular from Third World countries, to this very day. Work for both organisations involved a number of fascinating personalities and characters, without whose enduring service and commitment refugee relief, in my opinion, would have taken a very different direction.

The Academic Assistance Council was founded in May 1933 on the initiative of Sir (later Lord) William Beveridge, then Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). In his contribution to the Society's history, *A Defence of Free Learning* published in 1959, Beveridge recalled the famous scene in a Vienna café in March 1933, which led to the birth of the AAC. An Austrian evening paper reported the dismissal of prominent German-Jewish professors, upon which Beveridge and his colleague Lionel Robbins spontaneously decided to set up a special fund at their School to support fellow economists who had fallen under the new Nazi regulation.[7] This idea of a LSE fund for dismissed German economists then gave way to the general plan of setting up an organisa-

[5] *Germany Emergency Committee*, London 1938, pp. 1–4.

[6] *Bloomsbury House. The Care of German and Austrian Refugees*, 2nd and revised edn., London 1943.

[7] William Beveridge, *A Defence of Free Learning*, Oxford etc. 1959, p. 1; for the history of the AAC/SPSL see Gerhard Hirschfeld, '"The defence of learning and science". Der Academic Assistance Council in Großbritannien und die wissenschaftliche Emigration aus Nazi-Deutschland', in *Exilforschung. Ein internationales Jahrbuch*, 6 (1988), pp. 28–43.

tion in support of refugee scholars. Beveridge's contribution to the AAC/SPSL as founder as well as constant instigator of relief work cannot be rated too highly, though some of his more isolated decisions occasionally met with little approval.

The Council's first President was the world-famous Cambridge physicist Lord Rutherford, who, after his death in October 1937, was succeeded by William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury. The third President, after Temple's death in 1944, was Beveridge himself. The appointment of Walter Adams, twenty-six-year-old London lecturer in Modern History, as the AAC's first Secretary proved to be an excellent choice. And so did the engagement of Esther Simpson, who for more than nineteen years took a large share of the organisation's heavy burden of administration and correspondence.[8]

Among the 41 signatories of the original declaration were a number of illustrious academics, Vice-Chancellors and Principals of British universities and colleges, and several prominent politicians. The list of signatories, which reads like a *Who's Who* of the British academic establishment, was largely compiled by Beveridge after consultation with the President of the Royal Society, Sir William Bragg, who also signed the original declaration. With few exceptions these hand-picked personalities were to become members of the first and subsequent Councils of the AAC/SPSL. They included the physiologist A. V. Hill (like Rutherford a Nobel prize winner) and the Director of the British Museum and Secretary of the British Academy, Sir Frederic Kenyon (both later appointed Vice-Chairmen of the Executive Committee), the Cambridge economist John Maynard Keynes, the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, Gilbert Murray, the historians Sir Charles Grant Robertson and George M. Trevelyan, the Oxford educationalist and Master of University College, Oxford, Sir Michael E. Sadler and the physicist and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Sir Joseph Thomson. Among the politicians were the League of Nations delegate Viscount Robert Cecil of Chelwood, the historian and former minister of Education H. A. L. Fisher, the former Governor of Bengal and Viceroy of India the Earl of Lytton and the President of the Board of Education, Lord Eustace Percy. There were initially hardly any refugee scholars among its Council members and only very few Jewish members. As Beveridge later admitted this was deliberate, and was intented to stress the fact that this refugee organisation was a genuine British initiative.[9]

The original appeal of 22nd May 1933 is an impressive document of practical solidarity with defamed and persecuted German colleagues and of far-sighted support for refugee scholars of "whatever country who, on grounds of religion, political opinion or race are unable to carry on their work in their own country". The signatories hoped that the British public would respond positively to their appeal for funds and that universities in Britain and abroad would "take whatever action they can to offer employment to these men and women, as teachers and investigators". The main aim of the newly founded "provisional Council" was to establish an organisation which would work together with British universities and

[8] Walter Adams was Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science between 1967 and 1974. In 1985 Esther Simpson, who became the Society's Secretary in 1939, was awarded an honorary doctorate by London University for her dedicated work for refugee scholars.

[9] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

similar institutions in other countries, thereby acting as "a clearing house and centre for information". The authors were, however, careful to stress that "our action implies no unfriendly feelings to the people of any country; it implies no judgement on forms of government or any political issue between countries".[10]

The AAC's announcement of the foundation of a relief organisation for persecuted German scholars received a favourable public response and found considerable support from various sides of British academia. The Committee of Vice-Chancellors called a special meeting for 24th July "to consider what action Universities, jointly or separately, may be able to take in regard to the situation that has arisen in Germany", and following its first appeal the AAC received more than £7,000 by the end of July, including £2,500 from the Central British Fund for German Jewry.[11] The AAC's cause attracted further attention when the Council, along with three other refugee organisations (the International Student Service, the (Jewish) Refugee Professional Committee and the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends) joined forces in forming the German Refugees Assistance Fund (Academic and Professional). This fundraising body then organised the famous meeting at the Royal Albert Hall on 3rd October 1933, at which, in front of a packed audience of 10,000 people, Albert Einstein (in his first public address in the English language) announced himself "as a man, as a good European and as a Jew", and expressed his gratitude to the AAC for "a great service, not only to innocent scholars who have been persecuted, but also to humanity and science".[12]

Raising money was certainly one of the most arduous tasks of the new organisation and Beveridge, like the other "founding-fathers" of the AAC, was constantly engaged in approaching suitable donors and discussing new ways to finance the most urgent relief work. Responses were initially very encouraging and the AAC received donations from private individuals, academics and businessmen – Jewish and non-Jewish – as well as from a number of colleges and other educational institutions. There were unusual forms of support like the very early commitment by the teaching staff of the LSE to transfer between 1 per cent (in the case of lecturers) and 3 per cent (in the case of professors) of their annual income to a special relief fund for émigré German scholars.[13] This special LSE fund, which provided an annual sum of approximately £1,000, existed for three years and was then transferred to the general SPSL fund. Many universities and colleges established their own fundraising committees and besides making further financial contributions, these committees often dealt with the selection of a suitable candidate. But not everybody reacted favourably to the Council's public calls for support for "displaced German scientists". Beveridge was quite taken aback – as he wrote to the Rockefeller Foundation in December 1933 – by some "City people" who were "generally unwilling to associate themselves publicly with an appeal here, because they regard

[10] Academic Assistance Council, Foundation Appeal, 22nd May 1933, in Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter SPSL), 1/7.

[11] Letter from the Universities Bureau of the British Empire to Beveridge, 30th May 1933; notes on Agenda of Council meeting, 1st June 1933; *Report on Progress*, 1st August 1933, all SPSL, 1/7.

[12] 'Science and Civilisation', text of Professor Einstein's speech of 3rd October 1933, SPSL, 1/9.

