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Etude socio-linguistique du
Yiddish à Londres

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to the memoir by Nicole Jarasse:

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under the direction of Professor Culioli.

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C O N T E N T S

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| What is Yiddish? | origin, evolution and function | p. 1 |
| I. Immigration to London: | | p. 5 |
| | Two waves of immigration | |
| | When, where-from and why; | |
| | Where-to. | |
| | Social and religious attitude | |
| | Evolution. | |
| II Social role of Yiddish in London; past and present | | p. 22 |
| | Workers' Circle | p. 25 |
| | Friends of Yiddish | p. 30 |
| | Association of Jewish journalists | p. 33 |
| | and World Jewish Congress | |
| | Poale Zion | p. 36 |
| | Theatre | p. 39 |
| | Schools | p. 46 |
| | Libraries | p. 58 |
| | Publications | p. 61 |
| III Individual role: from Yiddish to English | | p. 72 |
| | e. g. in "Whitechapel" | p. 74 |
| | in the "North West" | p. 77 |
| | in "N. 16 " | p. 81 |
| | Influences of Yiddish on English | p. 95 |
| | and of English on Yiddish | |
| Why speak Yiddish? | | p. 112 |
| Documents collected | | p. I → XIV |

W H A T I S Y I D D I S H ?

ORIGIN, EVOLUTION AND FUNCTION

Yiddish is a specifically Jewish language on the model of Judeo-Arameic, Judeo-Spanish ("Dzudezmo" or "Ladino") and Judeo-Arabic, vernaculars created in the respective countries, but expressing the traditional Jewish way of life and building another wall to the Ghetto to prevent assimilation.

Yiddish is made up of Hebrew-Arameic elements which, together with Romance, Germanic and Slavonic ones¹ have amalgamated into a fusion language that has followed an intrinsic development in keeping with its own psychical functions. (It was all the more so because the alphabet used has been the Hebraic one; it is of great importance that until modern time Jews have received a traditional Hebraic education: even the "illiterate" know at least how to read Hebrew.) This phenomenon goes as far back as 1000 years ago when Jews from France and Italy came to settle down in the Rhineland. At the time of the crusades and the Black Plague in the fourteenth centu-

¹ cf. Salomon Birnbaum, Encyclopaedia Judaica, 9. Band p. 120: Semitic elements are 1/4 of the vocabulary (mainly from Mishna² and Gemorah, partly from Cabbala and Middle Age sources. Germanic elements are the basic part: 6/10, Slavonian elements 1/10, especially important in the field of concrete terms.

² "law literature"- "systematisation of the legal discussion of the Rabbis": "The Mishna is the interpretation of the written law. It is the discussion of the Rabbis who lived between 70 A.D. and 200 A.D.. After 200 A.D., the Mishna "became the subject of further discussions both in the Palestinian and the Babylonian schools.

The Gemorah is the interpretation of the Mishna. Mishna and Gemorah together constitute the Talmud. The Jerusalem Talmud [was] completed towards the end of the 4th century or during the 5th century A.D.. The Babylonian Talmud [was] completed about 500 A.D."

cf. Encyclopaedia Biblica, London MCMII, vol. III "Law literature" p. 2743

ry, those who survived the persecutions flew eastward to Austria and Czechoslovakia, then to Slavonic countries where they went on speaking their newly born idiom: until the 17th and 18th century, Yiddish was one language from Bar-le-Duc to Odessa. Then dialects took shape:

- Western Yiddish, westward of the German-Polish frontier of 1939
- Central Yiddish or Polish Yiddish spoken in the area between the German-Polish frontier of 1939^a and the rivers Vistula and San.
- Southern Yiddish or Ukrainian Yiddish, spoken in the Ukraine, Eastern Galicia, Rumania and South-Eastern Poland, language of the Chassidim.
- North-Eastern Yiddish or Lithuanian Yiddish, spoken in Lithuania, White Russia and North-Eastern Poland, language of the rationalist "Litwack"^{1,2}.

Although Yiddish has different pronunciations according to the various dialects, it has a unique form when it is written and can thus be understood by everybody.

Most Yiddish speakers were to be found in Eastern Europe whereas in Germany, there were hardly any left³ due to the Enlightenment⁴ and a way of life no longer traditional; but in

¹ cf. Uriel Weinreich, College Yiddish, New York Yivo-Institute 1965, p. 43

² cf. Salcia Landmann, Jiddisch, Abenteuer einer Sprache München, Dtv 1964, p. 52

³ According to professor DERCZANSKY: In Alsatia and Switzerland, there remain very large groups of Yiddish speakers, especially among cattle-settlers who employ Yiddish words as part of the local vernacular, e.g. "mesuga"=mad, "haloimes" dreams.

⁴ cf. Encyclopaedia Judaica, vol. 3 Dr. S. Bernfeld, p. 667: "The philosophical movement of Enlightenment in the 18th century in Western Europe has strongly influenced the Jewish cultural development. Its leaders thought that it would liberate the Jews from the spiritual Ghetto" and by this make them take part in the life of the nations.

The Jewish Enlightenment is called Haskala and its literature developed in the 19th century (cf. *ibid.* Dr. I. Schipper, vol.9, p. 167)

the 19th and 20th century, migrations to the West took place, to France, to England and more particularly to America which became the new country of Yiddish speakers. There were also emigrations to Australia, South Africa and of course Israel. This brought Yiddish and the new national languages into contact. The same thing happened to the different Yiddish dialects, the interference of which is leading to the unification of the language.

The Yiddish Scientific Institute (now the "Yivo Institute for Jewish Research") established in 1925 in Vilna, set up standard forms for a standard language intended for the stage and official purposes. For many centuries, it had been a vernacular spoken, written and read merely by women and "illiterates": standard language (קראע-ספּ) used at home and in trade, in order not to use the national language of the country where they lived; Yiddish was ~~used~~ as well in the Jewish court and in education, in order not to use Hebrew, the holy tongue, unfit for oral use, even when dealing with religious matters. In the course of time, a Yiddish literature was produced, at first intended to popularize religious texts, then to entertain and finally, a full-fledged literature that started in 1860 and whose outstanding classic writers are Mendele, Sholem Aleichem and Peretz. Having a literature and newspapers as well, Yiddish had become a literary language (קראע-ליטעראַר). It was not only a means for studying but it became a subject taught in secular Jewish schools. Still keeping its older functions, it became a language with those people known as the "Yiddishists",¹ aware of its value as a language. Contrary to those who take it for granted that Yiddish is but a jargon or some kind of broken German, Yiddish was official-

ly recognized as subject-matter in general linguistics at the Fourth International Congress of Linguistics in Copenhagen in August 1936.

I M M I G R A T I O N T O L O N D O N

TWO WAVES OF IMMIGRATION: When, where-from and why, where-to - social and religious attitude - evolution.

There have been Jews in England since the Roman Conquest when they came with the Legions. Then in 1066, Jews arrived under William the Conqueror. The Jewish community of England was expelled under Richard Lionheart¹. The present Anglo-Jewish community dates from the Commonwealth. The Sephardi Congregation (Spanish and Portuguese Jews) was established in London in 1656 and the Ashkenazi one, (Jews from Holland, Central and Eastern Europe) at the end of the 17th century. The Ashkenazi community kept increasing all along the 18th and until the first half of the 19th century by immigration from Poland and mostly from Germany, due to the industrial revolution and the agrarian crisis. They picked up English and integrated² into the English society. As those immigrants came by sea, the most important Jewish centres have been Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds, Bristol, Southampton, Hull, Glasgow and mainly London.

A. The first mass immigration

of people whose mother tongue was Yiddish took place from 1881 to 1914. They had nothing in common with the well-to-do Anglo-Jewish community of that time. They emigrated from the "Pale of Settlement"³, from Galicia⁴, Bessarabia, Ukraine

¹ cf. Swarzbart "Le Dernier des Justes"

² "integration" as opposed to "assimilation": integration meaning becoming a part of - but retaining one's individuality, whereas assimilation means being thoroughly absorbed in the new system.

³ Pale: district or territory within determined bounds or subject to particular jurisdiction. (N E D) *ancien territoire Polonais avant 1772*

⁴ *was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire before 1914
little Jews came from Galicia*

Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, (and in relatively lower proportions also from Austria and Hungary). They had left Eastern Europe fleeing the Russian pogroms, and Czarist Russia where they had no civil rights: the anti-Jewish laws prevented them from entering universities, from taking up a profession; antisemitism was giving birth to persecutions. The masses were living in destitute conditions, "having no access to agriculture, mining, heavy industries and transport and the production of capital goods, Jews were forced to concentrate their economic efforts on trades and handicrafts and to specialize in the production of, and the trading in consumer goods"¹. Most of them lived in villages and small towns although a migration movement to the cities had begun. They were living in complete segregation from the non-Jewish population. They led a traditional life and were religious minded. They spoke a colloquial Yiddish. The emigration was not only due to economical reasons, it was due to political ones as well. Many among the Jewish intelligentsia were in favour of the revolutionary movements, secularisation, and cosmopolitanism. But at the same time, they were aware of the Jewish cultural values which were best expressed in the national language Yiddish (for the ^{Yiddishists} ^{In 1931 in Poland 90% of the Jewish community spoke Yiddish, only 10.8% Polish & or Hebrew (for the Zionists)}). Persecutions destroyed the hope and trust they had placed in the nations, and in the "Enlightenment"³.⁴ The fermentation of ideas and the belief in one's value subsisted and were brought over to the new countries.

¹ Barou: The Jews in work and trade, published by the Trades Advisory, Council London; June 1948, p. 2

² Jewish People Past and Present, vol.1, p.354, Arthur Rupp

↙ Après pogroms & meutes - scierie
- Am Olam (peuple du monde)
colonies agricoles aux USA et Argentine

Most of the emigrants went and settled down in America - USA, Argentine, Canada, as well as in South Africa, Palestine and Australia. Some remained in Europe - France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and England (where they had actually emigrated, or where they stopped on their way to America).

In London, the masses of emigrants settled down in proletarian districts in the East End (i.e. Whitechapel, Aldgate, Shoreditch, Hackney and Bethnal Green) where they stuck together, aliens ignorant of the language. Trying to keep up the traditional way of life, they reconstituted the "Shtetl", which had been the setting of the self-contained small town life in Eastern Europe. Israel Zangwill described it as the "London Ghetto" in his novels. According to him, the "Ghetto" was "of voluntary formation" as "people who have been living in a ghetto for a couple of centuries are not able to step outside merely because the gates are thrown down"¹. In fact, it was not quite voluntary. Whitechapel "Ghetto" was formed in great part because of external necessities - not political, as it had been the case in Europe when it was imposed on Jews to live in a ghetto, but linguistical and economical: the East End provided cheap rents and proximity of work. Nevertheless, the word "Ghetto" may seem appropriate as the "East Enders"² who had lived in desperate conditions in Eastern Europe, did not find an easy life in London. England at that time had neither Welfare Service nor Health Service, and many lived in unhealthy conditions packed in one room as lodgers (just as Indians and West Indians at present in the same dis-

¹ Israel Zangwill, Children of the Ghetto, London 1929
² A.B. Levy, East End Story, London 1951

trict). It was all the more difficult as many of them had no trade and did not want to work on Sabbath¹: they worked all night Thursday or lost their jobs regularly every week. To find jobs, they had to go to Whitechapel Road on Sunday morning where they were—or were not—hired on the "pig market" where this kind of slave trade was performed. If they were lucky enough to be hired, they worked in the "sweat shop"² from 8 am. to 12 pm. Some Jews who had been tailors or shoemakers in Russia started working in their homes employing a few immigrants: "A moderately good tailor could expect in theory to earn anything between £12. 2s and £12. 8s... The great majority of semi-skilled and unskilled workers worked only an annual average of two days or less a week".³ As a consequence of their historical background, most of them were working in clothing trades and furniture making.

The established Jewry did not feel deeply concerned about the newcomers and did little to improve their condition; the Jewish Board of Guardians, founded by the Great Synagogue in 1859 provided all kinds of help - charity and "soup kitchens"; it organized the Free Jewish Schools and free country holidays. (Christian missionaries on their part provided some kind of charity as well, but not without interested motives!) But many, under the influence of new ideas, were not satisfied with being given alms, and so, as soon as they got on their feet, they organized Trade Unions. They wanted to better their condition. They carried on the radical activities

¹ Sabbath: Friday night and Saturday

² This was known as the "Sweating System"

³ The Jewish Journal of Sociology, London, June 1963, in 'Book Reviews' Jewish Immigration to England, J. Maitlis, p.141

started in Eastern Europe. "In London started the first Trade Unions: in 1876, a tailors' Trade Union was founded with 72 members. It was the first Jewish Trade Union in the world. Then, others followed. In 1876, the Jewish Socialist Association was founded and in 1884, the first Yiddish socialist paper (editor Wintchewski) "Dos Polische Idel", which was to be taken over to America and developed there. In 1911, there were 21 Jewish tailors' Unions in London"¹. They founded the "Workers' Circle Friendly Society" in 1909, "voluntary association of men and women ...with fervently sincere ideals of socialist inspired mutual aid and cultural advancement"². Strikes were organized⁴. Economic struggles were not the only ones the "East Enders" had to lead: in the thirties, when anti-semitism spread all over Europe, England was not spared. In England, Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists, wanted a "scape goat to hit out at, such as Jewry"⁴. He organized a march of his "black shirts" to the East End. A petition was presented to the Home Office, but they [the Jewish People's Councils] were informed that the Home Office could not or would not intervene"⁵. Jews together with the Labour Party, the communists ... organized defence themselves.

All these organizations⁶ together with the Zionist and the Mizrachi were in the midst of the Jewish problems, trying

¹ cf. Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jacob Lestchensky, vol. p.

² cf. The Circle Golden Jubilee, publ. by the "Central Committee Workers' Circle Friendly Society" p. 4

³ cf. Wesker; Zangwill Children of the Ghetto; Memoirs of Professor Selig Brodetsky

⁴ cf. Jewish Chronicle Supplement, January 14th, 1966, the "Battle of Cabbie Street" by Colin Cross, p. XI

⁵ cf. Workers' Circle Friendly Society, p. 20

⁶ cf. Chap. II: Social role of Yiddish in London, p. 22

to find a solution to them: either the territorialist solution, the Zionist with Palestine and Hebrew, or the Yiddishist that was keeping up national values through the national language Yiddish. At the time of the first generations in the "Ghetto", there was an active press and literature in Yiddish, a Yiddish theatre and Yiddish schools. Everybody spoke Yiddish in the Synagogue. Cultural meetings were held in Yiddish as well as political and social meetings.

But the main reason why Yiddish was being used was not an ideological one: it was in fact a sheer necessity as it was in most cases the only language understood by the people. A few anecdotes may point this out: "Fire posters of London County Council and police instructions were in Yiddish. Even on the fire alarm, there was a Yiddish translation of the instruction "Break the glass, pull the handle and wait till the engine comes"¹, posters and sign-boards were written in Yiddish; even the missionaries' posters in their office in Whitechapel Road, not to speak of the policemen who learned it also in order to spy at the meetings.

20 % of the "East Enders" were ex-students of traditional Jewish colleges who had become "apicorsim"² (heretics). Anarchists and Bundists were strongly anti-religious; they held balls at Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), and they sent their children to their own secular schools.

But most of the immigrants were religious-minded and even some of those who led the Trade Unions and organized strikes (in 1906, 12,000 Jewish workers took part in a strike). Although in his chapter "With the strikers"³ Israel Zangwill

¹ cf; East End Story

² apikoiros, pl. apicorsim, comes from Epicure.

³ I. Zangwill Children of the Ghetto, London 1929, p. 258

mentions anti-religious strike leaders, he nevertheless shows the strikers - who had been to the synagogue before going to the meeting - getting angry against the very orator they were applauding when this latter desecrated the Sabbath by lighting a cigarette. This shows how deeply rooted religion (or was it tradition) was in the heart and ways of the people. "A minority belonged to the free-thinking, but the majority only availed themselves of Wolf's, [the great Jewish Labour leader] services because they were indispensable"¹. They did not particularly belong to the Synagogue which was an anglicized institution, they had their own foreign "Stiebl" (Chassidic² - house of prayers) which were very numerous and full up day and night: there was always a "minyan"³ of men studying the Torah⁴. At that time, the attendance was such that "cinemas and halls had to be hired - one such hall, the great assembly hall, holding as many as six thousand worshippers"⁵. These religious people sent their children to traditional religious schools.

Many children were speaking Yiddish at home and learnt it as well either in the secular or in the religious school, they even were sometimes caught up with socialist activities in Yiddish, but they mainly spoke English between themselves. By and by, English made its way into the "Ghetto". Some of

¹ cf. I. Zangwill, Children of the Ghetto, p. 253

² Chassidim - mystical movement of thought started in Poland in the middle of the 18th century under the influence of Reb Ba^l Shem Tov. It spread out rapidly among the poorer masses in Eastern Europe. They "stress devotion and religious intent more than learning" (cf. College Yiddish, p. 256)

³ "a minyan" - congregational quorum of ten

⁴ Torah: Mosaic as well as Talmudical law

⁵ East End Story

the children went to Anglo-Jewish schools or to English schools and some even went to the university. Gradually small-time tailors became big-time tailors, and small workshops became big factories (the Jews built up the big tailoring, cabinet making and diamond industries in England). Gradually, activities were mixed: Yiddish and English. By the third generation, many spoke only English. The language wall had broken down and so did the proper gates of the ghetto. Those who became richer went away from Whitechapel to northern London - "Stamford Hill" and "Golders Green" by way of Highbury and Hampstead. This "going West" had started since the very end of the last century. Another reason that compelled the population of the "East End" to "emigrate" was the destruction of a great part of the East End during the air-raids of World War II. The new status and new surroundings did not go without alterations in the way of thinking and ways of life. Yiddish was a victim of these alterations. It seems as natural for a Jewish person born in England (say, the second generation) to speak English as it was natural for his or her grandparents to speak Yiddish.

The Jewish emigration to England came to^a stop owing to the Extraction Act or Aliens Act 1905, to the Aliens Restriction Act 1914 and the Aliens Restriction (amendment) Act 1919 that prohibited "the landing in Great Britain of undesirable alien steerage passengers. - The principal test of undesirableness [was] not having or being in a position to obtain the means of supporting one's self and one's dependants ... provided that the immigrants [were] not seeking to avoid persecution or punishment on religious or political grounds, or perse-

cution, involving danger of imprisonment or danger to life or limb, on account of religious belief"¹.

No more Jews came from the Soviet Union (one reason may be that officially they had the same rights as the other inhabitants of the USSR). Due to the spread of national socialism, great masses of Jews emigrated from Germany and Austria, a small number of which got through to England. This immigration started in 1913.

Most of those immigrants were not speaking Yiddish and settled down in North and West London. A few Polish Jews came as well, together with Polish soldiers who had with/drawn to Russia before making to England: 200,000 Polish soldiers came to England and 130,000 remained in England after the war. A few children escaped to London during the war and were taken care of by the community.

- B. After the war, many "refugees" arrived from concentration camps. Their background was different from that of the former emigrants. They came from Germany, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. They belonged to the middle class. In countries such as Poland and Rumania where urban Jewish population was more important and although the socialist governments were not always in favour of the development of Yiddish. - Yiddish secular schools, theatres and publications developed being supported by their upholders in the community. Even the Orthodox became more aware of the importance of Yiddish.

In Czechoslovakia, in the Carpathians, many Jews still lived in small towns and villages. 95 % of them were Chassidim. They had a traditional life (except doctors, lawyers and chemists). Many of them could not speak any other language than

¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica vol. I, p. 27 USA 1947

Yiddish. Some of them could speak Ukrainian or Hungarian. In Moravia and Bohemia, most of the Jews belonged to the Reform Synagogue, they did not speak Yiddish but Czech or German. 60 to 70 % of the Jews in Czechoslovakia were business men, others were shoemakers, tailors or ^{were} working in the land. The Jews who outlived the Nazi slaughter either returned to stay in their native countries or emigrated either to Israel, America or England. The last wave of immigration to North London took place in 1956 when many Jews left Hungary at the time of the Revolution.

They did not settle down in Eastern London but either in the North or in the West. The most orthodox came to North London: to Stamford Hill and Upper Clapton where the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregation was established in 1926 by the late Rabbi Dr. V. Schonfeld. In North London, there are about 800 orthodox families with an average of three or four children. In the North-West, there are about 1,000 orthodox persons. In North London, they founded another "Ghetto", quite different from the one in "Whitechapel". In the East End, the Jews' concern with political and social matters kept them accessible to the world around them. For them, Yiddish had been either a natural thing or an aim in life. They went away as soon as their condition enabled them.¹ Not so with the inhabitants of North London - circumstances made them know better.

In North London, there are some people whose income could allow to live in a western district of London, which would be more suitable to their position according to English standards, but they prefer to live in a "frum"² atmosphere. This proves that "Stamford Hill" is no ordinary district. Although situated in London, it is not present day England, it

¹ 'frum': Yiddish = pious, but nobody in North London would use the word 'pious'.

is a world of its own, out of time and space. Its inhabitants are fully aware of living in exile, in "Goluth" and are waiting for the Messiah to come.

This position is to be found with more or less strength according to the origins and trends of belief.

Anglicization of the children caught on during the war because it was better to avoid speaking what sounded like a Germanic language. But nevertheless, until now, Yiddish is still spoken in these communities and is sometimes the main- if not the only language spoken. Among the people in Northern London, 50 % may be Chassidic inclined: Hungarians, Rumanians a few Poles and very few Jews of Russian origin. The Hungarians are the main back bone of the Chassidic element, e. g. the Satmach Rebe¹ in New York; Getzel Berger Rebe living in London E. 5. is of Polish origin, but most of his followers are Hungarians. All the Chassidic inclined Jews speak Yiddish.

