DISPERSION AND RESETTLEMENT

The Story of the Jews from Central Europe

Published by the ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH REFUGEES IN GREAT BRITAIN
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The Dispersion of German Jewry

Tremendous changes have overtaken the Jewish people in the last 20 years. European Jewry has virtually disappeared, and the hegemony of Jewish life which, for many centuries, had been vested in Russian and German Jewry, has shifted to two new centres, both the result of Jewish emigration from Eastern and later from Central Europe during the last 70 years: to America and Israel.

When this emigration started in the eighties of the 19th century, the bulk of the emigrants went overseas; some hundred thousands remained in Western Europe, including England, but the majority went to North America, and later partly to South America. Everywhere emerged new groups of Eastern Jews, with their "heimische" culture, with the Yiddish language and a strong sense of cohesion. A trickle went to Palestine, which was Turkish at that time; most of these were actuated by ideological or religious motives: they did not want only to improve their material and political status, but also to gain a feeling of homeliness, to be in the land of an age-old Jewish dream.

Jews were dispersed in many countries even before this new emigration from Russia and Roumania began; but from that time at the end of the 19th century the Jewish Diaspora, especially in colonial countries, acquired a specific character, as these Eastern Jews, though often arriving almost penniless, dominated the scene, first as objects of philanthropy and social work, care for immigrants, etc., later as a rising class in many trades which they partly imported into the new countries. They always regarded themselves as a great family, spread over all parts of the globe but bound together by the same nostalgia, by their loyalty to the atmosphere and the customs of their East European Shteddel.

Nevertheless, these new Jewries overseas were subordinated in rank to the Jewries of the old European centres, even when the new immigrants, often in the second generation, attained wealth and a strong economic position, and when, for instance in America, Jewish philanthropy began to set new standards by its immense contributions to charities of all kinds. There was also no suggestion, up to the forties, that Palestine Jewry should be leading in Jewish life, except as a subject of Zionist propaganda for the future. But Russian Jewry, alas, disappeared as a coherent and indigenous body after the Bolshevik revolution. Though, even then, Russian Jews remained a leading group in Jewish life, they now appeared as (geographically) French, English, American, even Palestinian Jews. At some time, there was Lithuanian and Latvian Jewry. Polish Jewry, of course, always played an important rôle, especially in the twenties and thirties during the short 20 years of the Polish Republic, but it never attained the position of the former Russian Jewish aristocracy and was never held in such universal esteem.
The Hitler Era brought about the most fundamental changes. The main fact is, of course, the destruction of European Jewry and of the old centres of learning, culture and tradition. The Hitler Era also brought a stirring up of Jewish feeling and conscience in all parts of the world, wherever Jews lived. Even dormant branches of the Jewish tree were re-awakened. Jewish nationalism reached its heyday when it stood defiantly in the face of bitter insult to the whole race. American Jewry was seized by a fury and resolved to show its might. It is not too much to say that Hitler created a new Judaism; he also created the Jewish State. The last 20 years produced the deepest upheaval ever experienced not only in the outward position of the Jews, but in Jewish consciousness and in the attitude of the world to the Jewish problem.

A New Jewish Diaspora

Against this background we have to look at the destiny of German Jewry. As far as they had not been exterminated, German Jews entered the mosaic of the new Jewish Diaspora in a way never envisaged or foreseen by our forefathers of the 19th century. German Jewry had a central position in Jewish life which by far transcended its numerical strength. Intellectually, it was closely connected with its neighbours, and often the decisive pattern of Jewish life emerged from Germany: the Aufklärung of Moses Mendelssohn, the Orthodoxy of 'Thora and Derech Eretz,' of Samson Raphael Hirsch, Jüdische Wissenschaft of Zunz and Geiger, Religious Liberalism and Reform, and finally Jewish Nationalism and Zionism. Though not always loved, German (including German speaking Austro-Hungarian) Jewry strongly influenced Russian and East European Judaism and received decisive impulses from there. It is impossible in this context to give a full analysis of the productive relationship of German and East European Judaism during the last 150 years; to a great extent it would require a review of the interconnection of ideas in this period, especially Russian and German, and of the impact of German philosophy on the Russian intelligentsia to which, in the process of emancipation, Russian-educated Jews felt themselves attracted. In any case, both Jewish Socialism in all its brands and Zionism were, in effect, a product of mutual influence and collaboration of Russian and German Jews.

German Jewry was the custodian of an age-long great tradition. But it also developed its own forms of organisation and sense of duty, its own liturgy and form of Service, its peculiar institutions, and, above all, what is now usually called "a way of life." It was a particular civilisation, largely engendered by a special kind of inter-relation between Judaism and the Gentile world. Whether we like to admit it or not, Jewish assimilation in Germany had a stimulating impact on Judaism itself; all the achievements mentioned above, including Jewish nationalism and Zionism, have been the product of what Dr. James Parkes calls the "Gentilism" in Jewish life. German Jews had also adopted a characteristic pattern of moral principles
in everyday life, in business and public life, which was perhaps somehow "bourgeois" and "philistine" but, seen objectively, had undoubtedly its good sides. (This special character of German Jews evoked the nick-name of "Yaecke.") There can be no denial of the fact that the German Jew represented a Jewish type of his own, clearly distinguishable from the Jewish type which dominated the Jewish scene, namely, the East European Jew who also became the American, Argentine, Canadian, South African Jew, etc.

**Adaptation to Changed Circumstances**

The dispersion of German Jews, roughly completed before the Second World War, created a whole series of specific problems. There was, first of all, the economic and social integration of the new element into the general environment of the land of refuge, with all the natural difficulties of starting a new life under unfamiliar conditions, acquiring a foreign language and accommodating oneself to foreign customs. It was also a question of economic and vocational adjustment, finding new occupations, making a living. In addition, there is the whole complex of cultural life, necessarily demanding a new assimilation, preferably without abandoning what was valuable in one's own traditions. Finally, there was the special Jewish problem of upholding Judaism and associating with the local Jewish communities. It is well known that the great Jewish organisations and also the organisations in the countries of reception extended most valuable aid and advice to the newcomers. German Jewry is grateful for that.

Looking back over the last 20 years, we can state to-day that a large part of Jewish emigrants from Germany succeeded in establishing themselves in various countries, though there were still many who could not strike roots in their new homeland and had to remain a social liability—innocent victims of the great tragedy of persecution and expulsion.

In spite of great individual differences the former German Jews all over the world, at least in this generation, remained something like a family, linked together not only by common reminiscences and to a certain degree by nostalgia, but also by similar material and psychological problems which they had to face in the various countries as the standard-bearers, however modest, of the great tradition of German Jewry. It is, therefore, sensible to draw a balance sheet from time to time, and to examine the destiny of groups of Jewish refugees in various countries. Many German Jews have personal family ties elsewhere and receive their information from relatives and friends. The Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain takes a keen interest in the position of Jewish refugees abroad, and the present volume is an attempt to collect information of this kind. We did not intend to give a comprehensive or exhaustive picture nor did we have in mind a scientific work based on carefully scrutinised statistical material and expert sociological research. Such a work would be highly desirable, but it cannot be the object of an occasional publication. What we set out to do was to obtain a lively description,
however imperfect, of the life, work, worries and achievements of German Jews in other parts of the world. With the unavoidable limitations implicit in this publication we did not proceed according to numerical strength or geographical prominence; on the contrary, there are certain groups which, for one reason or another, are more in the news than their sister-groups and on which much material can be found elsewhere. The most striking example is the formerly German-Jewish group in Israel which is well organised, has a newspaper of its own and its own publications, probably known to many of our readers. There are other groups such as those in the United States which are too large and multi-coloured to be streamlined into an overall description. Our idea was to give prominence also to somewhat remote groups whose fate and experience since their arrival in the new country is not so generally known. We think that this part of the picture is of particular interest. Each of these formerly German-Jewish groups contributes its own note and motif to the understanding of this painful and at the same time proud chapter of our history.

**Balance of Two Decades**

In summarizing the experience of these 20 years, no generalisation is possible. We all know how different were the destinies of individuals. Those who emigrated with the first wave of persecution, comparatively early, were, generally speaking, more fortunate in establishing themselves abroad, if only because they could take with them more of their possessions and money. On the other hand, many of the very first emigrants went to countries close to Germany, like France, Belgium, Holland, where they were later caught in the Hitler invasion. We do not propose to speak in detail of Jewish immigration to the U.K. as we devoted a special publication, "Britain's New Citizens," a few years ago, to this subject.

In Israel and in other countries young people, on the whole, were better off than the aged. But whatever the language of statistics may reveal, in all countries of refuge there were necessarily some people, a larger or smaller percentage of the whole, who could not find work and could not acquire the necessary knowledge, perhaps because they lacked adaptability to start a new life. In all countries, there were so-called "social cases" which need support from public funds. It is painful to think that most of these would not have been social cases if they had not been expelled; anyhow, pre-Hitler German Jewry with its exemplary institutions had ample opportunity to care for its own destitute, while after the dispersion it was not so easy—though more essential—to do so in foreign lands. The financial means were not available, and many German Jews had to rely on local charity, with the unavoidable embarrassment involved in such a situation. It was one of the grievances of ex-German Jews that their representative body, the "Council for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Jews from Germany," had no say in the allocation of funds resulting from the liquidation of German Jewish communal property which had
been entrusted by the Military Occupation Government to the Jewish Restitution Successor Organisation (JRSO). Only at a very late stage, when the monetary equivalent of most of these recovered assets had been distributed, an agreement about limited allocations from future proceeds could be reached. The organisations of refugees in the various countries tried their best to care for the aged and destitute. Some of the contributions to the present volume tell this pathetic story. As the number of old and unfit people must necessarily increase from year to year, this problem is one of the major concerns of the Societies of Refugees even after most of the refugees have become citizens in their country of refuge and do not regard themselves as strangers any longer.

Apart from this social activity, however, one of the main points of interest is the education of youth. Children are generally educated in State or public schools of their country of residence, where they are assimilated to the population of the country. Many former German Jews wish to give their children an additional Jewish education to make them understand their own past and the special conditions of Jewish life, to make them proud Jews and proud of their German-Jewish ancestry. We cannot say that this problem has been satisfactorily solved, but in some countries the tradition is alive and intensely felt.

A Noble Inheritance

We know that German Judaism in the sense in which it existed until 1933, and in many respects until 1939, has vanished and cannot be revived. But we cherish the hope that it will not be forgotten. The “Council” has taken the initiative in founding a new institution, the “Leo Baeck Institute” which is to be a centre of research into German Jewish history and sociology, literature and psychology. Such an institution would collect all the material still available about German Jews, past and present, it would strengthen the consciousness of a noble inheritance and would give inspiration and leadership to those German Jews all over the world who consider it worth while to continue this great tradition, and to carry it forward, with all the necessary alterations and adaptations, to be integrated into the Jewish way of life.

We think that the information on the lot of German Jews in distant parts of the world, apart from being welcome to those who have relatives there, may strengthen the sentiment of solidarity and of common interest and purpose in all the problems arising from the past. The present volume may be regarded as a modest contribution to that end.
NEW ROOTS IN ANCIENT LAND

In the present article, I do not intend to survey the sociological structure of Jews from Germany now resident in Israel. Nor do I intend to contribute to that copious literature, aimed largely at a propagandist effect, which deals with the integration of German Jews in the work of Zionist construction. I shall confine myself to a few observations which throw light in a number of problems concerning that part of the Jewish immigration to Israel.

The process of German-Jewish migration to Israel is now complete, as the reservoir of German Jewry no longer exists. This is not altered by the fact that occasionally German Jews come to settle in Israel who have previously lived in other parts of the world.

It is probably true to say that the inner differentiation which existed among German Jews, separating them into Zionists and non-Zionists, had scarcely any importance for the integration of immigrants in Israel and is, in any case, no longer recognisable to-day. The old ideological differences soon vanished behind very different principles of adaptability to a new environment, of physical and psychological aptitude for a life in new conditions, so that it was individual success or failure which stood out in strong relief. Moreover, that differentiation applied only to the older generation of immigrants, the young people being all inspired by Zionist ideas and aims.

German Jews, while certainly forming an integral part of the population of Israel, are yet clearly recognisable as a group, just as, fundamentally, all groups of Israel's population retain marks of their origin, at least for the first generation of immigrants, if not beyond that. The Israeli melting pot does not remove all differences in the course of a few years or even decades. Habits and customs persist, even if they undergo some transformation. There are rich variations in speech, intonation and gesture, clothing and conduct, i.e. in everything that goes to make up the customs of a people. In this picture the German Jews of Israel stand out clearly. In many ways, their characteristics are of benefit to the whole community, in some, they hamper their own advancement. Sometimes they are smiled at, more often appreciated and occasionally even envied.

It is no accident that German Jews in Israel have maintained or developed their own organisational structure to a particularly large extent. Several causes have contributed to this. In conformity with German conditions generally, but also by natural inclination, German Jews were quite especially organisation-minded, and they have carried on this tradition in Israel. To this must be added that the peculiar circumstances of their emigration and of their integration into the life of this country, as well as their peculiar sociological structure, required the continuation of a many-sided and active organisational life. With the aid of the central organs of the Zionist movement,
they have thus created their own organisational framework: the Irgun Oley Merkas Europa, "IOME," which has weathered all the difficulties of the times and has, in many ways, become an almost unique model for other attempts at organisation in national groups. Above all, German Jews very soon recognised the need for creating themselves fundamental institutions of a social, economic and also cultural character, which were to benefit themselves, while being capable of gradually taking over some important functions for the whole of the Yishuv. Thus agencies created by IOME in connection with the German Aliyah became partly the precursors of institutions serving the mass aliyah after the foundation of the State of Israel, and the organisational structure of the State itself was in many ways decisively prepared and thus rendered possible by the same elements.

Against this background, a number of problems persist. In the first place, there is the question of group consciousness, which is undoubtedly strong among German Jews in Israel. It may be asked how far it extends, especially in time, or, in other words: what about the children of German Jews, children who came to this country young or who were born here? No definite answer can be given. Sometimes it seems as if this specific consciousness were already extinguished in children who, in their generation, live together with those of different origin. At other times one feels that even the children of immigrants have inherited a specific element forming part of their consciousness. The time has not yet come to judge these matters clearly. Under the impact of the demographic change of the Yishuv by immigration from the East in the last few years, there is increasing recognition of the fact that the maintenance of a specific group consciousness represents a value worth cultivating in the interests of the nation as a whole.

A Middle-class Immigration

This problem is closely connected with two others. In the first place there is the question of social type. The German Jews largely represented such a type, and they still do in Israel to-day. It is the educated European middle class manifesting itself in them, with a wide range of interests, even if sometimes not free from the prejudices of the time, a type which knew how to enjoy life, or, at least, remembers such enjoyment, without regretting it. The people of this stratum do not generally belong to the truly rich, but there is a danger of their being very poor, even socially in need of help at a time when their incomes are still far from having sunk to that level at which one officially qualifies for aid in this country. Such falling-off is all too easy in members of our social type, and this fact, together with the relatively unfavourable age-structure of German immigrants has produced social problems which are bound to become ever more extensive with time. These social problems, which originate from the peculiar nature of our group, cannot be adequately understood and dealt with by the general institutions existing in the country for social relief work. This gives added importance to the supplementary
social aid which has been developed in Israel in the form of self-aid by German-Jewish circles and which is still functioning. Its tasks include care of the old generation and the ever recurring necessity for rapid and effective help in setting people up in some profession or trade or in re-training them.

**Linguistic and Cultural Problems**

The second problem arising in this connection is inevitably that of language and culture. Both inside the country and outside it, people have talked and written about this a great deal. There is no doubt that in this respect German Jews had, and still have, far greater difficulties to overcome than immigrants from the centres of Jewish mass settlement in Eastern Europe with their Yiddish and national-religious tradition. Nevertheless, a considerable section of the German Jews have become successfully acclimatised to the linguistic and general cultural atmosphere of the country. Tensions have eased, partly, it is true, owing to the fact that there is a Babel of languages spoken in the country to-day, that the general cultural atmosphere in the country is at bottom very weak and that it does not show any clearly marked outlines. One can even assert to-day that among those who give serious thought to the culture of the country and to its reflection in the fate of Hebrew as a language, among all those who share this concern, there are not a few German Jews. They do not confine themselves to the facile assumption that in the next generation things will solve themselves, so to speak, the more so, as this assumption is untenable, because the mere fact that Hebrew has come alive among the young people does not prove that it is becoming the bearer of a genuine culture, worthy of our past.

