‘THEY THOUGHT IT WAS NEW YORK’
AN EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHY AND REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CORK JEWISH COMMUNITY

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September 2022

This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends for their support

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SUMMARY

This thesis examines the historiography and representations of the Cork Jewish community. The Cork Jewish community continues to be defined according to a communal narrative of accidental arrival following escape from Russia. In order to examine this dominant communal narrative and the representations of the community, it was necessary to first address the failings of the current historiography of Cork Jewry. This dissertation analyses a wide variety of primary and secondary sources. Some of these sources have been repeated ad nauseum by many scholars and amateur community historians while others have been largely neglected. There is also a significant oral history component to this work. This thesis asserts that as a result of an over-reliance on certain unsubstantiated sources which form the basis for the dominant communal narrative that the current historiography of the Cork Jewish community is flawed.

Section One of Chapter One surveys the scholarly literature on the Cork Jewish community. The second section of the chapter then places the Cork Jewish community within the historical context of nineteenth century Russia, the period of mass emigration and Anglo-Jewry. It begins by examining the social and economic situation for Jews in nineteenth century Russia. Unlike much of the previous historiography on the Cork Jewish community, it also looks at the importance of the geographical location from which many of those Jews who emigrated to Cork had travelled. Migration and patterns of migration were then analysed. The historiography of the Cork Jewish community has generally not addressed the important role that the construction and expansion of the railway lines as well as the shipping lines played in the establishment of the Cork Jewish community. Chapter One concludes by examining the reception in Great Britain for these Jewish migrants.

Chapter Two broadens the primary sources of the Cork Jewish community by interviewing former community members and their neighbours. A specific concern was to include the different voices of the remaining and former members of the community. These interviews took place in Cork, Dublin, London, Manchester and several locations in Israel. The chapter begins by outlining the oral history methodology that was used before, during and

after the interviews. Following the outline of the methodology, the Chapter analyses the content of the interviews under various headings such as accidental arrival, education, Jewish religious life in Cork, Antisemitism and Irish Nationalism. The interviews allow us to further nuance and shade the communal narrative.

Chapter Three continued the analysis of the representations of the community by examining the non-scholarly literature. Quantity does not necessarily mean quality or variety. Despite the quantity of material that has been published on the Cork Jewish community, the familiar, reductive, communal tropes appear in much of the literature.

The final two chapters, Chapters Four and Five look in detail at previously unexploited sources such as the archival material of the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*, the 1901 and 1911 census returns, the enrolment records of the Cork Model School and the burial records of the community. These primary sources allow a more nuanced, complete history of the Cork Jewish community to be written.

This dissertation has shown that while the Cork Jewish community may have been a small, peripheral Jewish community, it nevertheless merits study. Not only does the study of the Cork Jewish community enable us to appreciate the complex and multi-faceted identity of a small Jewish community, it also can broaden our understanding of not only Irish and Anglo-Jewry but also European Jewry.

CONTENTS

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Introduction

'Reality is complex and many-sided; and it is a primary merit of oral history that to a much greater extent than most sources it allows the original multiplicity of standpoints to be created'.[1] This thesis analyses the reductive communal narrative and tropes that have always defined and continue to define the Cork Jewish community. It examines the origins, evolution and ultimately the decline of this community. In order to show the complexity and diversity of the Cork Jewish community, it had to be first placed within its historical context. While placing the Cork Jewish community in its historical context puts this work in opposition to the communal narrative of accidental arrival following escape from persecution and suffering in nineteenth century Russia, it allows us to understand that reality is, as Paul Thompson (above) says multi-dimensional and nuanced.

There are a variety of sources on the Cork Jewish community. These include scholarly and non-scholarly sources such as memoirs, minutes, correspondence and newspaper coverage. However, what are generally regarded to be most complete, authoritative and even conclusive histories of Irish Jewry uncritically reiterate many of the well-worn clichés of the communal narrative of accidental arrival. Ireland's Jewish community has been disproportionately influenced by a collective memory that has been informed by traditional Jewish meta-narratives of *galut* (exile).[2] The Cork community is no exception to this analysis by Wynn. There is an over-reliance on nostalgic accounts by former 'gatekeepers' of the community. These sentimental recollections, though not unimportant, are often taken at face value and as fact. Taken alone, they ensure that a simplistic, one-dimensional understanding of the Cork Jewish community continues to persist. The stories communities tell themselves are, nevertheless, salient and should not be dismissed. These sources need, however, to be put in the historical context and supplemented by relevant scholarship. It is only then that a more detailed, complex picture of the Cork Jewish community can emerge.

The first section of Chapter One of this thesis examines the scholarly literature on the Cork Jewish community. It examines the portrayal of the origins and the evolution of

[1] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5.

[2] Natalie Wynn, *The History and Internal Politics of Ireland's Jewish Community in Their International Jewish Context (1881-1914)* (Dublin: Trinity College, 2015).

the Cork Jewish community in works by Louis Hyman, Dermot Keogh, Ray Rivlin and Cormac O'Grada. These works have long defined what we think we know about the Irish Jewish community. They have also come to be perceived as entirely accurate in their portrayal of the community and tend to form the basis of any study or commentary on Irish Jewry including the Cork Jewish community. The second part of Chapter One expands the portrayal of the Cork Jewish community in the first section of the chapter by placing it within the historical context of the Russian empire, the period of mass migration and reception in Great Britain and ultimately Ireland. The reality behind the accepted truths of the communal narrative – pogroms, escape from persecution and accidental arrival are examined.

Despite the plethora of sources and the over-reliance on the accounts of some community luminaries, the voices of many other members of the community, in particular, many former members of the Jewish community who had left Cork tend to be ignored and excluded when the history of the community is being examined. Chapter Two of this dissertation seeks to redress this and to include their voices. The accepted communal narrative of the Cork Jewish community has tended to focus on the story of those who remained. Chapter Two analyses twenty-two interviews with former members of the Cork Jewish community and their neighbours. The familiar tropes of accidental arrival, persecution and escape as well as themes such as education, Irish nationalism, Zionism and communal orthodoxy are examined.

Oral histories provide a source quite similar in character to published autobiographies; they are, however, much wider in scope. The verbatim record of what oral historians can obtain is unique, in comparison with other forms of primary sources. It is deliberately created for historical purposes. It can attempt to fill in the lacunae in one field of learning, serving scholars in much the same way as private letters and diaries.[3] By interviewing twenty-three former members of the Cork Jewish community and their neighbours, this thesis was not restricted to the already well-thumped volumes of the old catalogue of sources on the Cork Jewish community. The interviews in Chapter Two attempt to widen the scope of knowledge on the Cork Jewish community. It gives voice not only to the already well-known 'gatekeepers' of the history and identity of the Cork Jewish community, but also to many other previously unheard voices.[4]

[3] 'Louis Starr, 'Oral History' in Willa K. Baum and David K. Dunaway ed., *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira, 1996), 9.

[4] Paul Thompson, 'The Voice of the Past: Oral History' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson ed., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 28-30.

Chapter Three continues the examination of many of the themes that were raised in the interviews with former members of the Cork Jewish community and their neighbours in Chapter Two. It looks at the one-dimensional communal narrative and communal tropes that the identity of the Cork Jewish community continues to be based upon. The chapter begins by looking at the portrayal of the Cork Jewish community in the permanent exhibition entitled, 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop: The story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation' which was erected in 2017 at the Cork Public Museum. The first section of the chapter examines the prosaic manner in which the Jewish community of Cork is portrayed in the exhibition. The second section of the chapter analyses the memories, poetry, biographies, autobiographies, theatre plays and short stories that have been based on the Cork Jewish community. The reoccurring, familiar tropes of the communal narrative and communal identity are examined in these works.

Chapters Four and Five are constructed largely on the basis of a variety of primary sources such as the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*, the Census returns of 1901 and 1911, the enrolment records of the Cork Model school and the records from the Hebrew Burial Society of Cork. With the possible exception of the Census returns for 1901 and 1911, information from important sources such as the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*, the enrolment records of the Cork Model School and the records from the Hebrew Burial Society of Cork have all been completely neglected by communal chroniclers and even some scholars when they studied the Cork Jewish community. The portrayal of the minute detail of the every-day life and of the internal relationships of the Cork Jewish community in the *Jewish Chronicle* and in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* allow us, together with the oral testimonies of Chapter Two, to include the voices of former members of the community into the communal narrative. The comparisons of the census returns of 1901 and 1911, with the enrolment records of the Cork Model School and the burial records from the Hebrew Burial Society of Cork enable us to further complete and enhance the existing, incomplete and at times overly simplistic portrayal of the Cork Jewish community.

When the writer David Marcus from Cork arrived in London and began to look for work, he was viewed with a certain amount of fascination and incredulity. Even his coreligionists viewed him with a certain amount of suspicion. On his first day, he was asked,

'you're sure you are Jewish?'[5] Marcus's anecdote is reflective of the incredulity of many people when they learn of the Cork Jewish community. It has often been viewed as an anomaly, a peripheral community that was established following the accidental arrival of many of its congregation. The Cork Jewish community, even at its zenith at the beginning of the twentieth century, was always a small peripheral Anglo-Jewish community. Nevertheless, neither its small size nor its geographical location on the periphery of the British Isles should diminish the importance of studying Jewish communities like Cork. In studying Jewish communities like Cork, we gain a more holistic understanding of not only what it meant to live in a small Jewish community, but also its internal politics, such as strive between members of the community, its financial struggles, contact with its non-Jewish neighbours, communal identity and narrative. Such a study can only but further expand and enhance our knowledge and understanding of Irish, Anglo and World Jewry.

[5] David Marcus, *Who Ever Heard of an Irish Jew? And other stories* (London: Bantam Press, 1988), 9.

Chapter One

THE CORK JEWISH COMMUNITY IN LITERARY WORKS

'One sometimes gets the impression that the Anglo-Jewish community was built up of those who did not get to America'[6]

This chapter lays the foundation for the rest of the thesis, which rests on not only an understanding of the scholarly literature that has been written about the Cork Jewish community, but also an awareness of the reality of Jewish life in Russia. The scholarly accounts of Irish Jewry, and those relating to Cork Jewry are often used as a justification for the proliferation and acceptance of the communal narrative of accidental arrival not only by the Jewish community itself, but also by the wider community.

Representations of Irish Jewry by Irish historians have been for the most part based on what David Cesarani's refers to as the four main reasons cited by immigrants themselves or by their children as the triggers for departure: pogroms, religious persecution, poverty and the fear of military service.[7] Each of the works by Irish historians, citied in this chapter, not only refer to, but rely upon these so-called triggers of departure. These scholarly works are analysed chronologically in the first section of this chapter. The second half of the chapter looks at the reality in Russia for Jews. The Russian empire was the main point of origin for Ireland's Jewish community. It is central to the communal narratives of accidental arrival, escape from persecution and pogroms. An awareness of the reality for Jews in Russia is crucial to any thorough analysis of these communal tropes and to the development of a more accurate understanding of the reasons behind Jewish immigration to Cork.[8] Finally, as the most significant changes to the Cork Jewish community took place during the time that is referred to as the mass emigration period, which begins with the pogroms in 1881 and

[6] Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, London Museum of Jewish Life, Research Papers No.2 (London, 1987), 25.

[7] David Cesarani, 'The Myth of Origins: Ethnic Memory and the Experience of Migration' in Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration, 1850 -1914* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996), 248.

[8] Natalie Wynn, *The History and Internal Politics of Ireland's Jewish Community in Their International Jewish Context* (1881-1914) (Dublin: Trinity College, 2015).

continues until the outbreak of the First World War, the last section of this chapter looks at the mechanics of mass migration. This includes the construction and expansion of the railway lines in both Russian and Great Britain, the stiff competition on the shipping lines and the reaction to the arrival of Jews in Great Britain and Ireland.

1.1 Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland* (1970)

The first book analysed in this section is Louis Hyman's *The Jews of Ireland.*[9] The span of Hyman's book *The Jews of Ireland* is considerable. First published in 1970, it traces the history of the community 'from earliest times to the year 1910'. According to Hyman the earliest mention of Jews in Ireland is in an epistle written by St. Columbas to Pope Beniface IV in 613.[10] The last chapter of the book is entitled 'The Jews of Cork (1845 – 1900)'.

From the beginning, Hyman links the fluid presence of Jews in Ireland to that of their English coreligionists. He states that the first authentic allusion of Jews coming to Ireland was in the *Annals of Innisfallen.*[11] Hyman posits that the Jews in medieval Ireland must have lived in and around Dublin. He asserts that from the onset of the arrival of Jews in Ireland, the ebb and flow of Irish Jewish life has always been connected to Britain. 'The Jews in Ireland doubtless shared the same fate of their English coreligionists, who were expelled by royal decree on 18 July 1290'.[12]

According to Hyman, the rise in the number of Sephardic Jews in Britain invariably led to a small number crossing the Irish Sea to settle in Ireland. Again, they resided, for the most part, in Dublin and its environs. Reports of the first Sephardic Jews to settle in Dublin are notoriously vague, however, it is certain that three or four families of either Spanish or Portuguese descent settled in Dublin around 1600.

While Hyman devotes an entire chapter (Chapter 26) to the arrival in the late nineteenth century of a small number of Ashkenazi Jews to Cork, he reminds the reader that there had also been a small Sephardic community in Cork in the late seventeenth century. The arrival of a certain London Jew, Benedix Markes, to Cork in 1685 'to kill beef for Samuel Docaisers

[9] Louis Hyman, *Jews of Ireland: From Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972).

[10] Ibid.,3.

[11] Ibid.,3.

[12] Ibid.,4.

(de Caceres)'[13] signified the possible birth of this community. In partnership with certain London merchants, he formed a business supplying foreign clients, many of whom were English Jews and Jews in the far-away West Indies with meat.

Relying on archival research from the Spanish and Portuguese synagogues of London, Hymen shows that as early as 1753, Cork had an organised Jewish community. A letter from the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London informed its congregants visiting Cork and other parts of Ireland that Abraham Solomons was the only person in Cork qualified as a shochet. The opening of a Jewish cemetery in 1725 is also documented. The life of the community was, however, brief. Both the synagogue and the cemetery had closed by 1788.[14]

Nevertheless, the end of the small community did not lead to the end of a Jewish presence in Cork. Hyman tells the reader that a certain Abraham Solomons had a daughter, Rachel, and two sons, Isaac and Samuel. Isaac is first mentioned in the Cork records for 1801 and is mentioned in Holden's Triennial Directory for Cork as a silversmith and jeweller of Patrick Street.[15]

Isaac is the only known Jew to have remained in Cork in the nineteenth century. His brother, Samuel, born in Cork about 1745, was to be widely known as the inventor of a patent medicine, 'The Balm of Gilead', which bought him a fortune.[16] Around 1768, he moved to Dublin, where he opened a depot in Fleet Street for selling his medicine throughout the British Isles and America.

While the anecdote regarding Samuel Solomon's economic activities relates to a period before the arrival of Jews from what was the Russian Empire, it does, nevertheless, underline for the reader, the social, cultural and economic links between the Jewish communities of Ireland and the larger, more established communities of Great Britain. These social, cultural and economic links with Great Britain are not to be dismissed and will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

According to Hyman, Solomon subsequently moved to Liverpool having married the eldest daughter of Moses Aaron (1718-1812), pencil-maker, himself born in Birmingham.

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[13] Ibid.,17.

[14] 'Minute Book of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue', London, 3 Tammuz 5513 (July 1753) in Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, 72.

[15] Sir C.J. Jackson, 'English Goldsmiths and Their Marks' (London: 1921) in Louis Hyman, *Jews of Ireland.* 74.

[16] Hibernian Journal, vol iii. From Wednesday, December the 30th, 1772 to Friday, January the 1st, 1773 in Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, 76.

A Jacob Hymes, umbrella maker, appears in the Cork section of the Dublin Directory for 1824. He is listed as living in Blarney, County Cork in 1870.[17]

In spite of the detailed research and acknowledgment of the links between the early Sephardic Cork community and the communities in Dublin and Britain, Hyman does rely on the familiar community tropes of persecution and oppression when discussing the early arrival of the community from Eastern Europe to Cork in Chapter 26 in the late nineteenth century. 'During the Russian oppression which preceded the May Laws of 1881, several Jews of Vilna, Kovno, and Ackmeyan, a Lithuanian village, came to live in Cork, after a short stay in Dublin'.[18]

It is, however, worth noting that unlike some other historians, Hyman does recognise that some members of the Cork community did not simply arrive in Cork, mistaking it for New York. According to Hyman, in 1881, there were at least ten Jews in Cork. This rose to one hundred and fifty-five in 1891 and again to three hundred and fifty-nine in 1901.

The arrival of Mr. Samuel Montagu (later Lord Swaythling) to Cork in 1888 to inquire into the anti-Jewish agitation once again draws our attention to the inter-communal links between the Jewish communities of Cork and those of the United Kingdom. When the community needed financial aid in 1903, it was Lord Swaythling who cleared the debt of the community.[19]

There is no denying the comprehensive, detailed nature of Hyman's research on not only the late nineteenth century Ashkenazi Cork community, but also the earlier, albeit smaller Sephardic community of Jews in Cork. Rather than viewing the arrival and subsequent establishment of a Jewish community in Cork as an anomaly, he sees its birth and subsequent growth as inextricably linked to not only the Dublin community, but the larger British communities of London, Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool.

Hyman also shows that the Cork community cannot be viewed alone, in isolation from other Anglo communities. Rather its connections, personal and professional, with other Jewish communities in Great Britain and Ireland must not be overlooked. There are, however, several points, which Hyman did not sufficiently examine. These points are now highlighted.

While Hyman mentions the importance of the port of Cork when highlighting why a small Sephardic community came to establish itself in Cork, the port of Cork merits some

[17] *The Dublin Gazette*, 28 February 1870, in Louis Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, 77.
[18] Ibid., 218.
[19] Ibid., 224.

further study when analysing the arrival in the late nineteenth century of Jews from Eastern Europe to Cork. Both the port of Cork, its trade links, and its geographical significance on the transatlantic route, played a pivotal role in the development of the Cork Jewish community. Hyman, like many scholars, overlooks this. The reasons that led to the arrival of a small number of Ashkenazi Jews to Cork in the late nineteenth century from eastern Europe cannot be examined without considering the geographical location of Cork and its port. The significance of the port and the expansion of the railways leading to the port in Cork is ignored by Hyman. The important role the port of Cork played in the arrival of Jews to the city is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

Hyman, also, fails to examine in any great detail the reasons why Jews decided to move to Ireland, a country normally associated with emigration, in the late nineteenth century. Similar to many other studies, Hyman concentrates on the country, Russia, from which they have come. He examined some of the important push and pull factors associated with Jewish migration to Ireland, however, he does not look at whether the actual routes of migration and the institutions set up to assist migrants while they were on their journey had an impact on what Aubrey Newman and other historians refer to as 'the patterns of migration'.[20] These patterns of migration are further analysed in the second section of this chapter.

1.2. Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (1998)

Keogh's book[21] begins where Hyman's finishes. It appropriately opens with the quotation 'but seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord for its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare' (Jeremiah 29:7). The aptness of this quotation becomes apparent as one reads the book.

Keogh pays unadulterated homage to the perceived hard work, nationalism, and patriotism of the Irish Jewish community. He does this by posing three main questions. First, how did Ireland respond to the arrival of Jewish refugees, fleeing the Russian pogroms in

[20] Aubrey Newman, 'Directed Migration: The Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter, 1885-1914' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850-1914* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, 1996), 175.

[21] Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).

the 1880s and 1890s? Secondly, was Antisemitism a feature of Irish society? And finally, what role did the Jewish community play in the independence movement?

Far from being the definitive word on Irish Jewry for which it is often praised[22], Jews are in fact secondary to Keogh's principal interests. The book is more concerned with the lack of direction in foreign policy-making in the newly independent state, fear of foreigners, prejudices and the omnipresence of the Catholic Church.[23]

Research by Keogh on the Cork Jewish community is based, for the most part, on interviews with former community members, Fred Rosehill and Gerald Goldberg, the unpublished memoirs of Fanny Goldberg (mother of Louis and David Marcus) and the 1901 and 1911 Census. The Oral History Project at University College Cork, conducted by Damien Bracken is also consulted. Reference to the topography of the area, known as 'Jew Town' in Cork city, is also included.

Similar to figures cited by Eugene C. Black (1988)[24], David Feldman (1994)[25], and Hasia Diner (2015)[26], Keogh also estimates that between 1881 and 1906, more than three million Jews, about a third of world Jewry left their countries of origin for the New World. Out of this three million between 150,000 to 200,000 Eastern European Jews came to settle in Great Britain and Ireland.

According to Keogh, many of those who came to settle in Ireland and Britain originated from Gubernia in Lithuania, the capital of which was Kovno. He further posits that the majority of the Dublin and Cork communities came from 'a rather derelict place called Akmijan. (Akmian in Yiddish and its current name is Akmene.)'.[27]

They were, according to Keogh, fleeing the pogroms of the time and conscription to the Russian army. While the possible role and effect of the pogroms and that of conscription to the Russian army is discussed in the second half of this chapter, it is nevertheless,

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[22] David O'Donoghue, 'Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism & The Holocaust' by Dermot Keogh; 'Hitler's Irish Voices: The Story of German Radio's Wartime Irish Service', in *History Ireland*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Summer, 1999), 51-52; Mary Christine Athans, 'Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism & the Holocaust by Dermot Keogh' in *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer, 1999), 153- 157.

[23] Stanley Waterman, *Jewish History, Vol 13, No. 1* (Spring, 1999), 57-159, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20101365 (accessed 14 October 2017).

[24] Eugene Charlton Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford, UK; New York: Blackwell Publishers, 1989).

[25] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

[26] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

[27] Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, 8.

important to mention already that the pogroms were not an everyday occurrence. The next pogrom after 1881 was in 1903. Despite the relative concentration of violence around the area of Odessa, migration southwards within the Pale of Settlement continued despite the fact that it was an emigration away from an area of relative calm to an area at the epicentre of anti-Jewish violence.[28] If fear of the pogroms was one of the main reasons for Jewish emigration from the North west of the Pale of Settlement to Great Britain and Ireland, it did not halt emigration to the South of the Pale of Settlement, an area much more prone to anti-Jewish violence. Therefore, for Keogh to assert that the pogroms were one of the major reasons as to why those Jews left the North West of the Pale of Settlement to eventually settle in cities in the British Isles such as Cork is simply inaccurate.

Keogh provides the reader with a sympathetic history of the Irish Jewish community, its contributions to Irish society and its relationship to the Irish State.[29] However, it does not expand or develop our understanding of how a Jewish community came to establish itself in Cork. Nor does he examine in any detail the legacy of the community arrival narrative as he does not identify the stories as communal narratives. Not only does he accept and repeat these ancedotes without question, but he also does not examine the prevalence of such stories associated with other peripheral Anglo-Jewish communities such as Bolton and Grimsby.

Keogh relies, for the most part, on anecdotes and family histories from a small number of surviving members of the community. Such a reliance on a small, highly selective number of the so-called gatekeepers of community memory and origins does not do justice to the complex and nuanced issue of Jewish migration to Cork in the late nineteenth century.

Rather it further perpetuates the communal tropes of accidental arrival due to persecution and fear of conscription to not only Cork, but to Ireland as a whole. Instead of developing the study of Irish Jewry, which Hyman began, Keogh often relies on unsubstantiated personal histories. The lack of critical awareness of the nature of the narratives and traditions surrounding the Cork Jewish community as well as the methodological issues of reliance on a limited number of interviews means that Keogh's work could be seen to create further misrepresentations of the Cork Jewish community.

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[28] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914*; John D. Klier, John Doyle, and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Klier examines the fixed responses and assumptions about pogroms in Russia.

[29] Mervyn O'Driscoll, *History Ireland, Vol. 7, No. 2* (Summer, 1999), 51 – 52, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27724672 (accessed 14 October 2017).

Memory is part of an active social process. Part of the oral historian's skill, in order to make the most of his/her resources, is to understand and disentangle the elements of that process. If one can understand how a piece of information is constructed, it is clearly easier to interpret it.[30] There is very little evidence of any attempt to unravel the dominant arrival narrative of the Cork Jewish Community by Keogh. There appears to be very little, if indeed any, critical analysis of the memories of those who were interviewed for his book.

Longevity is often one of the main factors for inclusion in an oral history project. Such longevity, while granting inclusion, does not always represent a complete and accurate description of the past. Elderly members of the community are not always a cross-section of their generation in the past. Many factors such as personal loss and personal habits, such as smoking and drinking, and even personality itself can affect death rates. A wide cohort of people from youth to old age needs to be analysed, if we are to attempt to see how far the cumulative effect of such factors may distort the representativeness of the surviving group. In short, the more people are accustomed to presenting a professional image, the less likely their personal recollections are to be frank.[31] Here again, Keogh fails to interview a cross section of the Jewish community of Cork. It is a pity, considering at the time of his research into the Cork community, a wide cross-section of the Jewish community was still alive and living in Cork.

The Belgian oral historian Jan Vansina emphasises the need to practice caution in relation to oral histories.[32] According to Vansina, 'half of all personal stories are not true. They are an image setting. They are necessary for the pride of someone'.[33] Nevertheless, he asserts that the discovery of distortion or the omitting of significant events in a life-story is not entirely negative. The story is still important. It is, he believes, the historian's role to note such suppression and omission and to learn from it. Again, there is no such analysis or reflection in Keogh's analysis of the arrival of the Cork community.

Keogh's reiteration of the communal narrative that the Jews of Cork all came from one particular area, Akmene, further strengthens the reductive communal narrative already long associated with the community. It limits and restricts the narrative to the small, surviving members of the Cork community whose ancestors may have come from this area.

[30] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford England; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 109.

[31] Ibid., 123.

[32] Jan Vansina in Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 110.

[33] Ibid., 110.

It excludes the significant number of Jews who were born elsewhere often in towns in Great Britain and Ireland and who later settled in Cork. Put simply, they did not all come from Akmene.

While both the 1901 and 1911 Censuses are examined in Chapter Five, it is important to note that the 1901 Census does not list any specific places of origin for the Jews who came from Russia to Cork. The 1911 Census lists twelve different places of origin in the Russian Empire for Cork Jews. Akmene is not listed in either Census. The communal narrative of accidental arrival in Cork is repeated uncritically by Keogh, 'we thought it was New York. We thought the next parish was New York'.[34]

Oral histories can be used to illuminate social and cultural settings, identity negotiation and important political movements rather than used on their own to verify precise facts. Oral histories should be analysed as much for their narrative arc and the assumptions they reveal as for their detailed portraits of a given space, organisation of set of relationships.[35] While we cannot and should not discount such stories, they, nevertheless, need to be further examined and analysed, as they do not place either Cork Jewry within the wider context of nineteen century Anglo and European Jewry.