Among the other 50 % of the community, perhaps 15 % of them speak Yiddish; those coming from Poland and the "Unter-land" of Hungary. The Hungarians of the "Oberland" as well as Austrian and German Jews are more inclined to speak German. German speaking Jews are called in a slightly derogatory or humorous way "Yekke". They are said to despise the others, proud as they are of their Germanic culture and their "better education". They either tend to speak English and speak it well, (they might have known it even before coming to England) or to speak German, especially in their homes. They will not

¹ "Rebe" - Chassidic Rabbi, Usually Rabbi = 'Rov'.
Chassidic Rabbis play an important part in the life of the Chassidim. There are dynasties of great Rabbis. Chassidim think that the Great Rabbis may work miracles due to their closeness to God.

Speak Yiddish as they take it to be a jargon, a rotten German ('verdorben Deutsch'). As for the Hungarians/Jews, they usually go on speaking Hungarian wherever they are: in Israel, it was necessary to have special signposts in Hungarian for them. (Just as the "unfortunate" French who happen to have a Spanish maid and claim having to learn Spanish, in England, Jews around the Hungarians pick up a few words of Hungarian). Quite a great number of Poles and Hungarians tend to "modernize" or stop being Chassidim. But it is not a one way phenomenon: many non Chassidim become Chassidim, so, it cannot be said that Chassidim are becoming less or getting more numerous: the total number remains about the same.

The whole life is centered on religion, they may have many "shuls". Originally, each synagogue had its specific congregation, but then it has become more mixed. The Chassidim on their part usually pray in their own "Stieblech" or in their Yeshivot¹. In the synagogues with an Austrian or Hungarian Jewish majority, people may be heard speaking German between themselves. Within the same synagogue (Aguda of Israel), there may be two departments, one Ashkenazi and the other Sephardi, both are attended by Ashkenazim, but the way of praying is a slightly different, the pronunciations, the order of the prayers. Those who attend the Ashkenazi speak English or German whereas those who attend the Sephardi are Yiddish speaking Chassidim. The "shuls" play a great role in the life of the orthodox Jew: men go there three times a day, it is a holy place where people pray, and it is a social rendezvous where people meet and exchange news. - Announcements of congregational events such as births ... are made in the synagogue. If

¹ Yeshivah, pl. Yeshivoth: Rabbinical College

the attendance is Yiddish speaking, the announcements are made in Yiddish.

The social position of the orthodox Jews in Northern London is good, contrary to that of the immigrants in "Whitechapel". Many of them have a profession or are business men, some of the older generation may continue speaking only Yiddish, especially when they are in the diamond business: at the Diamond Exchange, even non Jews speak Yiddish. The orthodox Jews send their sons to Jewish traditional religious schools where they are taught Hebrew subjects in Yiddish: Among religious Jews, it is becoming a matter of importance to send one's son to a Yeshivah: it is a kind of symbol, without it, education is not complete: "everybody" goes there "to be with it", even boys of German or Austrian origin may go there and learn Yiddish although their family is not Yiddish speaking, not to say it is Yiddish despising! In England, orthodox people lead a far stricter life than they did in "Europe". They do not take part in English cultural life - theatre, cinemas and television are things too trivial to be paid attention to. It is completely out of question for them to attend whatever could be organized by the Yiddishists whose meetings or publications are dangerous and condemnable and far worse than the English ones belonging to the outside world. "Frum" people on their part enjoy religious and social celebrations, they attend annual functions organized by schools. They have their own clubs, newspapers and magazines. It is a thoroughly self-contained community with hardly any relationship with non-religious Jews and non-Jews except when it cannot be helped (for business, shopping ...); the only contact is a violent one: when stones are thrown at the Jewish colleges or when Jews are stab-

bed on the street¹.

Today, Jews of European origins are scattered all over London. There is a small group of elderly persons in "White-chapel" keeping up activities in Yiddish: holding a few meetings and reading Yiddish publications, but this group is thinning out each year.

Even if the children still go to Jewish schools, they are taught in English there. What is supposed to be the Yiddish theatre holds but a few representations a year, the only Weekly left is dying, and a handful of writers and journalists go on writing. In 1948, A. B. Levy wrote that "on a Sabbath, you may find to your surprise no more than a 'minyan' or two present ... Even on the chief holy days, many a 'shool' is but half full"²: - Since then, the situation has still become worse: in winter 1965, Mr. Stencl published a poem³: "The last Polish-Austrian Stiebl closed in Whitechapel". There is the orthodox community in "Stamford Hill" and a large community scattered from Hackney to Golders Green, Edgware not to speak of southern London and Ilford. Many of them are professional persons, accountants, doctors, lawyers and most of them are well-to-do. Their life in the fifties has been described in the "Golders Green Novels", novels by Brian Glanville, Gerda Charles, Alexander Baron.

The "deyiddishisation" was accompanied with a shift in religious attitude. The oldest ashkenazi synagogue is the

¹ Friday 2nd December 1965, two students were attacked in Northern London, one was stabbed eleven times.

² East End Story

³ "Dos lezte poillish-Östereichische Stiebl in Whitechapel geschossen". Loshen un Lebn, London oct. - dec. 1965, p.5

United Synagogue^{a/} to which belong the majority of Jews. It was formed by the Union of five constituent Synagogues in 1870, at present, there are twenty-four constituent synagogues with a membership of over 22,000¹. It provides activities for over 100,000 people (over 32,000 families) - it has played an important part in helping people speak English and drop Yiddish: At the time of the first immigration, Chief Rabbi Dr. Adler² hated Yiddish, and socialist people. He tried to give £1,000 to an editor so that the latter should stop publishing a Yiddish paper. He gave money to religious schools (Chedorim) to prevent Yiddish from being taught there. He spoke against Yiddish at Yom Kippur³. His synagogue was the only one where Yiddish was not spoken but instead English. It is the "Establishment": their attitude is a traditional one⁴. Religious life is mainly on the surface, they go^{to} the synagogue on the Sabbath and during festivals, keep a few traditions and feel contented. These synagogues are all over London: West, North, South West and East.

The immigrants from Poland created their own Synagogue: The Federation of Synagogues which was created in 1887 and was embodying 16 small synagogues in the eastern districts of London. At present, they are as well scattered in all parts of London; there are 17 Constituent Synagogues and 39 affiliated Synagogues (only one of which being out of Greater London). It claims to be an orthodox synagogue. It acknowledges

¹ The Jewish Year Book, Jewish Chronicle Publications London 1965

² The late Chief Rabbi of Paris, Julien Weill, acted in the same way.

³ Festival on which synagogues are full of people who go there but once a year.

⁴ It is like the "Consistoires" in France.

a, cf. P. XI

the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi, originally Rabbi of the Great Synagogue (United Synagogue).

The Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregation (3,000 members) established in 1926 in northern London has to acknowledge the Chief Rabbi as well, but they have their own court and tend to consider the head of their own court as their own Chief Rabbi. The Constituent Synagogues are very concentrated; most of them are in northern London (not to speak of other places of worship such as private homes and colleges) and some are in the North West.

The Reform Synagogue (members: 2,500 families) on its part is neither recognized by the Orthodox Synagogue nor by the United Synagogue although the latter has a good relationship with it unofficially. The Judaism they practice is compromising with modern life: "a reserved service may be performed at hours more suited to our habits and in a manner more calculated to inspire feelings of devotion". Belonging to the Reform Synagogue is in some way like belonging to a kind of social club, it is the most convenient attitude to have one's conscience at ease with one's Jewishness. - Its members do not speak Yiddish.

Apart from the Orthodox proper, the Jews attitude towards Judaism has thoroughly changed since the end of the last century when Jews who were religious-learned became strongly atheist and anti-religious after having read about science and politics; now at best they have become more or less indifferent to these problems. Those who had been socialist-minded workers have become conservative as they grow richer and their Judaism is on the surface. The same result is to be found with those who were traditional-minded when they arrived in England.

As for ~~the~~ Yiddish, it may seem somewhat paradoxal that it is dying out (or has died out) among those for whom it was flesh and blood, for whom it was a salvation, and is surviving and perhaps starting anew among those for whom it is at most a tool, a means.

The evolution has been such that from living a traditional religious life, ^{and} speaking the traditional language, being a Jew has come to mean keeping up a few habits taken down from the grand-parents and remembering that they spoke some kind of strange and at once familiar language.

S O C I A L R O L E O F Y I D D I S H I N L O N D O N

Workers' Circle; Friends of Yiddish; Association of Jewish Journalists, and Jewish World Congress; Poale Zion; Theatre, Schools, Libraries, and Publications - PAST AND PRESENT.

At the time of the first mass immigration to London, Yiddish was playing a predominant role in social activities, most particularly in the East End. That was true for people of all belief, for Zionists as well as for socialist groups: Socialists, Bundists, Poale Zion, for Communists and Anarchists. The leaders of these movements had followed traditional religious studies and had then turned their back to it, realizing that the orthodox attitude could not solve the social Jewish problems. The Zionists were in favour of a Jewish state in Palestine, a state that should be like any other state. Among the Orthodox who were in favour of this same Jewish State, but within an orthodox scope, some segregated from Zionism and formed the Mizrachi movement (which is not the real representative of the Orthodox who were against any Jewish state, as only after Messiah has come will the Jews have a state of their own. In 1912, the World Organization of Orthodox Jewry was founded under the name of Agudat Yisrael).

Most Zionists were well-to-do middle-class people. Socialist groups were territorialists, but not particularly in favour of Palestine, they would not have minded if it had been Uganda or another place. They became organized under the name of "Poale Zion" in 1906.

In opposition to the Zionist and territorialist movements, the Jewish social democratic organization, the "Bund"¹ was

¹ The Bund played a great role in Poland. It has not been very important in England.

created in 1897. The "Bundists" realized that Jews should remain in the Diaspora as their life there was a fact that could not be denied. They could best fulfill their condition as Jews by struggling so that their rights as a linguistical and cultural minority should be acknowledged. The Bundists were not the only socialists, there were many other socialist groups.

At the end of the last century and the beginning of the 20th century, many socialists of great renown came to England and stayed there some time before proceeding to America: in 1876, Aaron Lieberman came from Russia: he founded the first socialist association of tailors (Verein) in Whitechapel. He wrote its statute in Hebrew and founded a Hebrew newspaper "Emes" that was issued but four or five times - this paper was meant to be sent to Russia. Russian and German police were after him, he flew to America where he committed suicide. M. Winchestsky, a socialist poet, stayed fifteen years in London and wrote revolutionary songs and even "folk-songs". He was the editor of a Yiddish paper "Das Polische Jidel" (the Polish Jew). Another socialist poet, M. Rosenfeld worked in London as a tailor.

Not only socialism gave birth to specifically Jewish movements, the Anarchists had an influence as well. What is still more remarkable is that the Jewish anarchist movement started in England: when in 1892 the Yiddish paper "Der Arbeiter Fraind" in which the most different tendencies had been united took a definite anarchist direction, with Sch. Janowsky as its editor. In 1898, R. Rocker became the editor. He was a German (non-Jew) and led the anarchist movement until the First World War broke out. In 1903, the "Federation of the Yiddish speaking Anarchists" was founded with thirteen groups in London.

Apart from the "Arbeiter Fraind", a monthly paper "Germinal" came out from 1900 - 1908 with R. Rocker as editor.

The Anarchists influenced the Jewish Trade Unions and played an outstanding part in the cultural development of the Jewish working-class. At the beginning of World War I, the anarchist paper came out under the editorship of A. Schapiro until it was suppressed by the English government. After the war, it came out for some time under the editorship of M. Sal-kind.

After the war, the movement lost some of its importance. Rocker and others were thrown out of England and hundreds of others went back to Russia and Poland after the Revolution broke out. The paper had to cease publication once more and went on being published in Paris. In 1928, R. Rocker wrote that "the most important organization of the Jewish anarchists in England, the group "Arbeiter Fraind" has been mostly concerned with the publication of an anarchist literature in the last years"¹. The great majority of the Jewish anarchists belonged to the working classes. (The English anarchist movement had sub-groups in Russia, France, Canada, USA and Argentine.)

¹ R. Rocker Encyclopaedia Judaica, Zweiter Band, Berlin 1928 p. 767

I. In the Workers' Circle or "Arbeiter Ring", all trends of socialism could find their expression. It used to play a central part in the life of the East End workers. It was founded in 1909 with a membership of 50. Its aim was to be a workers' organization interested in providing and spreading education and culture among the Jewish proletarian immigrants (Yiddish education and culture).

Owing to the destitute condition of the workers, help had to be provided as well, "at a time when earnings were small and there was no assistance except from the Board of Guardians and other patronizing charities"¹.

The first "Circle House" was in Alie Street. "In these days members were young and enthusiastic and ready to sacrifice themselves for the ideals of the Society"². - The cultural purposes in the field of Yiddish were carried out by opening a library and reading room where people took part in discussions and attended lectures. Radical personalities of the time came there: Brodetsky, Zingalovsky, Harry Gosling, Harry Pollett, Hamilton Pyfe, Dr. Steinberg, Dr. Barou. They brought over the Vilna troupe to perform Yiddish plays and organized a great reception for them in the Poale Zion Club at 27, Sandys Row.

In 1920, The Propaganda Committee published a monthly journal "Der Junger Dor" (the Younger Generation), but only six numbers were issued; Yiddish pamphlets were printed and distributed. The Workers' Circle organized its own school where the children learnt the Yiddish language, history and

¹ The Workers' Circle Golden Jubilee 1909-50, publ. by the Central Committee Workers' Circle Friendly Society, p. 5
² ibid. p. 5

literature during their leisure hours. "The 'S chule' was reopened in 1933, its purpose being ... to make them aware of their great and proud heritage. The political idea was social justice and equality and the firm defence against anitisemitism, fascism and racial discrimination"¹. Religious matters were of no concern within the Workers' Circle. Social activities were: giving aid to those who were sick and out of work, support to the strikers, e.g. in 1912 to the tailoring and bakery workers. A fund was established to provide material help for those who decided to return to Russia. Through the Convention, a Spanish Aid Committee was established and later a Fund for Refuge Children. The Circle was among the first to join the World Jewish Congress. Its members took part in the anti-fascist struggle, in the fight against Mosley.

Politically, the Circle stood above parties. Each branch was composed of members of different obedience (although the communists may in some way, have been playing a prominent part lately), each party having the opportunity of organizing meetings at the Circle House.

From 1909 to the First World War, membership increased from 50 to 800, but 300 having returned to Russia, there were but 511 in 1918. after 1919, membership numbers went up again regularly, the peak being in 1938 with 2, 964 members. At the same time, the community was dispersing from the East End, moving North to Hackney, where a new house was opened in 1956².

New generations gradually knew more and more English. The activities of the Circle had to meet new requirements. English

¹ The Workers' Golden Jubilee p. 25

² Circle House, 13 Sylvester Path, Mare St. Hackney E. 8.

became more and more prominent: in 1925, twenty-five important lectures were held, some in English and some in Yiddish. Branch 1 came to establish Branch 10 for the English speaking youths who were eager to have a Branch for their own where they could organize meetings and discussions in English. But at the same time, since 1938, numbers of total membership as well as of new numbers admitted have been going down: in 1959, the membership was 1,421; 31 new members were admitted while 42 members died.

The evolution of the Workers' Circle may be figured by looking through the organ of the Workers' Circle: "The Circle" published in English and Yiddish languages:

From 1933 to 1950:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|-------|----|---------|---|-------|----|---------|
| December 1935 | 8 | pages | in | English | 8 | pages | in | Yiddish |
| April 1943 | 6 | " | " | " | 6 | " | " | " |
| April 1945 | 12 | " | " | " | 0 | " | " | " |

In 1959, on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee, the issue published had 33 pages in English and 3 pages in Yiddish. Since then, "The Circle" has not been published any more; only reports and balance sheets are published every year.

The Workers' Circle is made up of different Branches which meet regularly. In Branches whose members belong to the elderly generations, meetings are still held in Yiddish, but most are in English. For instance the women's section of Branch 3 usually meets every two weeks: at the meeting on the 5th of January 1966 in the evening, there were about 17 persons (35 belong to this Branch). Most of them were elderly ladies (up to 83 years old). Some of them were Poale Zion, others communist, socialist or anarchist. One of the ladies

made a speech about the anarchist Rucker, recalling the time when he was in London, then, others added some remarks. At the end of the meeting, they collected some money for the sickness fund and the convalescent home. Except for the secretary who was younger and spoke English more willingly although she had learned Yiddish in the "Shul" - most of them spoke Yiddish - highly mixed with English.

The Bundists hold cultural meetings in Yiddish in the Circle House. One of these was held on December 19th, 1965: 14 persons were present, most of them working-class people, small craftsmen: a hairdresser, a tailor and masons: they read socialist poems and sang socialist songs. The Yiddish they spoke was not mixed with English like the one of the women's section.

The Anarchists as well meet from time to time. On January 12th, 1966 the meeting was held at the home of one of them in Stamford Hill (and not in the Circle House as it would have been costlier). They think that the Circle House is quite dull now: since one year, nothing important has been organized there. The Anarchists themselves did not meet often at the same time. On the 2nd of January, they met on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the fortnightly paper "Freie Arbeiter Stimme", published in New York (first editor David Edelstat, poet who died of tuberculosis at twenty-five). They were five men and three women, aged from seventy to eighty-three, all of different origins (White Russia, Lithuania, Poland). Just as the Bundists, they are craftsmen, tailors, furniture makers who started working before they were ten and are still working. They were very active before, but now, their anarchist activity merely consists in keeping in

touch with the movement in America¹ through the American paper. One of them distributes 30 samples of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme", which shows how few they are (although some others may receive it directly from America).

The Communist activities in Yiddish are decreasing as well. The Soviet regime may account for it in some part; it embodied the hopes of many Jews and Yiddishists. (300 Jews had returned to USSR after the First World War). But the anti-Yiddish policy of the government and most particularly the liquidation in 1952 of Yiddish writers, poets and intellectuals of value crushed those hopes. In London though, they still hold a few meetings a year.

Cultural activities of the Circle have come to a stop as well, especially since 1950, and although they still tried to keep it up for some time by organising a few lectures, receptions for artists from the Polish-Yiddish State Theatre, May Day celebrations, memorial meetings for the Warsaw Ghetto and the showing of films.

The decline of the Workers' Circle (and the various anarchist, socialist and communist groups) is first of all due to the material improvement of the condition of the Jews and their dispersion throughout London, as well as to the change in English Economy. The older generations for whom the Circle had originally been created, are no longer active or are dying out, they still speak Yiddish (though it is somewhat mixed with English). Very few among the new generations are interested in the Workers' Circle. With their knowledge of English and their British education, other organizations are opened

¹ There is still a small group of Yiddish anarchists in Paris as well.

to them, and thanks to the National Health Service, the help provided by the Circle is not of much use to them now. The struggle their parents or grand-parents had to lead and their language seem to them to be part of History.

The Workers' Circle did not keep up its cultural activities in Yiddish. Cultural aims were only one part of their program and not the basis of their association.

II. It is different for The Friends of Yiddish. (Honorary Secretary and Treasurer A.N. Stencil)¹ Mr. Stencil is still organizing cultural meetings every Sabbath afternoon from 3 to 5pm. They take place in Bernard Baron St. George's Jewish Settlement² Henriques Street E. 1. On these "literary Sabbath afternoons", lectures are made about literature: about classical poets, novelists or playwrights, ^{and} part of their works are read. There may be a speech about Jewish traditions and change of ideas (about Chassidim and Misnagdim)³. Socialist songs and folk-songs are sung as well (by a Bundist tailor, Mr. Bogdanski). The Friends of Yiddish may also meet on other occasions, e.g. on Sunday, the 27th of March 1966 in the evening about "Modern Soviet Yiddish writers and poets" with readings by M. Waysgras Nat Rubin, Yidel Goldberg⁴, Isaac Goldberg and Bella Weiner,

¹ A.N. Stencil, 17 Delamare Buildings, Collingwood Street, London E.1.. *cf p 44*

² Settlement established in 1914 by the West London and Liberal Jewish Synagogues, "its aims being to meet the spiritual cultural and recreational needs..."

³ Misnagdim - the opponents of the Chassidim

⁴ Yidel Goldberg or Julian Gold, artist living in Whitechapel still taking part in various Yiddish activities (cf. the Jewish Cultural Society p.34) and at the end of March 1966, he read Yiddish poetry during one of the lectures of Jewish Book Week organized by the British Section of the World Jewish Congress.

chair A. N. Stencl.

Attendance to the "Sabbath Afternoons" is on the average about 25: elderly persons, men and women, most of them socialist-minded, living in Whitechapel. There may be people from other places as well (on the 1st of January 1965, a lady living in Highgate Westhill was attending the meeting for the second time). Each speaker speaks his own Yiddish, either Polish or Litvitch. They are all what is left of East End Yiddishists. They may still go on speaking Yiddish when they are among themselves, but usually not with their children or grandchildren! Their Yiddish is on the whole not mixed with English.

Although this group is a small one, interest for Yiddish has not thoroughly gone: on March 16th, 1966 on the occasion of the National Library Week, a programme of Yiddish reading by A. N. Stencl was organized: Mr. Stencl read his poems (old ones as well as recent ones). The translation of these poems was read by Miss Ramsay M.B.E., B.A., the translations were those of the chairman: Mr. Joseph Leftwich, editor of an anthology of Yiddish poems that he had translated into English, The Golden Peacock. This meeting held in Whitechapel Library was a great success. «"With it" teenagers in jeans and sweaters were among the audience ... Also in the audience were members of the local Yiddish speaking populace and representatives of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish literary scene.» (Jewish Chronicle, March 25th, 1966). Perhaps it drew more people as it was partly in English?