It remains for me to say a few words about the achievements of the German Aliyah which played a material part in the building up of the country. Their contribution to agriculture centres above all in their successful attempts at building middle-class villages which have developed unique forms of co-operation. Without these attempts, a large part of the new settlements created in the last few years would not have been possible. The contribution of this Aliyah to industrial development can be readily seen from a glance at an industrial directory and at the names of the manufacturers listed. The influence of the German Aliyah on the development of the towns, on trade and banking has been described again and again the whole world over. If the towns of the country to-day show modern European features, this is, in the first place, due to the influence of that immigrant group, which later became an incentive for further development. We have already mentioned the German-Jewish contribution to the development of public and government institutions. The expert knowledge of many members of this group clearly was, and still is, of great value. But their special achievement in the cultural sphere must not be overlooked: higher education, and in particular the University of Jerusalem, is hardly conceivable without the participation of German-Jewish scholars. **Men and women** of this circle also play

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an important part in schools and in education generally, and we must not forget art, music and the theatre, where they have found their place.

This enumeration is not intended to help a group, which is surely conscious of its value, in eulogising itself. It is intended to show the extent of material achievements which are, after all, a variety of personal successes. Because this one point must be made in conclusion: anybody who gives a little thought to things will probably conclude from the experiences of his life and the observation of his fellow-men that accounts do not balance. No account balances, not even that which we call Zionism and whose one aspect is Aliyah and the integration of people and certain groups of people. Accounts do not balance either as regards German Jews in Israel. Individuals—and, incidentally, many a visitor—often feel above all the differences, the remaining deficiencies. That is why it is necessary in a study of the situation to see both the problems at issue, on which a final judgment is frequently not yet possible, and the achievements, which are visible and which form a pillar in the structure of the whole.

Hanns G. Reissner (New York)

FROM EUROPE TO AMERICA

About 140,000 Jewish refugees from Germany and another 60,000 from Austria found new homes in the U.S.A. since 1933. These figures may appear negligible in comparison with nearly 160 million American nationals; they are small even in relation to an entire five million American Jews. However, transient problems of their own adjustment proved as grave, though different in quality, as had confronted previous generations of immigrants, both Gentile and Jewish. Throughout most of American history, the newcomer had been a competitor, of untested loyalties, uprooted, initially unsure of himself and often unable to speak the language of the nation. The Refugees from Hitler met with similar objections. First there was the deep economic depression of the 'thirties; millions of unemployed—manual, white-collar and professional—could not be expected to welcome additional job seekers from abroad. Then there was World War II which stigmatized the refugees as "Enemy Aliens." However, side by side with temporary impediments, there existed another venerable American tradition, handed down, and kept alive, from the days of the Pilgrims and the Founding Fathers of the American Republic. It is compounded out of elements of individual voluntary co-operation, mutual tolerance and active sympathy for the oppressed. In a sense, voiced as recently as by President Eisenhower, the United States can claim that it reflects the spirit of "Judaic-Christian tradition." Indeed, it does so more neatly than any older European country. Pagan impulses and notions have survived in Europe; primitive
heathenish superstitions and autocratic principles over there have never been suppressed or replaced completely by the teachings of the Old Testament and the Gospels. If they had existed at all in America, they vanished with the defeat of the Red Indians and the gradual resorption of the Negroes; if they were imported, they were branded and fought as criminality pure and simple.

Such had already been the revealing previous experiences of a quarter million 19th century Jewish immigrants from Germany and Austria-Hungary. They had responded to the challenge with whole-hearted enthusiasm. Its outgrowth had been Reform Judaism, a typically American product of voluntary espousal of religious and civic duties. Its intellectual leaders had conceived of it as a fusion of the teachings of Mount Sinai with the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. Jewish coreligionists in Europe had borrowed and adapted from it rather forms of conduct of service and ritual than its underlying philosophy. Of course, the latter was alien to the prevailing concepts of government and society in Central and Eastern Europe. So, with few exceptions, the Jewish refugees of the Hitler era came to America mentally quite unprepared. Moreover, they laboured under the shock of having been denied civic recognition and participation for reasons of "race" only. The freedom which America had to offer was the opposite of the trauma of undeserved rejection in the old country. Basically unbroken spirit manifested itself in reconstruction efforts, borne by voluntary acts of mutual help from within, as well as by spontaneous assistance from American Jewish, Christian and non-denominational associations and individuals. The result was a material and spiritual adjustment, on the whole smooth and possibly faster than had been achieved by preceding waves of immigrants from Central, Southern and Eastern Europe.

Some Figures

To be precise, about 90% of the German-Jewish refugees and an even higher percentage of Austrians settled in the large cities of the East (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, D.C.), the Middle West (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati and St. Louis), and the West (San Francisco and Los Angeles). On the whole, this distribution duplicated the existing pattern of American Jewry, but with two remarkable deviations. In the two major Eastern and Western ports of entry (New York and San Francisco) the temporary relative concentration of refugees was higher than that of American Jews in general. Eighty thousand or 57% of the German-Jewish refugees and 40,000 or two-thirds of the Austrians remained in New York for the time being; her total Jewish population of 2,300,000 equals only 45% of American Jews. After the war, many Jewish refugees from Shanghai had disembarked at San Francisco. There, the respective numbers are 5,000 or 3.6% of the German-Jewish refugees out of a total of 50,000 or 1% of American Jewry. The two ports of entry commended themselves to the new arrivals as focuses of international trade and light secondary industries besides

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being population centres with a pointed potential demand for professional services. Conversely, while 28% of the American Jews were domiciled outside the 13 largest cities of the country, redistribution of German-Jewish refugees in smaller urban and rural areas did not exceed 14,000 or 10% so far, with even smaller absolute and percentage figures for Austrians. Neither distribution nor occupation patterns appear to have become definite and fixed as yet. The majority of refugees arrived only between 1938 and 1948 (many incidentally from places of intermediate refuge in Western Europe, Central and South America, Palestine and the Far East). Additional years had often to be spent on retraining, acquisition of language and on local adjustment in the States. This applied particularly to professionals like doctors and dentists, but also to business people and manufacturers. In line with the general trend which now reverses the previous tendency of concentration to some extent, it is quite possible that erstwhile refugees, and even more so their children, will continue to relocate as the final step in the gradual process of absorption and integration.

Whatever has been achieved so far, then, has been the result of perseverance in sometimes adverse, and mostly unfamiliar circumstances, as well as of open-mindedness and neighbourly help from native Americans, both Jewish and Gentile. Many unusual individual instances of success can be quoted to dramatize the general story of local adjustment. There is the case of a gentleman who had been the youngest department store concern general manager in Germany. In America he signed up first as probably the oldest office boy in a department store. By now he has become a recognized retail consultant whose place is mandatory for a certain department stores' group before the location of any new branch is finalized. A former editor of works of European-Jewish philosophers accepted for his start a routine research assignment from a Mid-Western American Jewish institute. He formed contacts with a large popular publishing firm at the same place, was appointed research director of one of their fashionable periodicals and has since been promoted to head the management of a monthly pocket magazine with a circulation of several million copies. Colleges and universities invited refugees to join the faculties, thanks to systematic canvassing and partly grants in aid by ad hoc committees and after the beneficiaries had duly familiarized themselves with curricula, language and teacher-student relationship in America. Through happy coincidence it was sometimes possible to match a latent demand with an actual candidate. This was true of a newly established chair for the study of stagecraft ("Theaterwissenschaft") at Columbia University, New York, now occupied by the reputable former theatre critic of a Berlin evening paper. The attraction of publicity and potential earnings in America for performing artists, particularly musicians, had become manifest long before the advent of Hitler. Thereafter, the receptivity of the American public enabled a good many artists as well as scholars to continue with their beloved vocations. It appears that German- and Austrian-Jewish refugees, in conjunction with arrivals from other
European countries, have accelerated and deepened art appreciation in America to a remarkable degree. This is obvious both at receiving and performing levels. One cannot help detecting a sizeable percentage of former refugee enthusiasts in the roster of supporting members of the "Cantata Singers," an active group of musical amateurs in New York. Or take "The Art Bulletin," a quarterly published by the College Art Association of America. What meets the eye is an impressive list of permanent contributors, former refugees, headed by such names as Curt Panofsky and the recently deceased Hans Tietze. Certain old existing professional societies, such as the "Verein Deutscher Lehrer zu New York" or the "Deutsche Medizinische Gesellschaft" (now: Robert Virchow Society) have been either invigorated or practically taken over by German-, and to a lesser extent Austrian-Jewish refugees. It is a perhaps amusing fact that the current president of the German Teachers' Association, himself a "Germanist" of repute, is an alumnus of "K.J.V.," the Zionist students' fraternity of old in Germany.

Scientific and Economic Contributions

This writer regrets his inability to do justice to the creative achievements of scientists among Jewish refugees. Personally he could report or repeat from hearsay only. Moreover, it appears that governmental agencies and industrial giants control an ever increasing share of vital research, protecting its results with at least a temporary screen of secrecy. Finally, granting that there were outstanding individuals whose personal background agrees with the limitations of the present review—a team of native Americans and refugees of different origin might conceivably have reached similar conclusions or made identical discoveries. The actual facts in connection with the development of the H-bomb appear to support such contention. There can be no doubt, however, that the United States honoured herself by admitting to her shores Doctores Albert Einstein, Otto Loewi and Carl Neuberg, to mention just a few in alphabetical order, and a host of others.

In the economic field, refugees have made significant collective contributions which could not so easily and quickly have been duplicated by others. German Jews brought with them skills and connections for trading in various commodities on an international scale and including such materials as non-ferrous metals and hides and skins. The Austrians' share was conspicuous in the manufacture of traditional Vienna styles, particularly leather goods and sweets and candy.

In the process of give and take by which group adjustment is accomplished eventually, the influence of America on the refugees can hardly be over-emphasized. Upward of a hundred groups of former German or Austrian Jews have been organized throughout the U.S.A. since 1933. Activities range from religious to charitable and fraternal, and from cultural to professional. There are two
coordinating roof organizations, one German-, the other Austrian-Jewish.

It is this writer’s conviction that these commendable group efforts will not survive the generation of their mature founders. Even so, these organizations will have served an invaluable purpose—recreating a sense of coherence and self-confidence, while at the same time inculcating the forms and values of life in America. Over and above mutual help—the traditional line of approach of “Landsmannschaften”—these groups promoted actively the Americanization of their members, including language and citizenship courses, guided tours of localities, etc. Everything was tackled in the “American way,” viz. through voluntary association and voluntary contributions of time and money, as distinct from government-backed bureaucratic communal organizations traditional both in the old Germany and Austria. Stimulating was also the American pattern of inter-denominational cooperation as demonstrated in visits between neighbouring Christian and Jewish congregations, exchange of pulpits and the rest of activities sponsored by the American “National Conference of Christians and Jews.” Besides there were inspiring unifying national campaigns such as those of N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and, within the Jewish realm, of U.J.A. (United Jewish Appeal), with Israel as one of its major objectives.

The Young Generation

Partly from family experience, partly from general observation it appears to this writer that the children of the refugees will not feel called upon to perpetuate their elders’ organizations. The integrating forces of Public and High Schools and College, of military service, of occupational and leisure-time associations are both too strong and too deserving to be easily disregarded. Some young people will lose or shed their former identity completely. Others—let us hope: a large majority—will merge with the common Jewish component of the growing Judeo-Christian civilization of America. In so doing, jointly with, and like their fellow nationals, they will come to consider themselves heirs and trustees of an all-embracing heritage of Mediterranean and Western European origin. Like the Jew turning towards Jerusalem when he prays, so the American faces East for cultural inspiration. Repeating the efforts of their forefathers in Central Europe, our children will have to harmonize again, in their own minds, Jewish ethical traditions with an appreciation of occidental cultural values and science. This is a revolving process. Its probable outcome cannot be assessed within the limits of a factual report. However, disappointments which we may have experienced ourselves do not at all provide justification for us to approach the future with disillusionment or despair.
IN TRANSIT

Reminiscences of Kitchener Camp

A few years ago I saw again the Kitchener Camp in Richborough. Built during the First World War as one of the embarkation points for the British Expeditionary Force, it fell into decay in the ensuing years until, in 1939, it was reshaped by the Jewish Refugees Committee. Now the huts are dilapidated, the roads so diligently laid by its erstwhile inmates sunk, and only a small part of the installation is used by some industrial enterprise. The undulating and gentle scenery of Kent evoked many memories. Sandwich, that dreamy little township, separated from the camp by a romantic and picturesque "toll bridge," has returned to its tranquility from which it was stirred fifteen years ago.

1939 was a summer without rain, as brilliant and sunbathed as the summer of 1914 (which does not mean that fine weather must lead to war). The arrival in Richborough was somewhat overwhelming. We came by a special train via Aachen, Ostend, Dover, and from Sandwich's tiny railway station buses were taking us straight to the camp. At the gates, hundreds were crowding round to look for familiar faces. There were heartrending scenes of welcome, of finding friends long believed lost. It was at the beginning of June, 1939, and some 1,700 had come before me. Until September 3rd, the commencement of war, another 1,500 were to follow, mostly men between 18 and 35 years of age.

The idea of Richborough Camp was bold in its conception. In Germany and Austria, after the November pogroms, thousands of Jewish men were allowed to leave the concentration camps on one condition only—if they left Germany. As many of them could not settle their emigration in a matter of weeks, the British Home Office consented to give them temporary shelter, as long as they could prove that their final settlement in another country was well under way. The visa in the passport said "For transit only, Richborough Camp, pending emigration," and the Jewish Refugees Committee guaranteed for their upkeep. Also included in the selection for Richborough were all men whose lives or liberty were endangered. I am writing from memory with no documents before me, but two names deserve to be singled out for having saved the lives of thousands by means of the camp—the late Otto M. Schiff and Prof. Norman Bentwich.

An advance guard had come to the camp in January, 1939, and by March building started in earnest. Each hut was divided into two compartments, with bunks one above the other, and each compartment, holding 35 to 40 people, had a hut leader. Like in all military installations, there were common washrooms, half-open lavatories, and a common dining hall. In addition Richborough camp had classrooms where languages and other subjects were taught. The weekly pocket money was 6d., plus a 2½d. postage stamp. To leave camp outside the off-hours required a permit; to go to London, even more
than that—a reason. The walks—on the one side to Sandwich and on the other to Ramsgate—brought us into contact for the first time with the English, who were a little bewildered at our accent, our outlandish dress and our loudness, but gave us lifts in their cars and, here and there, a free drink in one of the nearby country pubs.

The camp was run by a staff consisting mainly of refugees with a few Britishers. The camp commander was Captain May. To belong to the staff carried quite a number of privileges: they had their own cubicles for sleeping; their own dining room and special food; and, last but not least, greater facilities for leaving camp. Each of the staff members, aided by an assistant, was in charge of one of the many departments, such as engineering, road building, electricity, education, recreation, legal advice, police (the camp had a “police” drawn from its own members for guard duties and keeping order), etc. Each camp member had to join one of these departments according to his interests and abilities, for a daily work schedule.

In spite of a smoothly running camp organisation, there were at least as many problems as there were people. Not a few of the former inmates of concentration camps had a camp complex. The sight of closed gates, of barbed wire, of barracks, of restrictions of freedom strained their nerves and they wanted to get away from camp life, no matter what the cost. Other luckier ones, who had never experienced camp life before, found the lack of privacy the hardest obstacle to their acclimatisation. Some others resented living on charity; used to providing for their livelihood and that of their families, they felt the denial of earning their own upkeep degrading and humiliating.

Their main problem was, without doubt, the fact that they were in England “in transit.” The conversations did not always vary greatly from those in the communities which they had just left—What next? Where to? When? The stay in Richborough was a waiting period, and some of them were approaching the age where they could not afford too many waiting periods before settling down to a new existence in another country. They all knew that they had to start all over again, and they were eager to start as soon as possible. Moreover, the majority had wives and families still in Germany and Austria. A few women had come to Britain on domestic permits, many other applications were pending, and with the storm clouds gathering on Europe’s skies, the tension in the camp grew steadily.