In recounting the story of Harry Rosehill's arrival to Cork via Hull, Keogh indirectly acknowledges the migration trajectory of Jewish emigrants from the Russian Empire to the United States, however, he does not examine the business of migration or consult the findings of scholars of Jewish migration from the Russian Empire.[36] The business of migration coupled with the role that the port of Cork played and their eventual implications on the so-called 'accidental' arrival of Jews in Cork is examined in the second half of this chapter.

The publication of Keogh's book would, according to one reviewer, constitute the definitive word on Irish Jewry.[37] The entries on the Cork community, however, offer little more than a repetition of the prevailing communal narrative of accidental arrival. There is no examination as to how and why this narrative came into existence, nor is the supposed uniqueness of this accidental arrival to Cork ever questioned.

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[34] Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, 8.

[35] Ethan B Katz, *The Burdens of Brotherhood: Jews and Muslims from North Africa to France* (Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press, 2015).

[36] Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, 9.

[37] Robert Tracy, 'The Jews of Ireland' *Judaism* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1999: 358) in Natalie Wynn, *The History and Internal Politics of Ireland's Jewish Community in Their International Jewish Context (1881-1914)* (Dublin: Trinity College, 2015).

On the surface, Keogh's book flatters both the Jewish community of Cork and Ireland, however, on closer inspection, rather than flattering the community, it does the community a great injustice. It reduces its diverse origins and complex existence to a mere anomaly, a community created by mistaken arrival. The origins of the Cork Jewish community are not situated within the large academic context of the study of Jewish history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This unfortunate proliferation of the reductive community narrative also dominates Ray Rivlin's book *Jewish Ireland: A Social History*.[38]

1.3 Ray Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland: A Social History* (2011)

Like both Hyman and Keogh, Ray Rivlin's book *Jewish Ireland. A Social History* is based on library and archival material, private memoirs and oral testimony. It attempts to trace Irish-Jewish life from the 1880s to the present. Rivlin, like Hyman, also acknowledges the communal ties between Irish Jews and their coreligionists in Britain. A glossary of terms and an index of places is given, however, Rivlin does not include a bibliography.

Much like Keogh, Rivlin pays tribute to the contribution made to Irish society by its Jewish citizens. The 'outstanding' achievements and contributions of Irish Jewish citizens dominate much of the narrative of the book.

Rivlin also flatters the Cork Jewish community in a similar fashion to Keogh with comments such as 'the number of Jews who proceeded to third level education in Ireland has always been disproportionately high for the size of the community. Their contribution to academic life has been equally remarkable'.[39]

Like Keogh, Rivlin cites individuals and certain family like the Scher family[40], the film directors Louis Lentin and Louis Marcus and the solicitor and Lord Mayor of Cork, Gerald Goldberg to exemplify the academic and professional achievements of the relatively small Jewish community of not just Cork, but of Ireland as a whole.

[38] Ray Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland. A Social History* (Dublin: The History Press Ireland, 2011).
[39] Ibid., 159.
[40] Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland*, 150. According to Rivlin, Israel (Isa) Scher was a founder-member and Dean of the Cork Dental School. His four sons, Gerald, Leslie, Eric and Ivor all became dentists. Three of them taught with him at the Dental school and all five Schers were in practice at the same time. Ivor, Leslie and Eric were fellows of both the Royal College of Surgeons of England and the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, while Leslie and Eric became Professors of Prosthetics, Leslie in Cork and Eric in Belfast.

Furthermore, Rivlin emphasises the alleged role of Irish Jews in both the Nationalist cause and political life in post-independent Ireland.[41] It is, however, important to note at this point that both personal testimonies and diary entries show that the part played by Irish Jews in both the Nationalist cause and political life in both pre- and post-independent Ireland is a significantly more nuanced than Rivlin implies. This is analysed in more depth in Chapter Two.

Rather than expand our knowledge of the community, the emphasis Rivlin places on the alleged role played by people like Fanny Goldberg actually trivialises the community's unique place in contemporary Irish history and reduces its legacy to unsubstantiated anecdotes, which fit neatly into the community narrative. These anecdotes play on what is seen as the oddity of their situation (a small community of Jews living in a peripheral city such as Cork in a predominantly Catholic country).[42]

Again in ways similar to Keogh and Hyman, Rivlin reiterates the same communal anecdotes relating to both the arrival of Jews at the end of the nineteenth century to Ireland, their reasons for settling in Ireland and their places of origin. In chapter Two 'Early Years' she documents the arrival of some of the first Jews from Eastern Europe to Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century. 'In 1881, when Lithuanian Jews were desperately seeking asylum outside Russia, the census listed no more than 394 Jews in the whole of Ireland'.[43] The choice of the words 'desperately seeking asylum' again reduces the nineteenth century emigration of almost a third of world Jewry to the all too familiar tropes of persecution and victimhood.

Rivlin, like Keogh, seems to rely on communal accounts of the origins of the Jewish community rather than actual information available in documents such as the 1901 and 1911 Censuses, the school enrolments records of the Model School in Cork and in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*. According to Rivlin 'a large number of the Irish immigrants were from the shtetl or small towns of Akmiyan (Akmene), or similar townships in the province of Kovno'.[44] While both Censuses show that the majority of Jews who settled in Ireland in the late nineteenth century did originate from area of modern day Lithuania and

[41] Ibid., 190. One such example is that of Fanny Goldberg in Cork. According to Rivlin, she joined *Cumann na mBan*, the women's auxiliary of the Irish Volunteers, which 'nursed the wounded, carried dispatches, transported ammunition and did everything but actually shoot.' Also, Jewish pedlars trading within British Army barracks were sometimes persuaded to conceal weapons for the Volunteers inside.

[42] Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland*, 125.

[43] Ibid., 29.

[44] Ibid., 32.

Latvia, it is important to note again that neither the 1901 nor 1911 Census lists Akmiyan or Akmene as a place of origin for any of the Jews who settled in Cork. A more detailed examination of the 1901 and 1911 Censuses is carried out in Chapter Five.

Rivlin does recognise, like Hyman, the communal bonds between the Irish and British Jewish communities. While lauding their economic contribution to Ireland, she does hint at both the economic motivation of many of the Jews who arrived in Ireland and their migratory path, which often involved settling in Britain briefly before eventually travelling to Ireland.

The tailor Martin Sidney Rosenblatt, who would eventually include President Hillery and the cabinet minister Donagh O'Malley as his clients, came to Dublin via London and Belfast.[45] Joshua (Sam) Honigbaum, who changed his German surname to Samuels at the outbreak of the First World War, was born in the English city of Hull to immigrant parents. Between 1898 and 1905, he travelled back and forth between Dublin and Manchester, before closing his drapery and jewellery businesses in Manchester and moving with his wife and five children to Dublin. Three more children were born in Ireland.[46]

Maurice Mosley's unpublished book *The Struggle,* which documents the early lives of many of those who first went to England, is also mentioned by Rivlin.[47] While such anecdotes about individual families do hint at the migratory paths of some of those Jews who did eventually settle in Ireland, unfortunately, the potential richness they add to the story of Irish Jewry, remains largely unexploited by Rivlin.

Despite the recognition of both the economic and inter-island migratory paths of Jews in Ireland, the familiar ubiquity of oppression, alienation and victimhood remains ever-present throughout Rivlin's book. The Cohen brothers were 'forced to disembark' in Cork, 'so desperate to leave' were Silva Solomons' parents that they took the first available boat. The narrative of chapter Two is punctuated with words such as 'unscrupulous sea captains', 'hoodwinked refugees' 'mistaking Cork for New York'[48].

While it would be wrong to discount or even omit these anecdotes, without any critical analysis, they do not contribute to a deeper understanding of the motivation of those Jews who did come to Ireland. As previously mentioned, they simply add to the narrative of victimhood and suffering.

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[45] Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland,* 90.
[46] Ibid., 85.
[47] Ibid., 30.
[48] Ibid., 30.

1.4 Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (2006)

Unlike both Keogh and Rivin, Cormac Ó Gráda's book *Jewish Ireland In The Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History*[49], neither trivialises nor flinches from portraying the reality for a small minority of Jews living in a predominantly Roman Catholic Ireland.

Also, unlike historians such as Rivlin, Keogh and to a lesser extent Hyman, Ó Gráda dispels some of the myths and accepted truths of the Jewish community in Ireland while at the same time providing a more nuanced and detailed picture of the Irish Jewish community.[50]

Ó Gráda chooses, due to its sheer size and number of Jewish inhabitants, to concentrate on Dublin. Nevertheless, he gives more than a passing comment to the provisional communities of Cork, Limerick and Belfast, not to mention the more peripheral communities such as Lurgan and Athlone.

From the beginning of the book, unlike other historians and in opposition to the communal narrative, Ó Gráda questions the reoccurring themes of persecution, discrimination and escape from tsarist Russia. Ó Gráda accepts the possible validity of this argument in relation to other areas of the Russian Empire, however, he believes that it cannot be used to explain the high number of emigrants from the area of the Pale of Settlement which would become modern day Lithuania.[51] He posits two reasons as to why this argument is not completely valid.

First, Ó Gráda asserts that if persecution and fear of the pogroms was the dominant factor for Jewish migration then Jewish migration from the southern regions of the Pale of Settlement should have been much higher than from the less-affected regions like the North-west. Instead, we see the opposite. Jews from the areas around Kovno and Vilna dominated the emigration quotas.

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[49] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

[50] Neal Garnham, The Journal of Economic History, Vol 70, No. 1 (March 2010), 249-250, www.jstor.org/stable/25654080 (accessed 16 November 2017).

[51] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce,* 14.

Secondly, Ó Gráda highlights the rise in the Jewish population of this area of the Pale of Settlement. The Jewish population of Kovno rose from 81,500 in 1847 to 212,600 in 1897, while the Jewish population of Vilna rose from 64,800 to 204,700.[52]

Ó Gráda also questions the Jewish fear of conscription to the Russian army as a push feature, another common feature of the Cork communal Jewish narrative of accidental arrival. He opines that the worst excesses of conscription of Jews to the Tsarist army were removed after Tsar Alexander II's accession in 1855. This was more than two decades before the peak in mass Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire. Like the prevalent fear of pogroms, the fear of conscription be dismissed as a reason for Jewish migration. Ó Gráda is, however, right to question its pivotal position in the narrative of Irish Jewry.

Unlike Keogh and Rivlin, Ó Gráda uses Census data from both Ireland and Russia to substantiate his depiction of Irish Jewry. The differing age distributions of some of the main forms of occupations of Irish Jews in the 1911 Census hint at a shift from skilled worker such as tailor or cabinetmaker to trader over the life cycle. This is examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

Unlike other historians mentioned earlier in this chapter, Ó Gráda also questions the complex question of the role of Jews in the Nationalist narrative. Coming from the Russian Empire, Jews were suspicious of Home Rule and Roman Catholicism. Differing from other historians, he sees it as a lot more nuanced than the testimonies and role of several prominent Jews in Home Rule.

Nationalism was almost invariably linked with Antisemitism and xenophobia in eastern European Jewish eyes and should therefore be heeded with care. Jewish parents tended to send their children to a Protestant or Church of Ireland school, as opposed to the often, nearer local Roman Catholic school. Many of the oral testimonies of former members of the Cork Jewish community, examined in Chapter Two highlight this inclination towards Church of Ireland primary schools for Jewish children.[53]

Ó Gráda provides the reader with an analytical, concise picture of the Irish Jewish community which grew steadily in numbers throughout the late nineteenth century. Unlike Keogh or Rivlin, he queries several of the familiar tropes of the community narrative such as fear of the pogroms and conscription, while also using comparisons with Jewish emigration to the United States and the reactions of the Jewish communities in Britain to

[52] Ibid., 18.

[53] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 165.

show that Irish Jewry was never the outlier that many historians claim. It always retained strong cultural, social and economic ties with not only the Jewish community in Dublin, but also Anglo-Jewish communities in Great Britain.

While Ó Gráda also highlights the fact that many of those Jews who arrived in Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s remained only for a very short period before travelling onwards, he does not explore this important facet in any detail. The community itself also often ignores this transience while references are made to it in the *Minutes of the Cork Hebrew Community* and Census data from the United States also point to it. To fully understand the Irish Jewish community and its perception of itself, this important aspect of the Cork Jewish community needs to be examined in more detail.

Ó Gráda uses research and data from the Russian Empire to dispel the importance of the pogroms and conscription. He does not, however, examine other factors such as the business of migration and the role of the media which both directly and indirectly encouraged emigration.

The important role played by the Russian press is examined by John D. Klier in his essay *Emigration Mania in Late-Imperial Russia: Legend and Reality.*[54] Klier is unequivocal when he states that the Russian press played a very clear, decisive role in inciting 'emigration mania'.[55] The journalistic rousing of 1881-1882 had, according to Klier, a number of significant consequences. It ensured that emigration remained rooted on the communal agenda. In subsequent years, newspapers, which opposed and encouraged emigration printed descriptions of Jewish settlements and colonies abroad. Emigration moved from a dramatic event to a solution to an everyday norm.

Despite Ó Gráda's detailed analysis of the actual reality for Jews in the north-west of the Pale of Settlement, the role played by both the Russian newspapers of the day, Jewish and non-Jewish as well as the concept of migration as a business in this area of the Russian Empire are not examined in any detail by Ó Gráda.

In the first chapter of the book, Ó Gráda states that 'memory is prone to be partisan, simplistic, and subject to chronological confusion, making events in the distant past seem as though they happened yesterday'.[56]

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[54] John D. Klier, 'Emigration Mania in Late-Imperial Russia: Legend and Reality', in Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration, 1850-1914* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London), 24.

[55] John D. Klier, 'Emigration Mania in Late- Imperial Russia', 24.

[56] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, 15.

He also posits that collective memory often tells us 'more about the needs of the present than the past'.[57] Yet despite this pertinent piece of advice, no analysis is provided of the anecdotes relating to the arrival of Jews in Cork when Ó Gráda discusses them in Chapter Five. The anecdotes relating to the community originating in Akmene and the apparent welcome they received from the predominantly Catholic inhabitants of Cork are worth retelling as they give us an insight into the specific narrative the community wished to project and solidify, yet the reader would benefit more from an analysis of these arrival stories.

This lack of critical analysis of not only the sources of reference relating to the Jewish community of Ireland but also the over reliance on certain oral sources is a thread, which runs through each of the four previously citied works by Hyman, Keogh, Rivlin and Ó Gráda. A more sophisticated and analytical use of oral history is outlined by David Cesarini.[58] Cesarini highlights the work undertaken in this area by oral historians such as Paul Thompson whose influential work *The Voice of the Past* was published in 1978. However, he stresses a more sophisticated use of oral history developed by Luisa Passerini in Italy.

Passerini's approach emphasised the 'cultural readings' of the collected material and the way memories 'draw upon general cultural repertoires, features of language and codes of expression, which help to determine what may be said, how and to what effect'.[59] According to Passerini, memory and autobiography are socially produced. Consequently, what is produced has been shaped by myths, half-truths or versions of the past, which often prevailed at the time.[60]

In Cesarani's analysis of autobiographical accounts, written by either the emigrants themselves or by their descendants four main reoccurring reasons as the catalysts for departure dominate the narratives: the pogroms, religious persecution, poverty and fear of military conscription. The same four reoccurring motivational factors for emigrating emerge in the narratives of the oral histories of Irish Jewry as a whole.

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[57] Ibid., 15.

[58] David Cesarani, 'The Myths of Origins: Ethnic Memory and the Experience of Migration', in Aubrey Newman and Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration, 1850-1914* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London) 247.

[59] Ibid., 247.

[60] Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class* (Cambridge, 1988), originally published in Italian in 1984.

Irish Jewry as a whole, much like their British brethren not only clung to these myths, but also continued to retell and pass them from generation to generation, thus perpetuating the narrative. Unfortunately, none of the aforementioned writers on Irish Jewry analyse in any great depth the historical background to such myths or way the narrative continues to be perpetuated by not only historians but members of the Irish Jewish community.

Each of the historians of Irish Jewry citied in this section of the chapter have illustrated different aspects of Irish Jewry. Louis Hyman charts the ebb and flow of Irish Jewry and binds it to that of their coreligionists in Great Britain. Dermot Keogh draws on a number of oral histories to chart the Cork Jewish community and indirectly shows us the prevalence of the myths of origins and arrival of the Jewish community.

While both Dermot Keogh and Ray Rivlin provide a rather sympathetic history of Irish Jewry emphasising their significant contribution to Irish society, Cormac Ó Gráda questions the actual reality behind the familiar tropes of persecution and fear of conscription. Ó Gráda also looks briefly at the migratory journeys of Irish Jews.

It is, however, the dominance of a particular arrival narrative, coupled with the reoccurring tropes of persecution, victimhood and conscription to the Russian army of the time which links the works of Hymen, Keogh, Rivlin and Ó Gráda. This section demonstrates that the level of critical analysis varies considerably among historians. Consequently, rather than providing a nuanced, complex and diverse portrayal of Cork Jewry, a limiting, simplistic and at times unreliable picture continues to be reproduced. The second part of this chapter examines the reality in Russia in the nineteenth century.

1.5 Jews in The Russian Empire

As we have seen in the works of Hyman, Keogh, Rivlin and Ó Gráda not only was the Russian empire the point of origin for many of the Jews who settled in Ireland, but the persecution, poverty and marginalisation of its Jewish communities were often cited as the main reasons for this emigration. The Russian empire was central to the communal arrival myths that are analysed in Chapter Two.

Despite the relatively simplistic portrayals of Russian Jewry in many of the works on the Cork Jewish community, it is also important to note from the outset that many scholars state that Russian Jewry has always been complex and until relatively recently, ill-defined. For well over a century, the vibrancy, diversity and complexities Russian Jewry

have been reduced to these familiar tropes and stereotypes of Jewish exile often based on the needs of its western counterpart.[61]

The 1897 census shows that there were over 5 million Jews living in Russia. In terms of numbers, this would make Russia the epicentre of world Jewry. Yet when Catherine the Great came to power in 1762, there were almost no Jews living in Russia. It would consequently be fair to say that Russia inherited its Jewish population.[62] Between 1772 and 1795, Poland was invaded three times by Russia, Prussia and the Austrian Habsburg Empire.[63] Some twenty-five years after the third partition of Poland took place in 1795, Jews made up 1.6 million of the empire's overall population of forty-six million inhabitants. These would rise in 1880 to 4 million out of a population of eighty-six million and in 1910 to 5.6 million out of 130.8 million. The Russian Jewish community was consequently largely inherited from the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.[64] Now part of the Tsarist Empire, some 1.2 million Jews in 1820 lived in areas annexed as a result of the partitions of Poland. Before this, only a small number of Crypto-Jews lived within the borders of Russia.[65]

When the first reliable Russian census took place in 1897, the empire was host to the world's largest Jewish community with its 5.2 million Jewish inhabitants, constituting almost fifty per cent of world Jewry. Additionally, the Jewish population of Russia now formed the largest non-Slavic and non-Christian minority in the empire. It was also the fifth largest of its approximately one hundred ethnic groups.[66]

The Jewish population was not, however, evenly distributed. The level of Jewish concentration diminished as one travelled from North to South and especially from West to East. In the ten Polish provinces, Jews numbered 14 per cent of the whole population. Jews made up 50 per cent of the urban population of White Russia, 50 per cent of those counted

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[61] Howard Sachar, *Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York: Random House Inc, 1990); Anthony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: A Short History* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013); Paul Kriwaczek, *Yiddish Civilisation: The Rise and Fall of a Forgotten Nation* (London: W&N, 2006); Natalie Wynn, *The History And Internal Politics of Ireland's Jewish Community in their International Jewish Context (1881-1914)* (Dublin: Trinity College, 2015); Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. From the Earliest Times Until the Present Day* (New York: The Jewish Publication of America, 1916).

[62] Jarrod Tanny, 'The Jews in the Land of the Russian Tsars' in Alan T. Levenson ed., *Wiley Blackwell History of Jews and Judaism* (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 364.

[63] Jarrod Tanny, 'The Jews in the Land of the Russian Tsars' in Alan T. Levenson ed., *Wiley Blackwell History of Jews and Judaism* (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 364.

[64] Anthony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: A Short History* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013), 4.

[65] Ibid., 75.

[66] Natalie Wynn, *The History And Internal Politics of Ireland's Jewish Community in their International Jewish Context (1881-1914)* (Dublin: Trinity College, 2015).

as urban in Lithuania, and close to 38 per cent of the urban mix in the Polish provinces. The census also shows that the Jewish population grew by almost 20 per cent in the decade and a half following the pogroms. While the Jewish population had always been an urban one, it became more so in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[67]

1.6 The Russian Reaction to the Jewish Question.

The reaction of the Russian government to its newly acquired Jewish subjects in the first half of the nineteenth century can be outlined within three main tendencies. First, the last years of Alexander I's reign (1815-1825) can be summarised as a mixed tendency of benevolent paternalism and severe restrictions. Second, the first half of Nicolas I reign (1826-1840) is categorised as a military tendency of 'correcting' the Jews by subjecting their youth to the austere discipline of conscription and barrack training and by an unprecedented reoccurrence of lawlessness and oppression. Finally, the latter part of his reign (1840-1855) is referred to as the 'enlightened' tendency of improving the Jews by establishing "crown" schools with the gradual destruction of the autonomous structure of Jewish life.[68] Every effort of the Czars over the following century, using both the carrot and stick, was to be directed towards dealing with this 'Jewish Problem'.[69]

Following the partitions of Poland, under Catherine II, the Jewish population was not permitted to move out of the lands of partitioned Poland. Unsettled frontier areas in the South further supplemented this area. After the Second and Third Partitions of Poland, further restrictions to expel Jews from the countryside coupled with limitations on the occupations Jews were allowed, evolved into the 'Pale of Settlement'.[70]

By 1881, the 'Pale of Settlement' comprised of fifteen provinces in the north-western and south-western regions of European Russia (Belorussia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Bessarabia and New Russia). Within the Pale itself, Jews numbered 2,912,165 or 12.5 per cent of the population. Just over 80 per cent of the Jewish population lived in towns or

[67] Alexander Orbach, 'The development of the Russian Jewish community, 1881-1883' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 138-141.

[68] Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. From the Earliest Times Until the Present Day* (New York: The Jewish Publication of America, 1916) 390.

[69] Ibid., 275; Cecil Roth, *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Great Britain: Jewish Publication Society, 1962), 110; John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3.

[70] John D. Klier, *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, 3.

shtetlach (a small Jewish community in eastern Europe[71]), while 580,285 resided in the countryside. There was over a further million living in the Kingdom of Poland, an area that was not governed by the restrictions of the Pale.[72]

The area of the Pale itself was vast. It was roughly the size of France, yet it only encompassed 4 per cent of Russian territory. As Jews were expected to be of use in developing Russia's rural market, unlike most other subjects, Jews had freedom of movement within the Pale.[73] In spite however of this initially positive situation, it was not to remain the case for long.

In 1802, Tsar Alexander I created the committee for the Organization of Jewish life. Jewish economic life was to be radically transformed and all Jews were to be placed into four categories: merchants, townspeople, manufacturers, artisans, and farmers. Inn-keeping and all types of leasing were to be barred to Jews. This was following by a special code law in 1804 also referred to as the 'Jewish Constitution', which aimed to direct Jews into manufacturing and agriculture.[74]

The constitution also referred to the 'enlightenment' of the Jews. In a further attempt by the Russian state to absorb the Jewish population, Jewish children were granted free access to state schools, gymnasiums and universities in the Russian Empire. Jews were also allowed to open their own schools for secular education.[75]

Tsar Nicholas I who succeeded Alexander I in 1825 implemented military service for Jews in the Pale of Settlement in 1827. It was conceived as a measure to turn Jews into loyal subjects. The evident hardship of a twenty-five-year military service was a major disruption to Jewish life. Jews in military service were not able to be religiously observant and often had to complete their service thousands of miles from home, which in turn severed family contact. During the reign of Nicolas I, approximately seventy thousand Jews served in the Russian army. Approximately between 4.5 per cent and 6.5 per cent of all Jews were conscripted. Provision for religious observances were often ignored and discarded and

[71] Collins Dictionary, https://www.collinsdictionary.com (accessed 7 Feb. 2022).

[72] Ibid., 5; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 148.

[73] Natalie Wynn, *The History and Internal Politics of Ireland's Jewish Community in their International Jewish Context (1881-1914)*, 12.

[74] John D. Klier, 'Russian Jewry on the eve of the pogroms' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroz ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6.

[75] Ibid., 342.

conversation was actively encouraged.[76] It should, nevertheless, be stated that conversion of Jewish soldiers never went above 1%.[77]

Following the death of Nicolas I in 1855, amid growing unrest and a desire for change following the defeats of the Crimean war, Alexander II ascended the throne. It was his intention to provide 'education, equal justice, tolerance, and humaneness' for every citizen in Russia.[78] Russian peasants or serfs were granted their legal freedom in 1861. Landless peasants, now free to travel, were attracted to the relatively richer Ukraine. They tended to wander from place to place, seeking work.[79]

Some five years before, Alexander had issued an ukase abolishing the six-year period of military 'cantonment'. Coupled with the suspension of Russia's twenty-five-year draft, the abandonment of the cantonment system lifted a huge burden off the shoulders of Russian Jews.[80] Despite the removal of the twenty-five-year draft, the economic conditions for Jews in the Pale continued to worsen after the emancipation of Russian peasantry in 1861. In addition to the changes to the Russian economic and social model, Jews also had to contend with increased hostility, social and legal exclusion in the final decade of the nineteenth century.[81] The form of this hostility and the imagery that the term pogrom evokes which is all too often cited as being the kernel for Jewish emigration and settlement in Cork is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

1.7 The Pogroms

After Tsar and vodka, pogrom may well be the Russian word most widely understood and used by non-Russians. Although the events to which it refers, lie in the distant past, the

[76] Anthony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia: A Short History* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2013), 82; John D. Klier, *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 8; Cecil Roth, *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (London: Jewish Publication Society, 1962), 268.

[77] Abigail Green, *Moses Montefiore Jewish Liberator. Imperial Hero* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 175.

[78] Howard M. Sachar, *Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York: Random House Inc), 202; Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939: Immigration and Integration* (London; Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell & co Ltd), 1.

[79] Michael Aronson, 'The anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia in 1881' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 46.

[80] Ibid., 205; Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939: Immigration and Integration* (London; Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell & Co Ltd), 2.

[81] Ibid., 141.

word was thought sufficiently familiar to be used by a mass-circulation American newspaper in 1888 without either translation or explanation.[82] The word pogrom tends to be used as a generic term to describe the sporadic outbreaks of violence against Jews, which took place throughout the nineteenth century. It is often cited as being the main reason why over one million Jews emigrated from the Russian Empire to the West in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century.