[13] Report of special meeting of the Professorial Council, 17th May 1933, SPSL, 1/7.

the present German government as the only alternative to Communism, and partly because they are concerned with their own moneys [sic!] in Germany".[14]

The practical work of the AAC concentrated in two areas: the provision of an academic information service about possible openings for temporary or long-term employment at British and some foreign universities and research institutions, and the allocation of so-called "temporary maintenance grants". Every refugee scholar who turned to the Council for help had to complete a detailed questionnaire providing general and confidential information about, among other things, previous employment and income, possible alternatives to an academic career ("an industrial or commercial position") or the choice of country the respective scholar might prefer or was not prepared to go to.[15] These questionnaires, along with the scholar's c. v., list of publications, letters of recommendation and further references from specially invited British referees, formed the basis for the work of the Allocation Committee. For many years it was under the chairmanship of William Beveridge. The final decision about grants – as for any other business – was, however, taken by the Executive Committee, the highest administrative body of the AAC, at one of its regular meetings. Thanks to the excellent work of the Allocation Committee and due to the efficient preparation by the office staff – all members received detailed typescript copies of applications and previous correspondence – allocations were made speedily and with the necessary decisiveness.

The "maintenance grants", which were allocated on an annual basis, were relatively modest: £250 for a married and £182 for an unmarried scholar (in comparison a London university lecturer in history, unmarried, twenty-five years old, earned roughly £500 p. a.). Later attempts to increase some grants for senior university teachers did not always please their British colleagues, but the Executive Committee thought these increases justified, particularly in the case of "refugees of world reputation".[16] Often "maintenance grants" were not given in full, but in addition to a basic university salary or a scholarship, as an allowance towards travel costs (for job interviews) or to meet the printing costs of a scholarly publication. In a very few cases these grants were arranged as an interest-free loan. Some universities and research institutes offered additional courses and organised special lecture programmes for refugee scholars who were otherwise unemployed, with the AAC again taking responsibility for financing them. Thus, for example, the former *Privatdozent* from Göttingen and later Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge, Nikolaus Pevsner, gave a series of lectures on baroque paintings at the Courtauld Institute in London during February 1934, for which he received £30 from the resources of the AAC.[17]

The exact number of German or German-speaking refugees who came to Britain after 1933 as university teachers and researchers is not known. We are forced to rely upon estimates, although they are reliable ones in this case. According to contemporary statistics and post-war calculations, it can reasonably be assumed that, by

[14] Beveridge to Dr. Max Mason (Rockefeller Foundation, New York), 22nd December 1933, SPSL, 2/1.

[15] See the personal files of individual refugees in SPSL.

[16] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[17] Lectures at the Courtauld Institute under the auspices of the AAC; Letter from W. G. Constable to W. Adams, 4th May 1934, both SPSL, 18/8,9.

1938, about one third of the entire teaching and research staff of German institutions of higher education had lost their posts as a result of the persecuting measures of the Nazi regime. For the majority of university professors, *Privatdozenten*, *Assistenten* and researchers there remained only one way to secure their professional and personal existence: by emigration. It has been established that about half of the 2,200 scholars who took this route by 1938, first migrated to Great Britain.[18]

The British acceptance of such a high proportion of German university teachers and researchers was certainly out of line with the general policy of the British government during the first years of the emigration from Nazi Germany. On the other hand, given the government's recommended careful consideration of certain distinctive groups of refugees from which Britain could obtain "the advantage of their knowledge and experience", such liberal treatment amounted to nothing more than deriving the benefit without running any risks, in particular of having to allocate state funds. As in all other cases, private organisations and individuals were to be encouraged to bear the burden. The existence of the Academic Assistance Council and of other academic initiatives in London like the Jewish Academic (Professional) Council, the Federation of University Women in England or the *Notgemeinschaft* (Emergency Society of German Scholars Abroad), formed an additional incentive for many refugee scholars to come to England. The International Student Service, which aimed to help the estimated 3,500 students among the refugees, was also based in London.

By July 1935 almost 60 German scholars had found a tenured position at a university or research institution and a further 148 a temporary teaching or research post. London University provided no fewer than 55 of these temporary engagements, Cambridge thirty, Oxford fifteen, the Scottish and Welsh universities seven and three posts respectively, and the "Redbrick" universities the remainder (Birmingham five).[19] So as not to place too severe a strain on British universities, and to counter any accusations that they were blocking the careers of British academics, who were seeking work, in most cases the AAC again made it their responsibility to fund or subsidise the new arrivals.

During the winter of 1935/1936 the AAC underwent a total structural and financial reorganisation after which it emerged in March 1936 as the (now familiar) Society for the Protection of Science and Learning: a permanent institution which soon had over 2,000 subscribers, including numerous British academics who gave a regular part of their income for the support of their refugee colleagues. The new Society was also, according to the formal document, "to build up an Academic Assistance Fund to award research scholarships, tenable in the Universities of Great Britain and other countries by the most distinguished of the refugee scholars".[20] But the financial worries of the SPSL were far from over. Despite regular subscriptions and some substantial private donations as well as its share of the big fundraising actions like the German Refugees Assistance Fund, the Central British Fund for German Jewry and – as far as the Society was concerned with disappointing results –

[18] See Gerhard Hirschfeld, 'German Refugee Scholars in Great Britain, 1933–1945', in Anna C. Bramwell (ed.), *Refugees in the Age of Total War*, London 1988, pp. 152–153.

[19] Academic Assistance Council, *Second Report*, London 1935, pp. 12–13, SPSL, 1/2.

[20] See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

the Lord Baldwin Fund, the financial basis of the Society remained critical. The problems increased after 1938 with the growth in the number of refugees. The records of the Allocation Committee reveal that, in addition to about 400 Austrian university teachers and researchers dismissed after the *Anschluß*, the Society was also approached for help by Italian, Czech, Spanish, Portuguese and – from 1936 – Soviet scholars.

The records of the AAC/SPSL for the years 1933 to 1945 contain the names of 2,541 refugee scholars, of whom somewhat over half came from Germany and Austria. In 1946, about 600 of them were still living in Great Britain, including approximately 400 from German-speaking areas. A large proportion of the scholars who first came to Britain travelled on to the United States, which by 1940 had become the real host country for German academics, mainly because of its incomparably greater ability to accept them and/or for reasons which are to be found solely in the British context.[21] The question of transmigration, particularly to the United States, soon also became a dominant feature of the advisory function and practical policies of the SPSL. The reports and assessment files of the Allocation and Executive Committees contain numerous references to a candidate's prospects at American universities, possible trips to the States – often undertaken at the Society's expenses, i. e. by means of an allocated grant – for job interviews, lecture tours or just to get acquainted with the academic situation over there.

The intended close collaboration between the British refugee organisation and American science foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation never went beyond a friendly exchange of views. Beveridge's early suggestion of establishing an international "clearing house" for German refugee academics and directing funds towards all refugee scholars regardless of their prominence was not taken up by his interlocutors. The American counterpart of the AAC/SPSL, the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, which was also more concerned with well-known refugee scholars, largely confined itself to the recommendations of scholars and left all decision-making to the universities. The differences of opinion between the two organisations became obvious, when in February 1939, the new Secretary of the SPSL David Cleghorn Thomson set off on a "fact-finding mission" at American universities to explore career prospects for German refugee scholars. The Secretary of the Emergency Committee Stephen Duggan, objected strongly to a further intake of academic refugees via England since it was felt that "saturation point for the employment of foreign scholars had been about reached".[22] The SPSL Executive Committee, however, saw no reason to abandon its previous position on transmigration and the Society's chosen role as an academic "clearing-post". As Cleghorn Thomson concluded in his travel report (after having spoken, as he claimed, to more than twenty American university presidents and directors of research institutes): "Great Britain must be regarded as one of the clearing home countries and America as the great terminal country in this crisis, and in most cases the methods they are

[21] See Hirschfeld, 'German Refugee Scholars in Great Britain', *loc. cit.*, pp. 156–158.