Work and recreation were two salutary tools at the disposal of the camp management whose application, however, was made difficult through a wide diversity of cultural backgrounds and educational standards. The building, enlargement, and maintenance of the camp, though in itself important enough, was, at the same time, a therapeutical measure.

Education and recreation served the same goal. An important part of the Education Department’s work were the language classes, among which English was given priority. Each camp member had to attend two English lessons daily, one by an English teacher and the
other under the tutelage of a qualified fellow refugee. Lectures, conversation, a library with English books, newspapers and periodicals, and a monthly mimeographed “Camp Journal” supplemented the lessons. Prospective immigrants to Palestine also received a daily Hebrew lesson. There were also courses in Spanish, Portuguese and French. Attached to the Education Department was a Camp University, fashioned on the customary lines of Jewish Adult Education.

The camp orchestra was perhaps the finest achievement in the field of recreation, and the first messenger to go on a goodwill mission to the neighbouring towns of Sandwich, Ramsgate and Margate. Next to the orchestra, sports played a part in gaining understanding and contact outside the gates. Camp teams met English teams, from football and tennis to chess and ping-pong. With the help of the late Oscar Deutsch a camp cinema, holding over 1,000 seats, was opened in the presence of many illustrious guests from London. The hall also served for theatrical performances and concerts. (On one of the lighter entertainment evenings the name “Porridge-borough” was born, in honour of the English breakfast.)

Towards the end of August, when war seemed inevitable, transports to Richborough were stepped up frantically, as a last attempt to save who could be saved, and the camp, originally planned to accommodate 2,500, held more than 3,000; even the classrooms and the cinema were filled with bunks and people. The normal work schedule stopped and we were enlisted for National Service, filling sandbags on the beach and putting them round public buildings in towns all over Kent. On September 3rd, when we were working on the beach, the air-raid siren sounded. Trucks brought us back to camp, just in time to hear Chamberlain’s historic address. The impact was terrific. For many the last hope of reunion with their families was cut. For others the threat of mass internment loomed. The camp gates were closed and all leave passes withdrawn. We were enemy aliens. A number of wives who had lived in the little town of Sandwich were also taken to the camp. This emergency measure was executed with brilliant speed and efficiency. Within a day a separate camp was ready for hundreds of women and children who stayed there until the middle of October, when they were transferred to hostels in London.

Alien tribunals came to Richborough within a few weeks to pronounce their verdicts, and almost all inmates were classified “C.” With the beginning of winter life became rough, and some camp members were declared medically unfit for camp and sent to London; others found employment in essential war work and were released. The bulk stayed on until February, 1940, when they formed the first companies of the then “Auxiliary Pioneer Corps” and became part of the British Army, the forerunners of 9,000 other refugees.

The war changed not only the legislature but also the plans of the Richborough men—aliens turned soldiers, transmigrants at last became citizens, for many of them after the war made Britain their final home. Among all the attempts made to rescue those in distress, the Kitchener Camp will always have a place of honour.
SECOND START IN FRANCE

A large number of the Jews, driven from Germany in the first few years after Hitler had seized power, found refuge in France, the classic country of the right of political asylum.

The majority of these refugees later re-emigrated to overseas countries. Nevertheless, there were up to 40,000 German-Jewish emigrés on French soil at any one time, until Laval’s pre-war government accelerated their further migration with its anti-alien police measures.

Deportation during the period of Nazi occupation, re-emigration and deaths have probably reduced the number of refugees from Germany now in France to about 7,000 to 8,000 (this includes refugees who have in the meantime become naturalised in France).

If France, in 1933, was generous in granting visas to persecuted German Jews, economic integration proved difficult in a country whose free professions barred foreigners whatever their origin and where continuing economic stagnation kept a certain amount of unemployment in being. To this must be added that foreign trade was much less important in France than for example in the countries of Northern Europe or America. The difficulties in the way of any economic activity on the part of the emigrés had a particularly cruel effect, because of those with earning capacity almost a third belonged to the academic professions, a further third had been in business or industry on their own account, 15 per cent. had been employees, 8 per cent. artists (this figure includes journalists) and the rest had been trade representatives or artisans. Thus, before the war, possibilities of legal employment were open only to business men and industrials, as well as to artists, trade representatives and artisans. In the period up to 1939, the last two groups absorbed part of the former professional people and employees. Emigrés were still grappling with the hard task of establishing themselves, when the war shattered all hopes for years, deprived them of their last reserves and led thousands of them to their death.

A few years after the war, the position was changed by the generous policy France adopted towards the emigrés: the majority obtained French citizenship, and labour permits were granted to those not naturalised. On the other hand, the general restrictions affecting the establishment of all foreigners in business, dating back to 1938, remained in force. Thus, employees to-day represent the largest group among the refugees, followed by trade representatives and by artisans and workers (these last constituting a new occupational group among the emigrés) and lastly by those engaged in business on their own account.

The economic position in general is bad—apart from those with their own business firms. It is after all only ten years since emigrés reappeared from the “underworld” in which they had passed the
period of Nazi occupation. In 1945, the survivors of the occupation
years were completely without means, and in most cases their state
of health was hardly better than that of the deportees who had been
saved. Without lodgings, occupation, possessions, clothing or linen,
they appeared from nowhere, as it were, towards the end of 1944.
If to-day they have generally not accumulated any reserves, this is
due to the fact that they have had to re-equip themselves completely
since the end of the war. Also, practically all of them lost their flats
during the Nazi occupation and have been unable to find a new flat.
Salaries and wages would often be adequate to maintain a family
in modest fashion, if the majority of the emigrés were not compelled,
in view of the general housing shortage, to live in unduly expensive
hotel rooms, furnished rooms and flats, which frequently account for
half their incomes, while even the French middle class never spend
more than 10 per cent. of their income on accommodation.

The percentage of those without occupation has considerably
increased because the emigrés are an ageing population group, so that
to-day almost a third of the refugees must be considered to be in need
of relief.

Apart from the first emotional wave of welcome in 1933, the
political situation of the emigrés was bad, as the deep-rooted French
aversion to everything German coincided with the anti-Semitism
fanned by Germans. Emigrés laboured under all kinds of administra-
tive restrictions, residence and labour permits were continually being
reduced, their means of subsistence checked, etc. The war caught
many without valid identity papers. This was followed by prolonged
internment, first of the men, then also of the women. About half the
men were more or less voluntarily drafted into the Foreign Legion
and sent to North Africa, where most of them, instead of participating
in the war against Fascism, were exploited in forced labour, until they
were able to return to France. After the armistice the racial and
political persecution of emigrés began, and after 1942 the period of
their greatest suffering with the Nazi occupation of Southern France.
Even now elderly people will contact French authorities only with
anxiously beating hearts, although even emigrés who have remained
stateless are under French protection. Thus elderly people will not
claim the relief to which they are entitled, for fear that this might have
adverse consequences, in particular: for fear that they might be
expelled because they have lived on public funds. This deprives those
most in need of a modest addition to their income. The great Jewish
organisations, unfamiliar as they are with the psychological after-
effects which years of persecution have had on this group, cannot do
justice to its particular needs.

For years even after the war, the emigrés could not create their
own organisations, because a grouping of former German nationals
was impossible in the political atmosphere existing after four years
of Nazi occupation with its horrors. Only in 1951 Jewish emigrés
from Germany reorganised themselves in the Solidarité, which arranges
meetings and social functions and publishes a bi-monthly information
bulletin. This organisation has succeeded in obtaining a hearing and
later also in representing the interests of its members vis-à-vis French Jewish organisations effectively, so that refugees from Germany to-day generally play their part in Jewish life in France.

Relations with their environment have undergone a fundamental and lasting change as a result of the last few years of Nazi occupation, in which French people of all denominations, Jews from Germany and other immigré Jews, rose against the Nazis as their common enemy. In those terrible years, when their lives were in constant danger, German Jews overcame their isolation from other groups, found admittance to the resistance movement, made contact with the population through life in predominantly rural areas and became “gallicised” in those years much more rapidly and thoroughly than they would have done if they had continued living in large towns under normal conditions. One of the consequences of this fusion of the emigrés with the rural population were the numerous mixed marriages after the war. Many a young Jewish emigrant from Germany married the daughter of people who had helped him evade the Gestapo.

Jews who in Germany often hardly participated in the political life of the country have become politically conscious as a result of their bitter experiences since 1933. To-day, they know well from which quarters danger threatens. They have thus become politically much more active than they were. The achievements of emigrés in the economic and organisational sphere are frequently above average, especially in those branches of the economy where they could do pioneer work, i.e. which had not attained full development in France by 1933. In the sphere of learning, however, the achievement of the emigrés is extremely small, especially if compared with that in the United States and Great Britain. Despite the efforts of the Comité des Savants, of Professors Honnorat, Hadamar and Perrin and others, Jewish scholars from Germany could find hardly any work at universities, research institutes, etc. The few scholars and artists who had remained in France at the beginning of the war enjoyed priority in the allocation of U.S.A. visas and left Europe. Nevertheless, it was a young Jewish physicist from Germany who helped in 1940 to take the French supplies of that so very important “heavy water” safely to England.

Young people among the emigrés tend to merge with the young Jewish generation of France. A large part of the old-established Jewish population of France originates from Alsace, the Palatinate and Baden, from where they had come to France since the beginning of the nineteenth century until 1914. The integration of Jews from Germany is therefore historically in line with the past: the Jewish population of the country has always drawn reserves from this source. For the rest, the process of the cultural assimilation of immigrés in France is considerably accelerated by the strength and universality of French civilisation and by the intensity of the country’s educational system. In the social sphere, the process of assimilation is hampered by the difference in living standards between the French-born and immigrés, who still have to struggle hard, even if they have been successful.
REMNANTS OF THE CATASTROPHE

German Jews in Belgium

After seizing power in Germany, National Socialism began the systematic persecution of all Jewish life and it became increasingly impossible for Jews to earn their living. Thousands of those who had to leave Germany understandably sought refuge in the neighbouring countries of Holland, France and Belgium.

What the Belgian people, its Government, authorities and leading men of all parties did for Jewish refugees from Germany between 1933 and the German invasion and later during the hard years of persecution will always be a glorious page in Belgian history. In its economic structure, Belgium is not a country suitable for the reception of immigrants. Although industry and commerce maintain a large part of the population in this small country of about eight million inhabitants, a considerable number of Jews from Germany were allowed to establish themselves before the war. Several industries were founded or expanded by German Jews in Belgium. This country, which more than any other depends on exports for its existence, is indebted to many a Jewish business man from Germany for an expansion of its export trade.

Many thousands of others found a temporary refuge in Belgium, enabling them to organise their emigration to overseas countries.

It will never be forgotten that the Belgian Government, and the Belgian authorities, aided, of course, by the great Jewish organisations, made great financial sacrifices for the Jews from Germany and later for those from Austria. It must also be remembered that despite the many problems besetting her own countrymen, Belgium spontaneously declared her readiness to receive a large proportion of the emigrants on the “St. Louis” who had been refused permission to land in Cuba in 1939. Belgian welfare authorities have always applied the same rates of relief for the needy German-Jewish refugees as for their own people.

Soon after the German invasion of Belgium, anti-Semitic persecution began. On April 22, 1942, the Gazette of the Military Commander in Belgium and Northern France published a decree which represented the first act in a whole series of measures of persecution and was exclusively directed against German Jews. Paragraph (1) says that “every Jew residing abroad on November 27, 1941, has lost German citizenship,” and paragraph (2) that “the capital of every Jew who loses German citizenship is forfeit to the German Reich as a result of the loss of German citizenship.”

A few months later, the great process of extermination began. All Jews were summoned to the barracks of Dossin near Malines, from where they were later deported to Auschwitz. The outlook for those who did not answer the summons and did not find refuge with a Belgian friend somewhere in town or in the country was black
Indeed. They were caught in the streets like mad dogs and sometimes almost beaten to death in the cellars of the Gestapo. Whole streets, even whole districts were sealed off and all houses searched for Jews, and all were taken: women, old men, children. No pen, however powerful, can describe that scene.

There is reliable evidence about the first four transports (each of which numbered 1,000 Jews) leaving Malines for Auschwitz between August 4 and 18, 1942. Only eighteen of all these men, women and children escaped extermination and returned to Belgium. Among these four thousand Jews there were 535 children, not one of whom escaped the gas chambers. Out of a total number of 25,441 Jews who were deported from Malines, only 1,156 returned, just above four per cent. Of these 25,441 victims, about 8,000 were German Jews.

Thousands of German-Jewish refugees, who had lived in Belgium until May 10, 1940, were arrested in France and deported from there. Hitler's executioners were always thorough in their work. Only about 4,000 German-Jewish refugees in Belgium escaped extermination. Belgians, in defiance of all danger, gave these men and women shelter and enabled them to live. Their magnificent daring, their great act of human solidarity with the victims of the worst barbarism in world history will never be forgotten.

Organisation of Nazi Victims

In September, 1944, while war was still continuing on Belgian soil, a few Jews from Germany founded the Comité Israélite des Réfugiés Victimes des Lois Raciales (COREF), following the initiative of Erich Gompertz, who did so much for German-Jewish refugees. Many hundreds of people turned to this organisation in their great distress, because the times were very difficult for Jewish refugees from Germany, who risked being considered allemands ennemis and treated as such because of their German origin.

All those who worked in COREF in those days recoil at the memory of what they saw. People came to them, sick, broken, starved, emaciated. Many of them hardly had a shirt on their backs. They were not only Jews from Germany and Austria, but also German political refugees who had been constantly engaged in an active struggle against the Nazi regime.

Apart from providing relief and medical care, COREF organised a legal aid centre for all problems concerning refugees, instituted inquiries about the fate of deported and missing families and did everything humanly possible to induce the Belgian authorities to introduce a Bill cancelling the sequestration of property belonging to those German nations who had taken refuge in Belgium for racial, political or religious reasons. Later, fulfilment of these tasks was eased for COREF by important sums which the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) made available. COREF was now enabled not only to increase relief scales, but also to grant loans to many refugees, amounting to a maximum of 40,000 Belgian francs in each case, with a view to helping them re-establish themselves.
Many years have elapsed since then. A number of those who were in Belgium in 1945 have gone to other countries, others have returned to Germany. The number of deaths is particularly high as a result of the privations and the material and psychological suffering during the years of persecution.

To-day, ten years after the collapse of National Socialism, hundreds of sick and old people from Germany, who are no longer able to work, are still waiting to have their compensation claims acknowledged. The word “compensation” is particularly out of place in a country formerly occupied by the Nazis, such as Belgium, because there is hardly one family among the German-Jewish refugees which has not lost some of its members: children, husband or wife, brothers or sisters, through deportation and in the gas chambers.

Of about 220 needy persons under the care of COREF, the following have suffered through deportation: 34 married couples have lost 27 children; 24 men have lost 3 wives and 22 children; 126 women have lost 52 husbands and five grandchildren.

More than 60 per cent. of those cared for by COREF are of an advanced age, i.e. between 60 and 95.

Among those seriously ill there are: 29 cases of heart disease, 15 cases of cancer, six cases of almost total blindness, 12 cases of tuberculosis, 14 cases of debility caused by old age.

Almost all of those under the care of COREF are still accommodated in dwellings unfit for human habitation. Many occupy attics or basements, and almost all dwellings have serious defects, not having been repaired for years and showing all the signs of continuous wear and tear. Water and toilets are from one to three flights of stairs higher or lower than the dwelling, sometimes even outside, which is a great hardship for old and sick people.

Thanks to the “Leo Baeck Charitable Trust” of the Council of Jews from Germany, COREF was enabled to make these impoverished and sick people a modest special grant in 1954, which provided some measure of relief in many a case.