The small group of Yiddish speaking elderly men and women still living in Whitechapel, usually meet in the Jewish Institute (Adler Street) and in Whitechapel Lyon's. The Insti-

tute which was established in 1905 by the United Synagogue played an important part in the life of the East Enders. "It was once a synonym for East End Jewry - as Whitechapel was lager"¹. They used to organize lectures in English in order to help the people to pick up the new language. At present, it is a place where people go and spend the afternoon chattering in Yiddish and taking tea. - At present, lectures are still being held there every other week on Sunday afternoons and concerts every other Sundays. During concerts, apart from classical music, traditional Hebrew and Yiddish songs may be heard. On Sunday the 9th of January 1966, the lecture was about the Workers' Circle. The speaker was Mr. Pearce (communist) and was of course held in English. Mr. Stencl had been asked to be chairman, - he had been asked to speak English; but he gave a flat refusal and opened the meeting in Yiddish explaining his grounds in doing so: his mother tongue is Yiddish and it would be unnatural to speak English, a foreign language when speaking to people of the same background as himself. He does not agree to speaking a broken English with Jews from Eastern Europe when they can express themselves at their best in their own language. The attendance amounted to 18 or 19 persons, some of them were the same as on the literary "Sabbath afternoons". During the debate, a few persons addressed the orator in English, but some others did it in Yiddish (and he replied to them in English).

East End meetings are not the only ones that are held in Yiddish. Some parts of the Zionists are still active in Yiddish. (Although theoretically, Zionists are in favour of modern Hebrew and reunification of Jews of all origins, they did hold

¹ East End Story

part of their activities in Yiddish). Being not so left-minded as East End socialists, ^{and} their scope being wider than Yiddish itself, they attract more people from all parts of London.

At the time when the people and its leaders used to speak Yiddish, all public meetings were held in Yiddish (e.g. meetings before the First World War where Weizmann and Sokolov spoke). Rev. Goldbloom who was one of the greatest Zionist leaders used to speak in Yiddish or Hebrew, but never in English. Those meetings were attended by a few hundred persons. (During the war, there was even a policeman who had learned Yiddish - taking notes in order to see whether there were no attacks against England.) Sometimes, not every year, Jews in Great Britain as well as in other countries had to elect delegates for the Zionist Congress. Each Zionist Party organized meetings which were held in Yiddish in Whitechapel and Stamford Hill: at the Anglo-Palestine Club, Great Winmill Street, W. 1. where there were Hebrew classes, meetings in English and Hebrew. There were as well Yiddish meetings of all kinds: literary, political (many about Germany), Yiddish plays. In 1946, they organized an exhibition of all Jewish-Yiddish and Hebrew documents about concentration camps.

The Yiddish Committee of the World Jewish Congress, together with The Association of Jewish Journalists used to hold meetings twice a month, at first mainly in Whitechapel (in the Jewish reading room of Commercial Road Synagogue), but sometimes as well in Stamford Hill and in North West: in Finchley Road (at Barley House) and in hotels in Swiss Cottage. Those meetings were about Zionism and about Germany. Some were held on the occasion of the visit of Scholem Asch in London or of

other~~d~~ Zionist leaders who used to come frequently to London before World War II. During the war, conferences of the Zionist parties and federation were held either in English or Yiddish. After the war, English has become the predominant language among the Zionists. Nowadays, the Yiddish Committee of the World Jewish Congress together with the Association of Jewish Journalists as well as the cultural league of the Poale Zion go on with their activities in Yiddish.

The Association of Jewish Journalists and the Yiddish Committee of the World Jewish Congress¹ hold their meetings about once a year. The Association was established in 1928 by Max Nordau and Israel Zangwill. At present, A. M. Kaizer is chairman, J. Fraenkel the Honorary Secretary. Until 1950, membership was over 70 and consisted in writers, journalists and poets. At that time, the association had money, now, only 30 members are left, and in the last 15 years, the World Jewish Congress organizes it (the cost amounts to £50 to £60; membership fee is £1 a year).

At the beginning, members were living in Whitechapel, Hackney and Stamford Hill, today, perhaps two or three are from Whitechapel, one from Stamford Hill, most of them are scattered all over London. Until 1964, meetings were held in hotels in the West End, in Woburn Street; now, they are held in the Dean Street New Synagogue as it costs less. Not only Zionist people attend these meetings, there are as well anti-Zionists, Bundists and Communists. One advertisement is made in the "Jewish Chronicle", two in the Yiddish fortnightly "Die Jiddische Stimme" (The Jewish Voice). Invitations are sent as well, but only to those who ask for it;

¹ 55, New Cavendish Street, London W. 1.

about 280 invitations are sent. Attendance to those meetings is from 80 to 250.

Usually, what is organized is called a "Lebedike Zeitung" (Living Newspaper: articles are read by the journalists instead of being printed). The themes are: Jewish literature (either Yiddish, Hebrew or even English), lives of Jewish personalities, Palestine, events in Jewish life, Warsaw Ghetto. The journalists are Goldsmith, Fraenkel, Richtiger, Kaizer, Sontag, Harxendorf. Sometimes, they do not organize a "living paper" but a lecture about some particular subject. These meetings in Yiddish are public meetings and it is quite natural that they should be held in one language. There again, each orator speaks his own Yiddish.

It may be interesting to know what language is used when the association of Jewish writers and journalists holds private sessions. When they met on the 25th of November 1965 in New Cavendish Street to discuss the status and future of the Yiddish paper "Die Jiddische Stimme", some of them only spoke only in Yiddish and others stuck to English¹.

On the 29th and 30th of January 1966, the European Symposium, organized by the cultural department of the World Jewish Congress and its British and French Sections took place in London (Dean Street). The theme was "Yiddish and Jewish life". Delegates came from abroad, from Brussels, Buenos Aires, Copenhagen, Paris and Zurich.

The lectures were:

Dr. Aaron Steinberg: Yiddish and Jewish life
Dr. S. Levenberg: Yiddish in Soviet Russia
Mark Turkov (Buenos Aires): The lot of Yiddish in South America
Sondberg (Brussels): Jewish life in Belgium, past and present
Leftwich: Destruction Literature

¹ cf. p. 65 and 96

Tschaskolo (Paris): Yiddish in the Yeshivoh
Dr. J. Bernfeld (Paris): Stutchkoff's Yiddish dictionary
A. Vogler (Paris): Leivik's central idea
Dr. R. Edelman (Copenhagen): Thoughts about Jewish life today
S. Goldsmith: Yiddish - how it is spoken and how it is written
Dr. Salomon Birnbaum: How old is Yiddish?

The lectures had come to the "Symposium"¹ in order to find a remedy for the present situation: how and with what means our mother tongue can be helped. An incident happened almost at the beginning, when Jacob Hloi who opened the Symposium spoke in English to address the greetings to the guests. This did not make a good impression. The guests protested against this attitude during the discussion.

The other association organizing activities in Yiddish is the cultural league of the Poale Zion²: The Jewish Cultural Society. It used to have many activities in Yiddish-just as the other associations. Part of these activities are still carried on. Contrary to the other associations, meetings are held in three languages: Yiddish, English and Hebrew. They are cultural activities and provide at once entertainment of a lighter kind. They attract a greater number of people, young people as well. The membership proper is not 500. In 1962, on the occasion of the centenary of Yiddish theatre, the Yiddish Cultural Society printed 3.000 copies of a book (with 12 pages in English and 44 pages in Yiddish). Over 2.000 copies were sold. The Society organizes lectures, shows and film evenings. On the 4th of January 1964, an "artistic and literary celebration" took place at Cora Hotel (Upper Woburn Place W.C.1.)

¹ cf. Loshn und Lebn, Febr. - March 1966, "Symposium for Yiddish", p. 29

² 2, Bloomsbury Place, W.C.1.

4,000 leaflets - marking the Centenary of Sh. An-Sky, socialist writer known through his works in Yiddish and Russian language were distributed (half English, half Yiddish). A function was held as well in 1965 on the occasion of the festival of Purim¹.

For the commemoration of the 125th Anniversary of Goldfaden's birth - held in Cora Hotel as well. The attendance was of about 80 to 100. During the first part of the program, Joseph Leftwich spoke about Goldfaden in English and Charles Klinger in Yiddish, (a leaflet with the translation in English had been distributed at the entrance). Then a Yiddish actor, Julian Gold, sang Yiddish songs by Goldfaden and excerpts from operas by the same author. The audience joined with him in singing Yiddish songs. The second part was dedicated to modern Hebrew with Israeli artists starring in a lighter program. There were young as well as older persons, many might have been over forty.

On the occasion of Chanukah², the second part of the program was presented again on the 18th of December in Whitechapel: in Adler Hall, and on the 19th in Stamford Hill, where it was organized together with the Aliyah department of the World Zionist Organization. In North London, the audience was much younger and more religious-minded. It was not supposed to be a Yiddish program, but when the Israeli entertainers sang Yiddish songs, a warm response could be felt in the audience. Mr. Itzhak Korn, Secretary-General of the Ichud Olami (World Confederation of Poale Zion Parties) from Israel spoke at first of the difficulties in Israel in uniting the commu-

¹ Purim: festival commemorating the victory of the Jews over Haman.

² Chanukah: holiday marking the victory of the Jews over Antiochus.

nities of European and North African origins. He expressed ^{the opinion} that Jewishness (Yiddishkeit) could be preserved only in Israel in the long run, and that Yiddish is the language that expresses best the "Jewish spirit". It is worthwhile to notice that in the course of the function which was held in English, when Mr. Korn apologized for his "bad English", somebody in the audience cried out that he could speak in Yiddish, and actually, towards the end of his speech in English, he switched over to Yiddish!

As is pointed out in the report of the Goldfaden Anniversary function in the organ of Poale Zion, the "Jewish Vanguard": "The performance brought nostalgic memories to many of the audience and proves that Yiddish still has a following in London in 1965"¹.

¹ "Jewish Vanguard", 31st of December 1965, p. 8, column 5

V. Not only political meetings were available to the Yiddish speaking East Enders: theatre plays were available as well. Since 89 years, there have been Yiddish performances in London at a time even every night. Theatre started to play a part in the life of the Yiddish speaking people at the end of the 19th century thanks to Goldfaden, the Father of the Yiddish stage. At first, there were only itinerant troupes. When Yiddish theatre started in England, it was only at its beginning- it started from almost nothing. In 1882, Jacob Adler came to London from Russia and started to play in a Workshop, then in a theatre in Princess Street. But the Chief Rabbi, Hermann Adler, who was so much against Yiddish, told Jacob Adler to go away from London to America with his company; travelling expenses would be given to all the actors. Jacob Adler did not obey and carried on with still more energy. Outstanding actors in his company were: Joseph Goldsmith who was to be a cantor in Australia, Kreine Sonies who became famous in America under the name of Connie Liftzin. There were few actors who were born in England such as Jennie Kaiser. Jacob Adler went on playing until 1887 when 17 persons were crushed to death in a panic after somebody had shouted "fire", when the theatre was full. Jacob Adler went then to America with his actors. A few London actors carried on Yiddish plays in various houses: theatres such as the Pavillon and even some West End theatres were rented to Yiddish companies. At that time, the best Yiddish actors performed the best Yiddish plays: plays by Sholem Aleichem, Peretz; Pinski, Sholem Asch, S. An-Sky and even plays by Tolstoi, Gorki, Ibsen, Strindberg, Shakespeare and Zweig performed in Yiddish. Foreign companies were asked to London: the Vilna troupe, Ida

Kaminska's Warsaw Yiddish Theatre.

In England, many companies appeared and disappeared. Some people made up their mind to have a permanent quality Yiddish theatre. 5,000 shares (£ 1 shares) were bought. The Feinman Yiddish People's Theatre was set up in "The Temple" which was built in Commercial Road. Its aims were ambitious: operas and dramas were performed there. It was at first a great success, but it was very costly to keep two companies at the same time, and the buildings had not been paid for. At first, they gave up the operas. Then, melodramas were performed instead of literature dramas. The prices were reduced, but this was not enough and "The Temple" was closed in August 1912 and sold at auction.¹

The two main theatres were: the Adler Theatre and the Grand Palais Theatre. Performances were held in both of them until 1946. Since then, only the Grand Palais Theatre on Commercial Road has continued performing plays in Yiddish. Even during the war, performances were held: "When the bombs fell, audience and actors made for the shelter below and carried on when the all-clear sounded"². During the war, "The King of Lampedusa" was played more than 600 times in the Grand Palais Theatre. It had been written by Harxendorf three years after his arrival in England. People came from all parts of London to see the play.

Then the demand for Yiddish plays decreased. An attempt was made to transplant the Yiddish Theatre from Whitechapel to North London, to the Alexandra Theatre, but it failed.³

¹ The actors who had not emigrated to America or Israel
cf. "Yiddish Theatre in London" by L. S. Kreditor in "The Centenary of Yiddish Theatre", London 1962 Jewish Cultural Society.
² East End Story
³ Centenary of Yiddish Theatre, p. IV by Joseph Leftwich.

had to start working. many of them are dead now. *are the factors left to perform: religious organization*

From time to time, some organizations, Zionist societies, Jewish Women's associations: Mizrahi, ORT, Avitzo. They either play in the Grand Palais Theatre or in a synagogue in Whitechapel, Stamford Hill, Golders Green or Edgware. The tickets are sold three or four months in advance. Most of the seats are sold out, but some people who buy tickets only do so because it is a charitable affair and do not attend. Those who organize the performance are more interested in making money (for charitable reasons) than in Yiddish culture. These contemporary Yiddish plays are usually without much value. In 1951, Lewis wrote that classical Yiddish plays were occasionally presented¹. But at this time, these performances no longer exist. An example is the Reverend Kaplin, "chazan" (cantor) and Rabbi of a small synagogue who for twenty years now has organized the performance of a play once a year to raise funds for an orphan's home in Israel. Rev. Kaplin is an Orthodox, born in Jerusalem. he has been living in London for 60 years. In 1965, the performance took place on the 30th of December in the Grand Palais: "Ghusn, Kalla, Mazeltov". The play was a melodrama with the setting in New York. There was a traditional match-maker and a young couple in love; the young man's elderly uncle was the villain who intended to marry the young girl. But of course everything ends happily ever after. The action was interspersed with songs based on Yiddish folks themes. There were a few English words or phrases mixed in comic intent, as well as English words introduced into the Yiddish grammatical patterns² and allusions to

¹ East End Story
² e.g. "to walk" English word, past participle pattern in Yiddish ge - en: "gewalken".

everyday English sayings (You gotta tiger in your tank). The author is M. Shrind. It is fact the pen-name of one of the actors and director Harry Ariel.

The actors are:

Millie Chissik Who is 90 years old. Her husband was a great comic actor who died in Paris after the war.

Eva ZEIdman, wife of a non-Jewish actor who played in Paris, *and* who is 75 years old. She used ~~to~~ play in Paris as well before the war, 10 rue Jean Gris where was the Yiddish prewar Theatre. Meta and David Segal were born in Vilna. Meta ~~Segal~~ is 65 and David 70 years old.

Miriam Karalova: 60 years old, non-Jewish Ukrainian. She has played a few years in the Jean Gris Theatre in Paris.

Leon Blumenson 60 years old is her husband. He is from Warsaw. He played in Warsaw Yiddish Theatre. He was in Buenos Aires ~~ten~~ years before the war.

Harry Ariel, the youngest is 48 years old. He is the best artist among them. He was born in Warsaw. He often writes the plays which they perform. He is the head of the troupe.

Max Baum is about 70 years old. He has been in England for 40 years. He was born in Lodz.

Bernard Mendelovitch - Sadie Scopp - Max Baum.

The actors who played ~~the~~ the young couple were born in England. The play was in three acts. During the second act interval, an auction took place: Wine bottles, sausages, sweets(halva), radio-sets ~~were~~ brought on to the stage and sold! This emphasizes the money ^{making} factor of these performances. This manner of doing things started when there was a great enthusiasm to first build the new state of Israel. At that time, even good plays were interrupted. The money made on that evening amounted to about £ 600 for the orphan house in Israel.

The theatre has about 300 seats. There were about 180 to 200 persons. A few of them had come to enjoy the play. It is interesting to look at the program of the play: 44 pages of advertisements, 5 pages more or less related to the orphanage and one page proper about it. Whereas the program proper is only one page without anything about the play itself or the author and actors.

But most of the audience consisted of religious people who had come because it was a charitable enterprise.

It is worth noticing that in the book "Centenary of Yiddish Theatre" when speaking about Yiddish theatre in London, L. S. Kreditor declared in 1962 that Yiddish theatre in London was dead!

Yiddish theatre (in the modern sense) seems to have been short-lived. There were other types of plays before the 19th century, traditional kind of plays (the Purim plays): "Such plays are said to have existed already in Talmudical times in Hebrew. The first written Yiddish play, "The Sacrifice of Isaac" is dated 1574"¹. Purim plays are to be found in North London².

Most orthodox Jews in North London refuse to go to the usual theatre which is a futile kind of entertainment. They do not feel concerned by the problems dealt with there. Thus, they had no entertainment of their own. Thirteen years ago, Three active and cheerful young men started writing and staging a Purim play once a year (sometimes it was a Chanukah play). They are: Mr. Abba Dunner³, Mr. Stern⁴ and Mr. Schreiber. They create the play themselves by speaking together until the early hours.

¹ Centenary of Yiddish Theatre by Joseph Leftwich p. II

² There had been no Purim plays in Whitechapel.

³ cf. p. 81

⁴ cf. p. 83

of the morning for two months before Purim until the play comes out with all the gags. Then, they arrange everything. They buy sceneries. They perform it themselves. No women are performing. They usually stage comedies satirizing the orthodox way of life, match-makers, "beggars" (Schnorrers) going from house to house to demand money for schools, charitable institutions... if not for themselves. These plays poke fun at the various Jewish nationalities and accents. The life of the Orthodox is expressed in the best humour. There are allusions to real characters known by the whole community (e.g. a match-maker so orthodox that he only organizes matches with girls wearing long sleeves and has therefore established a system of percentages in regard to the length of sleeves that is linked to the degree of orthodoxy of the girl)¹.

In the 1966 Purim, the play was called "The Jewish celebrations" and referred to weddings, Bar Mitzvas²... The play was performed in Stoke Newington Town Hall, packed up on this occasion. Two thousand persons attended, men seated on one side, women on the other³. There were people of all ages, most of them living in North London, but some were from Golders Green and other parts of London.

Thirteen Years ago, the audience was small, but it has been increasing continuously and at present, there is no necessity to advertise the play. The tickets are sold for two Guineas each, half of the money made goes to the Jewish Youth Club and the other half goes to the committee of the Jewish School.

¹ "Passport to N 16"

² Bar Mitzvas: celebration when a boy comes of age at thirteen;

³ Men and women are not mixed among the Orthodox.

Among the Orthodox, other kinds of Yiddish plays are to be found as well. They are Yiddish shows rather than Yiddish plays and are organized by schools: the Enos Yerusholayim school presents a Yiddish play once a year. On the 1st of February 1966, they presented "On the Brink of Dispair" at the Stoke Newington Hall.

At the annual Beth Jacob¹ show, the children performed a few sketches in English. One of them, "Sale", was partly in Yiddish. The characters were: a Polish woman, a Hungarian woman with her children, and beggars, all of them waiting for the shop to open, speaking Yiddish with the respective accents. There were from 1,500 to 2,000 women and children in the audience. The Beth Jacob is organized by the Aguda Israel who organizes boys' clubs as well: the Pirim and the Tshirim clubs which meet every Sabbath afternoon. Most of the boys speak Yiddish. They organize an annual show with Yiddish sketches as well.

¹ The Beth Jacob is a Youth movement with 450 girls. They usually organize everything in English.

VI. Schools

Education plays an important part in the making of a person. This is all the more true for the Jews: Learning has traditionally been thought of as an achievement in life. Learning has long coincided with religious education. Education does not end in the schools: men go on studying in the synagogues. The traditional school system as it could be found in Eastern Europe consists of:

- Kindergarten: the children go to the Cheder (pl. Chadorim) where they start learning the Hebraic alphabet and prayers.
- Primary school or Cheder: for boys between 6 and 13. They learn how to read Hebrew. They read the Pentateuch and other parts of the Bible as well as Rashi's commentary. They translate Hebrew and Aramaic into Yiddish word for word. (They are as well taught the language of the country, but in a very minor way).
- Secondary school or Yeshivah (pl. Yeshivoth): for boys up to 18 years old. The curriculum consists of Talmud and rabbinical literature: in a more comprehensive way as in the cheder, they analyse and compare different texts and study their application to every day life. All this is in Yiddish. Towards the end of the last century, the study of Ethics was added. Even poor students could attend the Yeshivah as they were invited for dinner each night of the week by a different family. Men go on studying for another ten years. They may be supported therefore by their parents even when they are married; they study at a "Kolel".

At first, traditional learning played a predominant part in Poland. Then, it declined with the influence of Chassidism that laid the stress on prayers rather than on learning. The

Great Yeshivoth were created in the 19th century in Lithuania and had a great influence. Even the Chassidim created their own Yeshivoth, - the Lubavitcher Yeshivah not being the less important one¹.