[22] Letter from Duggan to Frederick P. Keppel (President, Carnegie Corporation), 15th April 1939 (copy), SPSL, 4/1. Duggan quotes here the Secretary of the American Association of University Professors.

employing bear a striking resemblance to each other".[23] The SPSL continued its policy of allocating travel grants to refugee scholars to settle in the United States. Beveridge later estimated that about half of all scholars who emigrated to the USA went there at their own initiative or with financial support from the AAC/SPSL.[24]

The Germany Emergency Committee (GEC) was set up on 7th April 1933 by the Executive Committee of the Society of Friends in Great Britain (the so-called "Meeting for Sufferings"). This took place only a few days after the German Nazis had organised an "official boycott" of Jewish businesses and on the very day when Hitler's government decreed the first dismissals of Jews from positions in public life. Reports sent by the British delegate to the Quaker International Centre in Berlin, T. Corder Catchpool, during the first few months of 1933 vividly describe the atmosphere of violence and intimidation in Germany while at the same time the first German refugees reached the British shores.

There is much to be said about the international aspect of the Friends' relief work for German refugees: about Quaker Schools, the rest homes, refugee centres and various projects in France, Holland and Czechoslovakia and about their courageous commitment in Germany, where the Friends were able – at least for a time – to visit some concentration camps and give assistance to people who were preparing for emigration. But it is the Friend's relief work in England which concerns us here.

The GEC met for the first time on 12th April and appointed George B. Jeffrey, then Professor of Mathematics at University College, London (UCL), as its first Chairman and Bertha L. Bracey as Secretary in charge of the newly-established GEC office at Friends House in London's Euston Road. The office was placed under the Friends Service Council administration which was under the general direction of the Secretary of the Council. The staff of the GEC office remained, up to the spring of 1938, relatively small; there were a maximum of ten relief workers, half of them on a voluntary or part-time basis and they later included some foreign members of the Society of Friends. Within days of its being set up the new office was attracting many refugees who had already made their way to England. A small Case Committee (later Care Committee) took up the task of dealing with special problems such as housing, employment, health and above all labour permits.[25]

In view of the restrictive British immigration policy, which allowed refugees to enter this country only for a limited period or if they had sufficient means of support, normally guaranteed by friends or refugee organisations, labour permits became of ever-increasing importance. Generally these permits were given only for specific positions, and not at all for some occupations. To handle the necessary negotiations with the Ministry of Labour and the Home Office was therefore one of the most useful services the GEC could perform. During 1936, for instance, the GEC was able to obtain 184 permits and renewals.[26] The Case Committee was also

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[23] David Cleghorn Thomas, 'A report on the nature and extent of work being done and planned in the United States of America on the placement of exiled scholars and scientists', 3rd April 1939, *ibid.*

[24] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.

[25] For a detailed description of the Friends' activities see, Lawrence Darton, *An Account of the Work of the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, first known as the Germany Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends, 1933–1950*, typescript issued by the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, London 1954.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

responsible for allocating some grants to individual refugees, including, from 1935 on, special allowances for further migration. But prospects for the settlement of refugees in other countries were often even more limited than in Britain and it is perhaps no wonder that only very few took advantage of this scheme (1935: 40, 1936: 65, 1937: 55). The number of migrants supported by the GEC, however, increased after 1938 (150), and reached its peak in 1939 (482), the majority going to South and Central America and to Commonwealth countries, and fell sharply during the war.[27] Aiding transmigration from Great Britain was certainly a major priority of the GEC, of the amount spent between 1933 and 1937 (£3,900) more than half of that was allocated for the general maintenance, welfare and training of refugees in Britain.[28]

By the autumn of 1935 the London office of the GEC had assisted about 600 families and individuals, apart from the many private actions of support by Friends' members in this country. Several Friends' schools accepted children of refugees free or at reduced fees and the Woodbrooke Settlement in Birmingham granted bursaries to adult German students.[29] Though, in principle, relief was to be available to everyone regardless of their religion, it was felt that the GEC's work should in practice be concentrated on the need of baptised Jews ("Christian non-Aryans") and political refugees.

Like the other refugee organisations before the war the GEC was largely responsible for its own fundraising. In order not to put too great a burden on the existing financial structure of the Friends Service Council, the GEC tried to co-operate as much as possible with other organisations to raise money. The public appeal by the German Refugees Assistance Fund in October 1933, in which the GEC took part alonside the AAC and two other organisations, has already been mentioned. Money also came from the Christian Churches appeal on behalf of non-Jewish refugees, which was launched early in 1936, and via the American Friends Committee which made a similar appeal in the United States. With the expansion of its responsibilities the GEC originated its own public appeals, usually with the help of illustrated brochures which were published two or three times a year. The appeal of these brochures was generally very wide and reflected in particular the practical Christian orientation of the Friends' work. A typical example is the 1938 leaflet *How you can help the Refugees* which not only listed the addresses of all relief organisations and fundraising committees and explained what could be done with the donated money but also contained suggestions for practical help like "(2) Guarantee support for a refugee for an unlimited period", "(5) £24 would provide agricultural training in this country for a boy in preparation for emigration, £40 would provide for emigration of a boy after training. 1/- a week would provide pocket money for a refugee in training in this country for future emigration. 10/- a week would provide for a young trainee. 12/6 a week would provide the maintenance of a refugee in a land training settlement. 15/- a week would support a child at a Children's Home. £1 a week would provide for an adult trainee", "(6) Find a domestic job for a woman or married couple", "(7) Make an opening for a refugee to get good

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 160, Appendix IV: 'Emigration and Repatriation'.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 162, Appendix V: 'Summary of Income and Expenditure 1933–1950'.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

agricultural, industrial or mechanical training" or "(9) *Second-hand clothing* may be sent to... where refugee women will re-make and renovate for other refugees."[30]

The sharp increase in the number of refugees, which followed the easing of British immigration policy after the political events of 1938 led to immediate repercussions for the work of refugee organisations in Britain. As a result, the GEC office was transformed from a small advice bureau into a large caseworking organisation with up to 60 relief workers to deal with the seemingly endless flow of refugees. With the formation of the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe in October 1938 the GEC participated in several of the large fundraising appeals, notably the very successful Lord Baldwin Fund, which eventually brought in some £550,000. Some of the money was set aside to secure the lease of the former Palace Hotel in Bloomsbury Street, WC1, as a central headquarters for the principal refugee organisations in London. In February 1939 the GEC, with by now about 80 relief workers and almost 14,000 case files, moved its office into the third floor of Bloomsbury House alongside more than a dozen Jewish and non-Jewish refugee committees and various technical departments.[31]

The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, though officially now also part of Bloomsbury House, had its office nearby in Gordon Square (after its initial residence at the Royal Society at Burlington House and a brief interval at Clare Market). The SPSL had by then become a widely acclaimed institution, not least as a result of an international meeting held at Oxford in November 1937, which had been attended by representatives from similar academic committees all over Europe as well as from major British refugee organisations. Although Beveridge's original plan to establish an international body to secure closer co-operation between similar institutions did not materialise, the SPSL soon had corresponding members in almost every European country, including the Danish physicist Niels Bohr and the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga.[32] But despite its international acclaim the Society's work, by early 1939, had in fact reached crisis point.[33] This was largely the result of the increase in the number of refugees with no prospect for university employment in Britain and elsewhere, and due to the SPSL's notorious financial shortcomings.