COREF will continue its work until the day when all needy Jewish men and women from Germany enjoy a modest subsistence minimum.
S. W. Krieger (Sydney)

RESETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

It has been said that nobody was less prepared for emigration than the German Jews. This is a truism, at once proved and refuted by subsequent events, of which the re-settlement of German and Austrian Jews in Australia is an example. People of the “middle class,” imbued with a high sense of civic responsibilities, a strict code of behaviour, accustomed to the material comforts of a well-ordered, “secure” existence, suddenly found themselves expropriated in a strange land, exposed to the tremendous impact of an entirely different social, economic and cultural pattern of life which was still further aggravated by the lack of understanding of the new country’s language. What followed in Australia was a strange and inspiring example of fortitude in the face of adversity. Prior to the annexation of Austria by the Nazis in March 1938 Jewish Refugee Immigration from Germany and Austria to Australia was negligible. From then on, however, the pace accelerated rapidly and reached its peak in the 12 months preceding the outbreak of the war. It will be recalled that the Commonwealth of Australia had undertaken, at the conference of Evian in 1938, to open its doors to five thousand Nazi persecutees per year for the following three years (when war broke out only half of the quota had arrived in Australia).

By September 1939 the number of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria then residing in Australia was estimated at 7,100, about half of whom had settled in the State of New South Wales.

Admission to Australia, at that time, depended largely upon occupational suitability and/or the production of at least £A200 landing money. Landing permits were granted in a rather erratic and haphazard manner, but, by and large the Government of the day deserves credit for its humanitarian attitude.

Once in Australia the first big wave of Jewish Refugees was more or less left to their own devices; they had to re-establish themselves the hard way. The Australian Jewish Welfare Society, founded with the express objective of assisting Continental Jewish Refugees, did not come into operation fully, until the second half of 1938. Furthermore a “Migrants’ Consultative Council” was established out of the ranks of Continental Refugees and began its activities as a sub-committee of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society. The capacity of that Council never went beyond a consultative function and was thus not entirely satisfactory to the refugees whose problems were of a specific nature and demanded an approach which they felt could only be expected of their own representatives.

After the outbreak of war the attitude of the average Australian towards the refugee, who had never been too welcome, hardened and indifference rapidly gave way to open prejudice and hostility. There were, of course, voices of humanity and championship of the rights of the stranger who had sought shelter in Australia, but political
pressures and public sentiment had to be taken into account; internment of refugees followed in considerable numbers. It was not long, however, before the Australian sense of justice and fair play opened the gates of the internment camps for the refugees. The German and Austrian refugees themselves played a signal part in overcoming prejudice against them by volunteering for the Australian Military Forces in numbers which were proportionately higher than those of compulsorily enlisted Australians; 27% of the 1,200 male refugee population between 18 and 60 years of age served in the A.M.F. (compared with 25% of conscripted Australians), while no less than 44% of all male refugees had offered their services.

Resettlement and rehabilitation were not only influenced by xenophonic tendencies; the process was also characterised by these retarding elements:

(a) the disproportionately great number of refugees belonging to the “intelligentsia” (32% professions, 18% manufacturers, 14% skilled tradesmen, 11% merchants, agents, salesmen, 4% farming);

(b) restrictive measures enforced in Australia regarding the admission to practice of doctors, lawyers, dentists, veterinary surgeons, engineers, architects, journalists, etc.;

(c) the age groups concerned having then already passed the middle age brackets on arrival (35%, 36-45 years; 25%, 46-55 years).

Economic conditions improved with the stimulus of war production and import cuts exercising their effect throughout the country. However, the civic status of the refugee, his position as a member of a country at war, left much to be desired. The members of the Military Forces were attached to Labour Units and did not generally enjoy equality with Australian soldiers; civilians were considered police.

The Association of Refugees

The desire for a special organisational representation of refugees was born almost at the time of their arrival; it ripened under the experience of the internment and materialised in 1943. The Association of Refugees was founded as an independent self-help organisation based upon non-sectarian and non-political principles. The benefits of the activities of the new organisation, which was joined by the refugees in record numbers, soon became noticeable to members and non-members alike: The indiscriminate enforcement of compulsory service in civilian labour units was averted, recognition of the status of “friendly aliens” was achieved in an amazingly short time, irksome restrictive measures were eased and a general improvement in the relations of refugees to their Australian fellow-citizens followed. The work of the Association was greatly facilitated and its voice strengthened when in 1946 it began to publish its own monthly periodical “The New Citizen.”

As the war progressed, the refugees had their share in a general
economic boom. New industries were created, full employment was available to all, retail shops were opened and—with the passing of time—professional men finished their second university courses in Australia and established their practices. The crowning achievement of the Association of Refugees came in 1944 when almost to a man all arrivals of the 1938/39 period were naturalised. Australia thus was the first British Commonwealth country to grant a citizenship to German and Austrian refugees.

Post-War Immigration

The end of the war found a refugee community comparatively well established in industry, the trades and the professions. When in 1946/48 a second wave of Jewish immigration from Europe and Shanghai reached Australia, conditions met by these new arrivals were essentially different. In these years the Association of New Citizens (as the former Association of Refugees had been renamed at the end of the war) discharged a multitude of self-imposed duties for the benefit of the new arrivals, at the same time preparing itself for the new problems of the post-war years.

By the end of 1950 there were about 12,000 Jewish refugees in Australia, of whom 10,000 are estimated to have originated from Germany and Austria. Within the following four years about 3,000 more joined their compatriots, bringing the total of Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria to about 13,000. Of a total of 17,000 Central European Refugees about 40-42% are from Germany and about 33% from Austria.

Typical of post-war problems specific to the refugee community in this country are the fight against anti-semitism, prejudice and discrimination, the improvement of the registration regulations of foreign academic graduates, the fight against indiscriminate admission of unreformed Nazis, the removal of employment discrimination, the improvement of industrial relationships between migrant and Australian workers, the assimilation and integration of people beyond middle age, the active vigilance against xenophobic tendencies, the facilitation of immigration of so-called “hard core” cases, the search for missing persons and a multitude of other tasks that were energetically and efficiently tackled by the A.N.C.

In May 1954 the Association of New Citizens went into voluntary liquidation, as it was considered by its governing body that the members no longer sufficiently supported the original aims of the organisation, apparently on account of their much improved economic situation and the feeling that their civic status was safe enough not to require any continued organisational protection.

The refugee communities in Australia to-day present a well consolidated element in the country’s social, economic and cultural life. About 60% are self employed in industry, trade and commerce. The occupational change-over of some groups is remarkable, yet took place smoothly. By and large refugees have become integrated satisfactorily with the life of the Australian Community. There is no unduly high degree of economic distress among them; equally, stories of “grow
rich quickly” refugees are to be discounted. They have neither monopolised certain occupational fields, nor have they been relegated to inferior positions by Australian competition. It can be stated with a fair degree of accuracy that the refugee activities in all spheres of gainful occupations represent a cross section of Australian economic life. In cultural respects Australia is making increasingly good use of the talents and artistic gifts freely available among refugees. Refugees are employed as conductors of State Symphony Orchestras (one from Austria, one from Germany and one from Hungary), refugees have founded and staffed the only permanent Chamber Music Quartet in this country, refugee architects have changed the conventional building style, refugee scientists are employed in Universities and Research Organisations, painters are making a name for themselves, amateurs have established and maintained for 11 years a German language theatre of recognised artistic level, refugee writers and journalists have found their way into publishing houses, refugee lecturers appear on platforms of learned societies—in short both the economic and cultural contributions are continuously expanding and making their marks on the country.

Assimilation

The process of assimilation to the Australian way of life, which is officially not only encouraged but sometimes injudiciously hastened, is not completed and is not likely to succeed within the life span of the present generation. This is easily understandable, as the majority of the refugees have passed the easily assimilable age groups. While this fact, together with still noticeable language difficulties, seems to throw the refugees closer together, there is not a distinct segregation into national groups. Instead, the refugees have developed a kind of “co-existence” with their Australian environment which shows itself in the bi-lingual character of almost all refugee activities. This floating process of “partial assimilation” does not, however, apply to the younger generation. As far as the children of refugees who arrived in Australia while still of pre-school age are concerned, their assimilation appears complete. However, the process seems to have stopped on the surface—most of the second generation refugee children still speak the language of their parents, do not generally seek out their marriage partners among Australians, and move in Australian as well as refugee circles, generally preferring the latter.

Regarding the relationship to Jewish environment, the refugees have been instrumental in the founding of new Synagogues, Jewish day and Sunday schools and other Jewish cultural establishments. A number of Rabbis of Refugee origin are in charge of Australian congregations. With the improvement of the economic position of the refugees, they achieved a general equality with the Australian Jews in congregational status, although within the organisations the refugees have not, so far, been able to make their influence a decisive factor. On the social level only a minority of refugees have established and maintained contact with Australian Jewish circles, while the rest confine themselves to social intercourse within their own community.
W. Heidenfeld (Johannesburg)

COUNTRY WITHOUT "REFUGEES"

Shortly before the war the South African publicist and editor, G. H. Calpin, wrote a book entitled "There are no South Africans." Borrowing his title, to-day one might say "There are no refugees in South Africa."

There were plenty of them in the thirties. Nobody knew—and nobody really knows now—how many. No complete census of the immigrants from Germany and Austria has ever been taken, and estimates vary between 7,000 and 11,000, the higher figure being far more likely. Whatever the figure, it was regarded as sufficiently disturbing by Nationalist spokesmen to urge the Government of the day—the Fusion Government of Hertzog and Smuts—to curb this immigration by the passing, in 1936, of the Aliens Act.

Prior to 1936, immigration into the Union of South Africa was a simple matter, at least for those born in a "non-quota country"—a category that included the whole of western Europe. As a result, many who would not normally have thought of moving as far afield as Africa chose this haven of refuge. At a time when all the world was closed to foreigners, when the aftermaths of the great depression forced even the most liberal-minded countries to reserve for their own nationals the cherished right to work, the Union of South Africa proved not perhaps a land of unlimited possibilities but of very substantial chances.

It is very largely as a result of South Africa's being an early immigration country that to-day "there are no German refugees" in the Union. They have been more fully absorbed than in most other countries; so much so that very little is known of them as a community since the end of the war.

The type of immigrant that was ready as early as the first half of the thirties to leave the confines of Nazism was young and enterprising and demographically valuable. He had not yet or only just begun to found a family and, almost immediately earning a living and perhaps a little more in the new country, soon set about rectifying this omission. Thus by the time the war broke out the refugee community numbered a fair proportion of young children either born in South Africa or having entered the country as toddlers or babes in arms. When recently I spent two years in England what struck me most was the almost total absence of fifteen-to-twenty year olds in the ranks of the refugees—the grown-up children of those days. It was only then that the social significance of the entirely different demographic composition of the South African refugee community dawned on me. For a small child that speaks the language (or, as in South Africa, the languages) of the new country as "his" or "hers" is a much closer bond with the new environment than even the most outstanding social or economic achievement. It is largely to the credit of our "South African" children that the refugees in South
Africa have become so completely identified with the country of their adoption. But there are other reasons as well.

One was the situation in which the refugees found themselves during the war years. This differed rather sharply from their experience in most other western countries. True enough, we too had to endure a wave of "Intern the Lot" agitation, especially from the jingo press in Natal. But it soon became obvious to even the most chauvinistic that such an agitation lacked point in a country in which over one-third of the indigenous population was—to put it mildly—disinclined to take up arms against the enemy. If "the lot" had indeed been interned, there would not have been enough room to intern even the most active Nazi sympathisers among the Afrikaner population. It was only natural for the agitation to die of its own accord, and gradually more and more ex-enemy aliens were accepted for service in the armed forces of the Union.

The third major reason for the far-reaching assimilation that has taken place has to be treated with some delicacy. In most countries that admitted Jewish refugees from Germany, the newcomers were not exactly popular. They were unpopular (a) because they were Jews and (b) because they were Germans. In these respects South Africa was at one with the world. But German or not, Jewish or not, the newcomers at least had a white skin—and therefore automatically became worthy of all the privileges that white South Africa reserves for itself. Under the prompting and influence of Nazism attempts were made by such movements as the Greyshirts and Black-shirts to have all Jews treated as "Asiatics," but nothing came of these efforts in a country that has real race problems to cope with and therefore cannot squander its energies on trumped-up ones. South African anti-Semitism is not racial—it cannot afford to be.

And thus we have the ironical position that the oppressed and persecuted of one country smoothly and without visible effort became an integral part of the ruling community in another. This is not to say that German refugees have joined the extreme Nationalists or are openly advocating apartheid. But I know a good few who, in their attitude toward the Native population, vie with the most rabid Afrikaner on the platteland; and hardly anybody who would stick out his neck on behalf of the non-European population. The majority are no doubt slightly uneasy about it all and to ease their conscience are doing all they can in the way of charity. They maintain that it cannot be their job to change the South African way of life even if they wanted to, and that, by accepting South African hospitality, they accepted South African (white South African) standards.

These, then, are the forces that have helped to obliterate the identity of the German refugees as a group. As a result of this development no reliable data as regards age and sex composition, social and economic activities, financial position, etc., of the erstwhile refugees are obtainable. What is known is that a great number of refugees have done extremely well in South Africa, and that on the whole they are likely to have prospered more than in any other country. How well they have done remains a matter for conjecture and speculation.
What is known are the results of a very incomplete and entirely out-of-date inquiry into the economic status of the refugees which the South African Jewish Board of Deputies carried out shortly before the war, largely with a view to counteracting the charges that the refugees constituted a burden on the South African labour market. Even at that early stage—and to-day the position is undoubtedly more favourable—it was found that for every 10 refugees employed with South African firms, direct employment had been created for 13 white South Africans and 25 natives through the establishment of industrial and commercial enterprises by refugees. Many of these were non-competitive, introducing as they did new lines of manufacturing into an industrially young country. Among the lines specially mentioned at the time were the manufacture of tube-mills for the mines; road metal and bitumen products; the smelting of antimony alloys; the manufacture of type metal for printers; the storage and treatment of furs; and the manufacture of an infinite variety of toys, fancy goods and the like.

However, the greatest contribution made by the refugees to South African economy lies in the field of aesthetics. For many years commercial art was an almost exclusive reserve of this group. Tourists who to-day admire the displays in the shops of Adderley Street, Capetown, or Eloff Street, Johannesburg, may not believe that a short twenty years ago a “big” businessman told a refugee window-dresser “Whether you put my stuff this way or that way in the window won’t bring me a quarter of the salary I have to pay you!” Window dressing, poster designing and all the advertising arts owe a great deal to the newcomers; and this was accompanied by a general rise in the level of taste in many other fields. Music was one of them, appreciation of films, especially Continental films, another. Johannesburg—which to-day, at a rough estimate, contains at least two-thirds of all German refugees in the Union—benefited most. On its hectic journey from mining camp via dull British provincial town to Americanised metropolis it stopped to absorb some of the graces of the Continent.

To-day both the indigenous population and the refugees themselves take this development for granted. The latter have become part of the former and look askance at the artificial discrimination between the two. Even in their communal and organisational life a certain assimilation is noticeable. It is true that the refugees are still very proud of “their” Parents’ Home—a magnificent Old Age Home conceived and built at their own initiative to solve a pressing communal problem; and that some of them cling to their own religious organisation, the Hebrew Congregation Etz Chayim. But where it is a matter of wider cultural interests, they have lost their identity almost completely.

The refugees of twenty years ago are busy with their careers, their families and the political problems of South Africa. Germany is a small country six thousand miles away in which they happened to live a generation ago till they were driven out. To-day they are South Africans.
Within the overall picture of Jewish emigration from Germany, Austria and other Eastern European countries which came under Nazi domination, India has throughout played a very minor rôle. The reasons are obvious enough: it was a far away and almost unknown country which hardly offered scope for permanent settlement and in which only very few Continental Jews had any personal relations. As a matter of fact, the first refugees were indeed relatives or friends of Continental Jews who were living in India as employees of a few business houses engaged in international trade. Of these, less than a dozen lived in Bombay and a few others in the other cities of India.

From 1933 onwards, a handful of refugees had been arriving year after year but as the situation in Europe grew more serious—and it became increasingly difficult to enter "normal" countries of emigration—the number of refugees rose steadily during the pre-war years. As far back as in 1934, the refugees—under the guidance of the late Mr. A. W. Rosenfeld—had organized in Bombay a "Juedischer Hilfsverein," later transformed into the Jewish Relief Association, Bombay, to render assistance to refugees in financial and other difficulties. Subsequently branches were opened in Calcutta and Madras. By and by, the Association was formally registered as a Society and also secured recognition by the authorities; later still, with the backing of a guarantee from Woburn House, London, the Association was also permitted to sponsor the immigration of further refugees from Europe, including quite a number of persons who were passing through Bombay on their way to Shanghai. What had been a mere trickle from 1933 to 1938 became almost an avalanche—in proportion to the available opportunities—in 1939 and by the time the war broke out, well over one thousand Continental refugees, together with their families, had arrived in India. It may here be mentioned that during the subsequent period large numbers of Jews from Poland and other countries which had been overrun by the Nazis also began to arrive.