At the end of last century, secular schools were created under the influence of the Haskalah. Pupils were taught Jewish history, Yiddish and Hebrew literature, mathematics and other subjects. Yiddish was the language in which the pupils were taught as in the traditional school system. Yiddish schools were secular schools, and religious subjects were not the bulk of the studies. Yiddish itself was studied as a language. (The teaching was done in Hebrew in the Zionist schools. Even there, it happened that Yiddish was taught as a separate subject).

In England: At the end of the last century, Yeshivoth and Talmud Torahs² were created in the East End. The Chadorim were not as good as in Eastern Europe and were part-time for the children to go there to get extra religious instruction. The children were taught in Yiddish; in the Chadorim, there were Talmud Torahs as well where they were taught in English or Hebrew.

In 1906, the Talmud Torahs of London united into a Talmud Torah Trust - there were 19 of them in 1939³.

The Workers' Circle had established its own Yiddish 'Schule'. The Zionists on their part brought their Hebrew system of tuition which was adopted by the Free School.

¹ cf. Yiddish in America by Joshua A. Fishman, Mouton & Co. The Hague, The Netherland 1966

² A Talmud Torah is a Cheder that was originally for poor children. In England, any child could attend the Talmud Torah.

³ cf. Jewish People Past and Present " Jewish education in the Commonwealth by Zevi Scharfstein Vol. II

A few Jewish Free Schools were created in the course of the 19th century - in 1811 in Westminster, in 1863 in Stepney, in 66 in Bayswater, in 67 in South London. The East End Free School in Stepney became the largest (3,500 pupils). Originally, the aim for the "Free Jewish School for German Jews" was "educating, clothing and apprenticing twenty-one boys", and to provide "the elementary education of six hundred boys and girls". Israel Zangwill was teaching in the Free Jewish School. All Ashkenazi children attended the school and later the Sephardi as well. The pupils were taught general subjects in English. Religious subjects were only a small part of the teaching.

More children went to non-Jewish Grammar schools and to universities. At the same time, the population shift away from the East End took place. In 1918, one third of the Jewish children were attending Jewish schools¹. "In 1939, the Jewish school population in London was approximately 23,400 of which only 13,486 or 58 % received some sort of Jewish education"². During the war, children were sent down to the country where they were scattered in Jewish or non-Jewish families. They came back in 1944. The 1944 Education Act allows Jewish parents whose children are attending State or State-aided schools to withdraw them from any period of non-Jewish religious instruction and for worship. Thanks to the London County Council regulations, children may be withdrawn from school on Fridays so that they may reach their home before the commencement of the Sabbath. Besides, religious instruction is available in many synagogues. These regulations enable Jewish parents to send their children.

¹ Mosaic N° 14: autumn 1965/5726 "The J. F. S. " by Alan Gold, p. 18

² Jewish people Past and Present, vol. II, p.

to non-Jewish schools with the hope that they will keep their Judaism.

Since 1944, the J. F. S. has been reformed as a secondary comprehensive school and in 1958 moved from Bell Lane to Camden Road. In 1965 - 66, the attendance was 760 boys and girls from all parts of London.

Yiddish did not play a predominant part in the East End School system. All Chadorim did not use it and the Schule at the Workers' Circle did not subsist. There are no Yiddish secular schools any more and there is no Cheder in the East End. Yeshivah Etz Chaim, Thrawl Street, London E. 1. has lost much of its importance. Yiddish is not the predominant language utilised there. It is attended as well by Jews of North African origins. But traditional education in Yiddish is flourishing in North London.

A small number of Rosh Yeshivah¹ escaped annihilation. Those who came to England carried on the East European school system.

Most North London Chadorim are Chassidic. The pupils are taught Hebrew subjects in Yiddish. They attend the Cheder eight hours a day and have one period of English four times a week. They are:

- Bethune Road Talmud Torah: 70 to 80 boys.
- North London Talmud Torah: 100 boys of Chassidic families of different origins. There are six full time teachers for Hebrew subjects. They are ^{all} Chassidim as well, from Poland, Hungary and Rumania. There are four teachers for secular subjects.
- Amhurst Park School: 60 - 70 boys.
- Kether Torah School (14 Heathland Rd, N 16) : 50 boys.

¹ Head of the Yeshivah

It was founded in 1950 by Mr. and Mrs. Pfeffer from Poland (Chassidim). Most of the boys are Chassidim, but there are also a few pupils of German and Austrian origin. There are four Chassidic teachers. - The teacher in charge of the Kindergarten was brought up in England and speaks both English and Yiddish to the children.

- Enos Yerusholayim: 70 girls - the only language is Yiddish. It is not only Chassidic but "Natura Carta"¹ as well.

- Beth Rifka in N 16: it will be a new school for girls to be opened in the near future.

All these schools have been opened lately and the number of pupils is increasing. At 13 years, when the children leave the Cheder, they either go on with traditional studies or go to a secular school or take private lessons. Their knowledge of English and other secular subjects may be small, but they have been trained to study and they pick up the new subjects quickly.

There is also another group of schools organized in a different way: the Yesodey Hatorah schools (2 - 4 Amhurst Park N. 16) . They were established in 1943 by: Rabbi Pardes from Poland, head of a Mesifita (Talmudical College). - Rabbi Rabinov, rov of a synagogue in North London, Mr. Schiff.

In N. 16. Amhurst Park, they have:
a Kindergarten for boys and girls aged 3 to 5

¹ The "Natura Carta" is a group of Chassidim who are ultra-orthodox and very much against the state of Israel for religious reasons. In Jerusalem, they live in a district called Mea Shearim. There are often frictions with the less religious part of the Israeli who come and provoke them by desecrating the Sabbath.

a Primary School for boys aged 5 - 10

" " " " girls " " "

a Secondary School " boys " 11 - 16

" " " " girls " " "

There is as well a branch in Nw 3., 181 West Heath Road:
The Pardes House School with a Kindergarten for boys and
girls and a Primary and Grammar school for boys.

Yesodey Hatorah means "the Foundation of the Torah". The Torah is the base of learning; the teaching is for half Hebrew subjects and for half secular subjects. (Hebrew subjects are taught in Yiddish in boys' schools except one class for those who do not speak Yiddish because of their origin or because they enter the school in the course of the studies.) The girls are taught in English except one class where a Yiddish speaking teacher is available. There are about 600 to 700 pupils. This number is not decreasing. A few pupils have English born parents or are of Sephardic origin. Among themselves the children tend to speak English together.

The teaching staff (excluding Kindergarten personnel) amounts to about 30 or 35. The pupils stay in the school up to 16 years old (G C A examination level). They are prepared for all examinations including Matriculation and the General school Certificate.

Amongst the girls, some may go to the Teachers' Training Seminary¹ (69 Allerton Rd. N 16). If they belong to very religious families who object to their going to the "Sem", they

¹ Girls of 16 to 19 are trained to become teachers in Jewish Primary schools for Hebrew subjects. Many girls attend the "Sem" one year to learn 'how to be good Jewish housewives and mothers'. No Yiddish is spoken in the Seminary.

It is under the auspices of the Beth Jacob council of Great Britain (55 Amhurst Park N 16).

may help in Kindergartens or stay at home. It is in any case quite out of question for them to go to University.

An important part of the orthodox schooling is provided by the "Jewish Secondary Schools Movement", established in 1929. The principal is Rabbi Dr. Solomon Schonfeld (Presiding Rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations). The teaching is in English. There is one school in North London and in the North West, there are 4 schools (the opposite of Yesodey Hatorah schools).

- Avigdor Primary school: boys and girls (5 to 11), 63 - 67 Lordship Road N 16.

- Hasmonean Grammar School for boys 11 - 18, Holders Hill Rd. NW4

" " " " girls " Parson Street NW 4

- Hasmonean Preparatory School, 3 - 11, 8 - 16 Shirehall Lane NW4

- Edgware Hasmonean Preparatory School, 261 Hale Lane Edgware

- The Menorah Primary School, 1 - 3 The Drive, NW 11 for boys and girls aged 5 to 11 was established in 1949 and was associated with the Hasmonean Grammar School. There is a Kindergarten at Elkah Segal House, 680 Finchley Rd. NW 11.

An original system of schools is to be found with the Lubavitcher Foundation (109 - 115 Stamford Hill). It was established in 1959 in the North district of London. There is a Kindergarten for children between 2½ and 5 years of age, an Infant and Junior Department for boys and girls between 5 and 11, a girls' Secondary School from age 11 upwards. There is as well a secondary School for boys in Kingsley Way, Hampstead Garden Suburb N 2.

The teaching is partly in English and partly in Yiddish. In every form, there are some periods to learn how to read and write Yiddish - two periods a week and more for older pupils.

Other courses are in English. The aim of the school is that when the children leave school, all the teaching should be done in Yiddish. Just like in a cheder, they start by studying the Pentateuch and translating it word for word into Yiddish. But the explanations are at first made in English. Just like other Orthodox, the Lubavitch realize that most important religious publications are in Yiddish. they also consider it as an international language among the Jews. But they ~~They~~ think Yiddish should be learned as a language: there are special courses to teach Yiddish. They use their own books. "Unser Buch" in two volumes is the beginners' book. Then, children are made to read stories in Yiddish: "Schmuessen mit Kinder un' Yugnt" monthly magazine, (printed as well in many other languages). These publications are printed in Brooklyn, New York where are the headquarters of the Lubavitcher organization. The education arm of the Lubavitcher movement: the Merkos l' Inyoney Chinuch was Founded in 1942. Its aim has been to promote Jewish religious education among the younger generation, regardless of background. The Lubavitch are missionaries. They take Jewish children with no religious background as well as children - if they are permitted - whose parents are orthodox. Many pupils' parents are Eastern European refugees and some are English born or Sephardi. A high percentage of parents, even among the latter, request that their children should learn Yiddish.

The number of pupils is increasing and higher classes are created each year. - There are 100 boys and 150 girls. The girls are taught mostly in English because there are not enough teachers who know Yiddish for the girls, but they too have some sessions in Yiddish. The rule of the school is that the pupils should speak in Yiddish among themselves.

Most of the teachers are young. They have been trained in New York. Some are American born or English born (in that case either in North London or other places in England but not in the East End). They learned Yiddish in Yeshivah. There are about 28 part-time teachers and five Yiddish teachers.

When the boys leave Cheder, they usually go to a Yeshivah. There are quite a number of Yeshivah in North London where learning is carried on in Yiddish. There is no central organization for Yeshivah. Each one has its own type of education. There are on the whole two methods:

- the Litvich method goes deeper into the study and discussions of the texts.
- Chassidic method covers a wider range of texts, but not profoundly.

Yeshivah Homoroh Beth Hamedrash (124/126 Green Lanes N.4.)
Rev Schlesinger¹ founded the Yeshivah 10 years ago. He had been in charge of a Yeshivah in Belgium. When he came to England, some of his students came along with to England.

There are about 40 boys from age 15 to ^{or} 18. They are of various origins: English, Hungarian, Chassidim. There are no Sephardim as the Rosh Yeshivah did not want to mix Ashkenazim and Sephardim, because they did not receive the same education. The pupils come from Chadorim or Jewish schools and very rarely from English schools. When they leave Yeshivah, most of them go to Israel where they go on studying in a Yeshivah as there is no limit of age. They may go to Gateshead-on-Tyne where married men may study in a Kolel.

¹ Rabbi Schlesinger was born in Germany. His family was not Yiddish speaking. He learnt Yiddish in a Yeshivah in Israel.

All the boys are boarders, even if their families live near the Yeshivah. In that way, they do not receive influences from without.

In the Yeshivah, the language employed for everything is Yiddish. They translate Hebrew into Yiddish and discuss in Yiddish. Some of the boys who enter the Yeshivah know little Yiddish. They tend to speak English among themselves, but very quickly, they only speak Yiddish. They do not learn it, but pick it up quickly with the help of their school-fellows. The students study the Talmud from morning to night. They study Law for half an hour each day. They read from Ethics books for about half an hour, each one reading as he chooses.

There are four teachers. No particular certificate is required to be teacher in a Yeshivah, but one must have a certain degree of knowledge. Two teachers are of German origin and two of Hungarian origin (one of them was brought up in England). The method of learning is the Litvich method.

Law of Truth Talmudical College (160 Up. Clapton Rd. E 5)
Rabbi Szneider founded the Yeshivah before World War I in Memel, German town on the border of Lithuania. After World War I, the Yeshivah was established in Frankfort and in 1938 in North London where he founded the centre for Torah.

There are about 50 Yeshivah Bocherim¹; all of them are Ashkenazim. A few years ago, there were many Sephardim from Morocco. Now, they are back in Morocco where they have founded their own Yeshivah where they spread the same spirit. Most students are from England. There are some students from Belgium, Denmark, Israel and Switzerland as well. Some of the students are Chassidim and it does not matter as long as they

¹ Bocher (pl. -im): young man

do not interfere with the way of learning (Litvich).

There are six teachers of German, Lithuanian and Israeli origin. There are as well Chassidic Yeshivoth:

- Mesifita Yeshivah, 84 Cazenove road, N. 16. with 60 students.
- Belz Yeshivah, Bethune Road, N. 16. with 40 students.
- Bobov Yeshivah, N. 16. with 20 students. It was founded recently by people from New York.

There are as well Yeshivoth in the North West of London:

- Rakov Yeshivah where Yiddish is the language spoken.
- Chaye Olam Yeshivah, 961 Finchley Road, NW. 11.
- The North West London Talmudical College was established in 1957 by Rabbi Wahrhaftig. The principal is Rabbi J. Lieberman. There are 60 students mostly belonging to Yiddish speaking families. A special course is organized for teaching Yiddish to Sephardi students.

In North London, there are as well a few Chadorim where English is the language used.

The influence of Gateshead must be stressed. The Jewish population of Gateshead is 350. Both orthodox communities in North London and in Gateshead come in close contact. In Gateshead, there are a Jewish Primary School, a Jewish Boarding school, a Yeshivah, a Beth Midrash Lemorah (Training College for Teachers) and an Institute for Higher Rabbinical Studies. (Kolel Harrabonim). It is possible to go there for ^{the} weekend, for a week or two, ^{or} for the whole of one's studies. The level of studies is very high. Not only Jewish people from England go there: Gateshead is famous the world over.

When the boys leave Yeshivah, they usually go to commercial or professional work. The problem of the university is an acute one: in the Jewish Tribune, Organ of Anglo-Yiddish

Orthodoxy, of Friday the 10th, December 1965, p. 6, Winston Held points out that many jobs and professional require a university degree and that an increasing number of students who have gone through a Yeshivah are at an English university: the Orthodox community should try to organize something to help the students to guard their religious outlook instead of "taking up an ostrich-like" head in the sand "attitude", refusing to discuss the difficulties and "regarding any students at a university as a potential loss to orthodoxy". In spite of these problems, the number of boys attending Yeshivoth is increasing. New Yeshivoth are founded: all kind of Chassidim open Yeshivoth^{for} their Bocherim.

VII. Libraries

Whitechapel public libraries played a great role in Jewish and Yiddish life. In 1951, Lewis wrote: "There are 4,000 volumes of Judaica (about 1,000 are Hebrew books, 1,000 Yiddish and 2,000 English)... There were once three Jewish applicants to every non-Jewish"¹. At present, the stock of Yiddish books is over 2,000. The books that are in too bad a state to be used any more are nevertheless sent to ^{an} ageing people's home in Cardiff.

Most books have been in the library fifty years. The library approaches the YIVO² for the newest Yiddish publications in the world. The YIVO assists them with a list. In 1965, the library bought 100 Yiddish books. The Yiddish book stock consists of Yiddish novels, poetry, history, religion and translations into Yiddish.

Before the war, about 100 books a day were issued at a time, when Whitechapel was still a thickly Yiddish speaking area.

At present, 40 book a week are issued. The number of issues goes down continuously. Out of the 40 books, half go outside

¹ East End Story

² The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research was founded in 1925 in Vilna. During World War II, it was transferred to New York. The British Section (Secretary Mr. Zylberberg) has been collecting materials and has established a Research Section about the Yiddish speaking immigration into England and its integration into the Anglo-Jewish community (cf. "The yivo institute for Jewish Research 1954 - 1950 published by the YIVO, Superior Printer, London E. 1)

Mr. Zylberberg writes: "There are still many Yivo publications of specific contents, i.e.; social science, history, education etc. Of the recent publications it is worth mentioning: The life and work of E. CUNZER, two volumes; The Lodzer Ghetto, by I. Trunk and the last volume of YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science".

to libraries all over the country: In England, it is possible to apply for any book in any public library. The interest in the Yiddish department of the library for Yiddish is not dead (cf. p. 31).

In the East End, Yiddish books were available in Jewish organizations: there was a library in the Workers' Circle. There is a library at the Jewish Institute on Adler Street. ~~But~~ for three years, no Yiddish book has been bought. Stocks are dating back to before World War II. There are sometimes presentations of books: in 1965, two presentations of Yiddish books were made by people who had inherited them but were not interested in them or just could not read them (one person from Leytonstone, the other from Hendon). The stock of books is 3,000 altogether. The highest number of books are English, next Yiddish, and then Hebrew. The Yiddish stock is composed of novels, plays; religious books and philosophical books.

Two years ago, 20 to 25 books were issued each week. In 1966, during a good week with good weather, about 12 books were issued (all of them in Yiddish). Most of the readers are elderly persons living in Whitechapel and are not religious minded. In 1965, a great number had already died. There are now about 50 people altogether likely to borrow Yiddish books; there are about 70 to 80 people¹ who come to the Jewish Institute to read Yiddish newspapers and magazines. Publications printed in England are available as well as a good number of papers from abroad sent by societies.

In N. 16. at the Stoke Newington Public Library, Yiddish

¹ Elderly persons come to the Jewish Institute in order to be assisted in filling out their pension forms because they do not know how to sign their names.

newspapers and a few Yiddish books are available.

The British Museum buys Yiddish books from time to time through the YIVO and is as well presented with books in Yiddish published by the YIVO in New York each year. The British Museum is one of the few supporters financially of the YIVO. It is somewhat paradoxical that no Jewish Libraries in London buy Yiddish books any longer and that on the other hand, public libraries continue to buy some.

VIII; Publications

Libraries do not buy many Yiddish books nowadays, "The Yiddish publications are not numerous. "The Narod Press" printer and publisher that used to print many Yiddish books writes¹ in 1966 that many hundreds of works in Yiddish were published at the end of the last century up to World War I. "In the course of recent years due to economic circumstances, the trend in our press has changed" with the exception of the work of Mr. Stencl. They used to publish books of prose and poetry.

At one time, there were many Jewish newspapers in England - English, Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers².

The first Jewish newspaper was published in 1823: "The Hebrew Intelligencer" (monthly). It appeared three times. In 1834, "The Hebrew Review and Magazine of Rabbinical Literature" came out for two years. In 1841, two fortnightly papers were founded: "The voice of Jacob" and "The Jewish Chronicle". The latter is still one of the most important publications in Anglo-Jewry today. Mr. J. Fraenkel lists 180 London papers published in England between 1823 and 1962 and 52 published up to 1962 in the provinces.

The first Hebrew paper was published in England in 1847: "Argosy" - (annual magazine).

The first Yiddish periodical was published in 1867: "Yiddish-Deitshe Zeitung". Yiddish papers played a more important part than Hebrew newspapers. Every little political or cultu-

¹ cf. p. V//

² cf. "The Jewish Press in Great Britain 1823 - 1963" by Joseph Fraenkel. Under the auspices of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress, London, June - July 1963.

ral group published its own paper.

Mr. Fraenkel lists 31 Hebrew papers published in London between 1867 and 1962. Whereas there were still 15 papers published in English in the provinces in 1962, there were none in Hebrew or Yiddish. In London, there were still 2 Hebrew publications in 1963, 4 Yiddish ones and 60 English ones.

Many papers came out, but a great number were short-lived. Some editors and journalists left England and went on publishing their newspapers in America for instance.

The Yiddish papers that were published between 1867 and 1962 in London consisted of:

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 9 dailies | } | in Yiddish |
| 2 bi-weeklies | | |
| 32 weeklies | | |
| 2 fortnightlies | | |
| 8 monthlies | | |
| 1 quarterly | | |
| 67 organs and various periodicals | | |
| 2 weeklies | } | in both Yiddish and English |
| 1 fortnightly | | |
| 1 monthly | | |
| 11 organs and various periodicals | | |
| 1 Festival issue | } | Yiddish - Hebrew |
| 1 supplement of the Jewish Chronicle | | |
| 1 periodical | | Yiddish - English - Hebrew |
| 1 publication | | Yiddish - Russian |

These publications were news, humorous; literary, educational, theatrical, commercial or medical publications and also were organs of the Jewish Trade Unions, of non political organizations such as the Aguda Israel, the Anarchists, the Bund, the Poale Zion, the Social Democrat and the Zionists.

It is noticeable that there are no magazines for children.

Today, the Yiddish press consists of four papers:

I. W. N. O.

Jewish World News Agency

Editor: S. Harendorf

The Jewish Voice

Weekly

Editor: I. A. Lisky

Language and Life

literary magazine

Editor: A. N. Stencl

The Jewish Tribune

(Yiddish-English) organ of the
Anglo-Jewish orthodoxy. Fortnightly

The I. W. N. O.¹ is a Jewish World News Agency. It was started in 1940. Mr. Harendorf publishes a new bulletin in which the Jewish news from Europe and other parts of the world come out. It supplies as well from England to the Yiddish papers in France, Israel and others.

The importance of the I. W. N. O. is limited to the field of journalism and has no direct influence on the readers.