The outbreak of war surprisingly brought relief as far as financial worries were concerned. By establishing a Central Committee for Refugees under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Emerson, the government finally decided to support British refugee organisations and reimburse them for their administrative expenses. The government's scheme of granting indirect financial help towards refugee work was upheld throughout the war and did not end until 31st March 1950. The SPSL as well as the GEC received substantial subsidies, and as Beveridge later pointed out, the Society "did not find itself in financial difficulties again".[34] But new problems occurred with the government's decision in May 1940 to order the internment of all

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[30] See note 1.

[31] See Darton, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–59; Ernst G. Lowenthal, 'Bloomsbury House. Flüchtlingshilfsarbeit in London 1939 bis 1946. Aus persönlichen Erinnerungen', in Ursula Büttner (ed.), *Das Unrechtsregime. Festschrift für Werner Jochmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hamburg 1986, pp. 267–308.

[32] 'List of Corresponding Members Abroad', 12th January 1938, SPSL, 3/1.

[33] Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, *Fourth Report*, London 1939, SPSL, 1/4.

[34] Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

"enemy aliens", including all refugees from Nazi oppression. The SPSL, with numerous personal and official interventions, worked constantly for the release of its 530 academic protégés, or for their exemption from the deportations to Canada and Australia which had begun in the meantime. In 518 cases the Society was able to put reports and references by renowned British scholars, vouching for the integrity of one or more internees, before "special tribunals" organised by the Royal Society, the British Academy and the Royal Society of Medicine.[35] Before the end of 1940 almost all of the interned scholars had been released. Many were subsequently called upon to do important research and other work for the war effort; others served in the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, while relatively few were enlisted in regular units of the British Army.[36] By March 1942 almost all the refugee scholars who had stayed in Britain had found a secure position. The majority had followed a career at universities and other institutions of higher education or worked in industry or in the public sector. This remarkable achievement, though clearly influenced by the war, would not have been possible without the work of the SPSL.

The Germany Emergency Committee, which in December 1942 appropriately changed to the Friend's Committee for Refugees and Aliens (FCRA), felt itself responsible for between 5,000 and 6,000 refugees during the war. Together with other refugee organisations the GEC/FCRA became directly involved with the mass of problems created by the general internment of more than 23,000 men and 3,000 women. Under the joint body of a specially established Central Department for Interned Refugees (Chairperson: Bertha Bracey) and in association with the Joint Committee on the Welfare of Internees and Prisoners of War, the GEC and others took up with the various ministries and government agencies concerned numerous questions affecting interned refugees, in particular: the unsuitability of ordinary prisons for internment, the need to separate refugees from Nazis, the provision of married quarters, the possibility of children joining their mothers, facilities for activities in the camps, eventual emigration overseas and, last but not least, the question of early release from internment.[37] The GEC also became directly involved in the affairs of daily life in many internment camps, on the Isle of Man as well as on the mainland. The existence of a rich cultural and intellectual life behind barbed wire, one of the most fascinating features of this otherwise depressing period, would perhaps not have been possible without the generous help and welfare work of the refugee organisations, among which the GEC occupied a special place. The other services and practical casework which the Friends' refugee organisation provided throughout the war years are too manifold to discuss here in detail. I would just like to mention the running of hostels and rehabilitation homes for elderly and handicapped refugees, the provision of clothing and maintenance for about 300 unemployed and those on low incomes and the giving of advice on legal and social matters to many refugees in London and elsewhere. In fact much of the Friends' work was done by organisations and individuals in the provinces, notably

[35] Summary biographies of émigré scholars with references compiled in 1940 to support pleas against internment, SPSL, 65/1–4.

[36] Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, *Fifth Report*, London 1946, p. 5 ('War Service List').

[37] Darton, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79.

the very committed Friends Refugee Committee for Manchester and District, which had on its book no fewer than 2,250 refugees.

If we finally ask why British non-Jewish relief organisations reacted to the plight of refugees from Nazism – of whom 90 per cent were of Jewish origin – in such a sympathetic and constructive way, there would probably be a different answer for each one. There was certainly a tradition of charity (of help and support for others in need) deriving from a genuine British historical line of public commitment, most obvious perhaps in Victorian England, when charitable work, particularly among the middle classes, almost became a way of life.

There were distinct religious motives behind a number of initiatives, most clearly seen in the work of the Quaker organisations. Once it was generally recognised that there were many professing Christians among the German-Jewish refugees, Church organisations like the Church of England Committee for Non-Aryan Christians (*sic!*) and similar committees from the Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church, as well as the International Hebrew Christian Alliance joined forces with other voluntary organisations. The institutionalisation and decentralisation of relief work, after the failure of an international solution in the aftermath of the Nansen era at the League of Nations,[38] also had an influence on the creation and development of refugee organisations in Britain. In most cases, however, help and support came as a spontaneous and direct answer to a challenge and a problem which was imminent and constantly increasing.

Political considerations remained few and if they were put forward not always welcomed. Anti-appeasers were certainly not prominent among the initiators of relief work, though there might have been feelings of shame or guilt among supporters of refugee organisations about the British government's attitude towards Nazi Germany during the first years of the regime. Some Englishmen and women, on the other hand, were no doubt the more annoyed at having to repudiate the antisemitism which they had secretly cherished.[39]

It has repeatedly been said that the British record on the admission of German-speaking refugees between 1933 and 1939 was relatively generous by contemporary international standards. Though this might be so, at least for the critical years of 1938 and 1939, this assessment needs further qualification. Like most other Western democracies Britain did not pursue any real refugee policy, which would have had to be orientated upon the scope and character of Nazi persecution. Instead it merely followed a traditional immigration policy which was based first and foremost on its own economic and political interests. It was the impressive work of private refugee organisations – Jewish and non-Jewish – which turned this utilitarian principle into an act of selfless humanity and thus provided the ground for the largely successful integration of many former refugees.

[38] See Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted. European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, London 1985, pp. 158–166.

[39] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

To Give and to Take: A Balance Sheet

They came in the nineteenth century as immigrants and after 1933 as refugees. As immigrants they sought professional opportunities in a freer society, as refugees a safe haven and a fresh start. Some came to stay, others to move on. Products of Central European education and culture, they brought with them attitudes, skills and attainments largely unfamiliar in Britain. Many spoke the new language poorly, but the younger ones became acculturated, as their ancestors had once done in a very different Germanic environment. Those who remained in Britain, in time made new homes for themselves and their descendants. Influenced by the British environment, they in their turn made some impression upon it. Whilst the majority of the first generation retained marked German and German-Jewish characteristics, the following generations underwent the processes of acculturation, assimilation and integration familiar from earlier German-Jewish history, in somewhat more propitious circumstances. Among the children of immigrants intermarriage with native Britons, whether Jewish or Gentile, became a not uncommon occurrence.