Most prominent amongst the German and Austrian group were doctors and dentists of whom about a hundred had come to the country in the pre-war period and had, in consultation with the Committee of the Jewish Relief Association, settled all over India. Their establishment was facilitated by the fact that those who possessed Italian degrees—and a good number came here after having practised in Italy for a few years—were under a reciprocal arrangement with Italy automatically recognised and were properly registered. But also those who had only German or Austrian degrees were permitted to practise; in certain parts of India, however, legislation was subsequently introduced which prevented further doctors from practising in those territories. A few of these Continental doctors were engaged by Maharajahs as their personal physicians and were put in charge
of the medical services of Native States. The vast majority of refugee doctors joined the army during the war.

As regards those of other professions, quite a number were given employment in some of the Continental business houses and some in business houses controlled by Sephardic Jews established in India as British Indians, whose forbears had come from Baghdad. Mention should be made here of Sir Victor Sassoon—the international financier and sportsman—who employed large numbers in his firm of E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd., Bombay, and who also took a prominent part in the formation of the Association and in its subsequent support, a support which still continues. On the other hand, it proved almost impossible to interest English undertakings in the fate of the refugees, one of the main reasons being that these refugees were prepared to accept salaries substantially below what Englishmen would consider a minimum wage and were thus regarded as unwelcome competitors. Indian firms, on the other hand, were prepared to engage only those who possessed very specialised qualifications; there were hardly any suitable candidates amongst those who arrived but the Committee was able to bring out a number of such technical experts on contracts with Indian firms.

War Years

When war broke out in September, 1939, a substantial number of the refugees had not yet been absorbed into the economic life of the country. Fortunately, with the exception of a few, their internment only lasted a short time, though a further small group was re-interned after the fall of France (some of them for the duration), and when they were released, prospects of finding employment or of starting their own business had improved considerably. The war years brought a definite settlement for most refugees whilst those who fared poorly or were unemployable were supported by the Jewish Relief Association which, amongst other activities, ran a large hostel. The spirit of solidarity which united the refugees and those already settled here was a very gratifying feature and the regular financial contributions to the Association from all groups of Jews made it possible for the Committee to see that no refugee in India suffered serious hardship during all those difficult years.

On the conclusion of the war, many who had secured temporary asylum here, particularly those with children, prepared their departure to countries where they could hope to find a permanent home. The number of Continental Jewish refugees therefore declined steadily during the post-war period and at present only a few hundred are left in India.

Owing to the special conditions prevailing in India, it is not surprising that very few refugees have grown real roots in this country. Whilst they were certainly free from the prejudices which made personal contact with Indians so difficult for most Englishmen, the differences of culture and outlook existed and were hard to surmount. One of the main obstacles, naturally, proved the language, as hardly
any refugees learnt any Indian language to perfection. It is probably also correct to say that in the years of struggle for their national liberation, many Indians were not anxious to have close personal contact with Europeans; moreover, during the war years, any close contact between refugees and Indians was viewed with suspicion by the English authorities.

On the other hand, the refugees made an important contribution to Jewish life in India by helping to bridge the gulf existing between the two local Jewish communities, the Sephardic Jews of Baghdad origin and the Bene Israel communities. They were, as a matter of fact, instrumental in founding the Central Jewish Board of Bombay, the first organisation which comprised representatives of all three Jewish communities and which occasionally took up with the Government Jewish problems of general concern. Furthermore, the Jewish Relief Association had enrolled quite a number of non-European Jews as members, some of whom served on the Committee for many years. After the war the Association has gradually extended its scope to assist the indigent Jews of the two local communities amongst whom shocking poverty prevails. The plight of the poor of the local communities has been aggravated partly through a lack of co-ordination of charitable activities and, during recent years, partly because of the winding up of some large Jewish concerns like the aforementioned group of E. D. Sassoon.

As in other countries, Jewish refugees have made a significant contribution to the scientific and cultural life of the country that gave them shelter. Some of the refugee doctors have advanced medical conditions both in the administrative field and by research. Other Jewish refugees were prominent in the musical life of India and a few distinguished themselves in art exhibitions, the administration of museums and as teachers in universities. Some few also started a number of industries of their own and in the service of Indian industrialists. How far those, who are still staying in the country, will remain here permanently, is difficult to foretell as it will, in the first instance, depend on economic conditions. But all those who have come to India, either temporarily or semi-permanently, acknowledge with gratitude the understanding that the authorities and the citizens of India have shown of their problems and the many acts of kindness which they have received. They are grateful for the well-known spirit of tolerance which has always been characteristic of the people of India, one of the few countries in the world where anti-semitism has always been, and has remained, unknown.
REPORT FROM BRAZIL

The following will mainly be concerned with the history of the immigration which has been taking place in Sao Paulo since 1933. There has been no really exhaustive study which would enable us to give a complete picture of Jewish immigration from Germany and Austria to Brazil. Let us only state here that in Rio de Janeiro there is also a considerable number of our immigrants, and that Jewish organisations also exist in Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte.

Until 1933 and then until 1936, Brazil was an ideal country for immigrants. There were none of the usual stringent practical restrictions which applied to immigrants to other countries, and here, soon after their arrival, they were able to legalise their status. After 1936 restrictions began to creep in which in 1939 in fact became a bar to Jewish immigration. Today the number of German and Austrian Jews in Sao Paulo must represent some 25% of the total number, which is estimated to be 35,000, making the German and Austrian Jewish population approximately 10,000; in Rio, the number of former German and Austrian Jews is estimated at 6,500.

Up to the beginning of the war Brazil suffered from the results of a severe crisis. Capitalists coming into the country invested cautiously, but often lost their initial investments. Technical experts easily found work. So did secretaries and nurses. Experienced representatives with specialised knowledge were soon travelling the country.

Intellectuals, merchants and former employees had a much harder time. Only very few had changed their professions or found their professional experience adequate. Yet this country with its constant striving for progress gave endless opportunities to men of energy and initiative. Doctors who were not allowed to practise without passing further examinations were able to become partners of practising physicians or advertising executives of chemical factories, or masseurs or chiroprists. Pharmacists went into partnership with Brazilian colleagues, and the same applied to dentists. Similarly, lawyers co-operated with Brazilian law firms and specialised in legal questions relating to their former home countries. Thus they were able to attract a new clientele of their own origin. Others with legal training became book-keepers or commercial consultants and, over the years, built up large and prosperous practices.

Merchants rarely started in employment. Even today the number of employees among the immigrants is small. People with specialised qualifications were soon able to become independent. Only then did they have the opportunity for rapid and unlimited expansion combined with equivalent risks. But it is inherent in the development of new countries that economic setbacks do not bring capitis diminutio with them. One can always start again.
Many of those who today own flourishing concerns began below the lowest rung of the ladder. Shirt manufacturers with turnovers running into millions started as repair tailors. The repair tailors soon owned their own little businesses, and these in their turn developed into prosperous concerns. The same applied in all spheres.

The War Boom

Hitler's war brought prosperity to many. Although Brazil fought on the side of the Allies, it found itself from one day to the next on the crest of an unprecedented boom. A country rich in raw materials, an industrial "park," outside bomber range, it was never able to keep up with export demands. Those immigrants who were businessmen and also some of the younger and more enterprising intellectuals soon adapted themselves to the situation. They brought two essential qualities which the older inhabitants lacked: patience and the ability to cope with endless formalities and paperwork inevitable in a war-time economy. At the same time their friends and acquaintances, now scattered all over the world, especially the three Americas, very soon provided a network of business contacts.

Following the tradition of this country, which recognises wealth only in the form of land, houses and skyscrapers, many immigrants soon invested in real estate. During the war the immigrants were treated as enemy aliens and were prohibited by law to sell their property. This law was not revoked until ten years later. In this time the value of real estate increased tenfold. Immigrants who owned real estate were therefore legally forced to make considerable profits.

The immigrants have made a noteworthy contribution in the industrial field. Here, too, a few examples must suffice. A group of Jewish chemists, refugees from Vichy France, invented a new method of producing coffein, menthol, etc. This formed the basis of a chemical concern which today plays an important part in the field of atomic energy.

An immigrant from South Germany has, in little more than ten years, built up the biggest and most modern toy factory in South America, with a capital of 100,000,000 Brazilian dollars. There are many Jewish manufacturers of metal goods, some of them equipped with the latest machinery, which make Brazil independent of the import of many precision goods.

In the haute couture, too, our immigrants play a large part. Designers visit Paris once or twice a year, to purchase the latest models in gowns and furs. In the fashionable streets most of the window dressings are designed by immigrants. The same applies to interior decoration.

The writing of a complete history of the economic development of the immigrant community would be a rewarding task for any young economist. Here we can do no more than touch on its most vital aspects. It is possible to declare without any exaggeration that many immigrants have been successful here and have achieved standards of
living which would have been beyond their wildest expectations in their countries of origin.

Naturally, there are some, mostly elderly people, who cannot cope with the tempo and the changed living conditions, who have a very hard existence and, in cases of illness, have to turn to the community. Fortunately some of these have benefited under the Restitution Laws and have regained some of their former possessions.

Culture

The relatively quick and successful adaptation to economic conditions does not have its counterpart in the cultural sphere. Only quite a small number of intellectuals and artists emigrated to Brazil. As the country of their adoption had no strong cultural life of its own, the immigrants, whose formative years were spent in their country of origin, tended to cherish and develop their cultural heritage. Another important factor was the language barrier. Portuguese, or, more precisely, Brazilian, was as foreign to the immigrants as was the whole of Portuguese culture. As a result, the immigrants tended to confine themselves to the use of their language of origin in all their cultural activities.

They do, of course, visit Brazilian theatres and subscribe to cultural institutions, which invite internationally celebrated artists to their functions. They buy Brazilian works of art, often created by modern Brazilian artists. But there are very few of whom one could say that they have made a noteworthy contribution to Brazilian culture or have been influenced by it in any deep sense. In some branches of science, however, immigrants can lay claim to outstanding achievements.

The younger generation, on the other hand, is quite differently placed. For those who still went to school or began their careers in Brazil, their language is Brazilian and their children speak it with their parents, brothers and sisters and friends. For them, German is the "grand”-mother language! This younger generation also has a much greater contact with Brazilians. Social intercourse tends—as in most Latin countries—to take place outside the home.

One consequence of this general lack of cultural contact is the rarity of intermarriage and of conversions to Catholicism. On the other hand, the number of girls who have been converted to Judaism in order to marry Jewish men is considerably greater. We do, however, have the impression that in recent years intermarriage has increased among members of the younger generation who no longer have contact with their parents' home. But there is no statistical proof of this.

Most of our children go to State-controlled private schools. Only very few visit Jewish schools. Many have achieved distinction at the University.
Relationship with Established Community

The relationship of the new Jewish immigrants with already existing Jewish groups passed through several stages.

The possibility existed at the outset that out of the help given by all Jewish circles to the new immigrants something more than a committee—a community—would be formed.

However, in 1935 the differences of approach to the work of relief and assistance led to the formation of a Committee consisting mainly of German Jews to which extensive funds were made available by the Joint. This Committee became the nucleus of an immigrant organisation, the Congregacao Israelita Paulista (C.I.P.), which, with its 2,000 member families and its budget of five million Brazilian dollars, has developed into one of the largest immigrants' congregations in America.

The special legislation of the Dictatorship resulted in an entirely unnecessary internal Jewish conflict, which poisoned the atmosphere for more than ten years and left deep scars in the body of Brazilian Jewry. At that time Zionism was prohibited by law in Brazil. Under the guise of “Help for victims of Nazi persecution” and “Help for war victims,” the World Jewish Congress organised the collection of funds, some of which were used for Zionist ends. This resulted in a conflict between the Joint and the World Jewish Congress.

The new immigrants, who owed the founding of the C.I.P. to the financial aid of the Joint, naturally supported the Joint. As, however, the World Congress was the representative of Zionism in Brazil, an antagonism arose—often quite subconscious—which equated W.J.C. v. Joint with Zionism v. Anti-Zionism. The C.I.P., which supported the Joint, was labelled anti-Zionist, and the remainder of the Jewish population, consisting largely of Eastern Jews, regarded the new immigrants with mistrust, even with enmity.

At this same time—after one unsuccessful attempt in 1939—the first steps were taken in the creation of a Superior Executive Jewish Body, with the founding of the Federation of Brazilian Jewish Organisations in Sao Paulo. In this the C.I.P. played a leading part, but it withdrew its membership in 1948, when an attempt was made to transform it into a section of the W.J.C. For the past two years, however, the C.I.P. has once more become a constituent of the Federation as also of the Superior Body, the “Confederation of Representative Jewish Organisations in Brazil” (Cercib).

Our community not only takes a very active part in collecting funds for the United Jewish Appeal, but participates in all important communal activities.

On official occasions we often play a bigger rôle than our numerical position would warrant. The integrity of the leading men of our circle gives them an ever-increasing influence on the development of Jewish life as a whole. The journal sponsored by the C.I.P., the “Cronica Israelita,” has a standard which gives it first place among the Jewish papers in Brazil.

We are further responsible for the first Jewish didactic and religious publications in Brazilian. Machsorim and prayer books have been compiled which are also extensively used outside the immediate circles of the C.I.P. The Rabbi of the C.I.P. has a chair of Hebrew at the University of Sao Paulo.

Inside the Federation the difference of origin and political tradition among its members manifests itself in various ways. On the whole
one can say that in a country with a liberal and democratic “Weltanschauung,” but where politics is in practice a profitable if slightly shady business, the average individual cannot make any very strong contribution to political life. So long as the principles of equality are not called into question—and there are radical tendencies, which have no influence in parliament—politics do not make any active demands on the citizen.

The younger generation, in all immigrant circles, like its Brazilian counterpart, is taking an ever-increasing interest in politics. Jews are also putting up candidates at elections, but as yet there is no former German Jew among them; this would anyhow not be possible for legal reasons, as, generally, naturalised Brazilians are barred from a seat in the House.

**Outlook for the Future**

The fact that we have been able to report so favourably on the situation of our group in Sao Paulo in no way frees us from the responsibility of indicating our fears for the future of this community. What will happen to its Jewish tradition when those who can remember and compare are no longer with us? No one wishes to relive the past. But as yet there are few signs in our circles of an amalgamation of the old and the new. Up to now there has been no close collaboration between the younger generation of all the various national groups in striving toward a common goal. Moreover, it is questionable how such collaboration could be brought about, so long as the form and content of this goal is not clear.

There is no doubt that Israel is having a strong influence on our attitude to many questions. But here, again, one must ask whether the strength of this influence, and the readiness to be influenced, will remain the same if the inner balance should be shaken.

But whatever doubts we may have about the future, there can be no doubt at all that the men and women led by fate or choice to this town have done a fine job for themselves and their community, in preserving the dignity of the homeless; in offering new possibilities to those left without a means of subsistence; in educating children in the faith of their fathers; in helping and advising less fortunate members of the older generation; all in all, to provide a starting point for the development of a new community. Now it is the task of those who have been given new roots, whose own existence is once more secure, to forge their own path into the future.

The new immigrants of Sao Paulo have become self-sufficient and fully capable of guiding their own lives. As individuals, no less than as a group, they are now mature.
Max Hermann Maier (Rolandia, Brazil)

SETTLING IN THE JUNGLE

The settlements founded by emigrants from Germany after 1933 in the surrounding districts of the town of Rolandia in the state of Paraná in Brasil are situated between the 23rd and 24th Latitudes and 51st and 52nd Longitudes. They are from 2,000 feet to 2,400 feet above sea level and the climate is sub-tropical. To-day the district can be reached from Sao Paulo by train in about 22 hours or by plane in just under two hours. When the first settlers arrived the area was largely jungle. The transformation from jungle to civilization and the cultivation of maize, rice, beans and, above all, coffee have been brought about with such rapidity, that the oldest settlers look back on the period of fifteen to twenty years ago as an almost “prehistoric” era. Indeed, recollections of these times are now being written, so that the younger generation, growing up under completely different conditions, may realise what it used to be like when their fathers and grandfathers, exiled from Europe, began to build a new life for themselves under the most primitive conditions in the jungle. Since that time, not only has the whole world undergone great changes, but also the formerly little known Rolandia has assumed a new importance. Together with the new and expanded coffee producing zone of North Paraná, it has become one of the vital factors in the world coffee market. Moreover, living as we do at the edge of the jungle, we have felt more acutely than the big towns the economic inter-dependence of the world; especially during the war when petroleum and gasoline were scarce and when we took the place of Asia in supplying Menthol-oil and nut-oil.