The Jewish Voice² was founded by Ben. A. Sochaczewsky³ with a few journalists (L. Creditor,⁴ Klinger, Tiger, Lisky, etc) who formed a cooperative. In the end, many left or died⁵. Today, Lisky⁶ is the only owner and editor of the paper. When the paper was founded, Lisky was in charge of the distribution. The Jewish Voice, "independent National Weekly" had been a weekly. But since November 1965, it is not published *penetually* every.

¹ 66 Woodlands; London N. W. 11

² printed in 11 - 13 New Road E. 1.

³ Sochaczewsky died about 8 years ago.

⁴ L. Creditor is about 90 years of age. He has a very good name
⁵ one of the best Yiddish journalists in England. His daughter is Lady Gaitskell, the widow of the former leader of the labour Party.

⁵ cf. Josef Fraenkel p.x

⁶ I. A. Lisky lives in Carysford Road N. 16. He was born in Jezierna (Galicia), his family was not religious. He came to London in 1930 from Vienna. He has published two books of short stories in Yiddish and has been publishing Yiddish poems in "The Jewish Voice" for six years. cf. P. IX

week due to many difficulties. It is not a party paper¹.

The paper is supported by advertisements. But very few Jewish firms advertise in the Jewish Voice (Zionist firms and Israeli firms and a great part of Anglo-Jewry are not in favour of Yiddish). A great part of the income in advertisements came and still comes from non-Jewish circles: the British Railways, Whisky Distilleries, cigarette firms and local government advice.

According to Mr. Lisky, 2,000 copies are printed. A few hundred subscribers receive it by post (in London, the provinces and abroad). The other copies are sent to whole-sellers who send them to the shops where people ask for this newspaper. The paper must reach the shop before 3 o'clock on Friday (i.e. before the Sabbath). A few copies are sent to public libraries. Most readers belong to the older generations.

According to Mr. Klinger; no more than 1,000 copies are printed and distributed. The number of subscribers is 160, and most are elderly women whose subscription is paid by their grand children two to six months in advance.

The future of the paper does not seem to be enlightning. According to Mr. Lisky, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm for Jewish life in London. There is a general retreat on all lines of Jewishness which is still felt more acutely regarding Yiddish.

Various Jewish institutions want their activities to be reported in the paper, but they do not want to help the paper

¹ In France, there are 3 Yiddish dailies with a political affiliation; the "Nafe Presse" founded in 1940 (Communist)
"Unser Stimme" " " 1935 (Bund)
"Unser Wort" " " (Poale Zion)

by contributing advertisements. Most Jewish organizations in London publish their own local paper in English. The situation of the paper becomes worse every day. On Thursday, the 25th of November 1965, a meeting was held at 55 New Cavendish Street. The matter at stake was: should the Jewish Voice carry on - should it be given another statute. The paper is not bankrupt, but needs to be rehabilitated and needs some money. This could be done by creating a new paper, say a limited company with £5 shares. Politically, there must be a Yiddish paper, even if it were a mere loss of money: Yiddish is still alive. How could it be possible to expose the policy of the U.S.S.R. against the Yiddish language and the Yiddish press if in a "free country" as England with quite a number of Yiddish speakers, if no Yiddish paper existed. Appeals should be made to Jewish organizations so that they should contribute advertisements. Mr. Goldsmith demanded that there should be some kind of control so that the printed Yiddish should be good Yiddish: "I am not speaking of the quality of the paper but of Mame Loshen"¹. If the quality of the paper were better, it would perhaps open up new channels for the paper because the English market is becoming smaller all the time. Mr. Lisky received a letter dated 24/11/65, in which Mr. Korn² writes that the paper must be kept up by all means and that he will speak in its favour on the 16th of December in London at a meeting of the World Jewish Congress. Mr Korn then wrote a letter to Mr. Klin-ger asking him to be the editor of the paper with the condition that Lisky should work for one year on the paper. But Mr. Klin-

1 "mother tongue"

2 cf. p. 37

3 (Poale Zion)

ger's intention was to refuse because Mr. Lisky's function was not explicit.

The future of the Jewish Voice is not quite clear as yet. The critical state of the paper may be realized by looking at the paper itself. It is a four page paper. In fact, it is not only in Yiddish; a great part of the advertisements are in English.

On the front page there is usually a cartoon signed "F"¹. In the Friday 24th - 31st December 1965 edition of the paper, the articles were:

On the front page there were:

"Explanation by the Editor" , in which the critical situation of the paper is stated; an interview with Mr. Korn; "Dr. Nahum Goldman about Jews in Soviet Russia"; smaller articles: "Premier Wilson will go to Moscow" and "Mr. Wolf Peri comes to London"; an announcement about a lecture by Rabbi Dr. Max Nussbaum in Dean Steet about American Jewry; three advertisements, two of them mostly in English.

On the second page were: half of the page consists of a "notice to the London Jewish community" which is mostly in English; An article about the last World War: "Fall and Rise"; an article about the reception of the women society of the Ort; about the successful folk representation of the actors Sem Goldberg and Elen Vinograd.

On the third page were:

"Jews against Jews in New York"; "The weak point in all religious and philosophical trends"; the Jewish settlement in Rho-

¹ "F": Erwin Fuchs Harold, son of Mr. Lisky. He was born in Whitechapel in 1939. He is a professional journalist in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Fleet Street.

desia; second Auschwitz Act against racial discrimination at the UNO; two advertisements, one in Yiddish and one in English. On the last page were:

Dr. Solkind and the Workers' Circle; America shall send 400,000 soldiers to Vietnam; short news; a poem by Mr. Lisky; advertisements, partly in English; a book review in English.

Loshn un Lebn¹:

"Language and Life" is a literary magazine, editor A. N. Stencl.² It was started in 1946. It was the continuation of "Heftlech" (Notes) that was published from 1940 to 1946. Because of wartime regulations, each issue had to be published under a different name, e.g. "Barbed wire and Ghetto walls", "Spring 1942", "The Liberated Poland", "Our cultural demands" etc.³

In 1940, when A. N. Stencl started publishing his literary magazine, 400 copies were printed. Stencl used to work in "Di Zeit"⁴ in London. It was bombed in 1940. He printed a paper with eight pages. In one day, he sold 1,000 copies in the Tilbury shelter. He went on working with "Di Zeit" and publishing his own paper at the same time. There were some disagreements with "Di Zeit": once, Stencl had written an article on Sholem Ash and Bergelson (communist). The editor did not want to publish that part in which the style of Bergelson was praised. Finally, it was nevertheless published. In 1942, Stencl left "Di Zeit".

The highest number sold of Stencl's paper was 1,000. Three years ago, it decreased to 600. Today, 150 subscribers are still

¹ printed by the Narod Press, 129-131 Cavell Street, E. 1.

² cf. p. 74 and v, 30

³ cf. The Jewish Press in Great Britain, p. 52.

⁴ daily, published from 1913 to 1950.

alive. Over 100 are living in different parts of London (previously, there had been over 400 of them in London). A few copies are sent abroad (to South Africa or America).

Two Jewish libraries sell "Language and Life". A great number are sold by Stencl himself (when he attends some kind of meeting or other).

"Loshn un Lebn" comes out every month or every other month. It is a literary magazine with prose and poetry. Writers who also take part in the "Living Paper" and (or) in Whitechapel Sabbath afternoons, publish poems and articles in "Loshn un Lebn": S. Goldsmith, A. M. Kaizer, Jacob Richtiger... and of course A. N. Stencl. There are poems, short stories and articles concerning Yiddish literature, Jewish personalities, current events and religious festivals. In February - March 1966, there was a report of the Symposium of Yiddish organized by the Jewish World Congress. When Somerset Maugham died, a translation of one of his essays was published in the issue of January 1966, translated by A. Olmug (the official translator for Yiddish).

As literary books have hardly been published these last years, "Loshn un Lebn" is the only regular literary Yiddish publication that survives in England.

Those few Yiddish writers, poets and journalists who remain in England and continue to write in Yiddish, have a tragic fate because their work is unread by the younger generation most of whom do not know Yiddish, and those who do know it (the Orthodox) don't read secular literary works.

The Orthodox in favour of the Aguda Israel may read the "Jewish Tribune"¹, "organ of Anglo-Jewish Othodoxy" which is printed in both languages (6 pages in English and 2 pages in Yiddish).

"The Jewish Tribune" is the continuation of the "Jewish Post" (Yiddish - English as well), Which was amalgamated with "The Jewish Weekly" in 1950; the "Jewish Weekly" was started in 1932 in London. Its editor was A. Abraham. The "Jewish Post" started in 1950 and went on until 1961. Editors were H. A. Goodman and Rabbi N. Ordman. It was a fortnightly, just as the "Jewish Tribune": it has continued since 1962 (after Goodman's death in 1961). The present owner is of Czechoslovakian origin.

At first, the Jewish Tribune was a small paper with 700 readers. At present, according to Mr. Abba Dunner, 15,600 copies are printed. 600 copies are distributed ,for the most part to subscribers and in a smaller part to shops. The paper is mostly distributed in London, also in Manchester, Newcastle, Gateshead, Ireland, Belgium, The USA and Israel. 35% remain in London (mostly North London and Golders Green). Just as the "Jewish Post", "The Jewish Tribune" belongs to the Aguda Israel. Other orthodox as well may read it because there are no other orthodox Yiddish papers.

The news is that which interests directly the orthodox community such as their conflicts with the Zionists, with the Anglo-Jewish community and with the Reform Synagogue. Also, there is news from the orthodox community in Israel and America and from Yeshivoth. Educational problems are discussed. Everyday events which shock and cause fear such as Jewish students

¹ 55 Amhurst Park N. 16.

being attacked by English boys. There are religious articles and social and personal announcements. The articles in the Yiddish part of the paper concern the same things as some of the articles in the English part but are not a mere translation of these articles, but entirely new articles on the same subject; Contrary to the two other Yiddish papers, the situation of the "Jewish Tribune" is good. But one must not forget that the Yiddish part is not the most important one.

On the whole, the number of readers of Yiddish newspapers is small. But one should not underestimate the potential Yiddish readers in London because a great number of people do read Yiddish newspapers they receive from abroad or that they get in a Jewish library such as the Gollup bookshop.

1,500 people are subscribers to the Friday and Sunday editions of the Yiddish daily "Forward" Printed in New York. Many people by the "Tog" (Zionist). From Israel, some receive the "Letzte Naies" (daily) and "Di Goldene Keit" (Quarterly), journal for literature and social problems. From New York again; the monthly "Zukunft". From Buenos Aires the quarterly Dawke (published by the World Jewish Congress).

The anarchists read the "Freie Arbeiter stime", fortnightly, printed in New York. A few persons receive the "Sovietish Hainland" (monthly from Moscow) and the "Folks Stime" (published 3 times a week, from Warsaw).

The orthodox from North London receive Yiddish papers from abroad. A few thousand persons receive "Dos Yiddishche Vort" (monthly) affiliated with the Aguda Israel and printed in New York.

Chassidim for their part read; "Die yiddische Licht" printed in Israel, "Der Yid", organ of the Satmar Chassidim in New

York.

700 families get the Lubavitch magazines either English or Yiddish: the "Yiddische Heim", magazine for women, Yiddish and English, "Shmuessen mit Kinder un Yugnt" (talks and tales) magazine for children.

FROM YIDDISH TO ENGLISH

I. Various levels are to be found nowadays:

In Whitechapel, among elderly persons who originally emigrated to England Yiddish unilinguals¹ are to be found. They are still working as tradespeople (tailors) or are pensioned. They may understand some English but do not speak it or only when they cannot manage otherwise. They go on speaking Yiddish among themselves. They meet in Adler Hall, at the Workers' Circle and at Lyon's. Some of them may be living in other places in London such as North or North West where they moved as their children became richer. They go on speaking Yiddish to their children (who usually speak English in all cases except with their parents).

They have remained unilinguals either because they were working full time and had no time for studying and because they were living in a self contained Yiddish speaking area². Some others have remained or become Yiddish unilingual for ideological and cultural reasons³.

Usually though, many of this generation have picked up English with their children born and brought up in England. This second generation living either in the East End or in other parts of London still understand Yiddish, may speak it with their friends and own children.

The third generation usually does not know nor understand

¹ Unilingual meaning that they do not speak English. It may happen that they know some other language such as Polish or Russian. It is obvious that they know Hebrew as well (as far as men are concerned).

² cf. p. 77 (Mr. K.'s mother)
³ cf. p. 74

Yiddish except perhaps for a few curse words or jokes. The third and fourth generations have become English unilingual.
The religious people in North London:

Among those who spoke German when they arrived, a few elderly persons have not picked up English yet and do not know how to answer the phone in English. But most of those who spoke German picked up English quickly as it was better to avoid speaking German in England.

Among those who spoke Hungarian many have gone on speaking Hungarian and only know a few words of English. Among the Yiddish speaking older generations, some may go on speaking only Yiddish; Czechoslovakians for instance and especially those who do not need to know English, such as diamond dealers, teachers in Chadorim or Yeshivoh and Chassidim who do not want to speak a non-Jewish language (most particularly Natura Carta). Among their children born in England, most girls go to English Jewish schools except those who belong to Natura Carta families and attend the Bnos Yerushalayim schools. The boys who go to a Cheder or a Yeshivah speak Yiddish even if their parents do not know Yiddish (Germans, Austrians and Hungarians). They know some English as they have some periods of English but do not speak it fluently. Other boys going to schools where they are taught English speak English fluently and know their parents' mother tongue as well.

Within North London, children have some influence on their parents who learn English through them. The opposite may occur. There may even be interaction between North London and White-chapel¹.

¹ cf. p. 90

Source of the following examples: conversations with the persons.

Mr. A. N. Stencl is one of the few Yiddish unilingual still to be found in Whitechapel.

Mr. Stencl was born in 1897 in a village in Poland. His parents were Chassidim. He studied in a Yeshivah (whose principal was his brother). He went to Holland in 1919 and to Germany in 1921 where he worked in the fields. In Berlin, he met Chagal, Thomas Mann, Arnold Zweig and the Russian communist writer Bergelson (who was shot in 1952). He came to London in 1934 and settled down in Whitechapel.

He has been writing poems and prose. (He published his first poem in 1925). He has published a large number of small books and pamphlets. He has been the editor of a Yiddish literary magazine since 1940¹.

He is opened to the outside world and to other cultures. He wrote a poem on H. Heine and on Shakespeare. He appreciates Stendhal and Baudelaire. The only picture in his home is one of Zola. He is interested as well in painting (Delacroix, Botticelli, Rousseau...)

He writes about nature, art, family life, ^{and} the last world war. He writes about his impressions when he went back to Poland a few years ago. He has published a collection of poems "Yerushalayim" after he had stayed one month in Jerusalem. He has written about England as well: He has published in 1961 "Whitechapel", the new Shtetl in England". He has published books in England. He sympathizes with the Left. He was to

¹ cf. p. 67.

give a lecture in America in 1943, but the journey was cancelled because of a book he had written about the Red Army. But he does not belong to any political organization. He has relationship with the Workers' Circle, the communists, socialists and anarchists. He attends as well poale Zion meetings and the "Living paper".

He lives poorly. He sells his magazines himself which is a way of mixing with various people and studying their reactions. He does not want to have anything to do with organizations that receive money from Germany. His religious and traditional upbringing still has an influence on his life although he is not religious. He keeps up a few traditions.

He places the Bible above all books for its beauty as well as for the ideas expressed. The Bible comprehends everything, including socialist laws. The Bible, the Prophets and the Torah express the Eastern world. It is up to Yiddish modern writers to express Europe and the "Shtetl". He is aware of the importance of the religious people among the Jews. Their very existence contributes to keeping the Jewish people whole. It plays the part of a kind of reservoir regarding Yiddish. The future and survival of Yiddish lies perhaps among them. But he himself could not live in such an ultra-orthodox ^{area} as N. 16.

Although he is broad minded, he refuses to speak any other language than Yiddish. He understands English (he attended a lecture in English delivered by Dr. Maitlis about Yiddish literature in North West London on the 17th of December 1965). When he was asked to be chairman in English for the lecture about the Workers' Circle¹, he refused to speak English. He

¹ cf. p. 32

actually spoke in Yiddish and explained why he was doing so. He only speaks English when he wants to speak to someone who due to his (or her) origin does not know Yiddish (non-Jewish Englishmen, Sephardic Jews). When anybody knows Yiddish, even if this person speaks to him in English, he replies in Yiddish as Yiddish is a specifically Jewish language in which Jews of European origin may best express themselves. It is a more natural means of expression and better than speaking English and not speaking it well.

Mr. A. N. Stencl speaks Yiddish because as a Jew, it is his mother tongue. He speaks it because he is proud of being a Jew. He is a Yiddishist.

The Jews in Europe were not (are not) a people with a country; they could not build pyramids; when they had to flee, they could not take anything with them. But at least, they have their language. What is most beautiful is what has been created by necessity, Yiddish is therefore beautiful. The Yiddish-Hebrew words for "sky", "water" and "war" are as strong, expressive and essential as the call of an animal. Yiddish is the life itself of the Eastern European Jew. The beginning of a Hebrew prayer "Shma Kolaini" has come to mean "half stupid" in Yiddish: it is the prayer muttered by a woman running away after having seen all her family killed off.

Yiddish as a language adapts the philosophy of the other languages in which it is in contact: in English speaking countries, the Yiddish for "I like you" is "ikh gleykh dir" (the verb "gleykhen" has been formed on the adjective "gleykh"=like

Is not the best reason for Stencl's liking Yiddish the fact that Yiddish is the same word as the name of God but read the other way round!

/ } p shaddai
 i d s Yiddish

From the East End to the North West

Mr. and Mrs. K.¹ (Highgate N. 7.)

At the beginning of the century when Mrs. K. arrived in London; she was six years old. She was born in Russia. Mr. K. was born in Odessa. Their parents only spoke Yiddish. Mrs. K.'s mother is still alive, - a 93 years old lady who continues to speak only Yiddish.

They first settled down in the East End. Then they went to Hackney, then to Stamford Hill and are at present living in Highgate. Mrs. K.'s mother is living in Edgware. They have two sons in their thirties: one of them lives outside London and the other one has a flat in Golders Green. Mrs. K. is a structural engineer and her son a structural inspector. They own houses and receive rent from them.

Both Mr. and Mrs. K. picked up Yiddish at home when they were children. They still speak it with Mrs. K.'s mother, but never to themselves, except when they do not want other people to understand what they say. They have a great liking for Yiddish literature that expresses fully life back in Russia. Mrs. K. happened to hear about Mr. Stencl's "Sabbath afternoons" in Whitechapel. She went there and enjoyed hearing about Yiddish literature. She intends to go back although she does not tell anybody about it.

Mr. K. spent his youth in Russia and knew the situation of the people there when children who sang revolutionary songs were sent to Siberia. Mr. K. used to read revolutionary books to his friends. He belonged to the Poale Zion and still considers himself a socialist although he is a capitalist!

¹ Mr. K.: not the original name of the family but an English name.

Mr. and Mrs. K. were both influenced by the "Enlightenment".

The parents of Mr. and Mrs. K. were very religious and traditional. Mr. and Mrs. K. are not. They nevertheless brought up their children in a traditional way. Mrs. K. was very keen about it. Mr. K. however thought that playing football would have been better for the boys than going to the synagogue. During the boys' youth, the traditions were kept up in the family (the Sabbath, kosher food, Holy Days). The children were made to read religious books on the Sabbath. Their parents made them read Yiddish literature as well (Sholem Aleichem...)

Mr. and Mrs. K. usually speak English to themselves, with their sons and friends. They sometimes speak Ivrit¹ as well: As a language, they consider Ivrit more beautiful and its literature greater than Yiddish. They do not think that Yiddish has any future. The Jews' language according to them will be Ivrit. They went to Israel and liked it very much there. They know a few non-Jews whom they met on holidays (in Switzerland or Austria). They do not object to mixing in some way with non-Jews, but they are thoroughly against inter-marriage.

Mr. and Mrs. K. and their son think that one should know the culture of the country where one lives. In villages in Russia, the only culture available for Jews was Jewish. According to the son, the situation is different in England. A Jew may be very well educated without having any knowledge of Jewish culture. The son went to a Jewish college in Stamford Hill when they were living there. He is quite glad though that he did not stay there as he thinks he would have been backwards in secular subjects.

¹ modern Hebrew.

He read Yiddish books when he was young and he knows Hebrew. He can read Yiddish with difficulty. But he is not interested in reading Yiddish. He can understand it because he still hears his parents speak with his grandmother, but he never speaks it. He thinks though that if it were necessary for him to speak Yiddish, he could manage it because it has always been familiar to him. He would be unable to speak in Russian, although he learned it five years ago, before going to the USSR. But he can understand it if somebody were addressing him in Russian.

He does not consider Yiddish a Language. Having lived for a few years in Galders Green, he knows the difference, when he is with the few non-Jews he has come to know there, although it is not so acute as ten years ago. He is not assimilated. He feels merely integrated. He went to Israel, but life there is too different from the British way of life: he could not live there. His home is England. All the Jews he knows in the North West were originally East Enders. They are not religious either.

One could expect those who are active in what remains of Yiddish life in London to speak Yiddish daily. Many of them live in the North West or other well-to-do places in London. Most of them were born in England. Some of them came to London between the two World Wars:

Mr. Joseph Fraenkel (S. W. 4.):

He was born in Galicia. When he was a child, he went to Vienna and attended German schools. His family went on speaking Yiddish in Vienna where the Jewish community was well organized and there were Yiddish ^{speaking} circles from Galicia and Poland.