The reception accorded to the newcomers was a mixed one, ranging as it did from a generous welcome through a mass of indifference to a spectrum of dislike, rejection and, more rarely, hostility. Though far from being welcomed with open arms, the younger ones at least were, in a relatively tolerant society, afforded equal (or nearly) educational and eventually professional opportunities. In peacetime at any rate, discrimination was rare. In the longer run many prospered, some attained eminence, with the bulk achieving the decent middle-class existence of their aspiration. The comparatively small number who fell behind were cared for by their own communities. They had come to a freer society than the one they had left behind and one less saturated with anti-Jewish prejudice and intolerance towards the "outsider". They had emerged from what had been on the whole a narrow, claustrophobic and self-centred world into one with somewhat wider horizons. Even if they were not received warmly, they yet owed much to British pluralist society with its manifold opportunities.

Great Britain, for its part, benefited from its willingness to admit the newcomers. As in other similar instances, liberality paid dividends where persecution and intolerance did not. German-speaking immigrants and their descendants, as this symposium shows, made significant contributions in the arts and sciences, education and the professions, commerce and industry. They constituted collectively an industrious, achievement-orientated group with a spirit of enterprise and a dynamic urge to succeed. In the process, they and their descendants helped to enrich British life in several different spheres. They made a modest contribution towards Britain's partial "Europeanisation", the breaking down of historic insu-

larity. Britain had no reason to regret the qualified liberality of its admission policy. It acquired what were, on the whole, useful and loyal citizens.

Britain's gain was, in the main, the loss of the countries of origin, notably Germany. Whilst in some spheres this would be made good with relative ease, that was not the case in others. Thus after 1933 German cultural life, artistic and scientific, was significantly and lastingly impoverished. The roll of Nobel Laureates from the German-speaking world tells its own tale. So does the contribution to music, to scholarship and to science made by the newcomers in their countries of settlement including Great Britain.

The essays collected in the present volume illustrate parts of the story. They show the problems confronting the newcomers as well as the opportunities; their frustrations, their friends and their achievements. Whilst no attempt is made at completeness, the volume seeks to provide an overview with selective illustrations of immigrant activities in a number of spheres. The crucial socio-cultural dimension relating to processes of acculturation and integration, to attitudes and perception is largely missing as much research remains to be done.

It is possible also to raise the somewhat pointless criticism that history of this kind tends to focus on the successful: "... Die im Dunkeln sieht man nicht". In fact, several of the papers reveal the pitfalls of extending coverage below the well-documented "high achievers". The result, all too easily, can be lists of names with, at best, a minimum of further information. At the same time, even such lists may be useful, highlighting as they do the fact that there were many who, without reaching "the very top", yet made contributions worth recording. And of course there are still more of them below an arbitrary cut-off point. Below this level, it becomes a matter of either (often unreliable or inaccurate) statistics or of more or less subjective chance accounts. In the present case, the "elitist" approach is usefully supplemented by Tony Kushner's account of the refugee women drafted relatively briefly into domestic service.

A different problem is presented by inevitable duplication of detail. Here the editors, upon reflection, considered it invidious to remove arbitrarily relevant material from one contribution rather than another. In preference, some duplication has been accepted, especially as each separate paper may well be read on its own.

I

The essays gathered in this volume present a number of recurrent themes. One is the need to draw certain distinctions. Among them is that between the relatively small-scale Victorian immigration described by Todd Endelman and the more massive influx of the Hitler era. The Aliens Act of 1905 marked a significant break in British immigration policy. Before it came into force, immigration into Britain had been virtually unrestricted and the policy on naturalisation, about which little appears in these papers, was almost certainly liberal. After 1905, on the other hand, immigration policy would be, on the whole, restrictive. Indeed when the influx of refugees from Nazi Germany began, that policy rested, as is well documented in the contribution by Louise London, on the premise that Britain was a staging post, not

an area of settlement. Only those who were either totally self-financing or who could at some point be removed were in principle admitted. At first, only the most eminent or seemingly "useful" or the financially independent among would-be Jewish immigrants were accepted. Under pressure from professional bodies – whose "establishments", moreover, were involved in the selection of those to be admitted and/or permitted to exercise their professions – a niggardly policy was adopted in matters of employment. In principle only a fraction of the refugees in possession of residence permits, normally subject to annual renewal, were allowed to accept paid employment. A modification of these stipulations would occur only early in 1938. One reason for the restrictive admission and employment practices, which contrasted starkly with declarations of sympathy for the victims of National Socialism, was Britain's dire economic situation and wholesale unemployment. Another was concern about the effect of the admission of Jewish refugees on Anglo-German relations. Lastly there was a fear, shared by the Anglo-Jewish community, that a mass influx of refugees would intensify anti-Jewish feeling. The wave of Jewish refugees from Russia that had provoked the Aliens Act of 1905 stood as a warning example. In the circumstances, all the officials charged with administering the immigration controls could do was to try and operate them humanely. There was, in fact, a modest degree of flexibility with some use of discretion; even, on occasion, a slight bending of the rules. Yet the general setting, in almost every respect, had become very different from that of the liberal era which had ended in 1914.

Official policies, a product of the economic situation, reinforced by pressure from professional interest groups, made it impossible for most refugees to find employment commensurate with their qualifications. Anti-Jewish prejudice, linguistic problems and basic differences between British and continental institutions, practices and tastes contributed to this result. It accelerated the departure overseas of numbers of refugees, foremost to the richer, larger and perhaps more welcoming USA. The startling implications in one particular area, physics, are described in the contribution by Paul Hoch. Whilst, by some, Britain from the start had been intended as no more than a staging post, others, who would have liked to settle, left because of the impossibility of finding suitable employment, sometimes lured away by irresistible offers. Not infrequently bodies set up to assist refugee academics, being unable to find posts, could only advise their charges to "move on". It was an experience differing widely from that of the differently structured and less numerous Victorian immigrants.

II

Another distinction to which attention is repeatedly drawn concerns the existence of three "generations" of immigrants: those who entered Britain as adults, those who came as teenagers and lastly those who arrived as children or were born in Britain to immigrant parents. Whilst the distinction is, of course, valid also for the earlier immigrants it gained, in the different circumstances, an added significance for the refugees from Nazi Germany.

The generational differences were in the first place psychological, based on differences in the command of English and consequent social demeanour, in acculturation, culture, behaviour and thought-patterns. Adult immigrants formed in a very different culture must of necessity remain "aliens", whose integration into British society could be at best a partial one. This was the generation of a basic "culture-shock" affecting newcomers and native Britons alike with, in most cases, a negative mutual perception.

The following "intermediate" generation was one of "mixed culture" to which several contributors to the present volume belong. It remained, so far as the host-nation was concerned, one of (qualified) "outsiders". The culture gap, if it did not disappear altogether, was now attenuated – alongside a greater fluency in the use of the English language – by a degree of English (or for that matter Scottish) acculturation. Members of this generation had received at least part of their education and professional training in the broadly liberal and humanist atmosphere of British educational institutions. They had enjoyed the benefit of a British peer group. Their slightly "exotic" background had made them an object of interest, their fate one of some sympathy. To a greater or lesser extent, these were men (and women) of two cultures, in many spheres an advantage as much as a handicap. Whilst experience as "enemy aliens", internment (often overseas) and service in the alien Pioneer Corps had hardly helped to promote their integration in British society, such experiences had been counteracted by the very fact of war-service, by naturalisation, professional competence, continuing contacts with members of the British peer group, in some cases mere change of name or British marriage partners whether Jewish or Gentile. Such factors had helped to generate a sense of belonging on one side, a measure of acceptance on the other.