As the word is often used as a general term to describe violence towards Jews, it is necessary to start with a definition of pogrom. A pogrom 'is a serious anti-Jewish riot, usually lasting for more than a day and often abetted by the authorities actively or passively'.[83] It was the nature of the pogroms, which took place in the Russian Empire from 1881 onwards to spread over entire areas and to come in cycles which took about three years to subside.[84]

The origins of the word 'pogrom' can be traced to the Russian word for 'thunder' or 'storm'. Until the early twentieth century, the term 'pogrom' was just one of several terms used to describe attacks of all sorts against Jews. Terms such as 'southern storms' and *besporiaki,* a generic word for 'atrocities' were often used to describe the riots and violence of the last decade of the nineteenth century. When the term first began to be used in British papers, it was defined or even placed in italics.[85]

While there were sporadic outbreaks of violence, for the most part, in and around the city of Odessa, pogroms were almost unknown in much of the Russian empire before 1881. The use of the term pogrom became inextricably linked to antisemitic violence after the outbreak of three great waves of anti-Jewish rioting in the Russian Empire in 1881-1882, between 1903 and 1906 and again between 1919 and 1921.[86]

It was widely believed and reported at the time that the Russian government planned, welcomed or to some degree, tolerated the pogroms for its own purposes.[87] Among the most

[82] Hans Rogger 'Conclusion and overview' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 314.

[83] Avraham Greenbaum, 'Bibliographical essay' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 373.

[84] Ibid., 373.

[85] Steven Zipperstein, *Pogrom and the Tilt of History* (New York: Liveright, 2018), 4-5.

[86] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 148.

[87] John D. Klier 'The pogrom paradigm in Russian history' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 164.

striking features of the pogroms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were their spontaneous and often confused form, lacking any long-terms goals.

The southern Russian city of Odessa was the stage for the first modern pogrom. These pogroms would occur in 1821, 1849, 1859 and again in 1871. These early pogroms were instrumental in creating a matrix of fixed responses and assumptions about pogroms which Russian officials and publicists developed to explain and interpret the events in Odessa.[88] As a result, when the pogroms erupted in 1881 on a much bigger scale in the Pale of Settlement, interpretations were already at hand.

The first pogrom in the city was a result of events relating to Greek independence. Unanswered questions from this pogrom in 1821 would be asked again and again following each subsequent violent outbreak. To what extent was it planned? Who were the main instigators and what were their motives?[89] While little is recorded of the pogrom of 1849 and there are only two published accounts of the pogrom of 1859, the pogrom of 1871 would follow an already established patter. The allegations against Jews were again linked to religion.

Klier believes that several observations can made at this point which can be used to analyse the pogroms which began in the last decade of the nineteenth century and continue in the early twentieth century. These pogroms would come to form an integral part of the arrival narrative of many of Cork's Jewish community.

First, though not distinctively 'Russian' by tradition or caused by the Russian population, anti-Jewish pogroms became a reoccurring phenomenon in Odessa during the nineteenth century. Secondly, the justification of the pogroms often became identified in the minds of the public with a few recurrent rumours. These rumours included religious intolerance, Jewish exploitation of the Russian masses and a low cultural level of the masses.

Moreover, while the police or the military often anticipated pre-pogrom violence, they were often incompetent at controlling and quelling the violence once it had broken out. This inability could and was often seen by the victims as a sign of approval by the authorities. Russian intellectuals began in the latter half of the nineteenth century to take the assumptions together to constitute a paradigm to explain the phenomenon of the pogroms against the Jewish population. As a result, the ground was fertile when rumours began to circulate, aided

[88] Ibid., 15.

[89] John D. Klier 'The pogrom paradigm in Russian history' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15.

in no small part by the Russian Press, in relation to Jewish involvement in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by a group of revolutionary terrorists on March 1, 1881.

1.8 The May Laws

Following the outbreak of violence in the town of Elisavetgrad against Jews in April 1881, the May Laws were supposedly introduced as an attempt to restore order to the countryside by limiting the scope of Jewish exploitation. A series of measures were introduced to relocate Jews from the 'defenceless' peasants in the countryside to urban areas.

The May Laws restricted Jewish settlement outside towns and villages. They also restricted Jews from buying property in the countryside. Severe restrictions were imposed on Jewish trade and commerce, notably in the production and sale of alcohol. Jews were banned from trading on Sunday mornings and on Christian holidays.

The real importance, however, of the May Laws was twofold. First, the scope they gave to local officials and police in their interpretation and application of the laws and secondly, they did not prevent the outbreak of further pogroms. Pogroms would occur again in 1882, 1883 and 1884.

Contrary to popularly held beliefs, that the Russian government planned, encouraged or abetted the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1881, the government of Alexander III was insecure. It feared all popular violence. Police numbers were very low. The government did not have sufficient military personnel or police.

Also, the government was neither sufficiently powerful or competent to exercise such control over the population or even over its own officials. It was ultimately the degree to which each local official under the influence of his own antisemitic feelings, determined his behaviour and his success or failure in preventing and controlling the outbreak of the anti-Jewish violence.[90]

Despite the psychological terror, which they induced, the pogroms, during the first half of the last decade of the nineteenth century claimed only a small number of victims. In

[90] 5 John D. Klier 'The pogrom paradigm in Russian history' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1-57.

the period of the revolutionary struggles, the number of facilities would, however, rise to the thousands.[91]

Violent acts against Jews were committed throughout the Pale of Settlement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were, however, even more prevalent in areas such as Bessarbia and the Ukraine. Both Bessarbia and the Ukraine were the epicentres for the new, regular outbreaks of mass violence against the Jewish population before and during the Revolution of 1905.

In short, the Jews were an easy target whenever the social and political fabric threatened to come unravelled. They were also a poorly defended target, one, which the local authorities felt little incentive to help and protect.[92] Widespread unrest and discontent followed poor harvests in 1902 and 1903. Political upheavals were exasperated by the disastrous Russo-Japanese War of 1904, which was followed by the massacre of the innocents at the Winter Palace in January 1905. A new wave of pogroms would follow, beginning with the infamous pogrom of Kishinev in Bessarabia in April of 1903. Though there were more deaths during the pogrom in Gomel some five months later, the events of Kishinev came to become one of the best known of all events in the Russian Jewish past and the one most persistently misunderstood.[93]

There was a total of forty-five pogroms in 1903 & 1904. Ninety-three Jews and thirteen non-Jews were killed. Approximately 4,200 mostly Jews were injured in the violence. Unfortunately, due to the frequency and the ever-increasing number of pogroms in 1904, such events no longer elicited such an outcry around the world. By 1905, such violence was considered commonplace.[94]

For both 1903 & 1904 it is estimated that some ninety-three Jews lost their lives as a result of pogroms. In 1905 alone, 800 Jews were killed in Odessa and some 5000 wounded, in Kiev, one hundred were killed and 406 wounded, in Minsk 100 Jews were killed and 485 were wounded, in Simferopol fifty were killed, Kalarash (Bessarabia) 100 were killed and

[91] Shlomo Lambroza, 'The Pogroms of 1903-1906' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 193.

[92] Ibid., 191-193.

[93] More detail can be found on the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 in Steven Zipperstein, *Pogrom and the Tilt of History* (New York: Liveright, 2018), 11.

[94] Shlomo Lambroza, 'The Pogroms of 1903-1906' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004),* 217-219.

eighty were wounded and the entire town was burnt to the ground. In Vitebsk eighty Jews were killed in pogroms, while in Belostok 200 were killed and 700 were injured.[95]

The Russian authorities under the leadership of Tsar Nicolas II had the means and wherewithal, even at the height of the revolutionary disturbances to limit the excesses of the violence and killing of the pogroms. For a variety of reasons, they did not intervene in a uniform or consistent way to attempt to prevent the anti-Jewish violence. From an early age Jews were viewed as pariahs, exploiters of the Russian peasant. Both the attitude and reticence of the authorities allowed the pogroms to occur.[96] On such fertile ground, it is not surprising that the pogroms resurfaced again during the Russian civil war. During every social upheaval, from the assassination of the Tsar, famines and revolutions, the Jews were targeted. As the Russian civil war was at its most brutal in the Ukraine, the rate and intensity of the pogroms also increased accordingly.[97]

When the killing came to a halt in 1921 with the establishment of Soviet power, approximately 10 per cent of the Ukrainian Jewish population had been murdered. These figures do not consider those maimed, raped, orphaned or who had their property and livelihood destroyed.[98]

The term pogrom and images of suffering, persecution and escape are ever-present in not only the testimonies of former members of the Cork Jewish community, but also in much of the primary and secondary literature on the Cork Jewish community. It is also consistently evoked and referenced not only in the entries in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Jewish Community*, but also in many of the articles of the *Jewish Chronicle* and non-Jewish publications such as *The Cork Examiner*.

As we have seen in the scholarly literature at the beginning of this chapter, it is often a reductive and simplistic portrayal of Russian Jewry. It also neither pays homage to the victims or clarifies how and why exactly Jewish immigrants came to arrive and settle in Cork. The belief that the pogroms had been organised by the tsarist government, perpetrated

[95] Ibid., 228-232.

[96] Shlomo Lambroza, 'The pogroms of 1903-1906' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 240-242; Steven Zipperstein, *Pogrom and the Tilt of History* (New York: Liveright, 2018), 45-46.

[97] Peter Kenez, 'Pogroms and White Ideology' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 293-294.

[98] Ibid., 301-302.

with its collusion and or at very least, tolerated, continues to prevail.[99] Pogroms and fear of the pogroms are only one aspect of the story of Jewish emigration to the British Isles and ultimately to Cork. Nevertheless, this one part of a much more complicated and multi-faceted story tends to dominate and even skew the narrative of the Cork Jewry community.

As shown in this section of Chapter One, there were three waves of pogroms from 1881, 1881- 1884, 1903-1906 and 1917-1921. The earlier pogroms of the nineteenth century had created a matrix through which subsequent events would be viewed and analysed. The initial pogroms started in cities, primarily in the south of the Pale. As the testimonies and Census data of subsequent chapters show, most of those Jews who arrived in Cork, originated in the northwest of the Pale, area relatively free of pogroms.

An underlining feature of the accounts of the pogroms is the alleged collusion of the military and police with those who carried out the pogroms. Few countries, if any, at the time were widely believed to be as thoroughly regulated and as militarized as Russia. Russia was, however, less militarized than was believed. The Russian military typically resented having to deal with riots. The guidelines for the use of the military in civil disturbances were hopelessly complicated and designed largely for rural disturbances, and not urban ones. The military felt aggrieved at being used to quell such violence. Confusion, obtuseness and a lack of ability to control wayward soldiers were some of the main reasons why Russian officials often misunderstood and mishandled the riots and protests.[100] The prevalence of antisemitic views by individual officials often determined how quickly or effectively the military or police would bring the violence under control. Officials did not respond to events in a uniform fashion. Officials, it would appear, often reacted to the spirit of the law rather than to the letter of the law.

The three waves of pogroms beginning in 1881 show when economic difficulties and/or political discord heightened insecurities, frustrations, and disappointments, these were often taken out against the most visible, most alien, and most recently arrived outsiders.

The numbers and frequency of the pogroms rose with the movement of Jews in Russia from northwest to the southwest and to the south.[101] It is important to note that

[99] Hans Rogger, 'Conclusion and Overview' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 314.

[100] Ibid., 91.

[101] Hans Rogger, 'Conclusion and Overview' in John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza ed., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 361.

migration southwards within the Pale of Settlement continued even though it was a movement away from an area of relative calm to an area at the centre of every anti-Jewish outbreak. Except over short periods, the rhythm of emigration was independent of anti-Jewish violence or regulations.[102]

In examining the reasons behind the migration of Jews to Cork, one cannot state that persecution, fear of conscription and accidental arrival were the main reasons behind this migration. As the first part of this chapter has shown the situation in Russia was far too complicated and fluid to be reduced to a communal narrative based entirely on fear and persecution. Significant increases in the Jewish population, which grew from one million to five million between 1800 and 1900 coupled with diminishing economic opportunities due to government measures all contributed to rises in Jewish emigration.

While the years of high Jewish emigration – 1882, 1891-1892 and 1903-1906 did coincide with new government initiatives or popular violence, often in the form of pogroms directed against the Jews of the Russian Empire, the loss of traditional professions such as peddling and hawking, coupled with the growth in railways were also significant contributing factors, factors that are often overlooked by scholars of Irish Jewry. The proliferation of railways not only in Russia but in Great Britain and Ireland in tandem with the growth of the shipping lines between Russia and Great Britain need to be examined to gain a complete picture as to why and how Jews emigrated to Cork. This next section of the chapter examines the business of migration and the role it played in Jewish migration to Cork.

1.9 Migration Patterns

There have been many studies on Migrants and Migration which have usually concentrated on the countries from which such migrants have come, on the factors which led them to leave one country and go to another, or on the countries into which they have emigrated. The way in which the actual routes of migration and the institutions set up to assist the migrants while they were on their journey had an impact upon what has been termed 'The Patterns of Migration' is often omitted from an analysis.[103] The previous section

[102] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 148.

[103] Aubrey Newman, 'The Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter, 1885-1914' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 175.

of this chapter outlined the economic and social situation for Jews in Russia in the nineteenth century. It looked at some of the factors as to why Jews may have chosen to emigrate from Russia. This section now looks at the both the patterns and the business of migration. These two factors are important components of the story behind the immigration of Jews to Cork.

According to Lloyd P. Gartner, there were three stages in the immigrant's odyssey: from home to the port city, the sea voyage, and the reception when he embarked.[104] This section now examines each of these stages. It begins with the role of the railways in Russia and Great Britain, followed by the importance of the shipping companies and finally it looks at the reception Jews received when they arrived in Great Britain. Again, these factors are often omitted when examining the reasons as to why and how Jews emigrated to Cork.

1.9.1 The growth of the railways in Russia and Great Britain

J.D. Gould states that changes in transport 'were surely one of the major and most widely influential factors in the rise of migration in the nineteenth century'.[105] Steam railway was important in facilitating travel to the ports. Fares' structure was an important factor in migration. The cost of rail travel in general may have encouraged some migrants to use simpler forms of overland travel. By examining the role of the railways, migration can be viewed as a multi-stage operation (facilitated by rail services) whereby an initial stage of rural-urban migration may have been followed by a transfer overseas when the limited potentials of most small provincial towns had been exhausted.[106] The expansion and proliferation of railways in Russia during the nineteenth century aided such migration.

As has been stated in the first section of this chapter, the Jewish population in Russia grew from between 1 million to 1.5 million at the beginning of the nineteenth century to just over 5 million at the turn of the century. Between 1880 and 1914 the population continued to grow despite the emigration of more than two million Jews. The economic structure of Jewish life failed to expand with the needs imposed by this unprecedented increase. On the contrary, the narrow basis of petty trades and crafts was increasingly replaced by newer

[104] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co), 30.

[105] David Turnock, 'Railway Development in Eastern Europe as a Context for Migration Study' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 293.

[106] Ibid., 299; Charlotte Erickson, 'Jewish People in the Atlantic Migration, 1850-1914' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 6.

economic developments, which did not grant the Jews a role sufficient to meet their needs.[107] According to the Russian Census of 1897, Jews involved in manufacturing produced finished goods for immediate consumption: the production of clothing and footwear together accounted for just under half of all Jews in manufacturing in 1897. The ejection of Jews also from villages left them more dependent on intermediaries to connect them with markets, while low returns due to intense competition made them dependent on the same figures for materials and machinery.[108]

The extension of the railway network, though it increased the fortunes of some financiers in the Russian Jewish elite disrupted Shtetl economy. Railway development came in two spurts, between 1866-75 and 1893-1905. Railways integrated national and regional markets, breaking into the local markets served by Jews and displacing Jews who had worked as carriers and carters. They also brought the world beyond Russia within closer reach of the Jews: they brought new knowledge and took away people.[109]

The opening of the railway line from Romny (near Poltava in modern-day Ukraine) to the port of Libau in modern-day Latvia ran through some of the most populous areas of the Pale of Settlement including Gomel, Minsk and Vilna.[110] The railway brought the prospect of emigration much closer to many Jews in the northwest of the Pale of Settlement.

The nineteenth century also saw significant developments in railway transportation in Great Britain. According to the *Manchester Guardian* in 1844, the direct train line between Hull and Liverpool which had recently opened had brought the 'German Ocean and the Irish Sea within a few hours of each other'.[111] The completion of a rail route across the north of England with the opening of the Manchester and Leeds Railway in March 1841 gave Liverpool a further advantage over Hamburg, Bremen and Le Havre as a port of embarkation for the United States, particularly since a small chain of Jewish congregations was known to exist along the way to serve, if necessary, as financial steppingstones.

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[107] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co), 21; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 149.

[108] Ibid., 151

[109] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 149; Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 28.

[110] Nicolas J. Evans, 'The Port Jews of Libau, 1880-1914' in David Cesarani and Gemma Romain ed., *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990. Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (Great Britain: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), 200.

[111] *Manchester Guardian*, 3 January 1844

Moreover, The Leeds Extension with the Manchester and Liverpool Railway in 1844 created a direct link between the towns of the northern England, which further eased the movement of migrants across the British Isles and ultimately to Ireland and Cork.[112]

Much of the scholarly and secondary literature on the Cork Jewish community posits that many Jews originated from Akmene, a small town in modern day Lithuania. The Censuses of 1901 and 1911, the enrolment records of the Model School which are examined in Chapter Five of this paper show that this is not entirely correct. Nevertheless, it reminds us that most of Irish Jews came from this area of the Pale of Settlement. It also highlights that the north-western area of the Tsarist Empire sent out the biggest number of immigrants not because of pogroms but in part because Jews endured the greatest poverty and overpopulation in this area. The proximity to the ports coupled with the articulation between the ports and railways ensured that it was easier for Jews in this area to emigrate.[113]

While the railways facilitated not only internal migration but also continental migration, from Russia to Germany or the Netherlands, it was the trans-Atlantic shipping companies, which ultimately transported the migrants the largest distance, to or at least towards the New World. The next section of this chapter looks at the role played by the shipping companies in the emigration of Jews from Russia to Great Britain and Ireland and ultimately the New World.

1.9.2 The role of the shipping companies

The British vice-consul at Libau reported in 1893 that 'a regular trade in the forwarding of emigrants has been established' Jews converged on the port from all over Russia as a result of advertising in the interior'.[114] The choice of destinations may have had less to do with the individual choices of the immigrants themselves and much more to do with the distortions created by factors which were very much outside the control of the immigrants themselves. Several historians have also emphasised the cutthroat competition

[112] Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 144.

[113] Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place' (paper presented at the Davis Seminar, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, April 2003), 132; Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 21.

[114] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 154.

that between the shipping companies.[115] Related to this intense competition was the need to create a market, by stimulating and maintaining the growth of the migrant trade. There was significant investment in ship building in the penultimate decade of the nineteenth century.

In his research on the Poor Jews' Shelter in London, Aubrey Newman reveals that most transmigrants travelled through Hull and Grimsby and then to Liverpool to reach America.[116] Most of the transmigrants did not travel through London.[117] London was the main port of arrival for those intending to either settle or wait a while before travelling onwards. In the last decade of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, there were at least four weekly steamers from Hamburg, three from both Bremen and Rotterdam and a weekly service from Libau to London.[118]

Migration was big business. The financial possibilities of emigration were seized upon by shipping entrepreneurs and their agents.[119] Often to boost sales, shipping companies made the journey more affordable by selling tickets for different stages of the journey. In 1898, there were some ten companies, known as the North Atlantic Shipping Ring, which fixed the price for the voyage amongst themselves in steerage from a Continental port to the United States at £7.15s. A total of £2 from each ticket went into a pool which was subsequently divided among the shipping companies. Nevertheless, the steerage price from Hamburg or Bremen via London and Liverpool to North America was only £5.16s. To avert the dreaded possibility that immigrants might circumvent the Shipping Ring's fare, the British companies agreed not to sell steerage passage to America to anyone who had not yet been in England five weeks. Most of the pool's income went to compensate the British firms

[115] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 175.

[116] David Morris, *Between East and West: Jewish Secondary Migration through Ireland and Wales, 1900-1930*, https://doi-org.elib.tcd.ie/10.1080/02619288.2018.1433535 (23 February 2018) (Accessed: 24 April 2018). According to Morris, in 1903 alone roughly 71,000 immigrants (mostly Jews) arrived at the port of Hull. This figure rose to over 92,000 in 1906 and 99,000 in 1907, and thousands more also arrived at the ports of Grimsby and London.

[117] Aubrey Newman, 'Directed Migration. The Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter, 1885-1914' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 179; Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1910* (London: Vallentine Mitchel & Co, 2001), 31.

[118] V.D. Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (New York: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1990), 48.

[119]David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 154.

for their sacrifice of passenger traffic.[120] It became, nevertheless, apparent that many passengers did not observe this five-week rule. Only 12 percent of those who declared their intention to remain in England were to be found there a month after their arrival.

The North Atlantic Shipping Ring would continue to set steerage fares until 1912 when one of the companies, left the cartel and began to sell cheaper tickets.[121] It, nevertheless, remained for a period of nearly fifteen years.

Consequently, for the migrant, it was more affordable to buy a ticket first to Great Britain and then from there, at a later stage, a ticket for the remaining leg of the journey to America. This next stage on the journey for those who continued their journey to America could be a direct sailing from either a mainline port in Britain or a ticket to Ireland, which was again cheaper, and one step closer to America.

Therefore, when analysing the reasons as to why and how a Jewish community settled in Cork, fare structuring, despite rarely, if ever, featuring in the arrival narratives of the community, is an important piece in the picture of Jewish immigration to Cork. Buying the shipping tickets in a piecemeal fashion, i.e., for different stages, as well as the relatively cheap cost of rail travel may have encouraged some migrants to travel in stages overland and to then settle on a semi-permanent basis in Cork.

Furthermore, as we have seen the shipping lines placed a premium on travelling to America in two stages via British ports. It made economic sense to travel first to Britain, where one could find work in order to earn the rest of the money necessary for the onward journey to America. The completion of the rail lines across the European continent such as those between Hamburg and Russia via Poland, together with the reduction in the price of steerage tickets from Liverpool to New York to £3 by 1846, constituted a combination of inducements which facilitated immigration as never before.[122]

1.9.3 Reception in Great Britain

Between 1881 and 1914 about 2.5 million Jews from eastern Europe moved west. Most- about 2 million settled in the U.S. About 150,000 settled in the British Isles.[123] As we

[120] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchel & Co, 2001), 302-304.

[121] Ibid., 302.

[122] Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchel & Co, 2001), 267

[123]Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (London: Clarendon Press, 1992), 17; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 141.

have seen earlier in this chapter, it is a safe assumption to say that many of these did not originally intend their stay to be permanent. Many had arrived in Britain due to the expansion and development of the railways in both Russian and Britain, but also more importantly due to the shipping lines and their fare structuring which promoted a stopover in Britain.

In the first section of this chapter, we saw that the emphasis in much of the scholarly works on Irish Jewry and in particular the Cork Jewish community is often on those who settled permanently or for several years in Ireland. This emphasis on those who remained is also apparent in the testimonies of former members of the Cork Jewish community which are analysed in Chapter Two of this paper and in much of the secondary literature which is analysed in Chapter Three. There is often a bias in the literature and the communal narrative on settlement rather than transience.[124] It is consequently important when looking at the arrival in Cork of a small number of Jews to look at those transmigrants who for a variety of reasons such as fare structuring, the growth of the railways, frequency of shipping lines and the reception they received when they arrived at British shores, travelled, often in stages to Cork, before settling there for a period of time.

The world of emancipated British Jewry was turned upside down by the waves of immigration of Jews from Russia and eastern Europe in the quarter century following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. There was no facet of Anglo-Jewish life, which was not affected by this immigration, just as there was no communal institution which could avoid responding positively or negatively, to its imperatives.[125]

Though private initiatives were discouraged, once the immigrants arrived in Britain, they were often met and helped on the onward journey by native Jews. As mentioned earlier, a direct train line had been built in 1844 between Hull and Liverpool, via Leeds and Manchester. In each of these cities along the Hull-Liverpool route, there was a Hebrew congregation to provide practical and possible financial support for the immigrants.[126]

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[124] Tony Kushner, *Anglo-Jewry since 1066. Place, locality and memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 178. Kushner discusses this emphasis on settlement rather than transience in London. He also discusses the importance of flux in Anglo-Jewish communities such as Southampton.

[125] Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (London: Clarendon Press, 1992), 17; Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: The Jewish Museum London, 1989), 2.

[126] Gordon Read, 'Indirect Passage – Jewish Emigrant Experiences on the East Coast – Liverpool route' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 267; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994),

In addition to the informal help provided to the Jewish immigrants from native Jews, Samuel Montagu's dispersion society, established in the face of restrictive agitation in 1902, enjoyed considerable community support in scattering Jewish 'settlers' throughout provincial Britain.[127]

In 1882 the Board of Guardians suspended its 6 months residence rule as a charitable gesture of strictly limited duration, but only in the context of an avowed and advertised campaign to persuade immigrants to continue their journeys to America or the colonies, or to return whence they had come from.[128] It is estimated that the Board of Guardians paid for the sending back of some 17,500 'cases'.[129]

Jewish solidarity had its limits though.[130] Wherever immigrants from eastern Europe could not be persuaded to return, and had no immediate plans to continue their journeys, the immigrants were offered financial assistance to settle elsewhere. Steps were also taken to stop the emigration at source.

Dr Asher, secretary of the United Synagogue in London and previously secretary of the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation travelled to Russia in 1882 to stem the tide of Jewish emigrants to the British Isles.[131]

In 1884 and in subsequent years, advertisements were placed in the Jewish press in Russia and Romania warning intending immigrants to England of the many hardships they would face, informing them that during the first six months the Board could do nothing to alleviate these difficulties. In 1888 Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler asked his colleagues in eastern

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[127] Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 247.

[128] *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 February 1882 in Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (London: Clarendon Press, 1992), 113-114.

[129] V.D. Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (New York: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1990), 76.

[130] Nancy L. Green, 'A Tale of three cities: Immigrant Jews in New York, London and Paris, 1870-1914' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 88; Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: The Jewish Museum London, 1989), 11; David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 156. Feldman says that in London alone between 1880 and 1914, the Jewish Board of Guardians repatriated over 50,000 of those who applied for poor relief.

[131] Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgo*w 1879-1939: Immigration and Integration (London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co Ltd), 186.

Europe to preach in their synagogues on the evils that awaited those orthodox Jews in Britain.[132]

While the initial reactions of the British public, both Jewish and non-Jewish were sympathetic towards the plight of Jews from Russia, the official reception when some of these Jews reached British shores was far from warm. From 1884 until the passing of the Aliens Act of 1905, the 'alien question' was intermittently an issue in British politics and in the local politics of at least east London.