He spoke Yiddish with his Parents and relatives. He spoke it as well during holidays in Galicia where Yiddish was the only language spoken by the Jews. A few of his relatives arrived in England seventy years ago. He himself came to England in 1938. As long as his aunt was alive, there were regular family gatherings a few times a month. Now, this only happens on great religious festivals. On these occasions, the members of the family speak Yiddish.

Mrs. Fraenkel's parents were born in Galicia, but she was born in Scotland. Mr. Fraenkel speaks Yiddish to her but not Yiddish. He speaks English with his daughter as well. She graduated from Oxford. He tried to interest her in Yiddish and Jewish things but was not successful until she went to Israel and became very interested in Ivrit.

Mr. Fraenkel speaks Yiddish at the "Living Paper" for instance, but on all other occasions he speaks English. He reads Yiddish papers though.

Mr. Harendorf (N. W. 11.)

He was born in Poland. He came from Czechoslovakia to London in August 1939. He was an impressario as well as a journalist.

during the war, his Yiddish play "The King of Lampedusa" was a great success. In 1955, he published a book in Yiddish "Theater Karavan". He works at the I. W. N. O. (Yiddish News Agency) and he works as well from time to time for "Leshn un Lebn" and the "Living Paper" providing articles on cultural subjects. Also he works for other Yiddish Papers: in Argentina, Israel (Letzte NaMes) and for the Jewish telegraphic agency in London (English).

In spite of his Yiddish activities, he does not speak Yiddish with his wife. She is from Vienna. They either speak English or German between themselves. For him, speaking Yiddish is just a natural thing, Yiddish is the mother tongue. He still feels that English is a foreign language. He is very much against mixing languages.

Even those who are directly concerned with Yiddish do not keep it really alive: they do not speak it in their own families.

In North London:

Mr. D. (N. 16) was born in Königsberg in 1938 and came to London when he was a one year old child. He spoke English at home because it was not good to speak German during the war. He learned English at school. His father who organized the Jewish resistance during the war and is the Rabbi of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregation wanted him to mix with Chasidim and know Yiddish (although he is of German origin). He went to a Yeshivah in Antwerp where he learned Yiddish (Polish Yiddish. He would have liked to become an actor. He did not, because it was not compatible with a religious way of life. He takes part in the making and playing of the Purim Play. He

is in charge of the administration of the "Jewish Tribune" in regard to advertising, circulation and writing newsreels. He is the executive director of the "European Jewish Education Forum": He goes to Sweden to organize discussion groups on weekends. The forum wants to make Jewish youth aware of what Jewish life consists of and means. They give young Jews the opportunity of spending the Sabbath and religious festivals in orthodox families in Belgium and England.

Mr. D; is ⁱⁿ charge of both a youth organization of the Aguda Israel in London and the "Community centres for Israel organization: he is building an American type community centre in the newest part of Israel: Ashdod. In Europe, even non-religious Jews go to a synagogue, it is a kind of tradition and symbol. In Israel, a Jew feels that he is a Jew everywhere. The centre is being built around a synagogue.- he is as well Honorary Secretary of the European Union of Orthodox Hebrew congregation. This orthodox young man is very dynamic and open-minded. After Yeshivah, he did not go to the university. Having spoken Yiddish in the Yeshivah, he likes speaking Yiddish. He says that with Yiddish and Ivrit, one may understand any Jew anywhere in the world. He considers Yiddish a language. It is easier for him to speak in Yiddish. Yiddish is a more expressive and personal language than Ivrit or English. He enjoys adding an English or a German word to his Yiddish if he does not know the Yiddish word or if he feels that the English or German word expresses better what he intends to say. He uses Yiddish to swear and to tell jokes. - On the other hand, he does not mind mixing some Yiddish words with English even when speaking to non-Jews. (He was speaking to a Jewish lady on the phone in English and then suddenly, he got angry and changed to Yiddish

His wife is of Dutch origins. She did not know Yiddish but he taught her and speaks sometimes in Yiddish with her.

Their children (four, three and two years old) speak English, but they already know a few Yiddish words. Mr. D. would be satisfied if they knew Yiddish some day. He did not learn it before he was 14 years old. He would like Yiddish to survive, but he doubts whether it will.

Mr. and Mrs. S. (N. 16.)

Mr. S.'s parents also live in N. 16. The father is of Austrian origin, the mother was born in Hungary. They are in their fifties or sixties. They did not learn English and still speak German.

Mr. S. himself was born in Vienna in 1928, but he was brought up in Czechoslovakia. In Bratislava, he attended a German school in the morning (where he was taught in German) and a Talmud Torah during afternoons (where he was taught in Yiddish). For five years. At home, he spoke German with his parents and understood Hungarian which was spoken by his mother. Then, he went to a Yesodey Hatorah where he was taught in Yiddish. On evenings, there were classes for secular subjects taught in Slovak.

During the war, he was in Auschwitz and in other concentration camps in Germany. After the war, he stayed in a sanatorium in Czechoslovakia. Then, he spent one year in Switzerland. He came to England in 1947. He studied in a Yeshivah in Manchester where he was taught in Lithuanian Yiddish which was new to him. He stayed there three years. From 1950 to 1954, he attended a Chassidic Yeshivah: the Mesifta Yeshivah in Lon-

don where he heard the Yiddish he speaks himself at present. He never learned English but just picked it up. he is also one of the organizers of the Purim Play.

Mr. S. was born in 1930 in Vienna. She belonged to an orthodox family. She attended a Jewish school where she was taught in German. She came to England in December 1938. She learned English in a Jewish school. She has often been present when Yiddish was spoken but she herself does not really speak it. She got married in December 1961. She speaks German with her husband and relatives and English with her neighbours. She only tries to speak Yiddish when he has to.

Mr. and Mrs. S. only associate with Jews of European or English origin. Mr. S? only comes into contact with non-Jews when he is on business and Mrs. S. only when she is shopping or with her charwoman who is English. They have no contact with their non-Jewish neighbours. Mrs. S. speaks as fluently in English as she does in German. She writes better German than English. Her inner speech¹ is English. When speaking with Jews who have some knowledge of Yiddish, she may mix Yiddish words with her English. She would never do it when speaking to non-Jews. She thinks that Yiddish is important: it is the traditional language understood by all European Jews. It stands as a symbol for sticking to tradition. She does not consider Yiddish a language because it differs from place to place. She likes knowing many languages.

¹ cf. Languages in Contact, p. 75: "Many bilinguals who are equally proficient in speaking both languages can nevertheless do their arithmetic ("inner speech") in one language better than in the other; this is particularly true of using the multiplication table, which is memorized as a verbal text in one language."

She never reads Yiddish books. She reads Yiddish papers from time to time. When she must write in Yiddish to some cousins in Israel, she merely transcribes German words in Hebraic script. When she was younger, she used to read English literature. At present, she still listens to English plays on the radio.

They have three children and a baby. The elder boys (7½ and 6 Years old) have attended the Cheder since the age of four. They speak Yiddish with each other and when they are with their school-fellows. They like to speak Yiddish more than any other language. They sometimes revert to English but do not like English which is not a Jewish language. They know as well some German. They pick up some Hungarian as well with the au-pair Jewish Hungarian girl. They learn classical Hebrew as well. The daughter is three years old and Mrs. S. would like to teach her German because she will certainly have many opportunities to speak English (most girls go to English Jewish schools). The small girl understands German but obstinately replies in English when she is spoken to. The father mainly speaks Yiddish to his children and the mother German. As the boys speak mostly in Yiddish, she tends to mix some Yiddish words with her German. She sometimes speaks English to them. She is somewhat afraid that the children should mix languages - which she would not like. The parents speak Hungarian to each other when they do not want their children to understand.

Mr. and Mrs. K. (N. 16.)

Mr. K. was born in Czechoslovakia in 1922. His parents were Chassidim. He spoke Yiddish at home. He knows also Hungarian, Ukrainian, Czech and German (the people of the town

dealt business with Czech citizens of the Sudeten (who were German born). He attended a Czech school half the day and a cheder the other half. Then he went to a chassidic Yeshivah. During the war, he was taken to concentration camps in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungaria, Austria and Germany. He learned some Russian and Hungarian there. After the war, he came to Stamford Hill. He picked up English at work. Now, he owns a diamond cutting factory in Holborn in which most workers are Dutch - non-Jews - and speak Dutch. He married in 1948 and has five children. He is a Chassid.

He speaks Yiddish with his friends and neighbours and when he is ⁱⁿ the synagogue or on business. His partner is a Czech living in Golders Green. If they are with Polish customers and do not want to be understood, they speak Hungarian and vice versa.

He thinks that it is essential to know English. He would like to improve his accent by taking lessons in phonetics if he had time. He likes English because, as Yiddish, it is an international language understood the world over. He is in favour of the Aguda Israel. He likes Israel as a state and is against the Natura Carta. He thinks Jews should know Yiddish to prevent assimilation. He considers Yiddish a language. He mixes with all kind of Jews: Sephardi as well as Ashkenazi. But he tries to avoid non-religious Jews: according to him, if a rotten apple is put in with good apples, the good apples can spoil but the bad apple won't become healthy!

He did not read English literature because he had no time, but he did not read Yiddish classical literature because it is heretical. He reads the English part of the Jewish Tribune and English newspapers: the Daily Telegraph, the Financial

Time and the Jewish Chronicle. Most of his correspondance is in Yiddish. He does not mind mixing languages, but he would not mix Yiddish words when he is speaking to somebody who does not know Yiddish.

Mrs. K. was born in Vienna in 1927. Her father (a Chassid) was born in Poland and brought up in Hungary. Her mother (of a family of Misnagdim) was born in Vienna. Her father spoke Yiddish with his friends but German at home. Mrs. K. learned German in a non-Jewish school. She came to North West London in 1939. She attended the Avigdor School where she was taught in English. Her parents went on speaking German at home.

Since she is married, she has spoken mostly English and Yiddish. It is easier for ^{her} to speak Yiddish than English. Her "inner speech" is German. She does not read nor write Yiddish; She reads many English books and newspapers. She likes Yiddish but she thinks that it is a jargon.

Mr. and Mrs. K. speak English and Yiddish to their children who understand both languages. All their children attend Jewish schools; the daughters go to the Avigdor School, the sons to the Yesodey Hatorah (Yiddish speaking classes). The elder sons are in Chassidic Yeshivoh in Israel. The children usually speak English to each other. The parents speak Ivrit together when they do not want the children to understand what they say.

Mr. and Mrs. A. (N. 16.)

Mr. and Mrs. A. are Hungarians. They lived in a small village in the Oberland, 200 km from Budapest. There were two schools (non-Jewish) in the village where the children learned Hungarian. The family came to England in 1957 and settled down

in Stamford Hill.

Mr. A. is an artisan who works in Whitechapel. Mrs. A. was born in Czechoslovakia in an area where everybody spoke Hungarian (only the Civil Service instructions were in Slovak). She learned Hungarian and Slovak in school. She does not know much Slovak. She never learned Yiddish or German. She knows German through her mother who was born in a place under German administration. She spent 11 months in a German concentration camp where she heard German.

When she came to England, it was difficult for her to express herself. People aware of her difficulties asked her to speak Yiddish which she could not do, so she spoke German. At present she speaks German more fluently than she did before coming to England and more fluently than English: at the telephone replying to a Jewish lady she started speaking in English and then switched to German and went on mixing both languages. She just knows enough English to be able to write a note for the milkman.

Mr. and Mrs. A. continue to speak Hungarian and they receive and read Hungarian magazines.

They have two sons. The eldest attended the Yesodey Hatorah for five years where he spoke English with his school fellows. Then he went to the Horomoh Yeshivah where he learned Yiddish. After three years, he started working as an electrician. He became a Chassid under the influence of his friends in the Yeshivah. He spent eight months in Jerusalem in Chassidic circles. He speaks Yiddish with his Chassidic friends. His parents think it is possible to be religious without being so extremist and impassioned. He is nevertheless interested in secular matters and likes speaking Ivrit.

The younger son attends the Horomoh Yeshivah. The daughter was born in 1950. In London, she went to the Yesodey Hatorah School where she found herself in a Yiddish class for 3 Years. Then the Yiddish teacher for Hebrew subjects left and all the teaching was in English. The girls there did not speak Yiddish among themselves. The daughter is at present in an English commercial school. She still speaks Yiddish when she answers the phone or when her brothers' friends come in. When she was at school studying in Yiddish, she used to speak Yiddish properly; at present, she mixes more English with it. She likes Yiddish as a language and would like more opportunities to speak it. At home, she speaks Hungarian. The easiest language for her to speak is English. When her father questions her on the multiplication table he does so in Hungarian and it confuses her.

In Hungary when the parents wanted to keep something from their children, they spoke in German. In England, the children picked up German. Now, they speak English when they want to keep things from their parents.

Mr. and Mrs. G. (N. 16.)

Mr. G. was living in Mea Shearim in Jerusalem. He is in favour of the Natura Carta. He is a business man.

He usually speaks Yiddish. He knows Arabic. He does not want to speak Ivrit because Hebrew is the holy Language and Ivrit the language of the state of Israel. He only speaks Ivrit when he is with Sephardim and when they have no other common language. He speaks English when he is with English non-Jews.

Mrs. G. was born in Israel in 1937. She is of Hungarian origin. She spoke Ivrit at home and learned it at school.

Mr. and Mrs. G. came to England in 1956. Mrs. G. speaks Yiddish to her husband and to her friends. She has picked up English since she has been in England. She does not speak it fluently as yet. She declares she does not want to mix languages but she actually does when words are lacking in English. She thinks that Yiddish is the mother tongue and that it is an international language.

She reads translations from the Torah in Yiddish. Women are not supposed to read the Torah in the original texts which anyway would be too difficult for her to understand. She reads Chassidic literature (books about the Bal Shem Tov). She reads the Chassidic magazine the "Yiddishe Licht" from Israel. Her husband does not want her to read Ivrit newspapers. But she would prefer to read and write Ivrit rather than Yiddish: Ivrit is a more beautiful and a more concise language than Yiddish.

Mr. and Mrs. G. both speak Yiddish with their children who know some English as well. On the Sabbath, the father does not want to hear the children speak English. On that day, Yiddish is the only language spoken. The parents think that it is better to bring up their children in England in a religious surrounding rather than in Israel where certain Jews desecrate the Sabbath. Israel though a Jewish state is like a non-Jewish state.

Interaction North London - East End

Mr. and Mrs. L. (N. 16.)

Mr. L. was born in Poland in 1938. He spoke Yiddish and Polish at home. He went then to Hungary where he learned Hungarian. When he was 6 years old, he lived in Vienna where his

main language was German. He went to a Jewish school where he was taught in German. At 14, he attended a Yeshivah where he was taught in Yiddish. Since then, Yiddish has been his main language. He came to England in 1953.

The language he speaks most fluently is Yiddish. His wife taught him English. He reads very few books in Yiddish but many in Hebrew; he has the title of "Rabbi". He is still studying and teaching in a Yeshivah (the Horomoh Yeshivah). He is a Satmar Chassid.

Most of the acquaintances of Mr. L. know Yiddish better than English. He speaks rarely English except with his father-in-law for whom it is difficult to understand Mr. L.'s Yiddish because it is highly mixed with Hebraic and Aramaic words. Mr. L. reads quarterly notices in Hebrew published by the Yeshivah, including articles about the Torah. He usually writes to his friends in Hebrew. He sometimes writes in Yiddish. He writes in German to his relatives in Austria.

He has no connection whatsoever with English culture (they do not have the television nor radio).

Mrs. L.'s life is somewhat different. She was born and brought up in the East End. Her parents were English born. Her father's father - who spoke Yiddish - was born in Russia and came to England about 60 years ago. Mrs. L.'s grandmother was born in France and did not know much Yiddish. When Mrs. L.'s grandparents got married, they settled down in Dalston (near Hackney); Both of them were not religious. They usually spoke English and Yiddish at home. Mrs. L.'s father usually spoke English with his parents. He only started speaking some Yiddish when he visited his fiancée's parents. He was engaged at 18 years old. Mrs. L.'s mother's parents came from Poland and

and spoke Yiddish at home. They had come to England about 60 years ago. When they came, they were religious. They settled down on Commercial Road (E. 1.) Mrs. L.'s father had to cut his side-locks and beard in order to find work, but he remained religious and his wife became less religious after his death.

Mrs. L.'s parents went on living in the East End after they were married. They spoke English. Mrs. L. was their only child whom they brought up in a non religious way.

She was born in 1939. At 16 years of age, she became friendly with a girl whose family was very religious. Mrs. L. paid them regular visits and enjoyed the joyful and religious atmosphere. She became interested to become religious herself. She went to Gateshead although her parents were reluctant to let her go. She became very religious and married a Chassid. Her husband taught her Yiddish and how to speak, read and write it. Present, she reads a lot of Yiddish, more particularly Chassidic literature and the "Yiddishe Licht". She writes letters either in English or Yiddish.

When she was younger, she was impressed by English culture. She used to go often to the theatre. At present, all this is of no interest to her. She thinks that Yiddish is an expressive and useful language; but the beautiful language and the poetical language which is at once deep and concise is classical Hebrew.

Theoretically she is against mixing languages, but in fact she does it all the time. She does not know any non-Jews except those she meets in shops, her tenants and the charwoman. Even when she speaks to her tenants she very often mixes Yiddish words with English. She speaks Yiddish to her friends and hus-

band's friends. She still speaks English with the friends she had before she became religious and with her parents - except if her children are present. Now, it is easier for her to speak Yiddish than English. She does not speak English as fluently as she used to. She usually calculates in English except when she counts the 20 nappies she puts in the washing-machine: she counts them in Yiddish as they are related to her children. For numbers that are higher than 20 she uses English again... She is so used to speaking Yiddish to her children that she tends to speak Yiddish even to children who do not know Yiddish.

Both Mr. and Mrs. L. speak mainly Yiddish to their children. They have three boys and one girl. The eldest boy is $4\frac{1}{2}$ years old. The two elder boys attend the Kindergarten of the Kether Torah Cheder where they hear their teacher speaking both English and Yiddish. Since the boys have been at the Cheder they have picked up a few English words.

At first, Mrs. L.'s parents were reluctant to see her become religious, but then, they themselves became religious after knowing religious people and religious ways of life better. The mother goes to the synagogue for important festivals and the father goes there every morning. They keep the Sabbath day holy. They still speak English except when they address their grand-children to whom they speak Yiddish. Mrs. L.'s mother tends to switch to English when she is alone with the children because she is afraid they might grow up without knowing English.

As Mrs. L.'s father became more religious, he realized that there were no religious classes for the children in the East End. In 1955, he started a cheder: East End Jewish School (34 Newark Street) where the children are taught religious

subjects in English. They are 20 girls and 60 boys. The boys section was started in 1964. The children go there five times a week right after school (it is a part-time cheder). Some of the boys are sent there by their parents who want them to have a minimum of religious instruction for the Bar Mitzva. The cheder is made attractive for the children by having the club atmosphere. The children take tea there. They receive prizes for answering well. - Some of the children go there against their parents' will. There are 7 teachers who know Yiddish and have been to a Yeshivah.

INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON YIDDISH
AND OF YIDDISH ON ENGLISH

In speech, letter writing and publications.

In England, Yiddish and English have come into contact. Some English words have been adapted into Yiddish¹. Others are just temporary borrowings. There are various types of interference: phonic, grammatical and lexical interferences². Interferences are to be found in Yiddish as well as in English.

There is a "bilingualism within unilingualism". Some English words take on a different meaning which is specifically Jewish.

¹ Some are recorded in the Stutchkoff Thesaurus of the Yiddish Language, cf. p. XV and LI.
² cf. Languages in Contact by Uriel Weinreich, The Hague 1963.

I. Among the Yiddish journalists

In Mr. Fraenkel's¹ speech:

Influence of Yiddish on English:

"at the begin"

"choche² doctor so and so"

so [z] also [z] "published a [a] cartoon

father [az] the [zə] weather [z]

nothing [s]

ar'ticle [kʔ] radical [kʔ] obstacle people

organization [i] realization [a] [i]

begin [e] became become

reported [repɔr] replied [e] to serve

adding [e] matter [e]

July [i] April [i]

August [u] document [ku]

London [o] moment [e]

includ [t] good [gu:d]

Zionism [zao] actually [ya]

meeting [yg]

hundred [art] Bri'tish

At the meeting of the Association of Jewish writers and journalists on the 25th of Nov. 1965 about the "Yiddishe Stime" some spoke Yiddish mixed sometimes with English words, some others spoke English mixed with Yiddish words.

Lisky spoke in Yiddish and said the English word "fact" with stress.

Fraenkel spoke in Yiddish:..."in details"... mit "advertising,...a naive company ...di details sitzen mir...gemach an appeal

¹ cf. p. 80

² פֿױז: wise man

Goldsmith spoke in English: three tri ... hundert ...
assu^mptions are correct r ... it is in the luft.

Zilberberg spoke in Yiddish: er sai a guter business man
... a sollicitor.