The hallmark of the third generation is the fact that for its members the countries and cultures of their parents' origins became remote. Towards their "foreign" origins, perpetuated mainly in their "outlandish" surnames, they show one of two typical reactions. In some cases, this may manifest itself in either complete indifference or in a vague irritation expressive of a desire to forget their roots. On the other, a few develop an interest in their family, its mementos, heirlooms and records, seen as having some relevance, however remote, also for themselves. The well-known affinities between grandchildren and grandparents may operate.

British attitudes towards the immigrants would vary with the generations (also of "Britishers") and with them the chances of integration and the refugees' self-identification. Immigrants of the first generation would needs remain "foreigners" and would have to see themselves as such. Many would hanker nostalgically after the lost *Heimat*, its scenery, songs and memories – though few would in fact return permanently when this again became possible. By and large, most would find social relations with native Britons difficult, if not impossible, and confine themselves to the society of their fellow-refugees. They would of necessity congregate with people of their own kind in the clubs and coffee-houses, cabarets, little theatres and sometimes synagogues of their own self-chosen "ghettos".

Those of the second generation, heirs to one culture, neophytes of another, might in many respects still incline to the preservation of older ties. However, many would eagerly seek contacts in the new society. Linguistic obstacles had ceased to be

insuperable. Shared experiences and interests created bonds across the cultural divide. Friendly relations could develop among colleagues. Members of this generation, no longer "German-Jewish refugees", nor yet Englishmen or Scots as some would like to see themselves, would experience problems of self-definition or identity. At best, they could in honesty consider and describe themselves as British.

To members of the third generation, the problem would no longer present itself. Though often still distinguished by a trace of residual Judaism, they would for the rest be completely assimilated. The German heritage, language and culture, had disappeared (or been shaken off). Only the name remained as a last shadowy reminder – as of course did parents and grandparents, and family photographs and souvenirs. For the rest, members of this generation were rapidly absorbed into the wider British society.

It might be added that different social strata and different age groups of British society also would react in different ways to the immigrants and later refugees. There are hints also of the existence of regional variations. In general, the North may have been more welcoming to German-Jewish newcomers than the South, Nonconformity than Anglicanism, intellectuals than the upper or the large middle and lower-middle classes. In general also people who were themselves "outsiders" in British society would be more sympathetic than members of the Establishment. Whether there was also a gender difference and how this manifested itself one can only speculate. Overall British reactions to immigrants and refugees form an area which remains largely unexplored.

III

The integration in British society of German-speaking Jews and their descendants was assisted by a number of circumstances. Some later "Victorian" immigrants found relatives or acquaintances already in the United Kingdom who would help to mitigate the problems of transition. They might also assist in early "Anglicisation", however superficial. There existed, above all in some provincial towns, informal networks, societies, clubs and organisations composed of German immigrants, by no means exclusively Jewish. Although such contacts could retard integration in British society they need not, however, necessarily do so.

The later refugees from Nazi oppression were assisted in many ways – not least by financial guarantees exacted by the British authorities – by a variety of organisations of Jews and supportive Gentiles. Some would later benefit from German restitution payments to individuals and organisations which would smooth the paths of resettlement. Some refugees also found relatives from the earlier immigration who, to a limited extent, would offer moral and, on occasion, financial support.

In fact under one of its aspects the story of the "Victorian" immigrants is, as Todd Endelman shows, one of rapid and thorough assimilation and integration. It was a process favoured by the concurrence of willingness on the part of a relatively open and tolerant society to accept and "digest" a comparatively small number of

"foreigners" and the eagerness of the latter to integrate. Factors facilitating their integration were the usually high educational level of the immigrants, their middle-class and professional backgrounds and, on a different plane, the relative weakness of their "liberal-Jewish" commitment. It was thus in the heyday of Victorian Liberalism before 1880 that, under the auspices of broadly Liberal attitudes on both sides, the assimilation of German-Jewish immigrants was at its most rapid and complete. It was further promoted by the relative smallness of numbers and, not least, by an element of geographic dispersion. The process, acceptable and indeed desirable from a British point of view, might, however, be considered regrettable on the Jewish side. It is instructive in any event to compare (and contrast) the rapidity of Victorian integration of immigrants with the comparative failure of the earlier one in their countries of origin.

Perhaps surprisingly, the process would be repeated, if more slowly and less radically, in less propitious circumstances and in a very different climate, after 1945. Again there were favouring factors. British hostility to the "bloody foreigners" was mitigated by a degree of sympathy as the horrors of the Holocaust stood revealed. Refugees' resentment at their generally less than friendly reception was widely mitigated by admiration for the British stand against Hitlerite Germany and of Winston Churchill (with his philosemitic stance) in particular. Progressive "Anglicisation" took place through a liberal educational system with tolerant, often helpful teachers and fellow students. Among factors retarding assimilation of the "Victorian" type might be noted on the refugee side the problem of Palestine, the emergence of the state of Israel, some resurgence of "Jewishness" and fear of the loss of Jewish identity. At the same time anti-Jewish, anti-German and anti-foreign feelings persisted in parts of British society. Basic differences between British attitudes and those of German Jews of the second and sometimes third generations became attenuated only gradually. The processes of assimilation and integration were slower and more complex than they had been at the peak of Victorian Liberalism. There is, however, evidence to suggest that, particularly as a result of mixed marriages, they are rapidly accelerating.

IV

How significant was the role of German-speaking Jewish immigrants in the field of Anglo-German relations? Immigrants of the Victorian era, hailing disproportionately, for reasons that cannot be examined here, from Hamburg and Frankfurt a. Main, besides establishing Anglo-German (Jewish) family networks – with the Rothschilds an early and outstanding example – also helped to develop close commercial ties between the two countries. Later, men like Sir Ernest Cassel or Sir Edgar Speyer, whilst prominent in British finance and society, retained their German connections and sought in a variety of ways to promote a rapprochement (or mitigate rivalry) between the two countries. Their efforts, however, were unavailing against broad historical trends and could not prevent the drift to war.

The First World War severed Anglo-German ties familial and commercial, including those of the immigrants and their descendants. Many changed their

Germanic names and demonstrated their loyalty by ostentatious anti-Germanism. Moreover, after the end of the war, the old links were only slowly and imperfectly re-established. A degree of resentment remained on both sides. It would presently be strengthened by the growth of German antisemitism, militant chauvinism and finally National Socialism. Whilst the Nazi regime lasted, Jews in Britain with German associations (together with all other British Jews) became a negative factor in Anglo-German relations, opponents of the official policy of appeasement and often advocates of a boycott of German goods. It could not, however, be claimed that their stance had any noticeable influence on the wider course of events.

After 1945 there was a divergence of attitudes among former German Jews. Whilst some refused to have anything to do with Germany and Germans, others, in a more "neutral" spirit, became involved in "re-education", whether of German POWs or Germans in the British occupation zone. In general, Jews of German origin played some part in German reconstruction. Lastly, perhaps at a somewhat later stage, some former German Jews would become "bridge-builders", protagonists of dialogue and of a degree of co-operation with anti- and post-Hitler Germans. In fact, people of German-Jewish origin played a significant role in the re-establishment of Anglo-German cultural ties, among them members of the Leo Baeck Institute. Refugees who returned to the Russian occupation zone and, subsequently, the German Democratic Republic could not, of course, play a comparable role. How far former Austrians were involved in the resumption of cultural contacts is an open question. Official Austrian posturing as "victims" rather than perpetrators did not favour the involvement of Austrian-Jewish refugees.