Facts about Jewish immigration and immigration in general to Great Britain proved irrelevant in the face of public opinion. The Census of 1901 revealed that Britain had a population of 7.6 million foreigners by birth and nationality had fewer aliens within its borders than any other European country except Spain and Sweden.[133]

In 1904 the government headed by Arthur Balfour who took a personal interest in the aliens' question introduced an Aliens Bill, which implemented the majority report's recommendations in their full rigour, including power to immigration inspectors to exclude aliens on the ground of poverty.[134]

The Aliens Act of 1905 omitted any provision for prohibited areas; and, while giving immigration inspectors power to exclude immigrants for want of means, provided that this should not apply to anyone who proved he was seeking admission 'solely to avoid persecution or punishment on religious or political grounds or for an offence of a political character'.[135] Nevertheless, the Aliens Act discouraged but failed to halt the influx of Jewish emigrants from Russia and eastern Europe.

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[132]Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (London: Clarendon Press, 1992), 114; Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchel & Co, 2001), 24.

[133] Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 282.

[134] Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press), 159-160. Endelman says that The British Brothers League, an anti-alien pressure group founded in 1901 by William Evans-Gordon MP for Stepney, claimed a membership of 12000, concentrated mostly in the East End. Popular agitation in the East End, reinforced by rich-Jew anti-Semitism, lent weight to demands in parliament for legislation to protect the nation from the invasion. Bowing to pressure, the government, now led by Arthur James Balfour, announced the appointment of a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in March 1902. Its report concluded no case for a complete ban but recommended that several classes of undesirable immigrants be excluded, that immigrants be banned from settling in already overcrowded districts, and that undesirable aliens already in the country be repatriated. Balfour introduced a bill incorporating these recommendations in 1904, but the Liberal opposition preventing it from passing.

[135] V.D. Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (New York: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1990), 67-72.

The annual number of immigrants from the Russian empire dropped at first, but then, beginning in 1912, rose slowly to five thousand people in 1914, which was, in fact, the annual average for the entire period from 1881 to 1905. Following the introduction of the Aliens Act in 1905, less than 4,000 Jewish emigrants were turned away between 1906 and 1910. Word did, however, spread to Eastern Europe and Britain became a less desirable goal for migrant than the United States.[136]

1.10 Conclusion

Chapter One began by examining the scholarly work on the Cork Jewish community. Works by Hyman, Keogh, Rivlin and O'Grada all deal with similar themes. Each of the pieces looks at where the emigrants originated. They also, except for O'Grada, reference the familiar tropes of pogroms, persecution, conscription, escape and accidental arrival as the main reasons for Jewish immigration to Ireland and to Cork.

Again, aside from O'Grada, there is little examination of the more nuanced reasons for emigrating. The communal narrative is taken, for the most part, at face value. Significantly more emphasis is given to those who ultimately settled in Ireland and Cork as opposed to those who passed through before moving on to the New World.

The second section of the chapter shows that the reality in nineteenth century Russia was too complex to be reduced to pogroms, persecution and escape. Violence and the fear of violence against Jews cannot and should not be excluded from an examination of the reasons for emigration, however, the seismic societal and economical changes must also be analysed and included in any discussion as to the reasons for Jewish emigration. The Jewish population of the Pale of Settlement grew throughout the nineteenth century while at the same time, due to the abolition of serfdom, restrictive laws on Jewish economic activities and the expansion of the railways, the opportunities for Jews diminished.

The arrival of the immigrants in Britain may have been met with informal help, but the arrival of large numbers of Jews from Russia and eastern Europe was met, for the most part with fear and trepidation. The new arrivals were discouraged from settling in London

[136] Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press), 160-162; Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1989), 199.

and encouraged to continue their journey to the New World or to settle in outlier communities in the British Isles.

The Aliens Act of 1905 sought to suppress Jewish immigration to the British Isles. Asylum was, however, enshrined in the 1905 Aliens Act. Genuine refugees were not included in its scope. The benefit of the doubt to immigrants who claimed to be refugees from areas of eastern Europe where violence and pogroms had occurred was further extended in 1906 following the General Election of 1906. It was, therefore, in the interests of the immigrants themselves to characterise the flow of migration as a flight from persecution. Stating that one was fleeing persecution could make the difference between admission to Britain or immediate deportation.[137] These themes of violence, pogroms and escape from persecution feature in many of the oral testimonies of the former members of the Cork Jewish community. Chapter Two analyses these testimonies in detail.

[137] David Cesarani, 'The Myth of Origins: Ethnic Memory and the Experience of Migration' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 248-250.

Chapter Two

Interviews with Former Members of the Cork Jewish Community, non-Jewish Neighbours of the Community, and Writers on the Community

Chapter One examined the social and economic reality for Jews living in nineteenth century Russia. It looked at the restricted, diminishing opportunities for Jews in Tsarist Russia and the growth and expansion of the railway lines throughout the Russian Empire. While the growth of the railway lines curtailed significant Jewish economic activity, they, at the same time, provided greater possibilities for movement and migration. Chapter One also showed that this migration was further aided in no small part by the, at times, severe competition among the shipping companies for the migrants' business.

The reality for the Jewish migrants on arrival in Great Britain was also examined. The role of the Anglo-Jewish communities in the dispersal of the newly arrived migrants around the country, coupled also with the growth and expansion of the railways in Great Britain were also analysed.

A significant amount of both primary and secondary literature has been written about this Jewish migration to Britain and ultimately Ireland. Chapter One looked at the scholarly literature on the Cork Jewish community. Chapter Three analyses non-scholarly literature that has been written about the Cork Jewish Community. With one or two notably exceptions, very few interviews have been done with former members of the Cork Jewish community. When this research was started in 2014, there were less than five remaining members of the Cork Jewish community. Two years later in 2016 the synagogue closed as a result of the ever-diminishing numbers. It was an opportune moment to interview former members of the Cork Jewish community. Interviews can provide the researcher with information, observations and opinions that would otherwise not be unavailable.[138] Oral

[138] Donald A. Richie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 47; Jim Sharpe, 'Histories from Below' in Peter Burke ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 101. Sharpe believes that the unifying principle of all micro historical research is the belief that microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved.

history can provide the researcher with minute detail, which is otherwise inaccessible and may thus stimulate the historian to reanalyse other data in fresh ways. It can also provide the researcher with a rich and varied 'second record'.[139] The former members of the Cork Jewish community had been written about, but their voice remained for the most part unheard, 'hidden from history'.[140] As the interviews with the former members of the Cork Jewish community were for the most part held in person, a relationship was established between the interviewer and the interviewee. Such an active relationship can transform the process. The interviewee not only recalls the past but also asserts his or her interpretation of that past, and in participatory oral history projects the interviewee can be a historian as well as the source.[141] The interviews with participants in an oral history project can give a central place to the words of those who made and experienced the history.[142]

When describing the participants in his study of the rural past of a remote Suffolk village, George Ewart Evans wrote:

> For an unexcavated site after waiting in the soil for perhaps a couple of thousand years will not suffer from the neglect of a few more; while the sort of knowledge that is waiting to be taken down from old people is always on the brink of extinction. Tomorrow may be too late; and once this knowledge is under the soil no amount of digging will ever again recover it.[143]

He also posits that 'they are in some respects the last repositories of this culture and for this reason should have some of the respect given to any source of valuable historical information'.[144] Since beginning this project, at least two of the interviewees have died and several more are in very poor health. Consequently, the timing of the study was opportune.

During the period of 2014 to 2019, for the purposes of research for this thesis a total of twenty-two people were interviewed. These interviews took place primarily face to face. The interviewer travelled on several occasions to meet the interviewees in Cork, Dublin,

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[139] Gwyn Prins, 'Oral History' in Peter Burke ed., New Perspectives on Historical Writing (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 140.

[140] Robert Perks & Alistair Thomas, *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 1.

[141] Ibid., 1.

[142] Paul Thompson, 'The Voice of the Past' in Robert Perks & Alistair Thomas ed., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 26.

[143] George Ewart Evans, *Ask The Fellows Who Cut The Hay* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1956), 14.

[144] Ibid.,14.

Manchester, London and to Israel to Jerusalem, Haifa, Beit Yehoshua, and Netanya. Several follow-up interviews also took place by skype. Clarifications and modifications to the interviews were then made by email and by post.

This total number of interviews includes five interviews with non-Jewish residents of Cork. There is also an interview with the former non-Jewish caretaker of the synagogue. The daughter of the former housekeeper of Mr. Gerald Goldberg, former mayor of Cork is also interviewed. There are three further interviews with former non-Jewish residents of the area of Cork known until today as Jewtown. Another eighteen interviews with former members of the Jewish community of Cork were also recorded.

The topics discussed during the interviews at times varied from participant to participant according to his or her life experiences, however, there were several common topics that were discussed in every interview. All interviewees were asked to share their memories of either growing up as part of the Jewish community of Cork or to describe their close contact with members of the Jewish community of Cork. They were requested to talk about their schooling, home and communal life and any links - formal or informal, to other Anglo-Jewish communities. During the interviews, the interviewees were also asked about the communal narrative, a narrative based on escape from conscription to the Russian army and persecution and subsequent accidental arrival to Cork. They were also asked to discuss the factors that, in their opinion, led to the demise of the Cork Jewish community and if during their time in Cork they had experienced or witnessed any discrimination or Antisemitism.

However, before any analysis of these interviews can take place, a brief outline of the methodology used, the advantages associated with this approach and perhaps more importantly the limitations of such a study is needed.

2.1 Methodology

The methodological approach applied during the interviews with both the former members and the non-Jewish neighbours of the Cork Jewish community is best summarised by a quote from George Ewart Evans: ‘Let the interview run. I never attempt to dominate it.

The least one can do is to guide it and I try to ask as few questions as I can […] There is plenty of time and plenty of tape'.[145]

While common topics were discussed and the interviewer guided and structured the interview to ensure that the same topics were indeed covered by all participants, nevertheless, the interviewer tried to let the conversation flow as naturally as possible. There was no particular order or structure to which the topics were discussed. Many of the participants shared anecdotes that related to their personal experiences of growing up in Cork. It was often through these anecdotes that topics such as growing up in the Jewish community of Cork and their knowledge and belief in the communal narrative were broached and discussed.

The Cork Jewish community has a much-repeated communal narrative. It is a narrative based on accidental arrival to Cork. Many of the original Jewish migrants claimed to have had to avoid conscription to the Russian army and to have had to flee the pogroms and poverty of nineteenth century Russia. It was, therefore, important to ask the same core questions to all interviewees. However, despite the prevailing communal narrative, each individual interviewee has their own unique experience. It was, consequently, important to deviate from the prepared questions whenever something unexpected or interesting arose.[146] The emphasis throughout the interview was to hear the interviewee's voice.[147]

During the interviews, the interviewer tried to remain very much in the background. Familiar language was used. Questions were always simple and straightforward. The questions were intended to allow the interviewees speak.[148] The interviewer did not necessarily show his previous knowledge of the Jewish community of Cork. He shared his research only when the interviewee sought clarification or asked a direct question.

[145] George Ewart Evans, 'Where beards wag all: The Relevance of the Oral Tradition' in Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 168.

[146] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 102-103. Oral historians deal with individual memory and perception, which are hard to squeeze into a structured format. Ritchie states that it is important to deviate from prepared questions and topics whenever something unexpected develops. Oral history addresses neglected areas of knowledge.

[147] Ibid., 178. According to Ritchie the interview is not a dialogue or conversation. The whole point is to get the informant to speak. It is not an occasion, which calls for demonstrations of your knowledge or charm.

[148] Ibid., 169.

To get as honest and as sincere an interview as possible, that would reflect the interviewee's true views, interviews, were, with two exceptions, conducted on their own.[149] Due to failing health, two of the interviewees asked to be interviewed with their spouses. While interview length varied according to the interviewee's availability, energy and willingness to talk, the interview session was generally limited to between one and two hours.[150] All interviews were recorded to allow the interviewer transcribe the interviews at a later stage.[151] During the individual interviews, notes containing important names, dates, words and phrases were kept by the interviewer. All participants were asked to sign a release form, which enabled the interviewer to reference the transcripts of the interviews for the purpose of this thesis.[152]

To ensure that detailed, reasonably authentic historical material could be gathered, all interviews, analysed in this thesis, were transcribed in their entirety by the writer.[153] The interviewer transcribed the interviews in the immediate weeks and months following the interviews.

Transcribing the interviews in their entirety further preserved the authenticity of the interviews. False starts were included. Words or phrases were not deleted for stylistic devices. Additional descriptions such as '(laughs),' '(snaps fingers),' '(uses hands to suggest

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[149] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 62. Ritchie believes that while group interviews may temper possible self-exaggeration, group interviews can, nevertheless, increase the potential for problems. The interviewer becomes a moderator and may have difficulty in identifying who is speaking afterwards; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 116. Here Thompson discusses the advantages of interviewing subjects on their own. While the presence of others at an interview might reduce boasting and exaggeration, the tendency to confirm will be greatly increased. It is noticeable that a group of old people will often emphasize a common view of the past, but if subsequently seen separately much more individual pictures will emerge.

[150] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 49, 86. Ritchie states that once interviews begin, it is discovered that some interviewees have much more to say than others. Some interviewees are also more perceptive and cooperative and have sharper memories. He also states that while there is no ideal length for an interview, it is, nevertheless, best to limit the interview to between an hour and half and two hours.

[151] Willa K. Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1977, 1991), 5. Baum states that oral history is a modern research technique for preserving knowledge of historical events as recounted by participants. It involves the tape recording of an interview with a knowledgeable person, someone who knows whereof he or she speaks from personal participation or observation, about a subject of historical interest'.

[152] Ibid., 8 -10.

[153] Willa K. Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History*, 14-15; Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 70. Baum believes that having listened to the interviews, oral historians should audit-edit the interviews themselves. The interviewer knows the material better than anyone else except the interviewee.

height)' were included to help the reader better understand the content. Grammatical constructions or errors in the interviews were also not modified.[154]

A total of twenty-two interviews were recorded, transcribed and subsequently analysed. Of this number, seven participants were over seventy years of age, with a further seven being eighty years or older. Before conducting the interviews, the interviewer had read a lot of the scholarly work on the Cork community, which has been analysed in Chapter One. A significant amount of the non-scholarly material, including biographies and autobiographies of former members of the community had also been read in advance of conducting the interviews. This preparation made it easier for the interviewer to build a rapport with the interviewees which subsequently made it easier to carry out the interviews. This research also enabled the interviewer to supply information that the interviewee may have forgotten.[155]

As the interviewees lived in Cork, Dublin, Manchester, London and various locations in Israel, the order in which the interviews took place was dependent on travel and interviewee availability. Nevertheless, the first interview was with a former significant member of the Cork Jewish community. This person was one of the remaining members of the community when the research began.[156] This person had unofficially served as the Cork Jewish community's historian and record-keeper. He helped to identity and to locate other potential interviewees and to persuade them to be interviewed.[157] This first interview

[154] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 71. According to Ritchie, false starts can also reveal something about the mental processes, Freudian slips and attempts to suppress information. He also believes that interviews should not correct grammatical errors or ungrammatical constructions when transcribing the interviews; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 200. Thompson says that punctuation and italics are often used by oral historians to preserve the speech and indicate unexpected emphasis. Willa K. Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History*, 27. Baum believes, irrespective of the priorities of the project, it is not acceptable to 'improve' on the choice of words or the word order of the narrator. If the narrator wants to, she can revise or delete it during the interview.

[155] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 86-87. Ritchie posits that an interviewer needs to be sufficiently prepared to know both what to expect and what not to expect from an interview. Interviewees may bring up some entirely new matter that was not part of the original research. Having previously researched the material allows the interviewer to explore this new topic by statements and questions such as 'I didn't know about that. Can you tell me more about it?' Transcripts that show a string of single-sentence answers indicate poor interviewing techniques. Oral historians seek broader, longer, and more interpretive answers.

[156] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 88. Ritchie states that actuarial realities need to be kept in mind. Planning an oral history project can be so time-consuming that when a project is ready many of the best prospective interviewees may have died or become too ill to give a useful interview. Since beginning this thesis, this person and at least two other members of the community have since passed away.

[157] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 88. Called the 'gatekeepers' by oral historians, the assistance of such people is often indispensable to an oral history project; Cai

required the most advanced research. Subsequent interviews built on the original research and required less preparation time.[158]

The interviews generally took between one and two hours. Non-verbal cues or gestures generally indicated when the interview was coming to an end. Towards the end of the interview, the interviewees were asked if they wished to add any further points. At the conclusion of each interview, interviewees were reminded about how the interviews would be processed. Their role in editing the transcript and the signing of permission to use the recording were also explained. They were also reassured that their interview had been both informative and helpful.[159]

Finally, each interview was numbered. Throughout this thesis, to preserve the anonymity of the individual participants, the interviewees are referred to by number and never by name. The names of other former members of the Jewish community to whom they refer are also redacted.

2.1.1 The Content of the Interviews

George Ewart Evans posits that 'a community is not formed by a number of people living together in chance association'.[160] It is formed and sustained to a large extent by the stories the members tell and repeat to each other and to outsiders. It is these stories that help to create and maintain their identity. This strong sense of community is evident in many of the stories that are recounted in the interviews.

The interviews are analysed in the next section of this chapter under the following sub-headings: the communal narrative of escape from conscription to the Russian army and persecution followed by accidental arrival to Cork, links to other Anglo-Jewish communities, Jewish communal life in Cork, education in Cork, being Jewish in a

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Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 10. Parry-Jones refers to this selection of interviewees as the 'snowball method', where a list of interviewees from initial contacts leads to an ever-widening circle of potential respondents.

[158] Ibid., 85.

[159] Donal A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History. A Practical Guide*, 108-109. By signing a legal release, the interviewee indicates that he/she understood how the interview would be used and it also establishes its ownership; Willa K. Baum, *Transcribing and Editing Oral History*, 70. Baum states that unless distance is a factor, once the transcript has been edited by the interviewee, the draft should be picked up personally. Due to the location of most of the interviewees, this was, for the most part, not possible.

[160] Ibid., 240.

predominantly Catholic country, sense of other, prejudice and Antisemitism, their views on Irish nationalism and their views on the factors that lead to the demise of the Cork Jewish community. The first topic that is analysed in the next section is the communal narrative based on flight from conscription and persecution proceeded by accidental arrival to Cork.

2.2 Accidental Arrival

Quotations like 'they kind of drifted'[161] feature in many of the testimonies of former members of the Cork Jewish community and their neighbours. If one is to take the various accounts regarding the arrival of the Jewish community to Cork that feature in the interviews of former members and non-members of the community, one would believe that those Jews who arrived and subsequently settled in Cork, arrived by chance. They did not choose Cork. They landed in Cork due to a variety of reasons out of their control. Factors such as unscrupulous ship captains, dishonest ticket sellers and lack of English are citied regularly in many of the interviews: 'They all landed and settled in Cork, thinking they were in New York. They couldn't speak a word of English; they spoke Yiddish.'[162] Another interviewee stated:

> Well, when he got to Hamburg, he said he wanted to go to New York. He found a ship's captain who said he was going to New York, and he would take him. He took his money and off they sailed. They landed him in Cork. So, he wrote to his friends back home 'come to New York, it's called Cork' (laughing).[163]

Another testimony again referred to this notion of accidental arrival:

> They had apparently either misheard or were led to believe that Cork was New York. They arrived in Cork, for refuelling etc. But when they asked the captain, 'where are we?' He said 'Cork' and they understood it to be New York. And off they all got. They all thought that they were in New York. That's what I was told, you either believe it or you don't.[164]

[161] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).
[162] Oral testimony 14 (Dublin, 6 June 2015).
[163] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).
[164] Oral testimony 14 (Dublin, 6 June 2015).

According to the interviewees, the first Jewish arrivals to Cork disembarked only to find out later that they had landed in Ireland and not actually New York. The distance between the two places was reduced in an apparent effort to reassure the newly arrived migrants:

> As New York was apparently the next parish to Cork, this was not perceived as being a major issue. Apparently, they could simply row to New York the next day.[165]

Nearly all of those interviewed had heard and subsequently repeated variations of the anecdote of supposedly confusing Cork with New York. Many acknowledged that it was more than likely nothing more than 'a nice story, an attractive story, with a certain ring to it'.[166] They nevertheless continued to retell it, ensuring that it featured in the narratives of not just the ancestors of the original community, but also in many scholarly works cited in Chapter One and non-scholarly worked which are analysed in Chapter Three of this thesis.

In addition to the ubiquitous narrative of accidental arrival, fear of the pogroms and the military draft also run through many of the interviews. Comments such as, 'at the time, around 1881, it had a huge number of Jews running from persecution and within the Pale',[167] 'they were driven out of Russia'[168] and 'there were waves of when Jews had to run from pogroms'[169] are evident in many of the interviews. The repetition of these, often unfounded anecdotes, in many of the interviews, would lead one to believe that the emigration of a small number of Jews from Russia and their subsequent arrival in Cork can be entirely attributed to these two events.[170] The repetition and retelling of such anecdotes also makes the Jewish migrations to Cork appear passive, as having been carried along by events rather than actively deciding to leave Russian and settle albeit briefly in Cork.

2.3 The Cork Jewish Community's Contact with its Non-Jewish Neighbours

[165] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 15 August 2014).
[166] Oral testimony 18 (Dublin, 13 August 2018).
[167] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 15 August 2014).
[168] Ibid.
[169] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).
[170] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 15 August 2014); Oral testimony 5 (Cork, 18 August 2014); Oral testimony 6 (London, 4 July 2018); Oral testimony 7 (Cork, 19 August 2016); Oral testimony 19 (Cork, 18 August 2016); Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015); Oral testimony 14 (Dublin, 6 June 2015); Oral testimony 15 (Haifa, 21 July 2015) all reference the alleged importance of both the pogroms and military draft in the arrival of Jews from Tsarist Russia to Cork.

According to most of the interviews, the Jewish community of Cork had from its inception, for the most part, cordial relationships with their non-Jewish neighbours:

> The whole place eventually became Jew town because when they arrived, they found no hostility. They found poor Irish people, ignorant Irish people, uneducated Irish people, Irish people who were out of work. They exactly fitted the same thing. They were poor Jewish people, poor ignorant Jews, and they had a different culture. They had one thing in common. They were all broke. They were all poor and they all had to scrape for a living.[171]

Many of the interviewees emphasised what they perceived as the elements the community had in common with their non-Jewish neighbours. They highlighted, as the interviews progressed, what they perceived as isolated negative incidents such as name calling, ignorance and even prejudice and discrimination, but for the most part they emphasise the warm relationships they had with the immediate non-Jewish community:

> We always had very good friends. Our non-Jewish friends were always very close. We lived in the street where we were all friendly, where we all got on. We would go into each other's' houses. We would go into their houses at Christmas. They would come in for our Friday night meals, just walk in the door. We were always very close.[172]

A significant number of the former members of the Cork Jewish community mention these bonds of friendship they had when growing up with their non-Jewish peers. 'I had a load of good friends. We were all very accepted and it was a very happy time'.[173]

The interviews touch not only on the similarities between the Jewish community and their non-Jewish neighbours in Cork, but also on the transactional relationships that also existed between Jewish and non-Jewish neighbours. Reliance on their non-Jewish neighbours to help keep the Sabbath or help observe the high holidays feature in the interviews of the non-Jewish former residents of Jew town, as is exampled by one participant. 'Well, I knew that we were needed as we used to give them some help Friday evenings'.[174]

Another former, non-Jewish resident of the area informally known as Jew town describes in detail what he used to do on a Saturday morning for his Jewish neighbours:

> In their house, like in a lot of houses at that time, they had ranges. They were kind of black, cast-iron things. You had an oven and a little fire. They would have had all

[171] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 15 August 2014).
[172] Oral testimony 2 (London (via Skype), 16 January 2018).
[173] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).
[174] Oral testimony 14 (Cork, 21 April 2014).

> the fire set, and I remember they would have had bits of candle inside there to start the fire. So, you would start the fire for them and make sure it was flame. That fire had a hob. You made sure, the asbestos, they had a circular piece of asbestos, there was, it was made specially for them, had a rim on it. You would put that on top of the gas, and when the kettle boiled – no, you would put that on top of the fire of the hob. When the kettle boiled you transferred it to the asbestos. It was (laughing) a kind of a hot plate. They couldn't take it off the gas, but they could take it off this. You did that the whole time for them.[175]

It would appear from the testimonies that during the preparations for the Jewish High Holidays interaction between the Jews of Cork and their non-Jewish neighbours often increased significantly. The daughter of the housekeeper for one prominent Cork Jewish family commented on the preparation for the High Holiday:

> Like all the housewives, no matter what religion you are, you would be cleaning. Everything would be scoured, and all the stuff would be taken down, the books would be taken down and cleaned. Anything that needed to be done, would all be done. She would literally scour the house, the same as we would really. They would have done all of that.[176]

In another interview, we learn not only of their relationships between the Jewish and non-Jewish community, but also of the difficulties of celebrating holidays such as Passover in Cork:

> I'd turn on the light for them. I'd wait for a piece of Matzah and they had special utensils like pots, pans, kettles that they would only use during Passover – that was like our Lent, you know. And like all food and all that was contaminated if it didn't go into those utensils. So, it meant that they couldn't use the milk. I went down to the African Missions, which is in Ballintemple….. Well, I went down. There are houses built on the farm now, but I went down, and knocked on the door and said, "my neighbours are Jews. Can they come down to watch the cattle being milked into their pot?"[177]

Not only do these comments give us an insight into the social interactions between Jewish and non-Jewish neighbours in Cork, but they also give us an idea of how the Cork Jewish community observed the holidays and the challenges of trying to lead a Jewish life in an outlier community such as Cork in a predominantly Catholic country. These challenges and realities are further analysed in the next section of this chapter.

[175] Oral testimony 7 (Cork, 19 August 2016).
[176] Oral testimony 19 (Cork, 18 August 2016).
[177] Oral testimony 7 (Cork, 19 August 2016).

2.4 Living a Jewish life in Cork

Many of the interviews with both the former members of the Jewish community as well as those with the non-Jewish members of the community refer to a small, at times fractious, religiously observant community which had, for the most part, positive interaction with its non-Jewish neighbours. One participant recounts, 'Half the community was family… Table tennis was very strong'.[178]

An interview with one of the former Rabbis of the Cork Jewish community also highlighted not only the orthodoxy of the Cork Jewish community, but also its particularities:

> R: But, I'll tell you, their habits, the way they prayed in the synagogue, were unusual. It was not like today. They used to walk around.
>
> Interviewer: Why do you say that the way they prayed was unusual?
>
> R: Because they used to walk around. You know, they used to pray loud, you know. That was their way, they knew it off by heart, they were really religious Jews.
>
> Interviewer: You hadn't seen this before?
>
> R: No. It wouldn't have been allowed, really. Unless there are synagogues, they are not called synagogues, they are called shtiebel. Shtiebel means a small group of people who decide to make their own synagogue in a house or something like that.
>
> No, I think that is the way they prayed in Lithuania. I think in Jewish law, you shouldn't pray loud to disturb the person next to you, but if they were all doing it, you know.
>
> Yes. They were a different type. You don't get that today – in some places maybe, but these people used to cry when they were praying. They knew what they were saying, I mean, I'm not ashamed to say that I can't translate everything, all services.
>
> Interviewer: So, they were relatively knowledgeable?
>
> R: Oh, yes. I would definitely say they were.[179]

These comments also possibly reveal to us the limited formal contact that the community had with larger Anglo-Jewish communities despite the individual, personal links various community members may have had with other Anglo-Jewish communities.