From 1933 to the outbreak of war some sixty families emigrated to Rolandia from Germany due to the rise of National Socialism. Of these sixty families only ten were of Jewish faith. Numerically a very small community. It has always been the case that Jews do not settle easily in isolated places and, even less, in jungle territory, remote from the towns. In this case, even the additional temptation of being able to buy jungle territory with marks in Germany, attracted very few although this meant that they were able to transfer their capital at a much more advantageous rate. However, this method of transfer via the English company, Paraná Plantations Ltd., enabled the immigrants to invest their capital and also to obtain their Brasilian visas. Very few of the immigrants had been farmers in Germany; most of them had worked in towns and thus had to reorientate themselves completely. The fact that they succeeded is due to their determination, to the excellent soil eminently suitable for growing their main product, coffee—and to the fine communal spirit among the settlers. In the first years many difficulties had to be overcome, many sacrifices made. But to compensate for all this hardship, there was the wonderful feeling of living on one’s own land in freedom, in a country that knew nothing of racial discrimination.
Once the most elementary practical problems had been solved, the new settlers of Rolanda began, quite deliberately, to shape their way of life. They sought to retain the Western cultural heritage whilst at the same time fitting in with and understanding the special conditions prevailing in Brasil. In the dwelling-houses on the different plantations, which are several miles apart, lectures are arranged, there is a great deal of music and singing, and visitors from all over the world are cordially received. Everyone seeks to share his own particular knowledge with others. Rolanda does not have its own Jewish Community, but it is closely linked with the Congregacao Israelita in Sao Paulo in many ways, and its paper, the "Cronica Israelita," is read on the Jewish plantations. These also receive "Aufbau" and "Commentary" and keep in touch with events in Israel. Occasional services have been held by rabbis from Sao Paulo and from the U.S.A. The extent to which the Jewish religion is practiced here, depends largely on the spirit of each separate house, for the instruction of the children, be it by the parents or by tutors, takes place only on the Fazendas. On the other hand in Rolanda itself a High School and several private schools have recently been opened to supplement the elementary school; but in the early days of the settlement, the children came from neighbouring plantations on horseback through the jungle to visit whichever farm was being used as a school.

As is to be expected in such a district as this, there is no native population, even less an indigenous Jewish Community. Once jungle territory like this is opened, a stream of newcomers—Brasilians of Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German origin, as well as many Negroes and Mulattoes—arrives, without any traditions or ties with the past, anxious only to civilize the district as quickly as possible. The Nazi victims from Germany have given Rolanda its character, although they form only one per cent. of the total population and are in no way a unified community.

What will be the future of this strange community, especially of the younger Jewish generation, is hard to say. Both older and younger generations of immigrants have almost all become naturalised Brasilians citizens; children born in Brasil become Brasilians automatically. All beliefs and creeds are tolerated in Brasil. The division between Church and State is complete, although the social and political influence of the Catholic Church is still quite considerable. Nevertheless there are few parts of the world where man can live according to his own beliefs and inclinations with so little interference: a great boon for the older people, but, at the same time, a danger for the youngsters. For they have never experienced the truth of Hillel's dictum: "If I care only for myself, who am I?" However, the older generation is striving to keep alive a consciousness of its origin and of the traditions of Judaism among the Jewish youth. Thus one may hope that, living so close to nature, the younger generation will draw from it a vital spiritual and religious impetus.
Kurt Julius Riegner (Buenos Aires)

A FATE APART IN ARGENTINA

From 1933 onwards, there was a steady flow of German-speaking Jews to Argentina, but numbers were not large in the early stages. From the end of 1935 to the middle of 1938 this movement reached its peak, encouraged by an immigration policy which was conceived in generous terms and applied even more liberally. Conditions did not change until August, 1938, when a Government decree made the admission of immigrants conditional upon an invitation by close relatives ("llamada") or specialist qualifications, in particular agricultural training. From that time onwards, the number of immigrants steadily declined.

The number of German-speaking Jews amounts to about 40,000. The overwhelming majority live in the capital, Buenos Aires, or in its suburbs. There are only very few German-Jewish families in the large and medium-sized towns of the interior, with the sole exception of the I.C.A. settlements containing just under two hundred families of German-Jewish origin, i.e. about six hundred people.

From the moment of his arrival, the immigrant has, in some fields, the same rights as those who were born in the country and have long been established there. Residential restrictions, labour permits, compulsory registration: all those regulations applied in over-populated Europe to aliens are practically unknown in Argentina. However, the sphere of politics and political organisation, even, to a large extent, cultural activity are the carefully guarded preserve of the established citizen, born in the country.

Thus the law entitles the immigrant to apply for naturalisation after only two years' residence in Argentina, and the constitution established in 1949 under Juan Domingo Peron, the present president, provides for the automatic acquisition of citizenship after five years' residence in the country. In practice, however, naturalisation papers will only be obtained after a discouragingly long sequence of formalities, and the procedure is not so simple as it appears at first sight.

Even when citizenship has been obtained, however, it does not entail full civic equality. The naturalised citizen obtains the right to vote only after five years' waiting, doubtless a unique phenomenon in constitutional law, and he cannot be elected a national deputy for a further five years and is permanently debarred from election to national senator. His papers, even his passport, show him to be a naturalised Argentinian, and certain public offices, as well as the higher civil service, are inaccessible to him partly by law and partly by tradition.

This explains why so far only a relatively small number of German-speaking Jews have acquired Argentinian citizenship—no figures are available—and why practically no one in this group has obtained the right to vote, except in the case of persons who immigrated before or soon after 1933. Apart from its effects on the immigrant's mind and psychology, this circumstance is of importance, above all, in the passport question. As long as there was no German diplomatic representation in Argentina, a very liberal regulation enabled German Jews to obtain an Argentinian foreigner's passport, when they were planning a trip abroad. As a result of the formal difficulties connected with naturalisation, not a few German-speaking Jews have in the last few years decided to re-apply for German citizenship. This certainly highly debatable attitude is often condemned by other sections of the Jewish community which, of course, have been established in the country for a longer period. It goes without saying that active participation in the political life of Argentina in any form is impossible for Jews from Germany in view of their civic status.

It is, however, not only the political and constitutional sphere which is difficult of access for the immigrant, but also the cultural sphere. An active cultural role in Argentinian life is the almost exclusive preserve of people belonging to the traditional Latín element rooted in the country for generations.
The great liberality of Argentinian life on the one hand, and the restrictions in the civic and cultural spheres on the other, greatly favour the formation of national groups with a life of their own. Just as in other countries of immigration, and perhaps even more so, ethnic, linguistic or cultural links have created communities leading a life apart from that of the Argentinian people in general. There is an Italian, a Spanish, an Arabic and a North American community, as well as many others, each of them self-sufficient, with its own public and social life, often resident in certain districts of the capital or of the interior, with its own institutions, its own forms of social work and a press written in its own language.

Among these communities in Argentina which stand out as a result of their ethnic and cultural characteristics, the Jewish group plays an important, even an eminent part, because it is numerous and highly organised, and within this Jewish group, which, in accordance with the character of the first large wave of immigration, has predominantly Russian-Jewish features, a Sephardic, a Polish-Jewish and, as the most recent member, a German-Jewish group stand out no less clearly.

Modest Beginnings

In the years before 1940, most of the former German Jews worked in the retail trade, especially as house-to-house agents with their characteristic portfolios—which, in Argentina, constitute a most striking piece of equipment—or small cases containing samples. The articles traded were things of everyday use, and the clientèle often consisted exclusively of one's own circle of friends. Those who had some minor post and could therefore count on a regular fixed income were almost admired and often envied in those years. But even then there were enterprising people who began themselves to produce articles of consumption on a very small scale, generally at home, and those more fortunate people whose specialised technical knowledge, machines or capital which they had managed to bring with them enabled them to open small factories of their own.

Later, however, with a gradual beginning in 1940 and a rapid upward trend in 1943, a change occurred, and five years later the group of German-speaking Jews had reached an economic level far above all expectations. They were not only helped by an undreamt-of economic development of Argentina, favoured by world events, but they contributed their own experience and knowledge, which greatly benefited the country. They understood in time the conditions prevailing in an inflationary economy and recognised the prospects which were bound to await light industry in Argentina. In many cases, ties of family or friendship with people in other countries and continents proved useful. Thus it is not surprising that at the end of this stage of development Jews from Germany and Austria had achieved an extraordinarily favourable position, which they still hold, a position in many cases considerably more favourable than that which they had abandoned in the countries of their origin or had ever felt they could hope for.

To-day, German-speaking Jews are working in many branches of economic life: in trade, in industrial production, as small- or large-scale entrepreneurs or as employees in a leading position, and their achievements in this sphere represent an important contribution to the building-up of Argentina's economy. Large undertakings in the textile, chemical and pharmaceutical industries, in electrical engineering and manufactured goods have been built up or jointly created by Jews from Germany, who thus directly contributed to the economic rise of the country by the introduction of new methods and forms of work. A by no means insignificant part of the Argentinian export and especially of the import trade is in the hands of German-speaking Jews, quite apart from numerous small-scale factories.

It may even be asserted that in certain spheres German-speaking Jews have helped in shaping the economic features of present-day Argentina. Thus the creation of a new type of clothing business, especially of ladies' clothing, offers elegant clothes, made from first-class models, at prices suited to the
pocket of the middle income group. Mention must also be made of the introduction of stores with uniformly priced articles, a type hitherto practically unknown in Argentina, and lastly, and above all: the re-shaping, loosening-up and modernisation of the style of interior decoration, which is due almost exclusively to the achievements of German-speaking Jews.

Compared with people who had a business background or one of business and technology, conditions were of course more difficult for the professions, whose titles and diplomas did not allow them to practise in Argentina. Only very few succeeded in the years before the war in obtaining recognition of a European legal or medical qualification by means of a supplementary examination, or in acquiring an Argentinian diploma by means of repeating a full University course, which in some cases entailed even sitting again for the matriculation examination. At the beginning most of these professional people therefore felt compelled to engage in some sort of business activity or to take up some minor ancillary work in their former professional field, often in difficult circumstances. Later on, some of them found their way back to their own profession. A number of doctors was employed in public hospitals, thus achieving a limited right to practise their profession. Those with legal training generally encountered greater difficulties, but if they were not re-admitted, they found a niche in fields close to their professions as economic and legal advisers, as tax experts or accountants, in restitution work or, sometimes, in important work in insurance. Thus, the integration of professional people is now, after initial difficulties, happily completed.

For those occupied in intellectually creative or interpretative work, of whom there were relatively many among the immigrants, things were much more difficult. It is nevertheless true to say that the Jews from Germany have also made their contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of Argentina. Without any claim to completeness and merely to give an approximate idea of what has been achieved, we shall mention a few names.

**Contributions to Music and Theatre**

The most significant contributions are probably those of people of German-Jewish origin to the musical life of Argentina and to its theatre. There are German Weil and his wife, Hilde Heinitz de Weil, founders of the Weil string quartet, known as cello, viola and violin soloists, who have also founded a conservatory with a school for chamber music enjoying a very special reputation. Dr. Erwin Leuchter is known as a practising musician and musicologist, and his wife, the late Rita Kurzmann de Leuchter, distinguished herself as a pianist. Special credit is due to Guillermo Graetzer for his work in organising music lovers in the capital. He founded the Collegium Musicum Society and conducts choruses. One of the most prominent figures in Argentinian musical life is orchestral conductor Teodoro Fuchs, son of Rabbi Dr. Hugo Fuchs, of Chemnitz. More than ten years ago, Fuchs founded the State Orchestra of the province of Córdoba, and to-day conducts large orchestras, including State Orchestras, in Buenos Aires. Hermann Ludwig, too, is a very active conductor. Young Gerardo Levy is employed as a soloist for flute in the municipal orchestra of Buenos Aires, which also plays at the world-famous Teatro Colón. He is the son of German-Jewish parents and received his musical training in Argentina. Walter Selbig, a young pianist, works at the municipal opera of the town of Eva Perón (formerly La Plata), the capital of the Province of Buenos Aires. The soprano Hilde Mattauch, and the violinist Professor Josef Zimblser, from Vienna, achieved distinction in numerous concerts, the latter despite his advancing years. The late Dr. Georg Pauly worked in divers fields: as a lecturer on music and drama, as an actor and producer at the Teatro Colón and at the opera of Eva Perón. Dr. Otto Erhardt has for years occupied an important post as a leading producer at the Teatro Colón. The actress Hedwig Schllichter has founded a widely known children's theatre, for which she writes herself, and she also directs a school of drama. Jacques Arndt also acts in a number of theatres and has lately distinguished himself in the production of television programmes. Martin Eisler, a well-known pioneer in interior decoration, also works on stage sets.
In other fields of cultural life, too, German-speaking Jews have achieved prominence. Above all, mention must be made of Dr. Sigisfredo S. Krebs, who made a name for himself by his excellent translations and who supplied Spanish renderings of almost fifty scientific and literary works by well-known authors for the first time. The late Paul Zech, the poet, did some of his work in Spanish. The writings of Erna C. de Schlesinger on Jewish subjects have found a wide hearing among the general public. In the field of publishing and of children’s literature, too, German-speaking Jews have made important contributions. In art, Ignaz Kaufmann, the portrait painter, who is also a well-known art collector, distinguished himself. Pablo Kainz, the bookseller and antique dealer, who specialises in Spanish and French books, is known for his work in this field. The architect Alfredo Gellhorn achieved prominence in town planning and was given a post by the Buenos Aires municipal authorities as a result of his important work. In the field of applied graphic arts, mention must be made of the late Jacobo Hermelin, who played a leading part in the introduction of artistic book wrappers, of Walter Wind and of the late Federico Salender. In law, Dr. Ernesto Krotoschin achieved prominence. He investigated Argentinian labour legislation, which has for some years been developing at a very active pace, with particular emphasis on comparative law, and he was the first to summarise it in systematic fashion. His brilliant work has made him a recognised authority on this subject, and he has already been frequently quoted by the Argentinian Supreme Court. The late Professor Dr. Martin Wassermann wrote a number of publications on trade-mark, mark and patent law. Among the chess players who represent Argentina in international tournaments is Hermann Pilnik. In sport, too, especially in athletics, German Jews have achieved some prominence. German-Jewish teams have contributed considerably to the popularisation of table-tennis, and a number of women, among them the sisters Ruth and Ilse Caro, who have since emigrated to the United States, as well as Inge Melo, have won Argentinian athletic titles and represented the country in international competitions with outstanding success.

Community Life

Social conditions and the attitude of the surrounding world equally favoured the development of a strongly pronounced community life. However, a retrospective survey of the development of communal consciousness and communal life among German-speaking Jews in Argentina reveals that its impulses, after an initial élan, have gradually weakened. It was soon forgotten that the building up of a new Jewish life in a new country is part of the substance of Jewish history, and not its least important part, and that the German Jews had been its protagonists.

Numerically the most important organisation of German-speaking Jews is the Asociación Filantropica Israelita, originally called the Hilfsverein. Today, its tasks consist mainly in the care of the old and sick, of special cases whose social integration presents difficulties, and of the children. At San Miguel, near Buenos Aires, it maintains a home for the aged, which is equipped and run in exemplary fashion. An enlargement of this home is planned. A holiday and convalescence home for elderly people and those recovering from illness is affiliated, and the establishment of a special home for permanent invalids is planned. Very important is the day nursery in Belgrano, also an exemplary institution, accommodating children whose parents are both working or who lack proper domestic care for other reasons. There are plans for a children’s holiday home outside the town, which is needed the more urgently as hundreds of children are sent to the summer holiday camps that have been organised for many years past. There is also a clothing store.