III Among the orthodox

English words into Yiddish:

(The transcription utilized is that of College Yiddish, cf. p. 19)

Mrs. L.¹: NITL NAKht, the TUG VEN Jesus IZ GEVEZN GEHANGELN. ES IZ NISht RIKHTIK. ER IZ NISht GEVEZN: he was not crucified AF DEN Xmas, ER IZ GEVEN GEBOYREN DAMALS ABER DI YIDN HOBN GEVOYNT IN GETOS and ZI HOBN ... ZI HOBN NISht GEKENT HOBN a public ShiUR TsU LERNEN TORA. DER Ford factory is in Ilford? NAYN? MAYN TATE HOT GEHOT TsVEY GESheFTN IN Dagenham, IN grocery, IN ESSNVAREN and FAST ALE MENTShN HOBN GEARBET IN Ford's the car factory. ZI HOBN GETsEYGT VI ZI MAKHN DI cars? ZER INTERESANT. UN TsU LEGN TsUZAMEN DI FORM FUN A car? ABER DI engines FUN DER MASHINg ZENEN DOKh NISht DO? IKh HOB GEMEYNT AZ ZI MAKHN NUR DER body FUN DI MASHIN. HOST DU GEZEN DI queen AFN television... GUNISht GEZOGT? NUR conventional ALE years happy holiday. TsU Balmoral a castle DORT. ZI came FUN RUSLAND. Eh, ER HOT GEHEYSEN BRONSTEYN/ b r o x n s ...and AFGEMAKht A GESheFT, and ER HOT GEHEYSEN DEN painter TsU ShRAYBN ZAYN NUMEN AF DER top FUN DI GESheFT and ShtAT Tsu ShRAYBN BRONSTEYN ZI HOBN AFGELASEN DER r. ER GIB DOKh A SHIR FAR children. A regular, IKh HOB GEHERT AZ ES IZ ZER GIT... Mörocan, ER IZ GEKUMEN NAKh FRANKREYKh FUN Mörocco. NAKh DER KhasENE, ER HOT GEMISht MIT FRUME MENTShEN, ER MAKht research ... A PAAR MAROKANIShe ... YEDES YOR . FIR, FINF families KUMEN NAKh Gasteshead. IN England ... alecturer IZ GEKUMEN YEDES YOR. ZI HOBN GEMAKht A TsUZAMEN ... a meeting YEDEN TOG IZ GEVEN A outing

¹ cf. P.

Mrs. L. : Xmas night, the day when Jesus was hanged. It is not right. He was not, he was not crucified on xmas. He was born at that time. The Jews have lived in Ghettos and they have ... They could not have a public lesson to learn the Torah. The Ford Factory is in Ilford? is not it? My father had two shops in Dagenham - a grocery shop, and nearly all the men have worked at Ford's. Did they know how they make the cars? very interesting. And how they build up a car? But the engines of the cars are not there? I thought that they only made the body of the car. Did you see the Queen on the television? ... did not say anything, only yearly conventional "happy holiday". To Balmoral, a castle there.

She came from Russia. He was called Bronstein and he opened a shop and he asked the painter to write his name on the top of the shop and instead of writing Bronstein, they left out the "r". He gives a lesson for children, a regular one. I have heard that it is very good;..

Moroccan, he came from Morocco to France. After the wedding, he mixed with religious people, he makes research... A few Moroccans... Each year four five families go to Gateshead. In England... a lecturer has come each year. They have made together a ... a meeting. Each day, there was an outing.

IKh MEYN Gateshead IZ the best SEMINAR IN DER GANRSE VELT.
ZI HORN NISHT DOZ ZELBE understanding, the sameway of loo-
king at things. ER IZ the head of the YESHIVAH. DER LUBAVIT-
HER REBE? DER GANTSERmovement...

(I think Gateshead is the best Seminar in the whole world.
They do not have the same understanding, the same way of loo-
king at things... he is the head of the yeshivah ... The Luba-
vitsher Rebe? The whole movement...)

Mrs. L; speaks to her children: Chaim (4½) Shlomo (3) and Traindele (2):

Mrs. L.: GE TsUR toilet Chaim NAKh DEM dinner. Drink Bubele drink--DOS HOT GEMAKhT A noise.

C: FAR VAS?

Mrs. L.: ~~E~~Kh VAYS NISht. FERTIK. Dummy. ES IZ GUNISht FAR DIR. YETs VEL IKh GEBN the present. All right; KEM ZITs BAY DER TISH, UN IKh VEL ZIKHEN DER present DOS daddy has GEbringT. MAKh TSI DAYN OYGE.

S.: VOS IZ DOS?

Mrs. L.: VI SHEYN. A police car. IZ DAYN OYKh A police car, Shloyme? Oh, lucky boy! BIST DU TsUFRIDEN?

C.: VARUM IZ ES NISht A lorry?

Mrs. L. : DOS IZ A SAKh ShENER VI A lorry.

S.: HELLO, EYN car, MEYNE, A police car, Mummy, Mummy.

Mrs. L.: VOS? ShPRIS AZ IKh VEL HEREN. KEM N. VEL MAKHEN A GROYSE garage. Mummy vel MAKhN A ShENER supper. N., EFSHER DU KENST NEMEN BROYT FUN DORT? UN LEGE ES AF DEN TELER. Traindele, VARF GUNISht AF DI ERD. GUNISht.

C.: VOS HOST DU GEZOGT?

S.: police car p 'li:s

Mrs. L.: EFSHER N. VEL ZOGN A MAYSE TsU DIR. KEM IKh VEL EPES ZOGN. DU MAKhST AZOY FIL noise. MAN KAN GUNISht HEREN. DU VAYST Chaim has NISht GEKONT NEMEN ZAYN khUMISH IN khDER VAYL ER IZ NISht GEGANGEN GLEYKh ShLOFN. BIST DU FERTIK? STE AYF. DU MAKhST AZOY FIL noise. NU? ZER GIT. VOS IZ DOS?

C.: Cotton-roll...

MRS. L.: Cotton-wheel, NISht Cotton-roll. DOS IZ A cotton-wheel.

C.: VEN HOT DOS GEbringT?

Mrs. L.: VOS? -Mummy.

Go to the T6I let, Chaim, after the dinner. Drink, baby, drink. It made a noise. Why? I don't know. Ready. Dummy. It is not for you. Now, I shall give the present. All right. Come and sit by the table and I will look for the present that daddy brought; Close your eyes.

What is this? - How beautiful! A police car. Is yours also a police car, Shloyme,? Oh, lucky boy. Are you happy?

Why is it not a lorry? - This is more beautiful than a lorry Hello; a car, mine, a police car. Mummy, Mummy!

What? Speak so that I may hear you. Come. N. is going to make a big garage. Mummy is going to cook a nice supper. N.? can you take some bread from ther? and put it on the plate . Train-dele, don't throw anything on the floor. Nothing at all.

What did you say? - Police car.

Perhaps N. shall tell you a story. Come, I want to tell you something. You are making such a noise. It is impossible to hear anything. You know, Chaim could not take his "Pentateuch" to school because he did not go to bed at once. Have you finished? Stand up. You are making such a noise. Well? Well. What is this?

Cotton-roll. - Cotton- wheel, not cotton- roll, this is a cotton-wheel.

Who brought it? - What? Mummy.

C: VAN HOT ZI GEcame,

Mrs. L.: HAYNT IN DI FRI...all right. DU VELST GUNISHT HOBN.
VEN DU FERSHTAYST EPES NISHT, DU MUS FROGN: BITE, IKH FERSHTAYE
NISHT. HOST DU AMOL GEZEN A VAYSE police car?

C.: YA.

Mrs. L.: OBER ES IZ NISHT GEVEZN VAYS. VU HOST DU GEZEN DI po-
lice car?

C.: IN the station. AF DER railway.

Mrs. L.: VELKHE railway? VELKHE FARBE IZ ES GEVEN?

C.: VAYS.

Mrs. L.: A BISL GEL UN A BISL SHVARTS. DOS IZ A toy police car;
NISHT KA RIKHTIKE.

S. VOS HEYS DOS?

C. A radio

Mrs. L.: NAYN. DOS IZ NISHT KA radio.

C.: A tape recorder.

Mrs. L.: The tape recorder HOT DOS GEMAKHT: come on. VOS? ER.
AZOY, GIT MEYDELE.

T: Eggie agi

Mrs. L.: Eggie, YO.

T: A cases.

Mrs. L.: DU MAYNST A coffer. ES IZ NISHT DOS ZELBE ZAKH - A
coffer and A case.

T.: Case, case;

Mrs. L.: GUT. AZOY.

T.: A "Vib".

Mrs. L.: DOS IZ A nappie¹ NISHT KA VIB. ES IZ SHOYN SHMUTSIK

888

¹ Mrs. L. uses the word "nappie" because she has been brought up in English. Her Yiddish speaking friends utilize the Yiddish word "VINDL".

When did she come? - This morning... All right. You won't have anything. When you do not understand something, you must ask: I beg your pardon, I do not understand. Did you ever see a white police car?

Yes.

But it was not white. Where did you see the police car?

At the station. On the railway.

Which railway? Which colour was it?

White.

Partly yellow and partly black. This is a toy police car. Not a real one.

What is it called?

A radio.

No it is not a radio.

a tape recorder.

The tape recorder did it. Come on. What? It did. That way, good girl.

Eggie.

Eggie, yes.

A cases.

You mean a coffer. It is not the same thing - a coffer and a case.

Case, case.

Good. This way.

A "vib"

This is a happee, not a vib. Your jumper is already dirty.

DEYN jumper.

C: IKH HOB GEMAKHT A TREIDL.

Mrs. L.: HAYN, DU HOST GETSAYSHNET DOS TREIDL. DU HOST NISHT GEMAKHT A RIKHTIKE TREIDL. YA, FAR KHANUKE MAN SPILT MIT A top. IKH VETS NISHT VI'S HEYS. LEG DI KEYS AF DEN BROT. EFSHER N. KAN MAKHN A sandwich... TSIMAKHN DOS BROT. AZOY EST TATY. ES DI tomato ERST, LAS DEN BROT.

C: IKH VIL HOBN DI sweetie.

Mrs. L.: Shloymele, DU HOST NISHT ONGEHOYBN DEYN tomato.

T.: A SAKH.

Mrs. L.: KIK Traindele, FERTIK. DU IZ chocolate. KANST DU BRINGN DI pyjamas? A minute, Traindie. DU HOST GEMAKHT DOS fire DORT. VIR VELEN MAKHN A competition. MEYNE bottle FUN the frig. Chaim VIL HEREN DER tape recorder. Chaim, KEM DU. STE AF.

S.: Bye bye Baby, bye bye baby.

Mrs. L.: VOS IZ MIT DEYN shoes?

C.: DI Auntie¹ HOT ES GEMAKHT.

Mrs. L. LEGN IN DI cot of the baby. MAKHN wi-wi IN the pot.

C.: I'll take the KhUMISH to KhEYDER. I won't say nothing to her²

Mrs. L.: ER IZ A printer. ER DRIKT DI YIDISHE STIME. ZIKHN IN DI cupboard.

Mrs. L.'s father speaks to his grand-children:

A funny PUNIM... let me. KIK DO... yes, DER jumper. DER HEMD NOKH AMOL. DOS IZ DI operation. Stand up... IN DER face. DOS sleeve; DI ANDERE sleeve. Where is your KAPL? IN DER high chair. ES IZ very ShVER. Dirty boy. ShMUTSIK.

¹ Auntie: teacher

² Not...nothing, is the yiddish grammatical pattern

I have made a top.

No, yáu did not. You have drawn a top. You did not make a real top. Yes, for Chanukah you play with a top. I don' t know what it is called. Put the cheese on the bread. May you prepare a sandwich ... Fold the bread, daddy its this way. Eat the tomato first, leave the bread.

I want sweets.

Shloymele, you did ~~not~~ start eating your tomato.

Alot.

Look, Traindele, ready. Here is chocolate. Could you bring the pyjamas? A minute. You lit ^{the} fire there. We shall make a competition. My bottle (feeding bottle) from the frig. Chaim wants to hear the tape recorder. Chaim, come here. Stand up.

Bye bye baby, bye bye baby.

What is wrong with your shoes?

Auntie did it.

Put it in the cot of the baby. Make wi wi in the pot.

I will take the Pentateuch to school. I won't say nothing to her.

He is a printer. He prints the "Jewish voice" . Look in the cupboard.

A funny face... let me. Look here ... yes, jumper. The shirt again. This is the operation. Stand up. In the face. One sleeve, the other one. Where is your skull-cap, In the high chair. It is very difficult. Dirty boy, dirty.

Chaim said: "I don't know where I am holding". It is a word for word translation of the Yiddish "IKh VAYS NISHt VI IKh HALT. (I don't know any longer what I am doing).

Yiddish words into English:

Mrs. L.'s father (with a Cockney-Yiddish accent) speaks to his daughter:

"The first thing you teach them is ALEF BEYS (alphabet). The boys in his class never learned GORNISHt (nothing at all). Wewant ~~a~~ boy to teach them Yiddish, MIT MODERN OYKh. Give me the stencil"

Mrs.L. to an English speaking Jewish friend:

"The ready-made baby-food, it's healthy and I know it's KOe ShER(properly prepared according to the Jewish ritual laws). He has got a lot to do. Whole work: morning he has to go to a special SHUL and after, there is the KIDUSH (benediction). ALL the boys completed the whole MISHNA - it is one part of the Talmud. There is a big dinner, a whole celebration - very good for little boys. She is going through all the problems, as I did when I was a bit younger when I first started to be FRUM."

Mrs. L. at the telephone:

"Hallo, IS RABITsIN S.(the Rabbi's wife) there? IS that E.? Here is Z. Hallo, GIT VOKh!("Good week" - greeting at the end of the Sabbath).You had a nice ShABES? (Sabbath). She never went to Antwerp. BOKh HASHEM (God be praised) , very well ...has to give a ShIUR (lecture). Tonight in the YESHIVA is the ... KHANUKA ...All right. ShKOYER (Thanks) ... Any time ...still quite a while, a few weeks. I ~~ihh~~ought it would be up-stairs by the ROSh YESHIVA.

That man was BELEYDIK (offended).

Her mother goes YOM TOV¹ to ShUL. He goes to DAVN (pray). She keeps ShABES. How are you? BOKh HAsHEM.

MAZELTOV (Congratulations).

GIT ShABES (Good Sabbath).

MOTSE ShABES (after Sabbath) I shall go to...

Do you want to eat? - No, I' ll just take a HASH (to eat dainties).

They are very YEKISH (finicky. YEKE - German Jew)

MILKHIK (with milk), FLBYSHIK (with meat), PARVE (neutal : with neither milk nor meat.)

¹ Such words as YOM TOV (religious festival) are utilized by the orthodox rather than the English word "holiday" that is used when referring to Summer holidays or Christian festivas; It may nevertheless be used in the meaning of "Jewish Festival" under the form Holy-day.

Yiddish - English dialogue from a Purim Play (a comedy).

At the customs: J. - a Jew (Yiddish unilingual)
I. - a Jew (Yiddish-English interpreter)
O. - an English custom-house officer (English unilingual).

J: ZOG IKH BIN A RUV. IKH KAN DOS NISHT LEYNEH.

I. He says he is a learned man, a professor, so he can't read.
I mean he can't speak any English . If you want me, I will
be the ze interpreter 'preit

O: Ask him if he has anything to declare.

I: HOBT IR EPES TSU ZUGN?

J: TSU ZUGN? IKH HOB GUNISHT TSU ZUGN!

O: What is this?

I: VOS IZ DOS?

J: A SHOYFER.

I: A chauffeur. O: What is a "chauffeur"?

I: VOS IZ A SHOYFER?

J: A SHOYFER IZ A SHOYFER.

I: A chauffeur is a chauffeur.

O: But you must explain what a "chauffeur" is.

J: ZOG IM ES IZ A TROMPEYT.

I: A TROMPET...

O: What is he?

J: IKH BIN A YID.

I: A Jew

O: Yes so I gather.- What does he live on?

J: FUN DI KINDER.

1. This play utilises the device of inadequate and ludicrous word for word translation as well as the grammatical adaptation of loanwords: "has been BARMITsVed"

I: From the children.

O: Surely he is not a cannibal.- What does he make a living from?

I: What does he do for a PARNOSA?

I: You are the first person to ask him.

J: IKh DREY ES.

I: He turns himself.

I: He is doing fine.

O: Why has he come to London?

J: VEYL ES IZ A YIDIShE ShtOT.

...

Later, the scene takes place at Mr. Montgomerily's. A Jew who lives in the North West and who belongs to many golf organizations- his father had lived on "The Lane"¹ -"one of them FRUM fellers". Montgomerily complains that whenever he goes to ShUL, it is always "that same old tune" (he goes to the synagogue once a year, each year on the same occasion). His son "has just been BARMITsVed last week".

¹ "The Lane" i.e. Petticoat Lane, now Middlesex Street

Mrs. L. ¹ also uses Yiddish and Hebrew words (written in the Hebraic way), when she writes letters:

At the beginning of a letter: וְיָ"שׁ (with the help of Heaven)

Dear so and so וְיָ"שׁ... (Be your days lengthened and good)

"We here are well וְיָ"שׁ" (= מְבַרְכִים וְתוֹמְלִים) (God be praised; thank God)

" We sent two וְיָ"שׁ (petitions) to two very great Rebbes asking for their וְיָ"שׁ (blessing) that the baby should soon be well".

"We went to a wonderful וְיָ"שׁ (wedding)...As I was watching the וְיָ"שׁ (lively) dancing...People eating and wishing each other וְיָ"שׁ (congratulations)...At the very end comes the climax - the very famous וְיָ"שׁ (Mitzva Dance)".

"...preparing the וְיָ"שׁ (Purim Play)

"...to do the וְיָ"שׁ (lectures).

¹ cf. p. 90

In newspapers and publications:

Yiddish words in English.

In the Jewish Chronicle, April 8, 1966 (The Jewish Chronicle is the most important Jewish paper in English, printed in England.):

- The English word "Sabbath" is used. In "Letters to the editor" more specific Jewish forms of this word are to be found as well: " on Sabbat ", for "Shabbath".

- Most of the names of the festivals given in the calendar p. 3 are in English: "New Year for Trees", "Passover", "New Year", "Day of Atonement". The English "Portion of the Law" is used followed by the word "Torah" in brackets.

- Only one name in the birth announcement is written in Hebraic script.

- There are nevertheless such words as:

Semicha (investiture), Galut (exile), Pessach (Passover).

Cohanin (plural for "Cohen" - priest) Halacha (legislative part of Law) Mitzva (commandment) Minyan, "fun der Heim" (from home).

The Jewish Tribune publishes sometimes literary supplements with articles or short stories concerning the time when Yiddish was the main language in the East End: an article by A. N. Stencl translated from Yiddish in the issue of April 1st, 1966.

The 15 pages of the January 14, 1966 supplement are entitled " The East End Story ". More Yiddish words are to be found here: Goyim (non-Jews), Stibl, Stiblech (Chassidic Synagogue), Litvack (Lithuanian), Galitzianer (Galician), Simchat Torah (Festival: Rejoicing of the Torah), Shavuot, Rosh Hashana, Succot, Sbosker, Tu b' Shvat (name of festivals), Rebbe (Chassidic Rabbi), tisch (table), Yarmulka (skull-cap), tali'im (plu-

ral of talis = shawl), landsleit (countrymen), a very Weske-
rish" (Wesker is a modern Jewish writer) household, Beigels
(small cracknel), tzibelepletzels (onion-cake), lokshen pud-
ding (lokshen = vermicelli), schmaltz herring (fat herring),
"healty - schmealthy"¹.

The orthodox use more Yiddish and Hebrew words but they do not use them as a way of adding vividness (which was often the case in "the East End Story" supplement of the Jewish Chronicle).

In the Jewish Tribune, Friday 10th December 1965 there are:
"Two Yeshivah students; ...from the Yeshivo Horomo after a Friday evening Shiur...if, G@d (God) forbid..."

Yeshivah is transcribed in different ways: Yeshiva, Yeshivah, Yeshivat, Yeshivot.

The English word "Sabbath" is not used, but:
Shabbath: Shabbath laws", "to disturb the peace of the shabbath"
Shabbes, Shabbos.

"...for the sake of Shemirath Shabbath (observing Shabbath)...
for the imposition of Chillul Shabbath (desecration of Shabbath)
...for their Siyum (celebration at the end of some study) ...
if it is done devotedly l'Shem Shomayim "... under the open skies
of Yerushalayim Ir Hakodish". "Whether any of these gentleman
have ever been to the Vine Court Shul ... they never davvened
(prayed) a Mincha Maariv (zvzning prayer) learning Mishnayos.
Rebbe, the Pressburger Rav.

Rosh Hashnah, Yom Kippur, Chanuka, on Kol Nidrei eve..

¹" A favorite Yiddish morphological device for the expression of disparagement, consisting in the repetition of a word with substitution of "sm-" for the initial consonant has been applied by Yiddish speakers to many other languages. cf. Languages in Contact, p. 34.

name of festivals). But the English "Day of Atonement" is the
be found as well.

In the "social and Personal" announcements:

The names of children born and people engaged or married
are written in Hebrew script, as well as the date of birth
or of engagement.

In "Obituary", ... ד"ר (= late)

In "Miscellaneous announcements":

- "Private lessons in למוד קודש (Limude Kodesh).
- "Private lessons Limude Kodesh (Holy Study).
- A Shaatness Bureau...

"The Tshibiner Rav and Reb Jacob... Barditcher Rebbe.
Certain Jewish foods such as bagels. Rebbezin (Rebbe's wife).
Menorah (chandelier). Mitzvah. Chanukah Gelt (money given as
a present on Chanukah).

The announcements of the services in the synagogue are
not in English as was the case in the "Jewish Chronicle":
Mincha, Schacharis, Maariv, Maariv Bizmanoh, Shiurim, Midrash.
Kidush; Talmud Sidra; Halacha Shiur.