[178] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).
[179] Oral testimony 17 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

Many of the interviewees attest to the synagogue in Cork being full on the High Holidays. Comments such as 'In the old days, there was a strong community. On High Holy Days the synagogue was full'.[180] They also underline the small size of the community: 'For festivals and all social occasions, we were always together. Very strong. Listen, half the community was family. A community that size'.[181] The interviewees, nevertheless, also remember the challenges associated with living in such a small, peripheral Anglo-Jewish community. It was at times difficult to have a quorum of ten men to pray:

> Oh, there were, I remember in the rooms upstairs having a Channuka party and Sukkot and there was Shul on Shabbot and Yom Tov. But then like, before I left, we were always waiting for the tenth man to come in. It was always two brothers, ____ and __. ____ was invariably late. So, we would always wait for him to barge through the door.[182]

In spite the willingness of many families, it always remained a challenge to keep kosher and full respect the Sabbath in a peripheral community such as Cork:

> My father worked on Saturday, but he didn't take any money. My Grandfather used to go and buy meat for the family in Cork, but he would also have bought it for us in Bantry. They would wrap up the meat in newspaper, he would take it to the bus station. The bus left Cork at six o'clock and at quarter to nine on a Wednesday evening, myself and the two domestics living with us, would always go to meet the bus. The meat was up on top of the bus. The driver used to go up and throw down the meat. The maid, as we called her, would catch the parcel, which was a bit bloody at the time'. 'I mean, it was kosher for a while, but then there was no minister, no shocket. Meat was sent down from Dublin. They used to send any scrag down that they felt like. And then my mother just put a stop to it and said; "I'm not doing this anymore."[183]

Interviewees stated that families had to often bend the rules as acquiring kosher meat and respecting the dietary laws was not always easy and required not only money but time:

> All of our meat used to have to come from Dublin. It would come in bulk, it wasn't easy. It was sent down. When my aunt got the free travel, she would go to Dublin to get the meat. My uncle would meet her off the train, she would get meat for like three meals. We only ever ate Kosher meat, but we would have eaten the ordinary cheese

[180] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).
[181] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).
[182] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).
[183] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).

> and other things. We never ate non-Kosher meat. We just accepted it. It wasn't easy, but we always kept a Kosher house, but you had to bend the rules a bit.[184]

The High holidays, while being a joyous occasion and often fondly remembered by many former members of the community were also not without their challenges. The synagogue, as we have seen, may have been near capacity during the High Holidays, however, it was again not easy to fully respect the dietary requirements. It required significant organisation on the part of the community:

> At Pesach, we had to have matzah, so the Cork Jewish community used to buy the matzah from Carlisle in England, where the bakers were. They were called Bonds. We had to book it six months in advance, so you get a license to import. It was a lot of work and we had to order lots, so that there would be enough for everyone. We would give it out in the synagogue and people would pay for it.[185]

While import restrictions imposed by the Irish government further complicated the challenges of fulfilling the dietary requirements, they also give us a further insight into the difficulties of trying to lead a Jewish life in an outlier community such as Cork. Moreover, it shows us also the communal links between the Cork and Dublin Jewish communities, which are often understated in many of the testimonies and much of the literature written about the Cork Jewish community.[186] While discussing his role in the preparation of the holiday of Passover, one of the former Rabbis of the Cork community tells us that he was also involved in Passover preparations for the Dublin Jewish community:

> R: Yes. We used to import it into Cork for Passover. The government or council said at one time, 'why import it?' University Cork is a creamery. We are

[184] Oral testimony 2 (London (via Skype), 16 January 2018); Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 170. The struggles to be strictly observant and acquire kosher meat were not unique to the Cork Jewish community. Abrams says that it was also problematic for outlier communities in Scotland. Although many Jews strived to follow a strictly orthodox lifestyle, it was not always possible and many had to make compromises in their personal observance.

[185] Oral testimony 17 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[186] Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 62. In his analysis of Welsh Jewry, Parry-Jones talks about the links between smaller peripheral communities in Wales with larger communities such as Manchester and Liverpool. He states that for those communities in Wales that were unable to support a full-time licensed kosher butcher or *shochet*, or when their services were unavailable, there were nevertheless arrangements in place to provide for the needs of Jews who observed *kashrut*. It was common in places without a local kosher butcher to purchase their meat from other, often larger, Jewish centres. Kosher meat was sometimes sent from Manchester or Liverpool.

stopping you bringing it in. You will have to make it here yourself. So, the guy in Dublin said to me, 'you are in Cork, can you deal with this?' So, I used to go out and make cheese and butter.

Interviewer: Where used you go to make this?

R: I went to the university in Cork, where there was two big vats, you know. When they empty of the butter, someone climbs in there to clean it out. And the cheese, I used to go to a place that made cheese; there were lots of them. I used to sit there all day. The farmers with a horse and cart would bring their churns; that took a long time. I remember I had to make half a ton of cheese for the Jewish community in Dublin too. How that worked, was that there was a tremendous vat which has got cavity walls, because the nicest cheese is if, it is made in the summer. The milk is better in the summer than the winter. When it is made in the winter, they have to put hot water in the vat cavity wall to give it more heat. There is something that makes it into cheese called rennet; a very strong, from the stomachs of animals. This congeals the milk going hard into a cream cheese. Then they cut it up, so I used to have to supervise that and put a note on it, saying that it was Kosher.

Interviewer: Did you do that for Dublin as well?

R: Yes. I did.

Interviewer: All of the time you were in Cork?

R: It eventually became all of the time – every year.[187]

Further challenges associated with living a Jewish life in Cork also came to the fore when the children of the Jewish community started to attend school in Cork. While there was for a time a Jewish primary school in Cork, according to those interviewed, most of the students attended non-Jewish primary schools before enrolling in generally Roman Catholic secondary schools. The next section looks at education and the importance of education within the Jewish community of Cork.

2.5 Education in Cork

Education features in much of the non-scholarly literature on the Cork Jewish Community, which is analysed in Chapter Three. Education in Cork is generally written about in a positive light. The interviewees, for the most part, positively recall their memories

[187] Oral testimony 17 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

of being educated in Cork. They stress their integration and participation in curricular and extra-curricular activities. They also, however, both directly and indirectly draw our attention to their somewhat fragile and at times marginalised position within the Irish education system:

> My next recollections are of course of going to Presentation Brother's College Western Road where I enjoyed a very happy relationship with all the teachers and pupils. Being a fact, that I played rugby and soccer made me indifferent to the Jewish stereotype, which was more of a studious type, like my brother ….[188]

The interviews analysed in this section give us a more detailed picture of the reality of being Jewish and being educated in Cork. The interviewees often begin by inadvertently highlighting the community's predilection for Church of Ireland primary schools: 'I went to Presentation College Cork. Before that I went to a small Protestant school. It was attached to the local Protestant Church in Sunday's Well'.[189] The interviews also highlight the challenges that sometimes arose when attempting to enrol a Jewish child in secondary school. Statements such as 'that's when they were accepting Jewish boys'[190] appear in many of the testimonies. Their encounters with members of the Catholic clergy and with Catholic rituals and traditions also feature in many of the interviews. One interviewee stated that when his father and aunt arrived as young children in Cork in the early twentieth century, their uncle enrolled them in a protestant primary school. Even if Jewish children attended a local Catholic primary school, there was always a slight apprehension about sending Jewish children:

> Interviewee: So, they arrived there. They were sent to school, to the Protestant school, Christchurch, around the corner.
>
> Interviewer: They didn't go to the Model school where a lot of Jewish kids went?
>
> Interviewee: No, they didn't go to the Model school because they were frightened of the Catholic Priests and Nuns.
>
> Interviewer: Even though they were already Jewish kids there?

[188] Oral testimony 9 (Beit Yehoshua, 20 July 2015).
[189] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).
[190] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).

Interviewee: Yes, even though there were already Jewish kids there. There was a natural, I wouldn't say hostility, but fear of the clergy baptising them or influencing them.[191]

Concern over the influence of the Catholic clergy in primary schools was not limited to the early Jewish arrivals to Cork. It would continue throughout the twentieth century. Some forty years later, in the 1950s, another member of the Jewish community remembers his parents having to intervene to ensure that he did not participate in Catholic prayers:

Interviewer: How was being Jewish and going to Primary school in CBC ?[192]

Interviewee: Wonderful! I learned all of the Catholic liturgy!

Interviewer: You didn't stand out (of class) for religion?

Interviewee: No, but we did eventually. I remember Brother Fahy teaching me the Hail Mary and the Our Father, the whole lot.

Interviewer: This was when you were in primary school?

Interviewee: Yes. I went home and told my father. It was like red rag to a bull. He went up there like a shot.[193]

Nearly fifty years later, towards the end of the twentieth century, another interviewer refers to similar issues with she returned to Cork after having been working abroad:

First, he went to Rockboro, which was a private school, and it was dreadful. They didn't have any knowledge of religion. "Get down on your knees." I said, "we don't get down on our knees." "Well, everybody does in this school." "I thought it was non-denominational?" And she said, "no, no. It is, but that's what we do." We ended up bringing them in late and I was trying to work here, and stress levels went through the roof. The compromise was to come in a half another later, but I had to bring them for half nine and I couldn't get a parking space….[194]

Another former member of the community speaks of his awkwardness as a child, knowing that he was not Catholic:

[191] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 15 August 2014); Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 165. Diner says that in Ireland, South Africa and Quebec, often the children of Jewish weekly men were schooled no differently to the local Protestant children.

[192] CBC is the abbreviation often used in Cork to refer to Christian Brothers' College and its associated primary school (https://www.cbccork.ie).

[193] Oral testimony 18 (Dublin, 13 August 2018).

[194] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 5 August 2015).

> A child's outlook on life, you felt very awkward. So, we always tended to gravitate more towards the Protestant schools, so my first school was in (pausing and thinking), was in Shanakiel.[195]

It should be said that enrolment of children in protestant primary schools was not always out of fear of being influenced by Catholic clergy. Sometimes, it was just easier and was even on the recommendation of the Catholic clergy:

> I went to a Protestant Primary school, St. Finbarr's. Apparently, I went to St. Catherine's, first for Junior or Senior Infants, which would have been a Catholic school. I think that the nuns called Mom and Dad and said that "she is blessing herself", which is not a thing we do at all. And certainly not the sign of the cross. They did it in all best intentions to tell Mom and Dad.[196]

As the Jewish children progressed in an education system that was often under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, further difficulties were encountered when it came to enrolment at secondary school. There is a tendency among some former members of the Cork Jewish community and in much of the literature on the community to believe that enrolment at secondary school, in particular at Presentation College Cork was axiomatic for Jewish pupils. The interviews with members of the community show us that this was not always the case:

> Interviewer: So, you did not go to Pres like number seventeen or number two?[197]
>
> Interviewee: No, but my brother went to Pres. Almost everybody did. It's interesting, my mother wanted me to go to Pres, but she got the impression, or it was said, it was one of her experiences of Antisemitism, that the quota for Jews was finished.[198]

Another former member of the Jewish community remembers his parents having to use personal connections in an attempt to gain admission for him to Presentation College Cork, his secondary school of preference:

> So, when I was ready to go to Pres at the age of thirteen, the war was on for some reason the quota had been reached. There had not been ten there, or anything like ten, but at the time, I was more or less refused. My father went down to see a Monsignor in Georges' quay who I believe, he was terribly friendly with. He might

[195] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).
[196] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 5 August 2015).
[197] Presentation College Cork is commonly referred to as Pres, www.pbc-cork.ie.
[198] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).

> have been a Presentation brother; I do not know. He spoke to him and within the hour a place was offered to me in Pres.[199]

The important role personal connections played in acquiring a place at secondary school was also highlights by another former member of the community, whose parents again sought to enrol him at Presentation College, Cork in the early 1940s. Connections with the Catholic clergy could open the door to certain schools for Jewish children:

> That's when they were accepting Jewish boys. My uncle ____ who became a lawyer got in there because the headmaster was a brother Birkmans, a very nice man, kind and he admitted my uncle ____. Then my uncle qualified as a lawyer, he went to see Brother Birkmans and got me into the school. He did the same for another Jewish boy.[200]

From the interviews, it appears that enrolment at Presentation College Cork, the apparently preferred secondary school for Jewish boys in Cork, was not always certain. Admission was, at times, precarious and not always guaranteed. There were occasions when Jewish boys were also refused entry. One interviewee mentions discussing the issue at a later stage with a former Presentation College student and teacher. The retired teacher believed that jealousy in relation to Jewish pupil's academic success was a factor:

> He was a student at Pres and then a teacher all his life in Pres. He mentions all the Jewish boys, and he bemoans the fact that one of the superiors at one stage put a ban on Jews. The reason why, one suggestion was that the Jews were winning a disproportionate number of the scholarships.[201]

While discussing both their primary and secondary school education, many of the interviewees mentioned the fact that as children they had to leave or were allowed to leave class during the daily catechism lessons. Some of the Jewish children went home to have an early lunch when religion classes began: 'I went home at twelve o'clock when they had religious instruction. In those days, your dinner was midday'.[202]

Initially, as to be expected, the children enjoyed having the opportunity to leave classes early for lunch, however, for some of them, it highlighted that they were different to

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[199] Oral testimony 2 (Cork, 24 August 2014).

[200] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).

[201] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2015); David Marcus, *Oughtobiography: Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (London: Gill & MacMillan, 2009). While this view cannot be substantiated, a similar explanation is posited by David Marcus in his autobiography, which is analysed in more detail in Chapter Three.

[202] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).

the rest of their classmates. The education system, while exempting them from religious education, also stigmatised some of the children in the process: 'I used to go home at about 12.15. I used to go home then. It was great getting out of school early, but (slight pause) you were always different'.[203] These feelings of being different from the majority also manifested itself for both Jewish secondary school students and university students on the Sabbath as there were often classes on a Saturday morning. In addition to having to leave class early when religious education took place, many Jewish students were also obliged to miss classes on a Saturday morning due to the Sabbath:

> Interviewee: Oh yes. Well, I mean every morning, he did have to walk in and say, "In ainm an athair." He said to me, "you don't have to stand up." But I did because the bench used to come up (laughing). I was also exempted from religious instruction.
>
> Interviewer: Did you ever feel different or excluded in primary or secondary school as a result of being Jewish?
>
> Interviewee: Of course, you were. I mean you knew you were different. For example, in those days, we didn't go to school on Saturday. When you got to U.C.C., they used to have lectures till lunchtime on a Saturday. Somehow, our parents allowed us to go as that was important if you were doing medicine and the likes.[204]

Another former member of the community not only mentions missing class on Saturdays, but explicitly highlights the negative effects on her educational progress: "There was school on a Saturday, but I didn't go. It affected my learning as they had two hours of science. It wasn't like missing one class."[205] Missing classes on a Saturday morning and allowing Jewish students to leave during religious education may appear inconsequential and innocuous, however, as two of the interviewees stated, it made them feel awkward and different.

Students were not only excluded academically, but also at times socially. One interviewee spoke about how his brother who played rugby was not always called to play:

> My brother was an extremely good rugby player. He played on Christian's Junior and Senior. He played on the Munster schools. He could have gone on to have been possibly a Munster player, if not an international, but he didn't continue. They played

[203] Oral testimony 18 (Dublin, 13 August 2018).
[204] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, August 18, 2015).
[205] Oral testimony 15 (Haifa, 21 July 2015).

> a lot of games on Saturday. They regularly said, 'we didn't pick you, because we thought that you couldn't play on a Saturday.' That kind of difference.[206]

The interviewees all posit that despite the challenges regarding enrolment in the school of one's choice, being stigmatised during religious education lessons and having to miss classes and sporting activities at times on a Saturday, they were, for the most part, academically successful at both secondary school and at university. As the interviews show this success came with an awareness of one's place in society. Personal connections with the Catholic clergy might help to obtain a place at a particular school, however, these connections could at times only go so far. They may have gained access to their school of choice, however, there remained a glass ceiling. One interviewee stated that unofficially the students were segregated within the school. To work in banking and insurance at the time, it would appear that one needed personal connections within the wider non-Jewish society. As a result, Jewish students did not attend the 'banking' class at Presentation College:

> No one ever got into insurance, no one ever got into a bank. There was no future here for everyday jobs. There was a bank class in Pres, no Jewish boy ever went into the bank class because they would never have got into the bank class. It was Christians only.[207]

The education of the Jewish children in Cork was for the most part a positive experience for the majority. It was, however, not without its challenges and limitations. Having to leave class during religion, not being able to attend classes or play team sports on a Saturday left them, at times, feeling stigmatised or alienated from the other non-Jewish students. Their enrolment in their school of choice was often precarious, at the behest of connections with the Catholic clergy. They were tolerated rather than accepted. Toleration is a conditional acceptance.[208]

In addition to these feelings of alienation and difference, many interviewees also mentioned antisemitic incidences they or their families members experienced while growing

[206] Oral testimony 18 (Dublin, 13 August 2018); Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 95. Parry-Jones discusses the important role played by sport in promoting social inclusion (or sometimes exclusion) of ethnic minority groups.

[207] Oral testimony 2 (Cork, 24 August 2014).

[208] Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 89-90. While a tolerant society may allow minority groups such as Jews to practice their beliefs and customs freely, this acceptance is temporary and can easily be reserved if and when the majority feel their values or interests are threatened.

up in Cork. The next section of this chapter looks at these antisemitic incidences that were raised during the interviews.

2.6 The Sense of Other, Prejudice and Antisemitism in Cork

As seen in the previous section of this chapter, an awareness of being perceived as different, of being seen as the other, resonates through many of the interviews with the former members of the Cork Jewish community. One former prominent member of the community stated that the community strove not to be perceived as a burden or being too reliant on the social services of the state:

> We helped our own poor, we never allowed them to go and get social welfare. Everybody contributed. In that way we weren't a burden on the state. Our people were never a burden on the state. We never allowed our poor to be a burden. We were afraid to go over the precipice because in that case the Jews are a burden on Ireland.[209]

While the above statement was made with a certain sense of pride, pride in the social structures of the Cork Jewish community, it, nevertheless, gives us a profound insight into the lengths the community took to ensure good relations with the wider non-Jewish community. The word 'burden' is used three times. The community clearly saw its position in Cork as precarious. A non-reliance on social services was a means for the community to avoid negative attention.

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[209] Oral testimony 2 (Cork, 24 August 2014); Tom M. Devine, 'The Scottish Nation 1700-2000' (London: Penguin, 1999), 520 in Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 182. Devine argues that Antisemitism was absent in Scotland as most Jews did not compete directly with Scots or others for work. Most Jewish immigrants did not seek menial labour, they clustered into a few, self-contained trades (The trades of the Cork Jewish community are anaylsed in Chapter Five.). Their traditions of self-help and charity also pre-empted any suggestions that they were a burden on public welfare; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 98. Parry-Jones when analysing Welsh Jewry argues that It may also be that the Jewish tradition of self-help and charity projected a respectable image of the Jewish community to the wider non-Jewish population, and thus pre-empted any suggestions that Jews were financially burdensome or an encumbrance on public welfare schemes.

> For the most part, this sense of being perceived as different was benign. There was a certain fascination in relation to the Jewish community of Cork by the wider non-Jewish community. 'They were exotic, kind of dark. They were just lovely.[210]

This sense of novelty in meeting a real Jew, also for members of the Catholic clergy in either an educational or hospital setting is mentioned in the interviews with some former members of the Cork Jewish community. One former member of the community remembers the fascination a nun had when she met she sister, a young girl at the time:

> There was a polio outbreak in Cork in the sixties, and we used always go to Youghal on our holidays. On this occasion, we left the city, and we probably went to Youghal in June and stayed until the New Year. So, we went to school. My sister went to the Nuns and they used to say to her, 'Our Lady must have looked just like you.[211]

Another interviewee remembers, during his childhood, getting diphtheria and being sent to the Fever hospital. He again speaks of this fascination that some members of the non-Jewish community of Cork had towards Jews. He did not perceive, even at a young age this fascination as being entirely positive:

> A huge ward with about twenty beds on each side. I can't remember but, in a sense, it was Antisemitic. At night the nurses would sit at the end of my bed talking to me about being a Jew, not saying anything nasty, but….[212]

The negative, even sinister, undertones of this fascination are also mentioned by another interviewee when describing being sent to Youghal, a town in east Cork in the late 1950s to avoid the polio outbreak in Cork:

> And again, once a week, not the Parish Priest, but a minister would come in. It was cold and there used to be a roaring fire, I was called up to the front of the class, this Jewish child and he was talking to the Headmistress, about goodness knows what; we were damned because we never accepted Jesus Christ. There was a roaring fire, and I wore short trousers; I remember the hairs on my legs singeing, but I was terrified to move.[213]

The above testimonies nuance the often-reiterated communal narrative of the alleged excellent relations between the Jewish community of Cork and its non-Jewish inhabitants. They also demonstrate that a small community of Jews living in Cork in the late nineteenth

[210] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 24 April 2015); *Dundee Courier*, 19 January 1878 in Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 182. Abrams also comments on this respectful curiosity towards 'the sons of Abraham' in Scotland.

[211] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[212] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).

[213] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

century and early twentieth century was perceived as an oddity, something that clearly fascinated the non-Jewish population.

Unfortunately, as the above quotes show, this fascination was neither always benign nor positive. It sadly, according to many of the testimonies took, at times, more sinister forms. Name calling, accusations of thief, exclusion from certain clubs and stone throwing all feature in many of the interviews with both the former members of the Jewish community and their neighbours. The familiar prejudices and antisemitic tropes relating to Jews also feature in the interviews.

While expressing both her admiration and fascination for her Jewish neighbours and friends, 'they were a very industrious people, they mightn't have had money, but they lived'[214] a former non-Jewish neighbour and friend, nevertheless, repeated the familiar negative stereotype relating to Jews and money:

> Now, they had plenty of money, but she would always ask you if you had any old hats at home or anything. They were thrifty. My longest memory, they were so thrifty that you can see how they made fortunes all over the world. Jewish people, where we would throw out something, they would keep it.[215]

She continued by insinuating that these views were widely held. "They had this idea of Jewish people, like we have now of Scottish people, that Dickey Glue, he wouldn't part with a penny."[216] She further adds that her Jewish neighbours were 'very secretive about their business, they were very private and being orthodox Jews…'[217]

In addition to these familiar tropes, Jewish children in Cork were often subjected to name calling and stone throwing:

> Dirty Jew, go back where you came from' was quite normal when we were growing up. There were people, as we were going to school, would scream at us 'go back'. I couldn't understand where I was supposed to go back to. I was born on South Terrace.[218]

Another former non-Jewish neighbour also remembers similar name calling when growing up:

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[214] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 24 April 2014).
[215] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 24 April 2014).
[216] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 24 April 2014).
[217] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 24 April 2014).
[218] Oral testimony 2 (Cork, 24 August 2014).

> There used to be some people playing tip the can and _____ used to be walking by and looking for some people in the area to play with and some of them used to use the corner of their jackets as an ear and shout 'pigsy wah wah at them'. That was antisemitic in a way. I do remember that growing up.[219]

Comments such as 'mean as a Jew', 'fat as a synagogue cat', 'all Jews are buried with a half crown in their mouths, 'if you were all as rich as number ten's father', and 'now they had plenty of money'[220] appear in many of the interviews.

These comments show that while many non-Jewish residents of Cork had very little, if any, contact with the Jewish population of the city, the same antisemitic tropes in relation to money and the alleged parsimonious nature of Jews that were prevalent in cities, which much greater Jewish populations, also existed in Cork.

In addition to the familiar antisemitic tropes in relation to money, many of the interviews also show a latent Antisemitism that raised its head at different stages in their lives, during their education and professional careers and when they tried to join leisure clubs.

Despite its opaque admissions' policy, Presentation College Cork remained the secondary school of choice for Jewish boys in Cork. Having secured a place at Presentation College Cork did not mean, however, that the boy's schooling would be free of Antisemitism. Three former Jewish pupils when interviewed highlighted the alleged antisemitic behaviour of some of the teaching staff at the school. One interviewee clearly remembers one of the teaching clergy encouraging the Jewish boys to physically fight each other:

> There was a brother there, brother Gregory who was really antisemitic. He used to try to get the two Jews to fight. He would say 'go fight one another, go knock each other out.' He was really nasty, really nasty.[221]

Another staff member was apparently unhappy that the Jewish children did not have to attend religious education classes. 'One man said it was unfair that we got to rest while

[219] Oral testimony 14 (Cork, 21 April 2014).

[220] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2015); Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 24 April 2014).

[221] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015); Oral testimony 2, (Cork, 24 August 2014); Oral testimony 9 (Beit Yehoshua, 20 July 2015) all refer to similar incidences despite having attended the school at different times.

the rest of the class at school did religion. He made us learn all of Mr Arthur, every single bit of it.'[222]

Such incidents were not limited to Presentation College Cork. Interviewees who attended other schools also spoke to such events. Another student remembers name-calling, threats and references being made to him about money as a student. He believes that this were specifically as a result of him being Jewish:

> I don't think it was an issue, really. I mean there were things that happened, things were said, but you just took no notice of them. All of us felt, I can say that about the people who live here and who were brought up in Dublin. We all had very good, very happy childhoods, although there were incidents.
>
> Interviewer: By incidents, you mean name calling?
>
> Interviewee: Name calling, threats and so on.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think that it was all part of growing up or was it because you were Jewish?
>
> R: It was because I was Jewish.[223]

Later during the interview, he gave a specific example of one such incident:

> In Glasheen school, there was a Maths teacher, I don't know what it had to do with maths, but one day he came up and says, 'If you were all as rich as ____'s father,' that was all. I said it to my mother when I went home. She said, 'if he ever says it again, you ask him how does he know how rich your father is.' And he did and I did, and he says, 'did you resent that remark?' I said, 'I did.' He said, 'I take it back.'[224]

Recalling the weekly cookery lessons, she had a school, another interviewee remembers being wrongly accused of having stolen a school cookery book. During the interview, she recounted that normally the cookery books were kept under the desks. On that day, there was no cookery book under her desk. She told the teacher, a nun, who replied that the girl herself had stolen it. 'Sister Aloysius said to me, 'you stole your book'.[225] The child replied that she had not stolen the book. The teacher insisted that the girl had stolen it and had then hidden it. She told all the class, including the girl herself to leave the classroom and look for the book. When they came back, the book was under the girl's seat:

[222] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).
[223] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).
[224] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).
[225] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).