V

A number of contributions to the present volume describe the "culture-gap" confronting immigrants and refugees between the Germany they left and the British cultural scene they entered. The newcomers, it is clear, could only marginally narrow the gap. Comparatively few in number and "outsiders", they lacked major influence in their respective spheres. What did diminish, even if it could by no means eliminate, the German-British (or continental-British) culture gap was the progressive internationalisation of culture due on the one hand to vastly improved communications, on the other to the adoption of English as the virtual cultural *lingua franca*. To these developments the refugee contribution was a modest one.

Nor could it be claimed, on the evidence presented here, that, except in some limited fields, the contribution of people of German-Jewish origin to the "Europeanisation" of Britain was more than marginal. Substantial elements of the continental "Modernist" culture they brought with them from their countries of origin were greeted by a wider British public with incomprehension and scorn. At best, they had an appeal for small esoteric coteries. Moreover, owing to past cultural ties, such "Modernist" influences as proved acceptable in Britain originated, in the main, in Paris. The influence of German-Jewish refugees was confined essentially to a number of limited areas like art history and publishing, psychoanalysis and psychology, rabbinics and Jewish studies, Germanistic, branches of the

natural sciences (notably biochemistry). In general, British attitudes and approaches remained insular and *sui generis*, resistant to continental influences.

The general question of "culture transmission" is raised in several contributions. Clearly German-Jewish immigrants and refugees did not bring with them packages labelled "culture" and containing a variety of German "goodies". Rather, as Paul Hoch's contribution demonstrates convincingly, "cultural transmission" was the product of a process of interaction, intellectual and personal, between proponents of different approaches, the result of which might be a synthesis producing important results. This, it would appear, could occur above all in the natural sciences, with a Germanic theory-orientated approach meeting and interacting fruitfully with a more pragmatic British one. Equally, however, the different approaches in other spheres could remain separated like oil and water: to the detriment of the refugees' employment prospects and their acceptance by British colleagues. Differences in cultural backgrounds created tensions which, according to circumstances, could issue in fruitful syntheses or lasting estrangement. There is an interesting suggestion that the former were more likely to be achieved in the USA than in Britain. Overall, the evidence suggests doubts about the extent of "culture-transfer" that occurred. On the other hand though, the successful careers in a variety of spheres of German-speaking Jews and their descendants in Britain may be evidence of successful "culture-transfer" based on a creative interaction and synthesis of two distinct traditions.

VI

As the volume is devoted primarily to Jews – though some contributors, perhaps for good reason, refuse to make ethnic distinctions or do so unsystematically – the question must be raised as to the Jewish component in the general story of the immigrants. Clearly, as the contributions of Julius Carlebach and Albert Friedlander show, both the Neo-Orthodox and Reform ideologies made some impact on mainstream, "middle-of-the-road", non-ideological Anglo-Jewry. Yet it appears doubtful whether imported "radical" institutions, whether *Adath Yisroel* or the Gateshead *Yeshivah* on the "Right" or Leo Baeck College on the "Left", in any way affected the easy-going ways of the Anglo-Jewish "centre". Whilst continental ideologies and the institutions embodying them no doubt provided food for thought and (not always amicable) debate and whilst they contributed colour and diversity to a somewhat dull and passionless religious scene, it may be doubted whether their influence was more than marginal.

Neo-Orthodoxy and Reform were, however, a special case. How far did "Jewishness" in general, however secularised, affect the situation of the newcomers? What did it mean for them to be Jews? How would their situation have differed had they been German Gentiles? In the first place, as emerges from several contributions, they benefited from Jewish solidarity. Longer-established Jews and their organisations provided moral and material support. It was this solidarity which helped to stimulate in many cases an increased Jewish awareness. Jewishness also involved exposure to endemic anti-Jewish sentiment from which Gentiles would

not have suffered. A shared Christianity would have helped the absorption of Gentile immigrants into the British mainstream. Some Victorian Jewish immigrants also, as Todd Endelman shows, eased their integration particularly into Northern British society by conversion to Unitarianism. Jewishness, on the other hand, involved in the first place the partial integration of a tiny minority into another if somewhat larger one. To a far greater degree than the Gentile immigrant, the Jew thus remained an "outsider".

In practical terms, as a result of historical experience Jewish immigrants (depending, however, on age) brought with them a relatively high degree of adaptability to new and unfamiliar conditions. They were endowed with the urge to "overachieve" characteristic of members of many religious or ethnic minorities. Jewishness, furthermore, provided limited access to pre-existing networks and institutions. These created a safety-net, a form of social insurance through Jewish solidarity. Jewishness for the refugees of the thirties thus had both "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects. It could be both help and hindrance. In both respects it operated differently from the way ethnicity or religion would have done in the case of a comparable group of German Gentiles.

In the case of the German-speaking Jews themselves, there may have been a measure of evolution in the attitude towards their Judaism. It is clear that "Victorian" immigrants and their descendants were ready in many cases to abandon the religion of their forefathers, eager as they were to enter the British mainstream. Whether Russian pogroms and the influx of Eastern refugees modified attitudes in this respect it is impossible to say. It seems, however, likely that, in common with assimilated British Jews, those of German origin viewed the new arrivals with mixed feelings.

The refugees of the thirties were in a different situation. Recent bitter experience had not only made them aware of their Jewishness but had engendered positive attitudes towards it. Many had ceased to identify with Germany (though some clung to the belief in a "better Germany"). None could consider themselves British in the first and only doubtfully in the second generation. They were thus left with Jewishness as the only possible identification. It was a feeling reinforced by the emergence of the state of Israel and its brave stand against superior Arab numbers. There was an element of Jewish pride. It was a reaction also to the argument of some of the ignorant who professed incomprehension at what seemed to them the apparent willingness of millions of Jews to let themselves be led like "lambs to the slaughter". Arguably, however, the revival of "Jewishness" among the refugees was temporary and superficial. With transition to the third generation, with its spate of "marryings out", the end of the residual refugee community would steadily come into sight. Over a period of half a century, German-speaking Jews in Great Britain (and in the USA) had continued, if with diminishing vigour, the traditions of the old German-Jewish community. Like the earlier "Victorian" immigrants and their descendants, however, they were destined for ultimate absorption in British secularised society.

VII

A complementary question concerns the significance of the German component. How different would the situation of the immigrants or refugees have been had they hailed from Lithuania or Poland rather than Germany or Austria? Again chronological distinctions have to be made. Down to the end of the nineteenth century – with Germany held in general in high esteem in Great Britain, with widespead admiration for German education, efficiency, thoroughness and profundity of thought, cleanliness, order and not least military prowess – a Germanic background was an asset. So were many of the qualities instilled into the immigrants by German education and upbringing. These were advantages refugees from the Russian pogroms did not enjoy.