The Hilfsverein owes its origin to the initiative of the Jews established in the country before 1933, and in the first few years of its existence it bore the imprint of that group. There was at that time an understandable social cleavage between that group and the new arrivals, the “emigrés.” This may explain a fact which is otherwise difficult to understand: that the Hilfsverein has never achieved the popularity due to it, despite its great and generally
acknowledged merits. Social solidarity should have been one of the first duties, if not the first duty for the group of new immigrants, who had built up a new life and achieved material well-being so rapidly and so easily. Yet the Hilfsverein’s membership, even if, at 3,500, much larger than that of any other German-Jewish organisation in Argentina, is surprisingly and incomprehensibly small. Even lower is the number of those who make important donations. It is not inadmissible to judge the communal consciousness of German Jews from these facts.

Unlike the Hilfsverein, the other organisations were founded by immigrant circles themselves and due to their own initiative.

The first place, chronologically, in size and in importance for general developments, belongs to the Jewish Cultural Community (Jüdische Kulturgemeinschaft), generally called JKG, which was formed in connection with the services organised for the high festivals of 1937 by the Hilfsverein and owed its origin to the impact of a common religious experience. A kind of “pioneer spirit” dominated the JKG in its early days. The first meeting place was a basement under a café, a room whose shabby modesty has now become legendary for the German Jews of Argentina, accustomed as they are to comfort and elegance. Yet more creative and community-forming impulses were born here than in any other, more impressively equipped homes of the J.K.G. and of later institutions. Cultural needs, which had originally been very great, became gradually less pressing, and in the slow change of generations, moreover, people began to outgrow the traditional ways of German-Jewish culture. Today, the J.K.G., which is now called A.C.I.B.A. (Asociación Cultural Israelita Buenos Aires), is conscious of the tasks it has to fulfill as a guardian of cultural values, especially for the rising generation, but it resembles much more a club than an organisation for the broad mass of the community.

Synagogues

A small group of strictly orthodox Jews had joined a synagogue in Belgrano consisting of Eastern Jews soon after their arrival and set up their own organisation, as soon as they had become more numerous. This group, which is today known as Achdus Jisroel, is led by Dr. Hermann Klein, the orthodox rabbi, who has, for the past year, been assisted by Rabbi Dr. Josef Oppenheimer.

Among the non-orthodox Jews, it was a purely accidental, but unfortunate coincidence which led two groups in 1939 to found a synagogue each, independently of each other and without knowing about each other. Each of these was led by a different rabbi. One of them, called Culto Israelita de Belgrano, was formed around Rabbi Dr. Federico Steinthal, formerly of Muenster, who is still officiating there. The other, Nueva Comunidad Israelita, was led by two young rabbis who had completed their training shortly before their emigration at the Institute of Jewish Learning in Berlin: Hanns Harf, of München-Gladbach and Guenter Friedlaender, of Hamburg. Friedlaender, however, officiated at the synagogue only in its early years and later on a temporary basis. Rabbi Dr. Hugo Fuchs of Chemnitz, who had made a name for himself in Germany by his writings and by his open espousal of the Zionist cause in the times of the “protesting rabbis,” came to Argentina at an advanced age and also remained at the synagogue for a short time only.

Two further organisations founded by German speaking Jews are the Forum Sionista Bar Kochba and the Theodor Herzl-Gesellschaft.

The weekly review of Jewish life, La Semana Israelita, is the paper representing the German-speaking Jewish group in Argentina. As a link between the men and women of that group its importance can hardly be exaggerated. It is edited by Dr. Hardi Swarsensky and may be considered the mouth-piece of German Jews in Argentina.

Apart from this weekly, with which other, short-lived papers attempted to compete, there is only one other periodical publication of the German-Jewish group, the information gazette of the Hilfsverein, appearing under the name of Filantropia.
The first German-Jewish immigrants, from 1933 onwards, were received by the Jews of the country with that sympathy and that interest which their dramatic fate deserved, but when, with the growing number of immigrants, a German-Jewish group was formed, the old prejudices which had divided East and West in Europe were revived, only that the two camps this time met in surroundings bearing the imprint of Eastern Jewry. After a period of argument, however, a modus vivendi resulted: the German-speaking Jews created their own organisations, or developed them and became a group apart within the Jewish community of the country.

They share in the work of the central institutions. The overwhelming majority belong to the A.M.I.A. (the general Jewish synagogue of Buenos Aires) and to the charity organisations, and German-Jewish institutions, like all others, send their delegates to the covering organisation of the Jews of Argentina, D.A.I.A. Such participation, however, can hardly be described as very active. A few German-speaking Jews have attained a position in the great Argentine-Jewish organisations and some of them occupy important posts as a result of their personal achievements, but their number is very small in proportion to the total of German-speaking Jews, who constitute an eighth of the Jewish population of Buenos Aires.

One of the greatest and most representative synagogues of the town, the Congregación Israelita de la República Argentina, located in the centre, has a considerable number of German Jews among its members and has enjoyed a large measure of support from them. It is at this synagogue that one of the most eminent personalities of Argentinian-Jewish life, Chief Rabbi Dr. Guillermo Schlesinger, officiates, who comes from German-speaking Switzerland and is married to a German Jewess.

In the Zionist effort, especially in the work of the Keren Hayessod, the Keren Kayemeth Leyisrael and the W.I.Z.O., as well as in that of the B'ne Berith, German-speaking Jews share by means of special committees working in their own language, which contributed to other factors setting them off from the other Jews as a group apart.

The I.C.A. Settlements

The inner development in the groups of the German-Jewish I.C.A. settlements ran entirely parallel to that of German-speaking Jews in the towns. The colony of Avigdor may serve as an example. Despite the primitiveness of rural life, there was intense cultural activity in this colony up to 1947. In its heyday, Dr. Alfred Neumeyer, formerly a judge in Munich, one of the most eminent personalities of German Jewry, took an important part in this development. The decline was gradual. Some of the best elements left, and the disappearance of economic difficulties was accompanied by the rise of an often crude materialism. The number of German-Jewish families, originally about 120, dwindled to 80 and is still lower today, with only a tiny element of younger people. Of the once flourishing cultural and organisational life hardly a shadow remains. Developments in other German-Jewish settlements were similar. Economic foundations for their future exist, but human, cultural and Jewish foundations are lacking.

In his way of life, his attitude to his work, his working rhythm, clothing and outward habits, the German-speaking Jew has become largely assimilated. He generally feels linked with his Argentinian environment, has adapted himself to its claims and long become reconciled with his fate. He is content, sometimes self-satisfied and, in essentials, without any inner problems. He does not see, or does not see clearly enough, that the rise of his group is due not only to its own ability, but largely to extraordinary and in every way favourable circumstances, and that he has been able to lead a normal life such as is hardly conceivable or possible in other countries or continents, because since his immigration he has been far removed from the turmoil of our time. A Babbit in his own way, he does not see the limitations, the problematical nature of his life and the ties and obligations which he cannot shake off or shun.
Achievements and Shortcomings

Assimilation generally stops where the personal and familiar sphere begins. It does not go beyond adaptation in profession or trade and ends, so to speak, at the entrance door to his flat. This applies, among other things, to mastery of the Spanish language. It is hardly surprising that Spanish is spoken by all German Jews with a more or less noticeable accent, which, in a country with so large a foreign population, does not strike people as strange. It is more characteristic that in many cases linguistic knowledge does not exceed the requirements of every-day life, of trade or profession and, possibly newspaper reading.

Jewish ties and the interest in things Jewish are relatively small, and this applies not only to those who keep themselves apart, but also to those who take part in Jewish life. Sociologically, the German-Jewish group is thus a group distinctly apart and clearly set off against others, but it is not inspired by a community idea. Its members have not found access to the Argentinian world, because they could not find it and therefore live in a sort of vacuum without knowing it.

Things are similar and perhaps a shade more serious in the case of the young people. A glance at the few available figures shows that only a few hundred children receive religious instruction from the synagogues and other religious institutions. And only a very few hundred young people gather in the youth groups of the different institutions. There is also a considerable number of mixed marriages among the younger people, but in most of these cases, the wife is not Jewish and adopts the Jewish faith before marriage. Only an infinitesimal number of young people are organised in Jewish institutions outside the German-Jewish group.

The Jews from Germany and Austria, facing, as individuals, the difficult problems of adaptation, have shown courage and ability. Greatly helped by the general trend of development in the country, they have attained a secure social position in an astonishingly short space of time and made many a contribution to the progress of their new country. In their career and achievement they have shown themselves worthy of the tradition which they embody. They can be said to have stood the test which fate had prepared for them. But the question remains—and it is part of the eternal Jewish question in the diaspora—whether a time of peace and material well-being cannot also become a time of forgetting, when Jewish consciousness is weakened. This question, which is also the question of the future, has yet to be answered by the German Jews in Argentina.
Journey Through Latin America

The general Latin-Catholic environment and the differences that marked German Jews shaped the pattern of social and spiritual isolation, in which Jews from Germany live in these parts of the world. Like Jews of other origins, German Jews have so far not participated in the political and social development of the country in which they happen to live. They did, however, contribute to the economic growth through new types of enterprises and the general forces of economic expansion helped them in this respect. Their contribution to science and art has been rather insignificant. While some German Jews became active participants in the musical and operatic activities of the larger cities, and while others displayed their talents in the Yiddish or German theatre, they did not become part of the general culture around them.

Cut off from their former source of culture, German Jews—like their East European and Sephardic brothers—were thrown back upon their own resources. They formed their own communal life, centring in German-Jewish culture, and created their own social, religious and welfare institutions and organizations. They achieved what they had hoped to achieve: Well organized German-Jewish communities, propagating Jewish ways of life, knowledge, emotion and action.

Chile

The number of Jewish immigrants from Germany and Austria is about 12,000 (10,000 came directly from Germany). Almost 90% arrived in Chile between the months of May and August 1939, shortly before World War II. The rest settled there prior to and after this short period. Most of them found opportunities in the world of business, for which their background fitted them. Although they had to adapt themselves to new ways and methods, they benefited by the general expansion of business which was transforming Chile.

Professional workers had a more difficult task at the beginning. The majority of them were forced to find a livelihood by going into business, but today they can be considered successful by Chilean standards. (About ten medical doctors were able to pass their examinations and are now practising their original profession.)

The economic situation of most German Jews in Chile, conducting private enterprises, is good. Employees, working for a salary, have to struggle to make ends meet because of the steady rise in the cost of living. Only those unable to work because of illness or age, are in real need of support.

The Sociedad Cultural Israelita B'ne Jisroel (S.C.I.) with 1,600 families, comprises the German speaking group. The S.C.I. has built a beautiful modern Community Centre with synagogue and organises
good social, cultural and religious programmes and activities. A monthly newspaper, mainly in German, the "Boletin Informativo" reaches all S.C.I. members.

The Comité Israelita de Socorros (Cisroco) is the German Jewish social welfare agency in Chile and serves not only Santiago, but also Valparaíso, Concepción, Temuco, Valdivia, Osorno and Puerto Montt. Cisroco supports an Old Age and a Children's home, in addition to its regular welfare assistance work.

The same able and fine leadership must be credited with a very worth-while work, the S.C.I. and Cisroco are doing.

German Jews in Chile are active in Zionist organizations, the Union Sionista and W.I.Z.O. Henriette Szold, and their relationship to the rest of the Jewish community is probably the best in Latin America.

German Jews play an increasingly important part in the support and leadership of the various central organizations: the Comité Representativo, the Federación Sionista, the B'nei B'rith and others. Creative work and important developments in the Chilean Jewish community are unthinkable without the active participation of German Jews, who occupy leading posts in practically all Jewish organizations and institutions.

Zionist and other communal youth organizations unite more and more the German and East European youngsters, and community-wide programmes and activities eliminate consciousness of eastern or western origin. Inspired by courageous and sincere West European leaders, who insist that the Jewish communities in Chile are there to stay, small, but valuable East European and Sephardic groups are slowly joining hands, to bring home to their children the unique qualities of their antecedents and heritage, in addition to purely political Zionist interests, which are still the sole expression of "Jewishness" with the masses.

For the time being, there is little danger of German-Jewish youth losing its "Herkunft und Zugehörigkeitsbewusstsein" (loyalty) to the Jewish community. Public schools and universities, however, bring Jewish children more and more in close contact with Chileans and slowly create an appreciation for the ways of life in Chilean society. Such education is of course inadequate as a means of transmitting to the young a consciousness of their Jewish identity and the religious instruction, as a part-time system, is far too primitive to imbue the youth with the real moral and ethical values of Judaism. Only the future can show how the German-Jewish youth in Chile will react, when existing differences become less important.

Uruguay

About 6,000 Jews emigrated to Uruguay from Germany and Austria. Only 5% arrived between 1934 and 1937; the majority, some 85%, between 1938 and 1942, and the rest settled during the years 1943 to 1954. There was practically no immigration of German speaking Jews to Uruguay prior to 1933.
Contrary to countries like Argentina, Brazil, Peru and to a certain extent Chile, where quite a few German Jews, like their East-European brothers, could accumulate fortunes, Uruguay, with its limited economic possibilities, did not supply the markets for large factories and other big business enterprises. Only a few individuals with special patents or exclusive rights and sufficient initial capital were able to establish firms which can be considered important within the general Uruguayan economy.

The vast majority of German Jews (some 75%) just make a living as agents, salesmen or as owners of small grocery, delikatessen and haberdashers shops. About 10% are employees with fixed salaries, and, because of the high cost of living, they have a very difficult time to make ends meet. Much too large a number for such a lower middle class community (more than 12%) have no income at all and are dependant on social welfare which is provided exclusively by the German-Jewish community and its welfare organizations (Nueva Congragacion Israelita, Afilantis, Liga Israelita de Mujeres and Circulo de las Damas Israelitas).

Doctors, lawyers and other professionals were unable to pass the required examinations and, with very few exceptions, had to turn to the already mentioned other activities. Only two doctors, two dentists and one lawyer have been able to practice their original profession.

The Nueva Congragacion Israelita (N.C.I.) with over 4,500 members and with an annual budget of Urug.$250,000 is the German-Jewish “Gemeinde.” With generous gifts from the few better-off families, with long-term bank and private loans and through large numbers of small contributions, the N.C.I. was able to erect a modern community-centre with synagogue, school, social rooms, etc. Good social, cultural and religious activities are being conducted by the N.C.I., and a weekly bulletin (in German)—the Boletin Informativo—supplies the news to its members.

The Afilantis (Asociacion Filantropica Israelita) with 1,200 members and an annual budget of about Urug.$80,000 is the German-Jewish social welfare-organization in Montevideo. Afilantis supports a children’s home (at present 70 children strong) and provides welfare-assistance in co-operation with the N.C.I.

In addition to N.C.I. and Afilantis, the German Jews of Montevideo inter alia established the Comité Uruguayo de Israelitas de Europa Central. The relationship to the rest of the Jewish community is just cordial but cannot be considered close. Contrary to Chile, German Jews in Uruguay do not participate in East-European or Sephardic communal activities. Each sector is trying to develop its own social, cultural and religious programmes independently, and Jewish work on a community-wide basis is very rare.

There exists in Montevideo a central representative body, the Comité Central Israelita del Uruguay, to represent Uruguayan Jewry vis-à-vis the authorities. The N.C.I. is a member organization of the Comité Central.
Bolivia

Some 5,500 German Jews settled in Bolivia. The largest number arrived after 1938. The majority had been experienced merchants in their places of origin, and it was quite easy for them to establish businesses. Indeed their background proved to be very helpful, since business methods in Bolivia were rather primitive compared to those in Europe. German Jews built up sound wholesale houses and modern retail-stores in the more important cities La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro and Sucre. Others created industries, and the contributions to the Bolivian economy was quite an important one. By 1945 the economic condition of German Jews in Bolivia was very good.

German Jews in Bolivia remained true to their heritage, and the problem of assimilation did not exist. The number of old settlers was extremely small and, prior to the German-Jewish emigration, there were no organized congregations. One of the great accomplishments of German Jews in Bolivia was the establishment of well-organized “Gemeinden” with spiritual leaders, teachers and schools. (One of the best public schools in La Paz today was founded by German Jews.)