> Go in search all the drawers and see can you find another cookery book. We all left the hall, went in and came back and we couldn't find it and she said, '____, look under your seat' and the cookery book was there. All this was in front of the whole class, and she said, 'You stole it and put it back' she said to me in front of the class.[226]

The child went home and spoke to her father about the incident that day. Having heard the child's story, her father replied, 'I'll destroy my career, if I insult the nuns.'[227] The child was told that she would have to ignore the incident rather than risk putting her father's career in danger.

Accusations of thievery are not just limited to the younger members of the Jewish community. Having recently qualified as a doctor at University College Cork, another former member of the community recounted a similar incident. While working at a local hospital in Cork, a nun used to check that he had not stolen any medication at the end of each shift:

> When I qualified the war was over. I remember I did a locum job at the Bon Secours hospital and the nun used to count out the pills I would need. When I was finished with the patients, she used to make me open my hands to see if I had stolen any (laughing).[228]

Antisemitism manifested itself also through the exclusion of Jews from certain sports clubs including golf and tennis clubs. Several of the interviewees refer to difficulties they had as Jews gaining access to certain sports clubs such as rowing, golf and tennis:[229]

> There was a system there, a black ball system. The committee sat around and everyone got a ball. A name was put up and all the balls were red, red, red and a couple of black balls. You put the black balls into the little bag and it means you were black balled. That's how it came. Nobody knew who did it. But somebody may not like the look of ----- ------ or maybe took his girl from him or maybe he did not want him in the club or maybe he was antisemitic. Everyone apologised and said 'it wasn't me' and it wasn't me.' I was friendly with everybody, but nobody knew who did it. I couldn't get in. I was also refused entrance to a dance because I was Jewish. That was straightforward. The Tenn air. Glenn an air was down in Douglas and they leased it. It became a Jewish club.[230]

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[226] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).

[227] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).

[228] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).

[229] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2015); Oral testimony 17 (Haifa, 21 July 2015); Oral testimony 2 (London (via Skype), 16 January 2018); Oral testimony 4 (Cork, 21 April 2014).

[230] Oral testimony 2 (Cork, 24 August 2014); Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 95-96. According to Parry-Jones, Jews were, similar to Cork, generally welcomed and readily accepted by Welsh sports clubs. There is no denying though

Even when members of the Cork Jewish community were not always excluded from Sports clubs or events, there was at times an underlying impression that somehow, they did not belong entirely. One interviewee remembers attending football matches and having this feeling of being on the periphery, of not entirely being welcome. 'I remember once I used to go to Turners' Park to watch Cork Celtic and I used to sit on the wall as a kid and someone said, 'Go back to the synagogue'.[231]

Despite the attendance of many younger members of the Jewish community at Church of Ireland primary schools and social clubs, this did not mean that these institutions were exempt from prejudice and discrimination. One former member remembers during the 1960s being told that he should not be attending a certain Scout meeting as 'these are Protestant Scouts'.[232]

Much later, in the 1990s, another former member of the community, on returning to Cork tried to enrol her children in the same Church of Ireland school that she herself had attended, only to be refused:

> No, but I was told unofficially that he said it was because we were Jewish. They didn't want a Jewish family. There had been an Israeli-Jewish family who were leaving. So; I felt that there would be absolutely no problem. Whatever about the numbers, but they gave no reason.[233]

Despite the prejudice and discrimination that raised its head from time to time throughout the existence of the Jewish community in Cork, many of the interviewees seem to accept it and often sought during the interviews to minimise it by comparing it to the events of the Holocaust:

> I must say that don't forget I lived at the age of ten listening to stories of the Holocaust on the news bulletins and newsreels. What we endured in Cork was heavenly bliss compared to what our brethren were suffering in Eastern Europe.[234]

Former members of the Jewish community sought to further reduce the perceived support for the Nazis and their policies in Ireland before and during World War II. According

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that Welsh Jews, like those in Cork occasionally faced discrimination fuelled by insecurities of certain members of the indigenous Welsh middle class who feared that associating themselves with upwardly mobile Jewish immigrants they would undermine 'the inherently exclusive milieu of British "clubland". Welsh Jewry also established at times its own sports clubs. Both the Cardiff and Newport communities established their own cricket teams in the 1920s.

[231] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[232] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[233] Oral testimony 13 (Cork, 5 August 2015).

[234] Oral testimony 9 (Beit Yehoshua, 20 July 2015).

to many of the interviewees, it was more of way of expressing anti-English or British sentiment rather than actual support for the Germans. Comments like 'I don't care who wins this war once it's not the English'[235] and 'The Irish, I understood, were anti-British and pro-German'[236] were often repeated in the interviews. There was almost some incredulity that there were not more antisemitic incidents:

> Ireland was a very tolerant country, even though they heard from the pulpits that the Jews had killed the Lord. You would expect more so, but there was nothing like the sort of pogroms they had.[237]

These anecdotes highlight the often precarious, marginalised position of the Jewish community of Cork. This peripheral, fragile position is perhaps one of the reasons why many of those interviewed sought to place their relatives or other members of the Cork Jewish community into the stories and anecdotes that form the Irish nationalist narrative. The Cork Jewish community and Irish nationalism is now examined in the next section of this chapter.

2.7 Irish Nationalism

Another subject that was raised by many of the former members of the Jewish community of Cork and by some of their non-Jewish neighbours during the course of the intereviews was the question of Jewish allegiance to the Irish nationalist cause.

Many of the interviews refer to events either just before or in the immediate period after Irish independence. Many recount anecdotes, which place their ancestors or other members of the Cork Jewish community as eyewitnesses to the turbulent years before and preceding the founding of the Irish state. Comments such as 'Terrence McSweeney's[238] sister ran our school'[239] not only link the members of the Jewish community with the Irish nationalist cause, but more specifically with local Cork leaders of independence. A non-Jewish neighbour of a local Jewish family stated that all the community believed that Mrs. Bear was a close friend of another executed Irishman fighting for Irish independence. 'We

[235] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).
[236] Oral testimony 17 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).
[237] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2015).
[238] Terence McSweeney became Lord Mayor of Cork City in March 1920. He was arrested in August of 1920 on seditious charges. He subsequently went on hunger strike and died on 25 October 1920, https://www.corkcity.ie/en/a-city-remembers-cork-1920-to-1923/interviews/lord-mayor-terence-macswiney (accessed 9 August 2022).
[239] Oral testimony 10 (Netanya, 20 July 2015).

all believed that Mrs Bear was one of the people who comforted Kevin Barry's[240] mother during the night before his execution and the morning of his execution'.[241]

Another interviewee mentions an incident with the Black and Tans in the fight for Irish Independence. She recalls her grandfather being accidently shot by the Black and Tans on the train from Cork to Bantry:

> I think was in the nineteen twenties. He was travelling from Cork to Bantry with my uncle, the I.R.A. or whoever had guns, were shooting the people in the train. Just before this happened, there was a woman sitting, there were two seats and there was a woman sitting here (gesturing opposite) and she said to my Grandfather 'would you mind changing seats with me?' He said 'of course'. When they started shooting, she was shot dead. My Grandfather put my uncle, my father's younger brother under the seat. My Grandfather sat on top of him. His leg was up like this and they shot him in the leg. All my life, I remember, he used to go 'oh, my leg'. He was lame because of this leg that was shot by the Black and Tans.[242]

This placing of relatives and members of the Cork Jewish community at violent events relating to Irish Independence appeared in other interviews too. One interviewee said that 'the IRA tried to blow up a monument to World War One. It blew my uncle out of bed'.[243] While another explicitly spoke of his father witnessing the burning of Cork:

> They understood nationalism because they had also been invaded, where they lived, in that part of the world and Irish were nationalists with the British here. So, they were right in the centre of the rising, of 1921, of 1916. My father saw Cork burn. Because they had moved around the corner when the Brits, the Black and Tans had burned Patrick's Street. My Dad was in Con Murphy's, the night of the burning of Cork. He was taken by British troops. He poked his nose out, walked out into the street. He was taken up to the Barracks. There had been a curfew and he had broken it. He didn't know. I think the Rabbi or somebody went up to the Barracks and explained that he lived there and they released him. They escaped eventually over the rooftops of Cashes, that part of Patrick's Street was not burnt. But they could see all the rest of it, Roches Stores, the Munster Arcade went up in flames.[244]

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[240] The Irish Independent, https://www.independent.ie/news/2020-centenary-kevin-barry-was-willing-to-kill-and-die-for-his-cause-39661180.html, accessed 9 August 2022). Kevin Barry lived and died in Dublin. The fact that Mrs. Bear supposedly comforted his mother the night before his execution implied that Mrs. Bear had also lived in Dublin before moving to Cork. This anecdote again calls into the question the communal narrative of accidental arrival to Cork. This is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5 when the Census of 1901 and 1911 are examined.

[241] Oral testimony 7 (Cork, 19 August 2016).

[242] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 7 July 2015).

[243] Oral testimony 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[244] Oral testimony 2 (Cork, 24 August 2014).

People interpret their experiences in relation to the period and culture they live in. Consequently, stories that may not be entirely true, may, nevertheless, be socially important simply because the storytellers and their listeners believe them and draw on them in ongoing identity discourse. Hearsay is the creator of most tradition or most written documents. Eyewitness accounts in both categories are in fact rare. While we cannot prove or disprove these anecdotes, it is not important. The fact that they form part of the narrative of many Jewish families in Cork is what makes them important. They give us an insight into the Jewish community's attempts to be part of the larger narrative of Irish nationalism that was traditionally linked to the Catholic population. The fact that they are repeated in varying forms by many former members of the Cork Jewish community underline their important role in the identity of the Cork Jewish community. They were an attempt to inscribe the Jewish community in Cork into the national narrative and signal that they too were loyal members of this new Irish nation. This placing of the Jewish inhabitant of Cork in anecdotes that relate to Irish nationalism also features in many of the literary pieces that are analysed in the next chapter. In spite of the challenges, difficulties and at times antisemitic incidents, many of those former members of the Jewish community expressed their pride at being from Cork. Placing their relatives in the nationalist narrative is perhaps another way of expressing this pride.

The year 2016 saw the closing of the doors of the Cork synagogue for the last time. There remains but a bare handful of former members of the original Jewish community in Cork. The descendants of the original members of the Cork Jewish community are to be found in Dublin, Manchester, London and across Israel. Being of advancing years, many have not been back to Cork in a long time. Nevertheless, comments such as 'my mother died in Manchester wanted to be buried in Cork. If I have my way, I'll be buried in Cork too'[245] and 'A Cork woman? No. If anything, a Bantry person. Bantry is a part of me. I was educated there, with the nuns, with my friends'[246] feature in many of the interviews show that Cork remained a strong part of their identity throughout their lives in spite of everything.

[245] Oral testimony 15 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).
[246] Oral testimony 12 (Jerusalem, 20 July 2015).

2.8 Conclusion

Twenty-two people were interviewed as part of the research for this thesis. Seventeen interviews were with former members of the Cork Jewish community and a further five with their former non-Jewish neighbours. Except for one interviewee, all the other interviewees were over fifty.

It is important to remember that old people alive at the time of research are not necessarily a cross-section of their generation or community in the past. People die much faster in some occupations than others. Death rates can also be affected by personal loses, such as widowhood, by personal habits, such as smoking or drinking or even perhaps by personality itself. Until a whole cohort of people has been studied from youth to age, we cannot be sure how far the cumulative effect of all these factors distorts the representativeness of the surviving group.[247] The same is true for this study. Unfortunately, due to Jewish emigration from Cork in particular in the latter half of the twentieth century, it was not possible to interview more young people. The Cork Jewish community had long seized to rejuvenate itself.

Due to the small remaining number of members of the Cork Jewish community, several of the interviewees were used to presenting and telling their personal and community related anecdotes. While it is important to interview the gatekeepers of the community, it also comes with a note of caution. The more people are accustomed to presenting a professional public image of not only themselves but also of their community, the less likely their personal recollections are to be candid.[248]

Also, once the interviewer had transcribed the interviews, they were sent back to the interviewees to be checked. Rather than asking the interviewees to correct the interviews, they were asked to clarify some points, such as uncertain names of people or places or vital missing details. Nevertheless, one interviewee insisted on rewriting some of the original speech into more 'appropriate' language. In this case, where the modifications changed the overall meaning, the original version was regarded as the authoritative oral testimony.[249]

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[247] Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Harmondsworth: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 123.

[248] Ibid., 123-126.

[249] Ibid., 201. Vansina states that it can be a drawback to send the transcript to the informants for checking. Many cannot resist rewriting the original conversational speech into a conversational prose form. They also may delete sentences and rephrase others to change the impression given

Jan Vansina reflected on the limitations of oral history when he said 'half these stories are not true. They are an image setting. They are necessary for the pride of someone'.[250] This quote by Jan Vansina, regarding the Belgian village where he was raised, may appear, at first glance, somewhat controversial to introduce the chosen methodology of oral history. It does, however, acknowledge from the outset that there are some limitations to oral testimony. This chapter shows that, in spite of the accepted limitations associated with memory and oral history, the oral testimonies of both the members, past and present, of the Cork Jewish community and their non-Jewish neighbours are one of the keys to understanding not only the proliferation of the accepted communal arrival narrative, but the interviews also give us a more nuanced, complete picture of the Cork Jewish community.

The interviews give us a detailed insight into the challenges of living in a peripheral Jewish community in a country where the population was predominantly Roman Catholic. Members of the community were regularly reminded that they were different and should save themselves by converting to Catholicism. One interviewee recalls a 'friend […] who said, "If I were you, ____, I would go straight up to the church to get baptized to save your soul"'.[251] While those members of the Jewish community on the receiving end of the comments acknowledge that it was at the time hurtful and inappropriate, they, nevertheless, continue to downplay the effect of the comments:

> Yes ___ ___, another friend, (his mother). It was just after Vatican II, I think. She was a staunch churchgoer, and she came out to the door and said, "now ___, everything is all right. You are nearly as good as we are." But there was no malice, looking back; it was all quite quaint. I mean, it was nothing like Nazi Germany or anything. It was probably quaint, (laughing) but at the time, it was probably quite hurtful.[252]

The comments and reminders to the Jewish community that they were not Catholic highlight for us the omnipresence of the Catholic Church in Ireland and how it could impact on the daily lives of the Jewish community of Cork. The ubiquitous power and presence of the

from a particular memory. Since the original tapes are rarely consulted in archives, and the transcript rather than the tape is regarded as the authoritative oral testimony, the process of correction weakens the authenticity of oral evidence in use. He believes that it is better to write with specific questions for clarification.

[250] Jan Vansina, 'Oral History' in Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 110.

[251] Oral testimony 15 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[252] Oral testimony 15 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

Catholic Church and her clergy reinforced both directly and indirectly this sense of being different:

> When I was growing up in the 50s or 60s, as we said before, Ireland was very different to what it is now. It was very much a Catholic country for Catholics. The Church permeated every level of society. There were the hospitals with the sisters, the schools with the Christian or Presentation Brothers, the PP or Parish Priest was you know. It was that sort of society. So, growing up as a Jew, without any real Jewish friends, apart from _____ _____, it was very isolating seeing all this around him. It was not like it is now, society was very much, you were either a Catholic or a Protestant and there you were in the middle, these little Jews. So, it was very difficult, so.[253]

The myths that surround the birth, development and evolution of a community, its common accepted view of its own past and present, have a social meaning and value for the historian independent of the truth itself. Peoples' memories are part of an active social process. It is part of the oral historian's job, in order to make the most of its resources, to understand and disentangle the elements of that process.[254]

It is also important to recognize that the social environment can shape what and how people remember. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the ways in which communities construct and use their collective memory, and what they pass on to succeeding generations.[255]

The commonalities in each of the testimonies, the repetition of certain stories and motifs, the use of similar vocabulary, and the placing of Jews within the overall Irish nationalist narrative are in evidence in many of the testimonies. The testimonies show us how the community viewed itself and how it felt it was perceived by its non-Jewish neighbours, friends and colleagues. The views expressed in the testimonies differ from the more public image the community presented of itself in the secondary literature, which is analysed in the next chapter. The often, frank views expressed in the testimonies also diverge from the many articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper and in the communal archives including the Burial records of the Cork Jewish Community and the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*, which is examined in Chapter Four. The next chapter of this

[253] Oral testimony 15 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[254] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past. Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 107-118.

[255] Alessandro Portelli, 'What makes Oral History Different' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson ed., *The Oral History Reader* (Abington & New York: Routledge, 1998), 37.

thesis examines the image of the community through the prism of the secondary, non-scholarly literature written about the community and the representations of the Cork Jewish community through the permanent exhibition at the Cork Public Museum.

Chapter Three

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CORK JEWISH COMMUNITY IN MEMOIRS, POETRY, FICTION AND AT THE CORK PUBLIC MUSEUM

Having analysed the history of the Cork Jewish community in scholarly works and the factors in Russia that contributed to Jewish emigration in the late nineteenth century in Chapter One, Chapter Two analysed the testimonies of former members of the community and their non-Jewish neighbours. The testimonies provide insights into the opinions, observations and memories, individual and communal of not only the former members of the Cork Jewish community but also of some of their non-Jewish neighbours. The testimonies of Chapter Two show the continued dominance of a one-dimensional, reductive communal narrative based on accidental arrival to Cork following persecution and the pogroms. This unnuanced, overly simplistic narrative of the history of the Cork Jewish community remains prevalent today. It is retold as part of the permanent exhibition of the Cork Public Museum called 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation'. It is also the theme of many of the non-scholarly pieces of literature on the Cork Jewish community.

The museum exhibit at the Cork Public Museum as well as the biographies, autobiographies, poetry and fiction on the Cork Jewish community have become to be seen as factual representations of the Cork Jewish community and its origins. Earlier fictional and non-scholarly representations of the community have formed the basis for more recent pieces such as Simon Lewis's poetry anthology *Jewtown*[256] and Ruth Gilligan's *Nine Folds a Paper Swan*[257] on the Cork Jewish community. Such works simply reiterate the same anecdotes of accidental arrival to Cork following persecution and escape from Russia.

[256] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown* (Galway: Doire Press, 2016).
[257] Ruth Gilligan, *Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan* (Great Britain: Atlantic Books, 2016).

Although the Jewish population of Cork never exceeded 400, it has received, like the Jewish population of Ireland as a whole, some would agree, a disproportionate amount of attention.[258] The Cork Jewish community has been the subject of a host of memoirs, fiction, popular histories, television documentaries and a museum exhibition. In spite of their one - dimensional portrayal of the Cork Jewish, a portrayal that does not deviate much from the omnipresent existing communal narrative, an analysis of the museum exhibition and of the non-scholarly literature of the community does give the reader some deeper insights into how the community viewed itself, Antisemitism, its links with other Anglo-Jewish communities and the social, economic and even political aspects of living in a peripheral Jewish community. The chapter begins by examining the exhibition *The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation.* This is followed by a portrayal of the community in popular works by both Jewish and non-Jewish writers.

3.1 *The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* at the Cork Public Museum.[259]

> While the sad decline was the reason for the exhibition, it still manages to celebrate what Cork City Lord Mayor Des Cahill said was the Jewish community's valuable contribution to the city. "I was absolutely blown away by the magnificent artefacts on view. This is a jewel in the crown of the preservation of the heritage of the city," he said. That Jewish heritage in Cork all spawned from the arrival of emigrants here from eastern Europe, although anecdotes on why they chose Cork vary widely. Some say they misheard the announcement and thought they had already landed in New York, when the ships that carried them had pulled into Cork Harbour. Other accounts suggest the families did not have enough to pay their way across the Atlantic, as they fled persecution by the Russian Tsar. And yet others think sea-sickness was the simple explanation for the journey being cut short. Whatever the reasons, they settled in an area near the city's south docks which became known, without any negative connotations, as Jewtown. "The new immigrants found that, much to their surprise,

[258] Ronit Lentin, Review of David Landy, 'Jewish Identity and Palestinian Rights: Diaspora Jewish Opposition to Israel', http://www.ronitlentin.net/2011/11/14/david-landy-jewish-identity-and- palestinian-rights-diaspora-jewish-opposition-to-israel (accessed 21 February 2012) in Natalie Wynn, *The history and internal politics of Ireland's Jewish community in their international Jewish context (1881-1914)*, Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland), 2015.The Israeli-born, Dublin-based sociologist Ronit Lentin makes the unreflexive complaint that Irish Jewry 'has been researched and written about disproportionately to its number and significance'.

[259] Cork Public Museum, www.corkcity.ie.

> the citizens of this unknown Catholic country on the edge of Europe welcomed them with, mostly, open arms," said Ms Rosehill.[260]

The above quotation from *The Irish Examiner* newspaper not only summarises the content of the exhibition at the Cork Public Museum on the Jewish community of Cork but also captures the dominant motifs that run through the exhibition. The exhibition, which is part of the permanent display at the museum, combines information on Judaism such as displays on the mourning practices of Jews, the purpose of a Tallit, an explanation of the importance of the Mezuzah for both Sephardic and Ashkenazi traditions, a glossary of Yiddish terms and anecdotes relating to the arrival of Jews in Cork. The contents of the panels of the exhibition are examined in the next section.

The first three didactic panels are called 'The Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire', 'Life in the Pale of Settlement' and 'Pogroms and Persecution'. While these three panels attempt to summarise and explain the conditions for Jews living in the Pale of Settlement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, there is a disproportionate emphasis placed on conscription, pogroms and persecution. The first section ends by stating:

> The head of the governing body of the Russian Orthodox church, who staged many of the pogroms, predicted "one third will convert, one third will die and one third will flee". Over 2 million Jews fled Russia. A tiny number of these disembarked at Cobh and made a new life in Cork.[261]

There is only a fleeting explanation in this panel to the economic hardships that the Jews of Russia had to face daily. The visitor is told that following amendments to the draft in 1874, 'three days of looting and rioting against the Jews in the south reflected growing tensions, as hatred towards the Jewish population grew to explosive levels.'[262] We are also told that 'by 1884, the pogroms were halted but administrative harassment continued.'[263] The reader is clearly led to believe that both the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian government openly involved in the persecution of Jews. As a result, at the end of the first

[260] Denis Minihane, 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation', *The Irish Examiner*, 28 May 2017, http://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/recalling-corks-lost-jewish-community-451037.html (accessed 17 November 2019).

[261] 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation', Cork Public Museum.

[262] Ibid.

[263] Ibid.

didactic panel, the visitor to the exhibition is clearly led to understand the Cork Jewish community through the prisms of conscription, pogroms and persecution. The harsh economic conditions of living in the Pale of Settlement as well the opportunities that both the expansion of railways in both Russia and Great Britain and competition on the shipping routes for migrants' business are not mentioned anywhere in the exhibition. Furthermore, there is no mention of the possible economic opportunities that could be found in Great Britain and Ireland.[264]

The second panel introduces Harry Rosehill to the visitor. The reader is told that in 1905 Harry's father Syer Lebh travelled a great distance to consult with a Rabbi. As a result of increasing prejudice and pogroms against the Jews, he wanted to know if his family would be safe. When he told the Rabbi that he had a brother in Cork, the rabbi advised him to leave for Ireland. Harry, aged 12 and his sister May, aged nine, travelled to Cork to live with their uncle Ernest Rosehill who had come to Cork as a travelling piano tuner before opening a music shop in Grand Parade. The panels are embellished with pictures of Ernest Rosehill aged 15 in his Russian army uniform and also of a picture with Harry and May Rosehill with music instruments.

The first didactic panel states that 'by 1884 the pogroms were halted' contradicts the information in the second panel which states that the Syer Lebh brought his children to Ireland in 1905 following increased fear of the pogroms. Rather than outlining the reality of reoccurring violence and oppression, for the most part, in the southern regions of the Pale, the visitor is given a disjointed, incoherent impression of the violence in the Pale of the Settlement.

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[264] Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place'. Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies (Pinceton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 139-142; Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 42, 159, 98-100. More Irish people emigrated between 1856 and 1921 than in the previous 250 years combined. Nearly one third of the money circulating in Ireland in the 1870s came from servant girls working in America. The flow of money from the U.S. transformed rural life in Ireland. It altered consumer patterns in Ireland and provided Jewish peddlers with a niche market; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 33, 57-60. According to Ó Gráda it was no coincidence why some Jews migrated to Ireland. Before leaving Russia, they were already involved in petty trade. In Ireland, poverty and the sluggish nature of the Irish economy meant that petty trade was able to linger-on long after it had become largely obsolete in other more advanced economies. It provided the Jewish migrants with the opportunity to work for themselves and in time even diversify into moneylending and shopkeeping; Levy Arnold, *The History of the Sunderland Jewish Community* (London: Macdonald, 1956), 93; Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 268. Historians examining Jewish migration to British centers such as Sunderland and Manchester also note the importance of economic reasons behind Jewish immigration.

The third panel is again didactic. It attempts to explain and summarise the arrival in Cork. The panel begins by telling the reader that most of the Jews who came to Cork came from the area of the Pale of Settlement now known as Lithuania and Belarus. There is no explanation as to why the Jews came predominantly from this area. The panel repeats the communal narrative of accidental arrival en route to America. The reader is offered three theories. First, 'some Jewish passengers, not having English, thought they had arrived at "New York" and disembarked. Secondly, unscrupulous captains may have deceived passengers into believing that they had arrived in America and finally that the lack of kosher food may have forced some passengers to disembark at Cork. The migration routes of Jews leaving Russia via ship and rail, completing the long and at times costly journey to America in stages as outlined in Chapter Two of this thesis is only briefly mentioned. We are told that 'it's likely that some passengers, though wanting to reach America, had only the fare as far as Ireland'.[265] Similar to many of the literary accounts of the Cork community, the museum exhibition portrays the Jewish migrants to Cork as passive rather than active actors in their own destiny.

The next panel continues the portrayal of the Rosehill family. We are told that Harry Rosehill began his professional life taking the bus to Portlaoise and selling sheet music all the way back to Cork in time to observe the Sabbath with his family. Harry would prosper, we are told, and eventually buy the business Marcus Framing, which is 'still trading on Adelaide Street, in the old heart of Cork'.[266] As the analysis of the Census of 1901 and 1911 show in Chapter Four, this is not reflective of the reality for many of the Jewish community of Cork. It is one of the few remaining Jewish owned businesses in Cork.