However, the situation changed with the rise of Anglo-German tension through commercial, imperial and naval rivalry. "Germanness" and especially "Prussianism", credited with lack of humour and a measure of arrogance, gradually became a liability. It has remained so since. The First World War intensified the negative aspects, no clear distinction (or none at all) being made between "pure-bred" Germans and German-speaking Jews and their descendants. The same stigma did not however attach to Austrians, nor to Eastern European Jews and their descendants against whose presence resentment was felt on other grounds. It did, however, still attach to refugees from Nazi oppression, who were disliked more specifically as "Germans" as well as for being foreigners and Jews.

As against its overall disadvantages, "Germanness", however, also had its compensations. People with a Germanic background had to a greater or lesser degree benefited from the excellence of the German educational system with its associated values of thoroughness, hard work, discipline and intellectual content. Its beneficiaries often found themselves in a favourable position in competition with easy-going, week-end loving, sport-addicted and sometimes poorly educated Britons. Had not many of the most highly regarded British professionals completed their studies at German universities and institutions of higher education? Was not "made in Germany" also regarded as a mark of quality?

Another incidental benefit of the "German connection" was the continuing link, varying with time and circumstances, with the "old country", its people and institutions. It was a common language (and, to some extent, culture) which constituted the essential bond. On it were superimposed ties of family, kinship or friendship as well as those of common professional interests. In the "new" country, such relations could be a valuable asset, intellectual, scientific, artistic or commercial. In peacetime, former Germans, including those of Jewish origin, maintained closer links with Germany and were perhaps more readily accepted in some German circles than the British "cousins" with their notorious lack of linguistic talents.

In this connection a question was raised occasionally in some British circles, normally with ill-intent, about a possible "double loyalty". In fact for a variety of reasons immigrants and refugees were hardly likely to feel a political allegiance to their countries of origin where most had suffered discrimination, antagonism or persecution. Conversely, they would be well-disposed towards the country that had offered them or their parents shelter, citizenship and opportunities, in many

cases a "second chance". Whilst some members of the first generation, as already indicated, would feel a natural nostalgia for the scenes of their childhood, youth and maturity, this would in no way affect their loyalty to government and institutions of their new country. This was a loyalty resistant even to periods of disillusionment and partial rejection. Thus internment, recognised by many as a justifiable measure, left in general no lasting bitterness. Nor did the not always favourable experience of the Pioneer Corps. Substantial numbers of refugees enlisted in the armed forces as some descendants of earlier immigrants had done in the First World War. After the end of the Hitler regime few indeed – other than those who owed a superior loyalty to Communism and the Soviet Union or who were committed Social Democrats – chose to return to Germany.

How did the combination of Jewishness and "German-ness" affect the German-speaking Jews? This, as has been seen, was at the same time a double burden and a double advantage. Neither, at times, was favourable to acceptance or integration. Both, in certain circumstances, would prove "dysfunctional" from the British and immigrant viewpoints alike. At the same time, as has also been indicated, both elements also contained features favourable to the establishment of the immigrants in their new surroundings. The combination, hallmark of immigrant and refugee (terminologically it could be argued that refugees, once settled became immigrants as a transitional stage on the road to "British-ness"), was perhaps most potent in its effects on members of the second generation, making it perhaps the most significant.

VIII

In what ways, finally, did German-Jewish immigrants differ from indigenous British Jews and from Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe? Could they be seen as "carriers" of a distinctive, partially secularised and to some degree "pan-European" culture differentiating them from their fellow-Jews of other backgrounds? On the face of it there might be some evidence to support such a view.

In contradistinction to Eastern Jewish immigrants, Jews of the German tongue would appear to have withdrawn progressively, if by no means completely, from purely commercial pursuits. They seem increasingly instead to have made their way in the professions old and new. The great commercial successes of the twentieth century in the (ex-)immigrant community were undoubtedly those of the "Easterners". Of course these are generalisations to which exceptions can be found. On whether people of German-Jewish extraction were more successful than those of other provenance in the professions and not least in academic life and, if so, on the reasons for this one can only speculate.

Overall, with only limited exceptions, the story of German-speaking Jews in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is one of successful integration. For the ability of the newcomers to take advantage of the "second chance" available to them, a number of reasons can be assigned. Among them is their educated middle-class background, reinforced at the start by the quality of the German educational system. It was, moreover, largely the younger and more enterprising members of

German-speaking Jewry who tended to leave their countries of origin. A further selection process was that operated by the British immigration authorities. By picking out largely the "eminent" and the "useful" they were selecting likely "winners" or, at the least, the people most likely to integrate and to succeed. (Of course this does not apply entirely to those admitted for domestic service or to the unaccompanied children admitted at the last minute.) There thus occurred a double selection, creating something like an élite group of potential "achievers". This élite, moreover, entered a classic minority situation with intense motivation and pressure for "over-achievement". A combination of Jewish and German characteristics, finally, whether environmental or genetically based, provided some of the tools for achieving success.

As several contributions to this volume show, success, as already indicated, was by no means confined to the "great achievers". Lists of names of men and women not known to a wider public attest to the achievement of a substantial number of immigrants and to the diversity of their talents. Many of comparable merit may have been omitted. So have some further spheres of activity. There was talent and achievement of a more modest kind. Just as remarkable as an impressive list of "great achievers" is the number and diversity of those who also "made it" and whose names at least this volume transmits to posterity.

The essays here collected then, show both what the newcomers received from British society and what they were able to contribute. In attempting to draw up a balance sheet the evidence suggests that for both parties the movement to Britain of German-speaking Jews – and not of them alone – was an advantageous bargain neither side had cause to regret.

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1977. XIII, 445 pages, cloth.

This volume deals with the entry of German Jewy into the modern world and attempts to clarify the possibilities and problems arising from this development.

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1981. XII, 431 pages, cloth.

The year 1848 has been considered a watershed in the emancipation and integration of German Jewry. On closer examination the significance of modern revolution for Jewish history is less clear than might at first appear. Even in revolutions which apparently broke the old pattern of legal discrimination, legal equality did not necessarily involve the disappearance either of administrative discrimination or of popular and religious prejudice.

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(Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 33)
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The Jewish emancipation in Germany changed the nature of the "Jewish Question", but failed to solve it. This volume studies the respective positions and attitudes of German majority and Jewish minority in the entire Wilhelminian period up to the outbreak of the First World War.

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(Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 25)
1971. XII, 704 pages, cloth.

The contributors to this volume examine the problems of the German Jews from the middle of the First World War, when the position of Jewry became a more central factor in the German crisis, until the apparent abatement of open antisemitism with the consolidation of the Weimar Republic.

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Zur Judenfrage in der Endphase der Weimarer Republik
Herausgegeben von Werner E. Mosse unter Mitwirkung von Arnold Paucker
(Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 13)
2nd edition, revised and enlarged 1966. XX, 615 pages, cloth.

This book is concerned with German Jews in the final phase of the Weimar Republic. All aspects of their situation are examined, including their role in economic, political and cultural life. The stance of the churches, individual parties and groups *vis à vis* the Jews, as well as the response of various Jewish groups to the immediate questions of the time, are considered.

Die Juden im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland. The Jews in Nazi Germany 1933–1943

Edited by Arnold Paucker with Sylvia Gilchrist and Barbara Suchy
(Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts 45)
1986. XXIV, 426 pages, cloth.

This symposium volume is the result of the Berlin conference 'Self-Assertion in Adversity. The Jews in National Socialist Germany'. It both analyses and describes the fate of German Jews from the Nazi seizure of power up to the final deportations from the *Reich*.

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