One advertisement is playing on both languages:

We are stockists of

| | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|--|
| <u>נ</u> | <u>נ</u> Ness plastics | <u>נ</u> and <u>נ</u> are the same sound |
| <u>נ</u> | <u>נ</u> Girls and ladies | <u>נ</u> and <u>נ</u> are the same sound |
| <u>נ</u> | <u>נ</u> Heavy quality | <u>נ</u> and <u>נ</u> are the same sound |
| <u>נ</u> | <u>נ</u> Suede Coats and Jackets. | <u>נ</u> and <u>נ</u> are the same sound |

The English part describes the goods, whereas the Hebrew phra-
se: נ נ נ נ means: "a great miracle happened there"!

The Almanach published by the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregation contains not only the Jewish calendar, it includes as well a list of synagogues, schools ... and the fundamental things every Jewish family should know. It is partly in English and partly in Hebrew.

The English text of "Notice to the public includes many Hebrew words (which are used in Yiddish as well):
Luach (almanac); Dinim (law); Shabbos; Chilul Shabbos; Taharat Hamishpocho (purity of the family); Issurim (interdictions); Dinei Znius (laws concerning modesty); Krias Shema (reading of the Shema prayer); Teffila (prayer); Brocho (benediction); kosher; kashruth (what concerns kosher); ossur (interdiction); parve (neutral); Mezuzos (Scrolls of the Law on doorposts of a Jewish home); Tsitsis (traditional part of men's clothes); Kehillah (community); Yerusholayim (Jerusalem); and the English word God written G-d.

W H Y S P E A K Y I D D I S H ?

Those who do not speak Yiddish either prefer speaking English if they are - or intend to become - integrated into British society or if they are people who traditionally did not speak Yiddish but instead German or Hungarian. They may have a kind of sentimental nostalgia for the idiom spoken by their grand-parents and which they think is a dead language, or they may take it to be a jargon fit for illiterate people.

Some of those who are in favour of speaking Yiddish are the Yiddishists: for them, a people without a language and without a culture is not a people. Like the Orthodox, the Yiddishists think that Yiddish is the mother tongue. They think that speaking Yiddish is a natural thing. Some who speak Yiddish think that it is less beautiful than Ivrit, and others think that it is a more expressive language than any other.

For some among the Orthodox, Yiddish is more than a mother-tongue: it is a symbol. Some Jews of German, Hungarian and even Sephardic origin learn it. Yiddish is the language of the Exile, it is a language of separation and it "is the last of the languages a non-Jew would learn".

It is the language of the grëat Rabbis who neither want to use the "holy language" Hebrew nor Ivrit derived from Hebrew. It is the religious and philosophical language. It was an international Jewish language and it has become the international orthodox Jewish language. But for how long? - In spite of the Orthodoxes adversion Ivrit, it is possible that many youth are attracted by Israel and Ivrit.

Eliahu Goldenberg, a famous Israelian actor who is active in Yiddish life and still performs Yiddish plays in Israel and other countries (such a Poland) is aware that Yiddish is dying:

ONE feels very sad when a beloved grand-mother is dying, but it cannot be helped. He is as well aware of the present problems in Anglo-Jewry. People do not seem fully aware of the critical situation. The whole organization of education (and not only schools) of the Jews in England should be reorganized.

The situation of the Jews in the various countries where they are living is not without problems. Living in a given country, it is natural that one should know the language and culture of the country. Both Jewish and national¹ cultures should be combined harmoniously. This rarely happens. Some Jews have turned their back on the national culture after what had happened in the last World War when Germany was not the only nation responsible. - For others, the process of learning the national language (English or French, for instance), has lead to the loss of Jewish values and to integration, but also to assimilation: Integration may be desirable, but assimilation is rarely a solution. It means surrendering all of ones Jewish values.

This negative side is rarely balanced by a positive one because the non-Jewish society does not acknowledge the assimilated Jew as a non-Jew. Even though a Jew may genuinely feel that he is say a Frenchman and nothing else, society can make him feel he is nevertheless a Jew (in the bad sense of the word.)

In fact, the nations in which Jews are living are primarily responsible for assimilation. And a country like France still more than England and America where education as well as all of the life is organized according to a religious distribution: each person has his own place (as long as he is not an Atheist or an Agnostic!) France on the other hand is supposed

¹ 'national' meaning the nation where Jews are living.

to be a secular state. The policy is to make other people living in France French. Although state schools are "undenominational", the pupils are taught the history of the Church and they are taught about protestantism, about Janse- nism ...etc., about the influence of these movements on politics and on literature, but never one word about the history of the Jews in Europe, about Jewish writers or philosophers as Jews. Jews simply do not exist. They are spiritual- ly and culturally annihilated. Because of this, it is diffi- cult for a Jew born in France to remain a Jew and the impor- tance of maintaining a Jewish language as a safeguard to Jewish- ness is not to be neglected. This role had been given to Yid- dish. By now, Yiddish seems to be defeated, although nobody can tell what may happen in the future. It cannot be said that Yiddish is dead as long as poets, writers and journalists go on writing in that language and as long as children enthusi- astically speak it in the orthodox circles, in North London for instance (even though they do not learn it formally for its own sake).

On the other hand, many people who think that Yiddish is definitively lost, suggest Ivrit as a solution. Ivrit could not only be the language of Israel but the language of Jews of all origins, (Sephardim as well as Ashkenazim).

Yiddish created through the last centuries is the expres- sion of the whole culture and life of the Jews of Eastern Eu- ropean origins. Most of those who spoke it have been murdered by the Nazis and many of those who escaped annihilation do not live in Eastern Europe any more.

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| SHMUSEN MIT KINDER UN YUGENT | Talks and Tales (New York) | May June August April | 1952 1952 1952 1957 | (Yiddish) |
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| YIDISHE SHPRAKH | The Jewish Language (YIVO, New York) | June June September | 1964 1965 1965 | (Yiddish) |
| YEDIES FUN YIVO | News of the YIVO | December | 1965 | (Yiddish-English) |

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| S. Birnbaum | Offprint from <u>For Max Weinreich</u> on his 70th Birthday | | 1964 | (Yiddish) |
| | Specimens of Yiddish from Eight Centuries | | 1965 | (Yiddish) |
| Harendorf | TEATER KARAVANEN (Theatre Caravans) | | 1965 | (Yiddish) |
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| LUAKh 5726 | (Almanac 1965-66) | | | (Hebrew-English) |
| UNZER BUKh | (Our Book, part II) New York | | 1960 | (Yiddish) |
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PROGRAMS:

Invitation cards (with program) for the "Living Paper", in Yiddish
January 21, 1962
December 1, 1963
April 26, 1964
June 14, 1964
January 10, 1965
February 28, 1965
August 12, 1965
November 21, 1965

Program of the play "Chusn, Kalla, Mazeltov", performed on the
30th of December at the Grand Palais.

The Jewish Cultural Society programs of the:
Celebration marking the Centenary of Sh. AN-SKY, January 4, 1964.
Purim 1965
Celebration on the occasion of the 125th Anniversary of Gold-
faden's birthday.

Leaflets and tracts distributed by Christian Missionaries in
Whitechapel under the name: Hebrew Christian Testimony to
Israel, 189 Whitechapel Rd. London E. 1.

PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH:

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| The Jewish Chronicle | January 14, 1966 |
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RECORDINGS:

"Living Paper" December 26, 1965 (Yiddish)

Stencl's Sabbath after- January 1, 1966 (Yiddish)
noons January 8, 1966

Stencl reading poetry and parts of the Bible in Yiddish.

Mr. Bogdanski (Bundist) singing Yiddish songs.

Lecture by Mr. Pearce (communist) about the "Arbeiter Ring"
in Adler Hall. January 9, 1966 (English)

Mrs. L.'s father at the East End Jewish School (English)

Among the Orthodox:

Purim Play "Passport to N. 16." (Yiddish)
(with imitations of the various Yiddish accents)

Religious meeting at the Yeshivah Horomoh during Chanukah
(Yiddish)

Mr. L.¹ and his pupil studying the Talmud (Yiddish)

At the Lubavitcher Foundation: the teacher (from America) speaking both Yiddish and English.

Mr. L.; Mrs. L. and their children. Mrs. L.'s father.

Family A.² (father speaking German, daughter English and son Yiddish)

Family K.³

¹ cf. p. 90
² cf. p. 86
³ cf. p. 84

Youth's interest in Yiddish

Mr. A. N. Stenel (right) discussing his poems with Miss Edith Ramsay and Mr. Joseph Leftwich



Jewish Chronicle Reporter
"With-it" teenagers in jeans and eaters were among the audience at a reading of Yiddish poetry and prose at the Whitechapel Library last week.
The evening formed part of the Lower Hamlets Libraries' contribution to National Library Week. The works read were by Mr. A. N. Stenel,

who has lived in Whitechapel since he came to this country from Poland three decades ago.

Also in the audience were members of the local Yiddish-speaking populace and representatives of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish literary scene.

For Mr. Joseph Leftwich, translator of Mr. Stenel's works, who presided, the evening was full of nostalgia. He recalled how he first visited the Whitechapel Library as a child, and reconstructed for the audience an era when the library served as a meeting place for local youngsters destined to become the great names in Anglo-Jewish cultural life.

Referring to Mr. Stenel's arrival in this country, Mr. Leftwich added: "I may claim, unwittingly, to have introduced him to Whitechapel. And I also think I introduced him to Anglo-Jewry when, in 1941, I published an article about him in the 'J.C.' and when I later included his poems in my anthology, 'The Golden Peacock.'"

Literary figure

The JEWISH CHRONICLE was represented by Mr. David Kessler, its chairman and managing director, who introduced Mr. Leftwich to the audience.

Mr. Leftwich, he said, was a great champion of Yiddish, an adornment of the Anglo-Jewish scene and one of its leading literary figures. It was his championship of the works of Zangwill that had helped to keep Zangwill's memory alive.

In reply, Mr. Leftwich said that the fact that the "J.C." was represented that evening was evidence of its great interest in Jewish literature.

The poems, many written 40 years ago and ranging in subject matter from Whitechapel and Ezekiel to Shakespeare and Winston Churchill, were read in Yiddish by their author.

Miss Edith Ramsay read them in an English translation by Mr. Leftwich, and a commentary was given by Mr. W. Fishman.

Miss Ramsay paid tribute to Mr. Bernard Lewis, Whitechapel Area Librarian, who organised the evening.

In England now

"Stenel is a great poet, and he lives in England. Well, it's true that he lives in Whitechapel, but Whitechapel is also England."—Dr. Meir Gertner, speaking on Jewish poetry in London

Translation

Extract of the poem: BY THE KISS (Triptych) , by A. N. Stencl.
Left door.

The wheel of the earth goes a giddy round,
Round and round! Whoever loses and whoever wins;
By eighteen, the top stands still,
Even the love-game - a woman winner with a child.

Should one just play "Blind Cow", it all soon comes
To nothing - angry shouting, the wretched game:
A cow flown away over the roof, lost -
A duck's egg safely descended.

Should they fly to the far away skies,
We shall remain near to the ground;
The last trump card and red heart played,
All is staked on it, and see if Fate shall confirm it.

A chess-board with the pieces set up,
The terrestrial globe - The Queen advances;
On her way, she even captures three pawns,
And goes forward, kingly, stately, slender.

.....

NAROD PRESS
LTD.PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS
129-131 CAVELL STREET · LONDON E 1

Miss Nicole Jarasse,
9 Passage Touzelin,
92 Levallois Perret,
Paris, France.

23rd. March, 1966.

Dear Nicole Jarasse,

With reference to your letter of the 20th inst., I would like to furnish you with some brief sketchy facts regarding the Narod Press.

It was founded by my late father, Israel Narodiczky in the 1890's and from its inception it was concerned mainly with works in Yiddish and Hebrew. Many hundreds of works in Yiddish appeared until the end of the first World War, and even a Daily Newspaper under the editorship of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Unfortunately, owing to the Blitz in the 2nd. World war all our books and records were destroyed. Amongst those that I remember were books in prose and poetry by the poets Palem, Lowy, Sochachewsky, Lisky, Manger and others. A hefty volume in Yiddish on "Dialectical Materialism" by N.M. Seedo was also acclaimed by many countries.

In the course of recent years, due to economic circumstances, the trend in our press has changed, with one notable exception.

I am of course referring to that outstanding poet and writer Stencl (who I am sure must be the last of the Bohemians) I am proud of my very long association with Stencl, one of our most trenchant poets and prolific writers. We have published several hundred of his pamphlets and possibly eleven or twelve of his books.

As I stated earlier, all my records were destroyed. However, if you would communicate with M. Sanders, 46 St. Gabriels Road, London N.W.2. I am sure he may be able to assist you with more detailed information as he has catalogued many works.

Do not hesitate and communicate again if you require further assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Bar-Kochba Narod
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Telephones:
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M. Sanders

46 ST. GABRIELS ROAD, LONDON, N.W.2

April 17th 1966.

Mlle. Nicole Jarasse,
9, Passage Touzelin,
92 Levallois Perret
Hautts de Seine
France.

Dear Melle. Jarasse,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th inst.

I am indeed pleased to hear that there is someone interested in Yiddish literature in England.

I have just compiled a Bibliography of books printed in London by the House of Narodiczky from about 1902 onwards. I have after many years of research been able to list about 400 items. I have not yet been able to deal with the other printers who flourished in London and the Provinces.

There is ofcourse the "Loshen un Lebn" edited by A.N. Stencl. I have almost a complete set of that periodical and it is mine of information. I hope that in the Introduction to the Bibliography, to deal fully with this journal. Here is a short list of authors who printed works in Yiddish: A.N. Stencl, Ben A. Sochochewsky, Rahel Bergmann, Josef Hillel Lewy, Shmuel White, Harendorf, Judah Beach, Moshe Oved, Lisky, Joel Mastbaum, Esther Kreitmann, I. Bleicher, I. Tiger, M. Kahan etc.

There are many others.

If I can help you, I will only be pleased.

It is an odd list of poetry, Prose, literary criticism etc. Some of great value. I am afraid Anglo-Jewry was not of very great help to the poor writers.

Please do not hesitate to write to me. I will be glad to let you have those books you require.

*Your very sincerely
M. Sanders*

Yiddish weekly in danger of extinction

Jewish Chronicle Reporter

Unless financial help is soon forthcoming for the "Jewish Voice," about ten thousand Yiddish-speaking people in this country may lose their sole link with events in the Jewish world.

The paper, which enters its 15th year in May, is the only Yiddish weekly in this country. Edited by Yiddish writer Mr. I. A. Lisky, in a small, cluttered office in the East End, it circulates throughout London and the provinces to readers eager to know what is going on in world Jewry and able to acquire this knowledge only through the medium of Yiddish.

"Most Yiddish papers," Mr. Lisky told me last week, "are supported by political parties. But we are a non-party paper, deeply rooted in national interests."

Appeal to readers

A few weeks ago, Mr. Lisky appealed in the "Jewish Voice" for readers, synagogues and communal institutions to save his paper by contributing to its funds.

"We received a very slight response, just enough to give us some breathing space," he told me.

Now, in the March issue of "Volk und Welt," the official organ of the American World Jewish Congress, Mr. Jacob Gladstein, its editor, has publicised Mr. Lisky's appeal.

Support has not been particularly satisfactory from the Jewish com-

munity in Britain. Jewish communal institutions have never advertised extensively in the paper, which in the past has drawn most of its revenue from national advertisements. Now these have lessened, and with the rise in costs the paper is tottering on the verge of extinction.

"We need £120 a week if we are to keep going," Mr. Lisky told me, "and at present we are £40 short of this sum."

Tight budget

The paper is already run on the tightest possible budget. At one time four people (including Mr. Leon Kreditor, now retired) were concerned with its editorial department. Now Mr. Lisky produces it single-handed, with a minimum of outside help.

"Yiddish is on the decline practically all over the world," Mr. Lisky told me, "and a few last efforts to keep it going are being made by a handful of idealists."

He is one such idealist. Born in Galicia, he came to London in 1930, worked for many years on the Yiddish daily newspaper, the "Jewish Times," and has published several books of Yiddish short stories.

In the past few years he has written (and published at intervals in the "Jewish Voice") a cycle of 100 poems dealing with the holocaust and the achievement of the Jewish State. He hopes that they will eventually be published in book form.



Mr. Lisky at work in his small, cluttered office

X

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS  BRITISH SECTION

Congress House, 55 New Cavendish Street, London, W.1. Cables: Worldgress, London. Tel. WELbeck 0333-9

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Chairman: Mr. J. Halevy, M.S.C.

General Secretary: Dr. S. J. Roth

23rd February, 1966.

JF/MR

Miss Nicole Jarasse,
9 Passage Tarzelin,
92 Levalles Penet,
FRANCE.

Dear Miss Jarasse,

The weekly Jewish Voice was founded by Ben A. Sochaczewski, with a few journalists (Creditor, Klinger, Tiger, Lisky, etc) who formed a co-operative. It is a long story, but in the end all left, died, or were pushed out and today Lisky is the only owner and editor of the paper.

L. Creditor is still alive, about 90 years of age. He has a very good name as one of the best Yiddish journalists in this country. His daughter is Lady Gaitskell, the widow of Gaitskell the former leader of the Labour party.

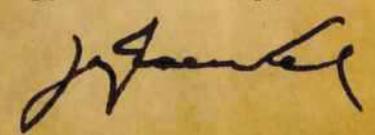
Sochaczewski died about 8 years ago or so.

The European Symposium in Yiddish was a great success. I received letters from all the delegates from abroad to tell me how they enjoyed the Symposium. I am sorry that you could not participate.

I shall write to you again in the near future.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,



Josef Fraenkel

GREATER LONDON

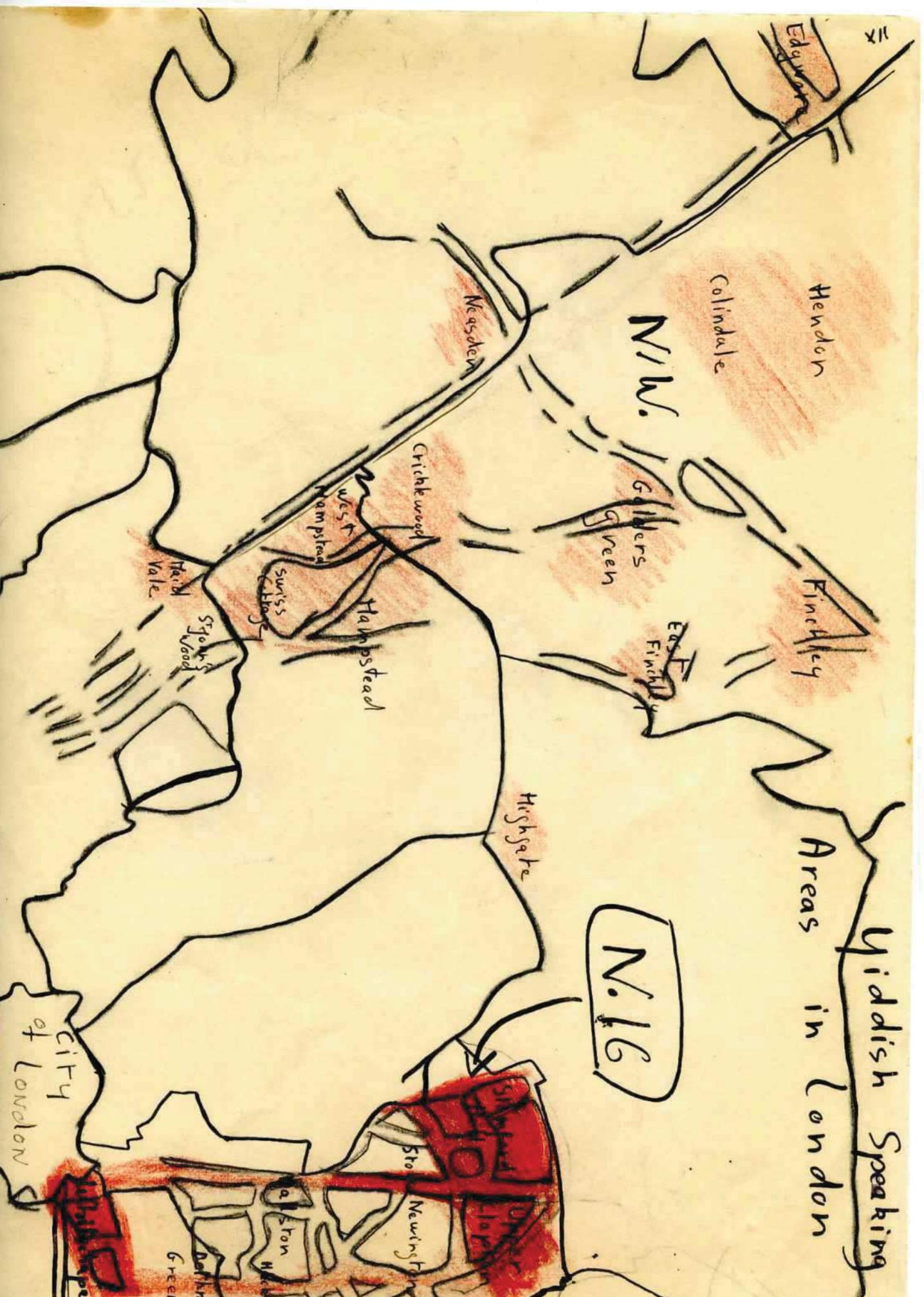
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x Union of Orthodox Hebrew Synagogues
 o Federation of Synagogues
 o United Synagogue

Yiddish Speaking Areas in London

N. 16



City of London

St. Pancras
Newington
St. John's
Green

N.W.

Hendon
Colindale

Finchley

Gollers Green

East Finchley

Highgate

Hainpstead

Cricke wood

West Hampstead

Swiss Cottage

St John's Wood

Finch Vale

Edgware

yiddish dialects



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