The next panel 'Jewtown and the Viklemen' gives an overview of the number of Jewish peddlers in Cork at the time of the 1901 census. The panel touches on the reality of chain migration, 'these Jews settled near Hibernian Buildings, south of the River Lee, which became known as "Jewtown". Many had already been neighbours in Akmijan (now Akmene in northern Lithuania) and became neighbours again in Cork'.[267] It also broaches the poverty of the community, 'having few resources, none of the local language, and needing to make a living, many of the new arrivals became peddlers'.[268] It is interesting that pogrom is used

[265] 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation', Cork Public Museum.

[266] 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation', Cork Public Museum.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

over boycott to refer to the Limerick boycott of 1904. The visitor is informed that Jewish families from Limerick came to Cork to 'escape' the 'Limerick pogrom'. The use of the word 'escape' again reiterates the overall motif or persecution that dominates much of the exhibition on the Cork Jewish community.

In much of the secondary literature, which is analysed in the next section of this chapter, members of the Jewish community recall events relating to the struggle for Irish Independence and the subsequent civil war. The museum is no exception. There is an entire panel dedicated to members of the Rosehill family's recollections of the burning of Cork city during the war of Independence.

The next panel is called 'The community's peak, and Fred Rosehill's youth and young manhood.' The panel gives the reader a personal insight into Fred Rosehill's early adult life and his role in the Jewish community. It also lists some of the social clubs such as Bnei Akiva, the Cork Hebrew Philanthropic and Burial Society, the Jewish Young Men's Literary Society and the Cork branch of the Daughters of Zion. While this panel gives the non-Jewish visitor an insight into the life of an orthodox Jewish community, it is, unfortunately, not without inaccuracies and generalisations. It states that in 1939 'when Fred Rosehill was twelve years old, there were almost 400 Jewish families living in Cork'.[269] As the analysis of the 1901 and 1911 Census in Chapter Four shows, there were never more than 400 members of the Cork Jewish community. Members here is the appropriate word. There were never four hundred families in the Cork Jewish community. The panel also states that 'Cork's Jewish children typically went together to the Protestant national school on South Main Street, and for secondary education to the Presentation College, or 'Pres'.[270] As the interviews with former members of the Jewish community of Cork in Chapter Two showed, this again is inaccurate. There was a perception that the male members of the Jewish community all went to Presentation College, Cork. However, as a number of the interviewees stated, for various reasons, such as a limit on the number of Jews who were offered places at Presentation College, Jewish students attended a number of primary and secondary schools in Cork city. An analysis of the enrolment records of the Cork Model School in Chapter Four also corroborates this.

There are two further panels on the synagogue in Cork and the differences between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews. The panel stated that 'Sephardic Jews accounted for the tiny

[269] Ibid.

[270] 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation', Cork Public Museum.

number who lived in Ireland before the wave of Ashkenazi Jews from Russia'.[271] The panel stands in isolation to the other panels. There is no clear connection made to the previous or subsequent panels. As the museum attempts to explain the difference between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, it could have briefly mentioned the existence of a small Sephardic community in Cork at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the inclusion of this panel on the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews, together with the omission not to briefly mention the former Sephardic community of Cork gives the visitor to the exhibition a disjointed, confused and even incomplete impression.

The second half of the exhibition is based on two further former prominent Cork Jewish families, the Goldberg and Marcus families. The first panel in this second section is called 'Louis Goldberg's escape from Russia'. The reader is told that the 'assassination of Tsar Alex II forced Louis Goldberg to flee his village and take the boat to America'.[272] The 'Limerick pogrom' of 1904 is again mentioned here. The 'ensuing boycott, intimidation and violence gave Louis no other choice but to return to the place where he had been made feel so welcome when he first set foot on Irish soil, Cork'.[273] Here again, in the second section, the emphasis is again placed on persecution and escape. There is an almost a sentimental, indulgent feeling to the exhibition here.

The following panel 'Gerald Goldberg – leading his community' begins with 'solicitor, art lover, bibliophile, Lord Mayor, Jew, Irishman –but above all a Corkonian!'.[274] Goldberg, we are told, recalls his mother making him and his brothers remove their shoes when they went to play with less well-off, shoesless children in Cork. It is also said that as Lord Mayor, Gerald Goldberg opened the Trinity footbridge near the synagogue, which was apparently known locally as 'Goldberg bridge' and 'The Passover'. He also commissioned and donated portraits of two former Lord Mayors who had died in the struggle for Irish Independence.

The family's connection to the fight for Irish Independence is further underlined in the next panel when we are told that Fanny and Molly Goldberg, Gerard's older sisters were both members of Cumann ne mBan, an Irish Republican organisation for women. Fanny

[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] 'The Tsar, the Rosehills & the Music Shop, the story of the Cork Hebrew Congregation', Cork Public Museum.

wrote her unpublished memoirs at the age of 60. Her recollections of the War of Independence were 'as a participant rather than an onlooker'.[275]

The final two panels of the exhibition are on the Marcus family. The penultimate panel recounts Louis Marcus's achievements as a filmmaker. He was honoured, we are told, in 2005 at the 50th Cork Film Festival with a Lifetime Achievement Award and a retrospective of this work in his native city. The last panel highlights the achievements of Louis's brother David as a writer and a literary critic. In 2005, he received an honorary doctorate from University College Cork. He died in Dublin in 2009. His wife brought his ashes 'home to Cork and scattered them around the Mardyke area and onto the Beamish Cricket ground opposite his old house, because she thought he would be happy there, at home, in Cork'.[276]

According to the website of the museum, its stated aim is to for visitors to:

> explore the museum's historical exhibits that tell the stories of many prominent Cork men and women who played their part in some of the most important national and international events of the last four centuries.[277]

This objective of telling the stories of individuals from Cork is clearly evident throughout the exhibition on the Cork Jewish community. There are panel boards on prominent former members of the community such as Louis and Gerald Goldberg, members of the Rosehill family and Louis and David Marcus. The familiar tropes of conscription, persecution and escape pervade many of the panels of the exhibition. The alleged common interests of the Jewish community of Cork with its non-Jewish neighbours as well as their participation in events surrounding the War of Independence are all highlighted in many of the panels of the exhibition. Their affinity with Cork is underlined in several panels.

There is no denying that the exhibition gives the visitor an insight into the lives of some of the former members of the Cork Jewish community. The museum also attempts to not only explain the events which may have led to the arrival of Jewish emigrants to Cork, but also to explain some of the rites and religious practices of Judaism. However, its overreliance on the personal histories of three families coupled with its overemphasis on unverified anecdotes relating to the arrival of some members of the Jewish community in Cork, ensure that the exhibition simply repeats the familiar, one-dimensional stories which

[275] Ibid.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Cork Public Museum, https://www.corkcity.ie/en/things-to-do/attractions/cork-public-museum (accessed 17 November 2019).

also feature widely and heavily in both the primary and secondary literature on the community.

Also, the explanations on Jewish religious practice do not further the visitor's understanding of the former Jewish community of Cork. They do not belong in an exhibition on the Cork Jewish community. There are other exhibits in the museum on famous Cork Republican fighters, which make reference to their religious convictions. Unlike the panels on the Jewish Community of Cork, no reference is made to explain to the visitor the rites associated with either Catholicism or Protestantism. Not only are the explanations on Judaism superfluous, but they also render the Jewish community of Cork as different, needing further explanation.

Also the panels on pogroms and persecution in Russia do not reflect the more complicated reality that faced Jews living in what is now modern day Latvia and Lithuania in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Rather than elaborate on the nuanced reality behind Jewish emigration to Cork and provide a coherent analysis of the reasons as to how and why several Jews came to settle in Cork, it relies on a reductive, incomplete narrative.

The museum focuses on the personal family histories of the Rosehills, Goldbergs and Marcus families. These families and their histories, while interesting, are exceptional. First, both Fred Rosehill and Gerald Goldberg remained in Cork until their respective deaths. Both were heavily involved in Jewish communal affairs. They became the gatekeepers of the community. Their individual family stories and anecdotes relating to accidental arrival following persecution came to be considered to be representative of the histories of the wider Cork Jewish community. Their stories, while important, do not represent the complete story of Jewish emigration to Cork. Families such as the Marcus family were also not representative of the community. Their achievements were exceptional rather than the norm. The repeated repetition of unsubstantiated anecdotes and 'facts' in many of the panels means that a visitor to the exhibition leaves with a confused, one-dimensional, inaccurate, understanding of the Cork Jewish community.

Much of the literature on the Cork Jewish community also draws heavily on unsubstantiated familiar anecdotes, without looking in any depth at the actual reality in the area of the Pale of Settlement that is modern day Latvia and Lithuania in the late nineteenth century. Like the museum exhibition, much of the literature relies on the all too familiar anecdotes of accidental arrival and escape from persecution.

The quantity of literature on the Cork Jewish community in no way broadens or develops our understanding as to why Jews immigrated to Cork. The superficial portrayal

of the Cork Jewish community does not attempt to nuance either the reality in nineteenth century Russia or the complex reasons for Jewish emigration. The non-scholarly literature on the Jewish community has helped to create and develop the identity of the Cork Jewish community, an identity forged on a communal narrative of accidental arrival to the port of Cork, following persecution and pogroms in Russia. The next section of this chapter examines this literature on the Cork Jewish community.

3.2 The Cork Jewish Community in non-Academic Works by Jewish Writers

David Marcus, one of most prolific Irish-Jewish writers from Cork wrote about the peculiarity of being an Irish Jew. He said that he was a 'European brought up in a Hebrew, Yiddish culture'[278] and of being an Irish Jew, 'I am an unusual freak, if you like. I am an Irish Jew'.[279]

Both Cecil Hurwitz and David Marcus, former members of the Cork Jewish community, wrote about their experiences growing up in Cork. While David Marcus was the more prolific of the two, the contribution of Cecil Hurwitz through his autobiography *From Synagague To Church*[280] cannot be ignored. Both of their writings have left an indelible mark on the portrayal of the Cork Jewish community. This next section of Chapter Three begins by examining the works of David Marcus before looking at Hurwitz's autobiography *From Synagogue To Church*. Works by other writers such as Simon Lewis, Wolf Mankowitz and Lionel Cohen are then examined.

> David Marcus is one of the crucial figures of the development of twentieth Century Irish literature. His autobiography, intriguingly called 'Oughtobiography', is a collection of insights and anecdotes into the two aspects of his character that have informed his life. The first is his experience growing up as an Irish Jew; the second is his writing, the love of which is evident from both the carefully crafted prose and his passion, which leaps off the pages.[281]

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[278] Andy O'Mahony, *A Jew an Irishman and a Cork man, In Context,* 11 October 1981, https://www.rte.ie/archives/2013/0722/463890-a-jew-an-irish-man-and-a-cork-man (accessed 3 October 2018).

[279] Ibid.

[280] Cecil Hurwitz, *From Synagogue To Church* (Cork: Pauline Publications, 1991).

[281] John Raferty, *Oughtobiography by David Marcus*, RTE (27 September 2001), https://www.rte.ie/entertainment/book-reviews/2001/0927/445435-oughtobiography (accessed 25 January 2018).

John Raferty is just one of many writers, and commentators who have lauded David Marcus' contribution to the Irish literary landscape. 'His page 'New Irish Writing' and his role as literary editor of the Irish Press ensure that his influence on Irish writers and Irish writing is incalculable'.[282]

There is no doubt that in addition to the platform he afforded to both new and established Irish writers, Marcus contributed in no small extent to a deeper understanding of not only Jews in Ireland, but in particular the small Jewish community of his hometown Cork. Robert Nye, reviewing *A Land Not Theirs* for *The Guardian* newspaper, wrote, 'for anyone who knows Cork, it captures the sights and sounds and smells of that city better than anything since Frank O'Connor in his prime'.[283]

Works by Marcus such as his autobiography *Oughtobiography,*[284] *Buried memories,*[285] which is both part autobiography and a brief history of the Cork community, the novel *A Land Not Theirs*[286] and the collection of short stories entitled *Who ever heard of an Irish Jew and other stories*?[287] make him undoubtedly one of the most prolific writers of the Cork Jewish community. Each of these works is now analysed in more detail.

3.2.1 David Marcus, *Oughtobiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (2001)

> Down the Mardyke through each elm tree,
> Where I sported and played 'neath each green leafy shade
> On the banks of my own lovely Lee.[288]

[282] Katrina Goldstone, *Memoir/Buried Memories by David Marcus*, *The Irish Times*, October 23 2004, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/blurring-the-boundaries-1.1163329 (accessed 25 January 2018).

[283] Robert Nye in David Marcus, *Oughtobiography, Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenates Jew* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 2001) 258.

[284] David Marcus, *Oughtobiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (Dublin, 2001).

[285] David Marcus, *Buried Memories* (Dublin: The Mercier Press Ltd, 2004).

[286] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs* (Great Britain: Corgi Publications, 1986).

[287] David Marcus, *Whoever Heard of an Irish Jew? And Other Stories* (London: Bantam Press, 1986).

[288] Jonathan C. Hanrahan, 'On the banks of my own lovely Lee', in David Marcus, *Oughtobiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew*, (Dublin, 2001), 1.

Oughtobiography appropriately begins with a poem by Jonathan C. Hanrahan. It blatantly emphasises from the first page the affection Marcus held and maintained throughout his lifetime for his native Cork. This affection is evident not only in *Oughtobiography* but also in many other works by Marcus. Despite this obvious fondness for the city of his birth and childhood, Marcus, to his credit, does not shy away from the reality of growing up and living in a provincial city such as Cork in a conservative Catholic country. 'At home in Cork I could not have gone five hundred yards in almost any direction without coming on a church spire – 'making its point'.[289] Marcus further acknowledges the insularity of the Cork Jewish community at various points throughout the book:

> Like the Israelites who sojourned in the land of Egypt, I seemed at this time only to sojourn in Cork while my real life was lived in a world exclusively Jewish. Family, relations, friends, devotions, celebrations, rituals were all in the ghetto tradition. I ventured not at all into areas of Cork outside my accustomed routes.[290]

It is worth briefly pausing here to examine Marcus's use of the word 'ghetto'. He employs it to succinctly capture the often self-imposed, self-contained aspect of the Cork Jewish community regarding its nuanced inception and birth as a peripheral Anglo-Jewish community.

Unlike some other writers and some of the testimonies of former members of the community, Marcus neither ignores nor makes light of the antisemitic incidents he experienced as a child and adult in Cork and Ireland:

> Many a time and oft, not on the Rialto of Venice, but much nearer home, in the streets of Cork, I had had to ignore young ragamuffins who, crunching a corner o their coat or gansey in their fist, would wave it in front of me, calling 'Pig's ear, wah, wah.[291]

Two such incidents, which occurred during his secondary education at Presentation College Cork, debunk the much-repeated myth relating to the enrolment of Jewish pupils at the school and acceptance for the boys from the Jewish community at the school.

First, he tells the reader that once in English class, while studying the Shakespearean play *The Merchant of Venice* the teacher assigned the role of Shylock to him. Upon learning

[289] David Marcus, *Oughtobiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew*, (Dublin, 2001), 133.
[290] Ibid., XIII.
[291] Ibid., 7.

of this, the school superior, Brother Evangelist, ensured that he would keep this role for only a day:

> And the school superior, Brother Evangelist, who unnoticed had slipped in quietly on one of his daily supervisory visits, took the opportunity to slip out just as quietly […] Next day I found myself no longer playing Shylock. I was recast as Portia.[292]

Secondly, after having taken his matriculation examination for university in 1941, Marcus learned that he had won an Intermediate Certificate scholarship. As was school custom, a group photo of the school winners was to be taken and displayed in the school. However, Marcus was to be told that the school had forgotten to contact him and offered to arrange for a picture of him to be taken and have his face inserted in a circle in the picture. Marcus's subsequent belief, upon reflection, was that this was no mere coincidence:

> I passed the Matriculation and also won an Intermediate Certificate scholarship, but my farewell to Pres was anything but celebratory. One morning shortly after the Inter results had been announced there was a knock on the front door of my home. I happened to be on hand to open it. The caller was Brother Vincent, the Brother whose duty it was to arrange with Guy's the city's leading photographers, for the group photograph of all the school's winners of scholarships and other distinctions, which would take its place alongside the scores of others already hanging on the stairways and wall of the building. He told me that the photograph had been taken the previous day but that he had completely forgotten to notify me. However, he could arrange for Guy's to photograph me and have my face inset in a circle in the picture. I thanked him but declined his offer. With a list he would have had of all the students to notify, there was no way he could have 'forgotten' me. I have often asked myself whether my omission was a deliberate act of anti-Semitism or just a bizarre coincidence, and in truth I have to admit that the former always seemed to me the more likely.[293]

These incidents remind us that while there may not have been violent antisemitic incidents in Cork, the everyday reality for Cork's Jewish citizens was a little more nuanced and complicated when compared to the, at times, sentimental stories that are all too often recited and repeated by both members and non-members of the Cork Jewish community. The presence of 'minor' anti-Jewish sentiments among members of the school community also highlight that toleration of Jews in Cork was never absolute. The immigrants may have

[292] David Marcus, *Oughtbiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (Dublin, 2001), 8.
[293] David Marcus, *Oughtbiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (Dublin, 2001), 11-12.

for the most part integrated well into Cork society, prejudices and hostility did surface occasionally.[294]

Unlike some other former members of the Jewish community Marcus does not ignore some of the negative aspects of being Jewish in Cork. It is, however, important to note that he reiterates several times throughout the book, the all too familiar tropes of persecution, conscription and accidental arrival in his depiction of both his own family and that of the Jewish community in Cork. The first of these reoccurring images is to be found on page five. Describing his father and grandfather, he says:

> A refugee from Czarist pogroms in Lithuania, my grandfather founded a successful picture-framing factory in Dublin, and in due course my father set up his own branch of the business in Cork.[295]

In fact, 'refugee' is to be used a total of five times throughout the book. The term 'pogrom' is mentioned three times to explain why the Jews left Czarist Russia, while both 'conscription' and 'persecution' are also cited three times as to why a small number of Jews decided to leave Russia and eventually settle in Cork. The motif of escaping, of fleeing, is also mentioned several times throughout the book.

One cannot deny that the repetition of such words and images gives us an insight into how the community viewed itself and its former life and identity in Russia, however, they neither accurately portray nor even allude in any way to the more nuanced, complicated picture of the Jewish arrival in Cork, a migration which was in many ways reflective of nineteenth century European Jewish emigration. It was, to quote Marcus, when recounting the story of the I.R.A.'s attempt to kidnap and extort money from Mr. Friedling during the war with the Black and Tans in *A Land Not Theirs*, 'a good story'.[296] The improbability of the story is nevertheless also acknowledged, 'perhaps it was apocryphal, but everyone in the community believed it had happened'.[297] It is not until four pages before the end of the book that Marcus poses the question that many writers of the Cork Jewish Community never ask:

> Cork? How come such a crazy gang of Jewish refugees fleeing the pogroms of their native, Czarist-ruled Lithuania should plonk themselves down in Ireland? And not even in Dublin, its capital, but in Cork, a place where they would never have heard

[294] Paul O' Leary in Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 89, 98 -100. The difference between acceptance and toleration of Jews in Wales are examined. Tolerance, he says is never absolute. According to O'Leary toleration presupposes a defined power relationship 'whereby minority cultures are 'endured' rather than 'embraced'.
[295] David Marcus, *Oughtbiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (Dublin, 2001), 5.
[296] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs*, (London, 1986), 200.
[297] Ibid., 221.

> of. Tucked away among the bays of its southern coastline, it was often referred to by bumptious metropolitans as 'the arsehole of Ireland.[298]

Moreover, again unlike many other writers, Marcus opines that the Jewish community of Cork was an anomaly, an outlier community, which came into being as a result of its port and geographical position on the busy shipping route to the Americas. Both Marcus's use of a rhetoric question to acknowledge the significance of the geographical location of Cork, on the trans-Atlantic migration sea route hints at perhaps, an understanding of the more complex reality. 'Hadn't it (Cork) the biggest deep-water anchorage in all the then British Isles? Wasn't it the port of call for the magnificent, smoke-farting continental and American liners?'.[299]

His use also of the word 'legend' implies that Marcus is aware of the dubious origins of the story surrounding the Jewish arrival to Cork. Nevertheless, the closing pages of Marcus's autobiography repeat the dominant imagery of the Jews of Cork being passive, rather than active participants in the creation of their new lives and identities in Cork:

> The legend goes, is how those fuddled, bedraggled, wandering Jews came there, for, having no English and hearing, as their ship docked, the calls of 'Cork, Cork', they disembarked. My uncles had their own version, that 'Cork, Cork' was thought to be 'Pork, Pork', thus causing the Kosher-Orthodox travellers to make for the shore *en masse*.[300]

Not only does the above quote trivialise the Jewish migration to Cork, but its attempt at humour also further degrades the complicated, long and often arduous journey, that was made in stages by the emigrants before arriving in Cork. It depreciates not only the personal connections that led to Jewish settlement in Cork, but also the role both the growth in railway lines in Russia and Great Britain, coupled with the trade war that existed between the shipping companies.[301]

The imagery evoked by the closing words 'fuddled', 'bedraggled' and 'wandering' is powerful. It is this image of the passive, lost and confused Jew that remains with the reader after having read the book.

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[298] David Marcus, *Oughtbiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (Dublin, 2001), 266.

[299] David Marcus, *Oughtbiography Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* (Dublin, 2001), 266.

[300] Ibid., 266.

[301] The importance of the growth in the railway lines in both Russian and Great Britain as well as the intense competition between the shipping companies have been highlighted in Chapter One of this thesis.

Nevertheless, this is, to reiterate Marcus's own words, just a story. A story that is, contrary to popular belief, is neither unique nor representative of the origins of the Cork Jewish community. It is a story that is often heard in relation to many other Anglo-Jewish communities, communities such as Grimsby, Hull, Liverpool and Sunderland.[302] The possible reasons as to why this particular anecdote continues to dominate the discourse around the Cork Jewish community are examined later in this thesis.

3.2.2 David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs* (1986)

Similarly, to the book *Oughtbiography, Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew*, the all too familiar images of persecution, fear of conscription and escape form the backdrop to the narrative of the story. Despite being a fictional account of the Cork Jewish community, there are many similarities to both Marcus's own life and that of others in the Cork Jewish community.

Marcus's fictional account of the Cork Jewish community during the turbulent era of the nineteen twenties in the novel *A Land Not Theirs*[303] also gives us several important insights into the perspectives and identity of the Cork Jewish community.

Early in the story, we are told that the character Abie had been forcefully conscripted into the Tsar's army on 17 August 1881.[304] The reader is told that he had been taken by force from his home in a Lithuanian village when he was sixteen:

> How he was beaten and spat upon by the officers because he was a Jew; how he was forced to eat treif, and how his life in the regiment had been such a hell that he decided to desert.[305]

While Abie is a fictional character, the resemblances between the fictional narrative and that of many of the actual members of the Cork Jewish community are lucid. As seen in the testimonies of the former members of the community in the previous chapter, fear of conscription is often cited as one of the main, if not one of the primary reasons for the emigration and subsequent arrival in Cork of several Jews from Tsarist Russia at the end of

[302] Daphie & Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community* (Hull: Imprint Unknown, 1986)
[303] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs* (London, 1986), 41.
[304] Ibid., 41.
[305] Ibid., 41.

the nineteenth century. Abie's journey across Europe, which is again representative of many of the Jewish community in Cork, is also described in vivid detail here:

> Making his way through Poland and Germany and the rest of Europe, village by village, shtetl by shtetl, always moving west, America the ultimate goal, until he reached Cork.[306]

Again, perhaps Marcus was mirroring the experiences of his own brother and other members of the Cork community whose parents wanted them to go on to University College Cork to study medicine,[307] the character Jacob, 'bowing to Mrs. Cohen's wish and entered University College Cork to study medicine'.[308]

Later in the story, we are told that the character Max Klein 'moved away from Jewtown to a considerably larger and more imposing semi-detached house in Blackrock'.[309] The upward mobility of the Cork Jewish community is also hinted at here. Both the oral testimonies and the Census of 1901 and 1911 show that several families did leave the area of Jew town to settle in other areas of the city once they had the financial means.[310]

Like his book *Oughtobiography*, it is interesting to note that Marcus uses the word 'ghetto' in his novel *A Land Not Theirs* on three different occasions to describe the lack of contact between the Jewish community and non-Jewish community of Cork. During a conversation between Jacob and Deirdre, Jacob says to her, 'Cork is as deep as my roots go. I've lived my life in a ghetto – Jewish people, Jewish friends, Jewish history, Jewish affairs, Jewish concerns, that's been my world'. [311]

Another character, Judith, reflecting on her own situation and planned emigration to Palestine makes a similar assertion in the form of a rhetorical question:

> Where had she been for so long? What had she been missing, swaddled in the cocoon of her Irish ghetto?' Was she just exchanging one ghetto for another?[312]

Again this use of the word ghetto to describe the close-knit Cork Jewish community features in at least one of the oral testimonies of the members of the Cork Jewish community discussed in the previous chapter.[313]

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[306] Ibid., 41.
[307] Oral testimony 15 (Haifa, 21 July 2015); Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2015).
[308] Ibid., 47.
[309] Ibid., 76.
[310] Central Statistics Office, http://census.ie/the-census-and-you/who-uses-census-data (accessed 4 December 2017).
[311] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs*, 112.
[312] Ibid., 412.
[313] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2017).

Both the social connections between members of the Cork community and other Anglo-Jewish communities as well as the trans-nationalism of the community are also touched upon in Marcus's *A Land Not Theirs*. Contemplating marriage, Judith thinks about the regular visits of Jewish boys from England to Cork:

> But visits by young eligible Jews from England to relations in Cork, for a holiday, were recognised by everyone as a time-honoured step in the marriage-making process[314].' 'Yes, all, mine and my wife's,' was the proud reply. 'They're scattered everywhere – Dublin, England, America, Russia…[315]

When this answer is greeted with surprise, the familiar story of persecution and conscription raises its head again, 'the Tsar's army wasn't a pleasant place for Jewish conscripts'.[316]

Yet despite his reliance at times on the familiar tropes of persecution, pogroms and escape, Marcus nevertheless challenges in *A Land Not Theirs* the popular perception that the members of the Jewish community were loyal advocates of Irish nationalism:[317]

> Their own history, their race-memories, made them sympathise in their hearts with the cause of their Irish friends and neighbours, but where would it all end and how would they fare if Britain did abandon the country? The devil you know.[318]

The concerns of the Cork Jewish community in relation to Irish independence are further captured in a later exchange between Deirdre and Jacob when she asks him:

> Don't you feel you owe the country something?' While Jacob's reply might not appeal to the Nationalist reader, it did, however, reflect the reality for many of the Jews of Cork. He answers Deirdre by saying, 'it wasn't the Irish people who let the Jews into Ireland, it was the British government in Ireland.[319]

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[314] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs*, 77.

[315] Ibid., 330.

[316] Ibid., 332.