Prior to the change in Government, Jews in Bolivia enjoyed a good relationship with their Christian neighbours, but, as in most other Latin-American countries, they never participated in the political and social life of the native Bolivians.

In the two larger centres, La Paz and Cochabamba, German Jews established the Comunidad Israelita de Bolivia, congregations with worthwhile religious, educational and social activities. They also organized the Sociedad de Proteccion a los Inmigrantes Israelitas (S.O.P.R.O.) to take care of the needy and to help integrate the newcomers. S.O.P.R.O. La Paz maintains an old-age and children’s home and Cochabamba an old-age home. In addition to the aforementioned organizations, Jews from Germany founded Bne Brith Lodges, Ligas de Damas, Chevras Bikur Chaulim and the “Juedische Kulturgemeinschaft.” German Jews occupy leading positions in the Federacion Sionista which embraces practically all Bolivian Jews.

In the smaller towns of Oruro, Sucre and Tarija, German Jews organized the Yishuv by establishing one congregation for all.

Since the change in Government nearly 4,000 German Jews re-emigrated to the United States, Canada and to other Latin-American countries, and it is estimated that a little over 1,500 German Jews are residing in Bolivia at this time. Those who left, were the well-to-do and the young, and those who remained are small shopkeepers, the old, the sick and handicapped.

Jewish organizations and institutions in Bolivia are now dependant on financial assistance from the outside. Unless the economic and political situation improves considerably, one must foresee a further exodus of Jews from Bolivia.
A JEWISH WEDDING IN GUATEMALA

The Kehilla is not more than 800 people strong, of whom 250 are Sephardim and 550 Ashkenasim. The first few settled in about 1850. They founded department stores, became textile manufacturers, iron merchants and, above all importers, as this was a very primitive country needing a great deal from the outside world.

The main wealth of the country consists of coffee and bananas. Most of the large coffee plantations are in Spanish-Guatemalan hands. At one time there were vast German plantations, but these were requisitioned during the war and never returned. Gigantic fortunes were made through the steep rise in coffee prices, which has been tenfold over the last twenty years. The banana estates, on the other hand, are English and American owned.

Very few Jews are estate-owners. Very few are intellectuals or professionals, such as the medical specialists Professor Jacobstal and Dr. Wittkowski, or a musician and a military band leader, both of whom were invited over shortly after 1933. Lehnsohn, a fine teacher and educationalist, son of the well-known forensic physician from Berlin, founded a school of about 200 pupils.

Before 1933, the European and North American communities had sent their children to the German school. Now they attend an American school where 600 German, American, English and German-Jewish children meet in a very impressive atmosphere of ordered freedom.

Contrary to almost every other Jewish community in the world, here the German-Jewish element predominates. Of the 600 Jews who immigrated before 1933, 450 came from Germany, a whole batch from Kempen in the province of Posen, about 100 from Eastern Europe.

Zionism is quite strong. Almost all the Jews keep the High Festivals; indeed, the majority is very much interested in Judaism, surrounded as it is by a strong Spanish-Catholic society. This is evident in many departments of life.

In the Spanish houses, with their windows with lovely grilles and shutters, life centres on the beautiful courtyards, into which an outsider is rarely admitted. As in the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, Fiesta is the great thing. Nothing can compare with these celebrations, with their garlands of flowers, coloured streamers, flags and chiffon bunting, braided with silver and gold ribbons. I was lucky enough to be invited to an occasion the like of which has become very rare indeed in the impoverished Jewish communities. In this remote little Latin-American town, where the whole kehillah consists of a few hundred members, a wedding was to be celebrated. Already several weeks before the event, people were saying that sufficient food had been ordered for 600! On the day there were so many cars, that it was almost impossible to park anywhere near the
synagogue. As is customary here, the staircase to the synagogue had been covered with a carpet of green fir needles with the names of the bride and groom superimposed on it in white carnations. The whole synagogue had been decorated with white flowers and the Chuppa was supported by four columns of white carnations. Apart from Jews, there was a sprinkling of Gentiles; some the wives and husbands of Jews, some Germans, who had not been Nazis, and a few Spaniards.

The celebrations began with the arrival of the beautiful nineteen-year-old bride and her young bridegroom, followed by the little bridesmaids in rococo dresses. Then came the service, which was in Spanish and Hebrew. The Rabbi came from Wuerzburg. As part of the traditional service, the bridegroom had to trample on a glass. When the young couple left, the harmonium played "Treuich gefuehrt" and they were man and wife, founding another family in this little Jewish community, prosperous by virtue of the help its members gave each other in building it.

The reception was held in a large garden, where tables and chairs stood on the lawn by the swimming pool under the palm trees and lemon trees and the mauve Jacaranda trees. First, champagne was served in glasses, followed by American-style highballs (whisky and soda). In the shade of the beautiful tropical trees, a buffet was spread out. The guests filled their plates with food, then went to sit among their friends to eat it. Everyone knew everybody else, for this is a genuine community where, as at this wedding, a rich man gladly lets everyone else participate in his prosperity on a happy occasion. Everyone spoke German. It would not have occurred to anyone to suggest that one should not speak German in public. Only when someone who really did not understand joined the conversation, English or Spanish was spoken.

Behind all this sunshine and tropical opulence was a story of kindness. A couple had looked through the lists of Jews saved from catastrophe. They had found the names of two children of relatives of theirs, who had disappeared, a boy and a girl, and had brought them over. The girl died, but the boy survived to become the bridegroom of this lovely girl, whose father now gave this wedding party. He, too, was a generous man, who, when the refugees arrived from stricken Europe, gave three free meals a day to ten people.

This community matches its prosperity with great generosity. Here the rich support the poor. Before the war, they contributed 15 dollars a month for every person in the town unable to support himself. The bride's father went to Europe by the first boat after the war to see for himself the destruction wrought and to find out in what way he could best help.

"Einigkeit macht stark." Unity gives strength. Here all live together in harmony: Eastern Jews and Middle-European Jews, Sephardim and Ashkenasim, Zionists and Anti-Zionists, Orthodox and Liberals, proud to be part of one of the oldest people in the world.
BETWEEN THE CONTINENTS

It is the main object of this publication to make its readers in Great Britain acquainted with the life of Jews from Central Europe abroad. This brief article is meant to help them compare their own experience with that of others whom chance or design directed to different destinations. The manifold aspects of the position in Great Britain are described in greater detail in the A.J.R. Publication "British New Citizens" (1952).* Since we were admitted to these shores, a span of half a generation has elapsed, and the process of integration has steadily continued. Even the old ones in our midst no longer consider themselves strangers; they are, however, sensible enough to recognize that there are limits to their assimilation. The middle-aged who came over when they were between 20 and 30 years old, are now firmly established in their professions or occupations; in this respect they are absorbed by their environment, and their way of thinking is more English than German. Yet they have not ceased to be recognisable as members of a distinct community, though to a considerably lesser extent than their parents. And what about the youngest generation of immigrants, those who arrived as children between 7 and 15, whether with their parents, or with a children's transport? Their mother tongue is English, and they speak German only haltingly. Nevertheless, experience has shown that the past has left its mark on them as well. Quite a few of them look for company among their fellow-immigrants. One of the groups they have formed is symbolically called "The Hyphen," and there are youth groups of the Leo Baeck Lodge and the New Liberal Jewish Congregation. Without wishing to segregate themselves from English life, many really feel at home among people of their own background, though the remnants of German Jewry cannot give them the same shelter which, for good or evil, the strong and multicoloured Jewish "Milieu" in Germany provided for their parents. On the other hand, the loss of a numerically strong social background may also account for a comparatively high proportion of mixed marriages.

Owing to the upheavals of emigration, the pattern of German-Jewish society has undergone a number of changes. Formerly independent businessmen were given work by their previous employees. "Kleinstadtjuden" have adjusted themselves to the hubbub of London or Manchester, and there are immigrants from Berlin or Frankfurt, who would not like to exchange their present way of life in Blackburn or Shrewsbury for their past existence as city dwellers. Former geographical distances have also become meaningless. Families from Königsberg and Karlsruhe who would never have had the chance to meet in Germany now get to know each other. On the other hand, this development has not made one entity of the immigrants from all Central European countries: German,

* This publication may still be obtained from the A.J.R. (1/- plus postage).
Austrian, and Czech Jews still form distinct units, though co-operation between them in many fields has narrowed their differences considerably.

Contributions to Science

The contributions of the Central European Jews to their country of adoption on the higher level are reflected in the award of one Knighthood (Sir Francis E. Simon), one C.B.E. (Prof. Rudolf Ernst Peierls), two O.B.E.s (Prof. Otto Robert Frisch, Dr. Ludwig Gutt-mann), three Nobel Prizes (Dr. Ernest Boris Chain, Prof. Hans Adolf Krebs, Prof. Max Born), and 25 Fellowships of the Royal Society (F.R.S.). As to the Rank and File, the Anglo-Jewish scientist Dr. Redcliffe N. Salaman recently stated:—

"It may be said that these emigrés were as highly cultured, enterprising and efficient a group of people as have reached these shores. Refugees from Hitler's Europe have in return rendered good service to this country and the Commonwealth. Perhaps the most outstanding advantage arises from the many first class scientists who have been absorbed in the laboratories of our Universities and industrial undertakings."

In the Jewish sphere, scholars and rabbis of Continental origin have left their mark as authors and speakers, and immigrants are actively associated with the religious life and with secular causes of Anglo-Jewry.

England's geographical position offers opportunities not given to immigrants in other countries. Within comparatively easy reach of Israel and the American Continents, the two other main centres of German-Jewish re-settlement, London has become the natural meeting place for families scattered all over the world. Furthermore, former German Jews in Great Britain were spared the tribulations of the Continent during the war, but could, for good or evil, remain Europeans. In many cases, the vicinity of Germany also determines their relationship to their country of origin. To be true, like Jews all over the world in general and victims of the Nazi holocaust in particular, they can neither forgive nor forget the crimes of Nazi Germany. Yet it is bound to affect one's attitude whether one is separated from Germany by thousands of miles or may put a telephone-call through to Berlin within a few minutes and reach Dusseldorf after 2½ hours flight.

Economically, those immigrants who can still earn their own living are more or less directly affected by general trends. This means that they benefit from the present upward economic trend, from full employment and from social security. It also implies that, owing to the social revolution which has narrowed the gap between the higher and lower income groups, they have not acquired substantial means as some of their fellow refugees in other countries have been able to do.

In spite of the general trends it cannot be said that the refugees have been absorbed in British economic life. There is one shadow which hovers over most of them—old age. Even though the
majority are employed, their income is not sufficient to allow them savings of any considerable size. What they saved in Germany was lost in most cases. The nest egg they might be able to put aside now will perhaps help them to avoid, for a limited period, a desperate situation in case of illness or unemployment. However, only very few of them can think of retiring and they dread the day when a slump would make them the first victims among the employees of their English firms, or when a breakdown in health would force them to give up their positions. In this respect they are at a disadvantage compared with English people, most of whom have a little house of their own, or at least have some relatives who could give a helping hand in times of need.

Restitution and Indemnification

Restitution and indemnification have certainly contributed to an improvement of the situation. This applies especially to the—comparatively limited—number of formerly well-off immigrants from Western Germany or Western Berlin to whom houses or factories or part of the monetary equivalent for these assets have been returned. It also holds good for former civil servants and officials of Jewish Communities who, after many years of privation, receive the regular pensions due to them.

Apart from this minority there is the large number of Nazi victims who, under existing legislation, are only entitled to claims which do not alter their financial position basically. That in many cases even these limited claims have not yet been met is one of the most serious aspects of the indemnification problem for a community in which the higher age groups prevail. Finally, apart from the pension payments, German legislation is mainly restricted to former residents of Western Germany and Western Berlin. Immigrants from territories East of the Oder-Neisse line (e.g. Silesia, Pomerania, East Prussia) have no restitution claims and only very limited compensation claims, and those who come from the Soviet Zone have practically no claims at all. Nazi victims who fled from countries beyond the Iron Curtain (e.g. Czechoslovakia and Hungary) have neither claims against their countries of origin nor, with very few exceptions, against the German Federal Republic, and Austria's attitude towards her former residents has been repeatedly described as one of the saddest chapters of post-war history.

As restitution and indemnification have only a limited effect, many old people who can no longer earn their living and who have nothing to fall back upon have to rely on outside help. Bad housing and the fact that they cannot look after themselves add to their burden. Here the A.J.R. has to fulfil one of its most urgent tasks, the establishment of Old Age Homes. For several years, the A.J.R. has done preparatory work towards this goal, and now, with the help of the proceeds from the heirless and communal Jewish property in Germany and of the payments made by the German Federal Republic towards the relief, re-settlement and rehabilitation of Nazi
victims, this problem can be brought nearer to its solution. At the same time those old people in distress who, for one reason or another, cannot, or do not want to be accommodated in an Old Age Home have to be helped in other ways.

New Tasks

The driving force which brought the A.J.R. into existence has been the idea that we ourselves have to work for the solution of the problems arising from our specific position. As far as our legal status in this country is concerned, we have succeeded. We are now in the middle of the fight for just restitution and indemnification. In addition, we are faced with two main tasks. By constructive social measures we have to care for those in our midst who, as victims of a catastrophe and through no fault of their own, have to rely on our assistance; and, as already stated in the introduction to this booklet, we have to make sure that the spiritual heritage of German-Jewry is preserved for posterity.

As a group becoming increasingly integrated into its new environment but at the same time keeping its identity, the former German Jews in England think they may claim that they have stood the test which history has imposed on them.

The **AJR**

- **represents and advises Jews from Central Europe**, naturalised and non-naturalised alike;
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This space was donated anonymously by friends of the AJR.
INSTEAD OF STATISTICS

As only few countries reveal the religious affiliations of their residents in their official statistics, no reliable figures on the geographical distribution of the Jews are available. To assess the present number of Jews from Central Europe is even more difficult. German sources, in 1942, estimated the total number of Jewish emigrants at 537,000 (360,000 from Germany, 147,000 from Austria and 30,000 from Czechoslovakia). Taking into account the losses sustained since, this estimate is confirmed by the following summary which classifies the refugees according to countries of absorption; it is stressed that the figures stated in brackets are only meant to serve as illustrations and cannot be regarded as exact statistical material.

The three largest countries of resettlement are the United States (180-200,000), Israel (60-90,000 German Jews to which those from other countries have to be added) and Great Britain (45-50,000). The fourth country with a substantial number of Central European immigrants is Argentina (40,000).

In all other countries the number of immigrants is under 20,000. Between 10-20,000 each went to Brazil (17,000), Chile (15,000), and Australia (12,000). About 10,000 former Central European Jews live in South-Africa (7-11,000) and France (7-8,000 from Germany).

Among the countries with less than 10,000 immigrants are Uruguay (6,000), Belgium (4,000 from Germany), Sweden (3,000), Columbia (2,200 from Germany), Switzerland (1,700 from Germany), and Bolivia (1,500).

LIST OF ORGANISATIONS

The following organisations are affiliated or in contact with the “Council for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Jews from Germany” (8, Fairfax Mansions, London, N.W.3). The list does not include the great number of other cultural and charitable societies and congregations built up by Jews from Central Europe in various countries of resettlement.

Argentina : Asociacion Filantropica Israelita, Cangallo 1479, Buenos Aires.

Belgium : Comite Israelite des Refugies (COREF), 48, Rue due Nord, Brussels.

Brazil : Congregacao Israelita Paulista, Rua Brigadeiro Galvao 181, Sao Paulo. 
Associacao Religiosa Israelita do Rio de Janeiro, Rua Martins Ferreira 52.

Chile : Sociedad Cultural Israelita "B'nai Jisroel," Casilla 2487, Santiago di Chile. 
Cisroco (Comite Israelita de Socorros), Av. Portugal 810, Santiago di Chile.

Colombia : Sociedad Israelita de Ayuda Mutua "Socorro," Apartado Aereo 5968, Bogota.

France : Solidarite, 11, Rue d’Argentine, Paris, 16e.


Israel : Irgun Oley Merkas Europa, 15, Rambam Street, Tel Aviv.


Uruguay : Comite Uruguayo de Israelitas de Europa Central, Canelones 935, Montevideo.

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