[317] This is a feature of many of the oral testimonies of the former members of the Cork Jewish community. The placing of either themselves or their ancestors in the nationalist Irish narrative has previously been highlighted in Chapter Two.

[318] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs*, 381.

[319] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs*, 114; Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place' (paper presented at the Davis Seminar, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, April 2003), 124. Diner takes the example of Matthew Nathan to nuance the idea that Jews living in Ireland were all nationalist. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant for Ireland – the chief representative of the British government resident in Dublin, at the time of the Easter Rebellion was a Jew, Matthew Nathan. Nathan's presence in Dublin, and his visible political influence, did not escape the notice of Irish nationalists

This fear of unknown consequences in relation to the surge in Irish nationalism is mentioned again later in the story before the wedding of Miriam Levy and Reuben Jackson:

> The wedding of Miriam Levy and Reuben Jackson on Sunday was an especially welcome event – marriages in the community were infrequent enough for members to be uplifted by one for weeks ahead.[320]

In both his book *Oughtbiography* and the short story *Who Ever Heard of an Irish Jew ?and other stories*[321] Marcus touches on the complexity of being Jewish and Irish, and, of being from Cork. For many outsiders, both Jewish and non-Jewish, being an Irish Jew seemed incongruous to their understanding of what it meant to be Jewish.

In the autobiographical short story *Who Ever Heard of an Irish Jew?* Marcus describes an incident at the Jewish Sabbath Day Observance Employment Bureau in London, where he had recently travelled and was looking to find work. He is asked by the women working there if he were Jewish or just pretending to be so in order to get a job:

> Then, briskly, in a no-nonsense voice, she accused: 'You're sure you are Jewish?' I wondered how I could prove my authenticity to her – apart from one particular way that would hardly further my cause (though one never knew). 'I mean,' she grated on, 'we never had an *Irish* Jew before. And you don't *sound* Jewish.[322]

Finally, in *A Land Not Theirs* Marcus also mentions both the community's orthodoxy and the difficulties associated with trying to live an orthodox Jewish life in Cork and the place of Zionism in the community in Cork. At the beginning of the book, Judith and her mother contemplate the economic cost of obtaining kosher meat for the community:

> But a kosher butcher wouldn't have *goyim* coming into his shop, would he? And do you imagine he would make a living from our little community alone?[323]

Issues regarding the procurement of Kosher meat is a reoccurring subject in both the *Minutes of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* and the many adverts seeking a *shochet* for the Cork Jewish community in the *Jewish Chronicle*. The issues relating to Kosher meat is analysed in more detail in Chapter Four.

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and the Jewish Community in Ireland. It also showed the Jews of Ireland to a degree to which as Jews the British system had been good to at least some of them.

[320] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs,* 381.

[321] David Marcus, *Who Ever heard of an Irish Jew? and other stories* (London: Bantam Press, 1986).

[322] David Marcus, *Who Ever heard of an Irish Jew? and other stories,* 9.

[323] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs,* 49.

Both the 'blue and white JNF money-box' and the Cork community's fear of losing the Rabbi, are also mentioned in the story, 'the blue and white JNF money-box, with the map of Palestine embossed on its face'.[324]

While later in the book, we are told that Max Klein worried about the effects of losing the Rabbi on the Cork community, 'gone would be their status, their spiritual centre, their very rock'.[325] These themes are also mentioned several times in the oral testimonies of the Cork community which were analysed in the previous chapter. Again, they also appear in regular intervals in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* and the *Jewish Chronicle,* which are examined in the next chapter.

3.2.3 David Marcus, *Buried Memories* (2004)

The sequel to Marcus's book *Oughtobiography. Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew*, *Buried Memories*[326] continues Marcus's exploration of what he called:

> The ongoing trauma' of juggling a 'hyphenated heritage', the dual citizenship, loyalties, aspirations and cultures of being a Jew in Ireland, and a member of a rapidly dwindling community.[327]

Like both his book *Oughtbiography. Leaves from the Diary of a Hyphenated Jew* and *A Land Not Theirs* Marcus choses the word 'ghetto' to describe his early upbringing in Cork:

> I was an Irish ghetto-Jew, who had had a Jewish orthodox upbringing, had hardly any Jewish friends in youth (the Cork community then numbered 400 men, women and children) and never felt able to bond with any Christian acquaintance.[328]

The choice of the word 'ghetto' by Marcus is important as is its subsequent explanation. They highlight the insularity and the dwindling size of the Cork Jewish community. It is as a result of the relative parochialism of the Cork Jewish community that Marcus tells us that from an early age he became aware that he was different. He tells us that

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[324] Ibid., 50.
[325] Ibid., 208.
[326] David Marcus, *Buried Memories* (Dublin: The Mercier Press Ltd, 2004).
[327] Richard Pine, David Marcus, *The Guardian*, 19 June 2009, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/jun/12/obituary-david-marcus (accessed 8 February 2018).
[328] David Marcus, *Buried Memories*, 12.

unlike most people he did not have to move away to discover this, he simply started school, a non-Jewish primary school in Cork:

> Identity has to be self-discovered, and more often than not, that doesn't happen until one moves from home to a different place, circle, culture or religion. For most people the change of circumstances doesn't occur in the years of childhood. For me, however, it did, when I went to a primary school in Cork and found that the pupils weren't Jewish.[329]

Another anecdote in *Buried Memories* further enhances the picture of a provisional Anglo-Jewish community in decline. Marcus writes that due to the diminishing numbers of available adults, the fictional character, Aaron Cohen, as young boy, is asked to help the Burial Society prepare the body of a certain Mr. Kyak:

> He's old enough to start,' my father commented in a dry tone. 'But he is not a member of the Society.[330]

Again, a similar anecdote is recounted in a testimony of a former member of the Cork community.[331] The appearance of this story in Marcus's novel as well as in one of the oral testimonies shows that the same stories were told and often retold by members of the community. The dominance of a small number of anecdotes will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis. At this point, it is worth briefly commenting on the clear parallels between the decline of the Cork Jewish community and other small, peripheral Anglo-Jewish communities.

In *The Story of The Grimsby Jewish Community*, Daphne and Leon Gerlis also highlight the effect of falling numbers on synagogue societies such as the Burial Society. They say that the work of the *Chevra Kadisha* was:

> Not an easy task, this mitzvah was doubly hard owing to the fact that it was almost always their friends or relations whom the members were preparing for burial. Many communal workers 'wore a number of hats', taking office, often at the same time on more than one committee.[332]

The image of a young Aaron looking in the windows of non-Jewish homes and admiring the decorations and array of Christmas cards again paints a clear image of what it

[329] Ibid., 48.
[330] David Marcus, *Buried Memories*, 78.
[331] Oral testimony number 11 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).
[332] Daphie & Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community* (Hull: Humberside Heritage Publication No. 10, 1986), 43.

was like to be a religious minority living in a predominantly Catholic country. He tells us, 'we had nothing that could remotely compare with Christmas'.[333]

This imagery of being on the outside, of looking in, is further developed through the descriptions of the young Aaron listening to his friends' vivid descriptions of their expectations for Christmas:

> Each day at school in break time, it being too cold to go out, I sat dumbly drinking in their discussions of what each one was expecting to find in his stocking on Christmas morning. That seemed the crowning bit of magic. The only magic *we* had was the moment during the Passover *seder* when the front door was opened for Elijah.[334]

However, despite this feeling of being different to the Catholic majority and the falling numbers of the Jewish community in Cork, Marcus nevertheless acknowledges the gregariousness of the small community. Reminiscing, Aaron tells Catherine about the 'Social club created by Jewish youth, which meet in a small hall on Marlborough Street every Saturday night for a dance'.[335]

Again social clubs and activities were also mentioned in the oral testimonies and Youth Club notes, which were analysed in the previous chapter.

It is worth mentioning that the convivial nature of peripheral small Jewish communities also features in books and in the testimonies of former members of Anglo-Jewish communities such as Grimsby, Sunderland in England and in the small Jewish communities of Wales and Scotland. Like Cork, Grimsby was also a port city with a Jewish population and trans-migrant population similar in size to Cork, had youth clubs, Table tennis clubs and B'nai Brith lodges.[336]

Yet again, the narrative of the accidental arrival of Jews to Cork appears in *Buried Memories*. Aaron tells Catherine, 'They thought they had arrived in America, which was supposed to be their destination.'[337] This image of the passive, fearful immigrant at the

[333] Ibid., 50.
[334] David Marcus, *Buried Memories*, 50 & 51.
[335] Ibid., 178.
[336] Daphie & Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community*, 48-50; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017); Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009)
[337] Ibid., 112.

mercy of the non-Jewish population is vividly described by Aaron to Catherine in the anecdote about the community's first day in Cork:

> Almost immediately after they went in, a crowd of local men and women from neighbouring houses started to gather outside, shouting and trying to look in through the front window and knocking on the door.[338]

A correlation between the alleged previous suffering of the community in Russia and the situation in Ireland is made here:

> Of course the Jews had no idea what these people wanted, but from their own experiences with local pogroms in Lithuania, which was governed by Russia, they expected the worst. So, they locked the door and window, and prayed.[339]

Aaron's emphasis of the supposedly accidental arrival of the downtrodden, lost and forlorn Jewish immigrants, at the mercy of the native Irish is again reminiscent of several of the accounts of Jews arriving in Cork which were mentioned in the oral testimonies of the former members of the community in the previous chapter.

While at times Marcus relies heavily on the familiar tropes of persecution, escape and the arrival myths of the community, *Buried Memories* does, nevertheless, give the reader several pertinent insights into growing up as part of a minority in a predominantly Catholic city. *Buried Memories* also portrays the peripheral, yet self-contained nature of the Cork Jewish community. We see a small, outlier, self-sufficient community with limited ties to its non-Jewish neighbours, yet a community reflective in many ways of other peripheral Anglo-Jewish communities. This position on the outside, of not entirely belonging, possibly led to the reluctance to let go of arrival stories that were for the most part unfounded. These stories, which do not reflect the actual, more complex arrival stories of Cork Jewry, gave, perhaps, the community a sense of uniqueness and more importantly justification for their presence in a city in a country that was much more accustomed to emigration rather than immigration.

At first glance, the very existence of the Cork community may appear as an anomaly, however, upon closer inspection, through the help of Marcus's writing, we see a community with social and economic transnational links to many other Anglo-Jewish communities. We also see the important role the port of Cork played in the arrival of Jews to the city.

[338] David Marcus, *Buried Memories*, 113.
[339] David Marcus, *Buried Memories*, 113.

Marcus' writing also gives us a glimpse into a community that struggled to find its identity in a predominantly Catholic country. His novels also show us that the idea of an 'Irish Jew' became complicated by the realities of the Irish relationship to Britain. The Jewish community often found itself in the position of having to explain itself. As a result, they developed a communal rhetoric which played on the strangeness of their situation. The Jews of Cork made their claim to belong by invoking their very distinctiveness.[340] Perhaps most importantly, we can observe a community that was struggling to survive as a result of emigration. Similar themes to those that appear in Marcus's works also appear in Simon Lewis's poetry which is now analysed.

3.2.4 Simon Lewis, *Jewtown*[341]

The themes of accidental arrival, pogroms, and escape from persecution form much of the inspiration for the poems in Simon Lewis's poetry anthology *Jewtown*. Lewis's anthology, published in 2016 consists of fifty-seven poems, which draw their inspiration from the former Cork Jewish community. The dominant, reoccurring themes of the collection are persecution, flight, poverty, the Cork Jewish community's alleged origins in Achmijan in modern day Lithuania and the orthodoxy of the community.

From the first page of the introduction, Lewis relies heavily on the familiar narrative of accident arrival and pogroms for the themes of his poetry. In an effort to describe the community's origins, struggles and identity, the poems alternate between a Jewish and non-Jewish perspective of the community in Cork.

While many of the poems depict scenes that are anecdotally seen as being unique to Cork, many of the reoccurring images, motifs and themes of Lewis's poem are equally reflective of the arrival of many Jewish immigrants to towns and cities across Britain and to a lesser extent Ireland. The themes and use of the language in the poems are now examined.

The second poem in the anthology *Foot*[342], like many other poems in the collection describes a journey from Russia to America, reminiscent of that of many Jewish migrants. The desire to reach America is evoked in the first lines of the poem:

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[340] Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place' (paper presented at the Davis Seminar, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, April 2003), 125.

[341] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown* (Galway: Doire Press, 2016).

[342] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown* 12.

When it was time to move to America,
we left our home undercover,
the flight from persecution,
He scolded me that any sound could murder us if the Russian army heard.[343]

The alleged accidental arrival in Cork is also mentioned in the poem:

I woke in a hospital bed to hear mother grumbling
that in New York they could have saved it.[344]

The third poem in the collection, *Meeting Isaac Marcus*[345] continues in the same vein. Persecution and victimhood are the dominant themes of the poem:

I meet the ones that survived
the Tsar, the walk to Riga,
the black rats on board.[346]

This image of a more established immigrant going down to the harbour to meet prospective immigrants at the harbour features not only in several of the oral testimonies of the Cork community, but also in those of the Grimsby Jewish community.[347] In fact the introduction to Simon Lewis's *Jewtown* closely resembles the introduction to Daphie and Leon Gerlis's book *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community.*

Simon Lewis tells us on page nine of his book that:

> Fleeing the pogroms in Czarist Russia in the late 19th century, a small community of Jews settled in an area of Cork, south of the River Lee. It soon become known by the locals as Jewtown. The new immigrants had no money, few possessions and little English.[348]

Daphie and Leon Gerlis's *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community* reiterates a very similar narrative in the opening pages of their book. The arrival of a small group of Jews to Grimsby:

[343] Ibid., 12.
[344] Ibid., 12.
[345] Ibid., 13.
[346] Ibid., 13.
[347] Daphie & Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community*, 13.
[348] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown*, 9.

> Epitomises the story of many immigrants who fled from the ghettos of Europe, but who were more fortunate; they survived, and a few found peace and shelter in this small but growing town on the east coast of England.[349]

Furthermore, Daphie and Leon Gerlis state that:

> Persecution, violence and slaughter by Cossack bands became a regular feature of Jewish life. Forced conscription into the army of the Tsar for a period of twenty-five years or more was particularly distressing.[350]

This close resemblance between the prevailing narrative of two small, outlier Anglo-Jewish communities, Cork and Grimsby emphasises for us the similarities between the dominant, oft repeated narratives of the Cork Jewish community and those of other peripheral Anglo-Jewish communities such as Grimsby.

Lewis's poem *Preservation*[351] refers, like several other poems in the collection, to this arrival by steamboat to Cork:

> To the waves, but I won't go to Cobh,
> where the boat brought me from Kovno
> and the guard made me change my name to Feldman.[352]

Again in Daphie and Leon Gerlis's book, the difficulties of arrival for the Jewish community of Grimsby are highlighted: 'Five young people who perished by suffociation in the hold of a ship in which they were travelling from their native Russia to seek a new life in the West'.[353]

The reoccurring images of the Tsar, Russian soldiers and escape again dominate Lewis' poems *Tschlich, Rabbi Shva, Lizzie Smith* and *The Last Words.*[354] In the poem *Taschlich*, we learn that soldiers lay in wait at checkpoints throughout the journey to Riga:

> The lies to the soldiers
> at every checkpoint all the way
> to the harbour at Riga.[355]

While in the poem *Rabbi Shva*, the threat of conscription caused the protagonist to flee for his life:

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[349] Daphie & Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community,* x.
[350] Ibid., 5.
[351] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown*, 65.
[352] Ibid., 63
[353] Daphie & Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community, x.*
[354] Ibid., 20, 22 and 24.
[355] Ibid., 20.

The army came for me that night after May
and there were no words, terms or sentences to manipulate.
No choice, I fled.[356]

Achmijan, as the place of origin of the Cork community, is mentioned in the poems *Rabbi Shva, Lizzie Smith* and *Shalom Park:*[357]

We had saved what we could to pay the fare,
escaped from Achmijan by night,
in case of the Russians.[358]

Both the supposed lack of control and the lack of choice in choosing Cork as a destination by the migrant are recalled again in this poem. The poverty and possible life as a pedlar that awaited the newly arrived emigrant to Cork are also evoked:

It was cholera.
I limped off the ship
to life alone on the streets of Cork,
selling statues, crosses, wreaths.[359]

Lewis's peom *Fixed*[360] continues this motif of fragility and persecution. The protagonist tells us that he had no choice but to leave Kovno, 'the army kicked me out of Kovno'.[361] Supposedly like so many other Jewish immigrants who arrived at the port of Cork, the protagonist had no choice, but to disembark, 'a steamboat docked and left me abandoned'.[362] Lewis's use of the word 'abandoned' embodies this reoccurring narrative of accidental arrival, not just in Cork, but for many Jewish emigrants to Britain and Ireland. The geographical location of Britain on the transmigrant route to America, the steep competition and price wars between the various shipping companies and the role of the more established Jewish communities in Britain are all ignored here by Lewis in favour of the more simplistic narrative of the hapless Jewish victim at the mercy of the others.

Like David Marcus's description of a Jewish child looking in on Christmas in his book *Buried Memories,*[363] the poetry of Simon Lewis also looks at the notion of being an

[356] Ibid., 22.
[357] Ibid., 22, 24 & 67.
[358] Ibid., 24.
[359] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown 2*4.
[360] Ibid., 43.
[361] Ibid., 43.
[362] Ibid., 43.
[363] David Marcus, *Buried Memories*, 50 and 51

outsider in a predominantly Catholic country. In the poem *Al Chet*[364] we learn that the protagonist has a non-Jewish friend who wished to have the same exemptions from lessons as his Jewish schoolmate:

> At noon when you kneeled in the classroom
> and chanted the Angelus,
> you said you prayed for days off school, like me.[365]

While the poem is essentially from the perspective of the non-Jewish schoolboy, it nevertheless captures the notion of being an outsider, of looking in from the outside. This idea of looking in from the outside, also appears in many of the oral testimonies of former members of the Cork community discussed in the previous chapter.

Again like David Marcus, Lewis alludes to the trans-nationalism of the community, to the notion that Cork was more than an accidental, forced stop, without acknowledging the actual significant role the port of Cork played. Cork, like many other port cities in Britain and Ireland, was a natural geographical pit stop along the migrant's path to their ultimate destination, America. The poem *Map of the World*[366] mentions this transnational journey of the Jewish migrant. It begins with the all too familiar imagery of soldiers and escape:

> I chose to carry a map of the world,
> the last thing
> to grab before the soldiers rampaged the shtetl
> as we escaped with our treasures aboard the ship
> bound for America.[367]

The alleged forced disembarkation at Cork mentioned in other poems is also repeated here: 'And protests were met with a shove, a fáilte go hÉireann'.[368] Despite this reliance on the familiar tropes of forced embarkation and mistaken arrival, Lewis does mention the reality that many of the community planned to continue their journey after a stay in Cork:

> Every morning I gaze at the route across the ocean,
> fingering the unbroken line ready to be dashed.[369]

[364] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown*, 48.
[365] Ibid., 48.
[366] Simon Lewis, *Jewtown*, 60.
[367] Ibid., 60.
[368] Ibid., 60.
[369] Ibid., 60.

In an article for *The Irish Times* newspaper, Lewis stated that his grandmother had travelled on a boat across Europe before arriving in Cork. He then goes on to reference the familiar narrative of accidental arrival:

> The story goes that people had wanted to go to New York but misheard the name Cork and disembarked. I'm fairly sure this can't be true, but many Jewish people would beg to differ.[370]

According to Lewis in the same article, the Jewish community of Cork was 'fertile ground for poetry'.[371] Lewis believed that the origins of the Cork Jewish community was nothing more than a story.[372] He also does not deny that his poetry relies for the most part on unsubstantiated communal anecdotes and stories. He is unequivocal about this reliance on the dominant communal narratives of accidental arrival, following persecution in Russia. While there is no denying that his anthology of poetry *Jewtown* brilliantly captures and retells the shared, inter-generational communal narratives of the community, unfortunately, however, the reiteration of such stories and the lack of historical research further perpetuates the myths and stories that have come to define the Cork Jewish community. Not only does the anthology not add anything new to already dominant, yet reductive story of Cork Jewry, it also fails to capture the much more nuanced, complexities as to the reasons why a small number of Jews left eastern Europe and eventually arrived and settled in Cork.

The anthology is more of a commentary on the general theme of migration. The images that run through the anthology are not unique to the Jewish community of Cork or specifically to Jewish migration. Rather they seek to inform the reader as to why people migrate.

Louis Lentin's film *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian*[373] covers many of the same themes as Lewis's anthology of poems, however, it also offers the viewer a more nuanced, historically based insight into not only the Cork Jewish community but the Irish Jewish community as a whole.

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[370] Simon Lewis, 'On Writing Jewtown', *The Irish Times*, 7 June 2016, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/simon-lewis-on-writing-jewtown-1.26755202004 (accessed 21 May 2019).

[371] Simon Lewis, 'On Writing Jewtown', *The Irish Times*, 7 June 2016.

[372] Interview with Simon Lewis (Dublin, (via Skype) 13 January 2018).

[373] Louis Lentin, *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian*, http://ifiplayer.ie/grandpa-speak-to-me-in-russian/ (accessed 19 April 2018).

3.2.5 Louis Lentin, *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian* (2007)

Louis Lentin, a former RTÉ head of drama, worked at the national broadcaster from 1961 to 1989 where he directed many notable productions. His last production for RTÉ was *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian*, the story of his Jewish grandfather's immigration from Lithuania to Ireland in the 1890s.[374]

The documentary *Grandpa Speak to me in Russian* is both a personal and general reflection on migration, and more specifically, the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Jewish migration, to Ireland. The story centres on his paternal grandfather Kalman Lentin who came to Ireland as a young boy in the mid-1890s from present day Lithuania, which was at the time, part of the Pale of Settlement in Czarist Russia.

Kalman Lentin's possible personal reasons for travelling to Ireland are intertwined throughout the narrative of the documentary with historical facts and input from renowned historians of Jewish migration such as Professor Hasia R. Diner. This combination of both the personal, subjective narrative with more historically researched facts gives the viewer a much more nuanced and balanced view of Jewish immigration to Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As a result of the prevailing and widely perpetuated narrative of accidental arrival 'one sometimes gets the impression that the Anglo-Jewish community was built up of those who did not get to America'.[375] During the documentary Lentin refers to these prevailing communal narratives, which surround the supposed accidental arrival of Jews in Ireland and also to their possible reasons for leaving Russia. While he neither completely dispels nor directly contradicts these communal anecdotes, he does, however, provide the viewer with plenty of more historically reliable information, which cast sufficient doubt over the authenticity and reliability of these anecdotes which limit the genesis and growth of Jewish communities in Ireland to accidental arrival, escape from conscription and fear of persecution.

Kalman Lentin was born on 1 September 1876, the third son of Zelman, a butcher. He was born in the shtetl of Zidakai and not actually in Akmene as Lentin had previously

[374] Erin Maguire, *'Dear Daughter' producer Louis Lentin dies,* https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/dear-daughter-producer-louis-lentin-dies-1.1875643 (accessed 23 April 2018).

[375] Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: London Museum of Jewish Life, Research Papers No.2, 1987), 25.

thought. The fact that he thought he was from Akeme until he undertook his research is important here. It again reminds us that the many of the former members of the Cork community point to Akmene as being the place of their origins without either verification or proof. It is worth mentioning here that neither Akmene nor or any variation of the name appear in either the Census of 1901 or 1911. The findings of the two Census are analysed in detail in Chapter Five.

Kalman Lentin was born approximately twenty years after the ascendency of Alexander II to the Russian throne. The beginning of Alexander II's reign saw him abolish the six-year period of military draft or "cantonment" and 25-year draft for Russian Jews, however, by the time Kalman had been born, which followed the 1863 Polish revolt against Russian rule, blaming the Jews, Alexander II had either reversed or had begun to reverse any previous concessions he had made to Russia's Jewish population.[376]

These renewed economic and social restrictions came at a time of a significant growth in the Jewish population. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the total Jewish population of Russia numbered one million. Some fifty years later that number had reached three and half million. By the end of the century, it had grown to nearly five and half million. These people were primarily concentrated in one area, the Pale of Settlement, an area of some three hundred and sixty thousand square miles, which encompassed 20 per cent of European Russia and 4 per cent of the entire Russian Empire.[377] Approximately 900 Jews lived in Kalman's shtetl Zidikai.

While Lentin acknowledges that his grandfather would have certainly been too young to remember the introduction of the infamous May Laws of 1882 following the assassination of Alexander III, he does, however, believe that he would have personally witnessed and felt the economic and social hardship of the Jews of the Pale of Settlement: 'Jewish workers stand all day in the marketplace looking for work, but often have to return home'.[378]

During the documentary, Lentin also states that the fear of conscription to the Russian military for Jews was never far from their thoughts. As shown in Chapter One of

[376] Howard M. Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York: Random House, 1990), 203-204.

[377] Ibid., 211.

[378] Louis Lentin, *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian* (http://ifiplayer.ie/grandpa-speak-to-me-in-russian/) (accessed 19 April 2018).

this thesis, this was perhaps not entirely accurate, as forced conscription of Jews had been abolished with a ukase issued by Alexander II in 1856.[379]

Nevertheless, to his credit, Lentin does acknowledge the power and influence of chain migration and mail from previously departed emigrants on those family members and acquaintances who had remained in the Pale of Settlement: 'Mail from South Africa and America came regularly and a lot of people depended on this sustenance'.[380]

Lentin correctly asserts that the importance of the ever-expanding railway network in both Russia and western Europe, coupled with the arrival of remittances from relatives and friends and also increased information about not only America, but also improvements among western European Jewry, in particular in Germany and England from the eighteen seventies should not be overlooked when examining reasons for the emigration of Russian Jewry.[381] The director assumes that it was, in fact, these improved transport connections, which his grandfather benefited from, both in Russia and upon his arrival in Britain.

He also believes that his grandfather may have travelled the relatively short distance (approximately eighty kilometres) to the Lativan port of Liepaja from Zidikai. While it is not entirely clear how the young Kalman arrived in Liepaja, the influence of the railway should not be overlooked.

Some years before Kalman's departure, the railway link from Romny (near Poltava in modern-day Ukraine) to Liepaja was opened. The railway would pass through some of the most populous areas of the Pale including Gomel, Minsk and Vilna.[382] As a result of these improved transport links to Liepaja, the opportunity to leave had now reached all of those in the northern half of the Pale of Settlement. Also, emigration from Liepaja neither required a rigorous medical exam, which had been in place at German ports since 1895, nor did it include a border crossing, which would have necessitated interaction with border officials.[383]

Lentin believes that his grandfather may have signed on as a member of the crew to evade the issue of not having a passport. He posits that it was likely that his grandfather

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[379] Howard M. Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History,* 205.

[380] Louis Lentin, *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian.*

[381] Charlotte Erickson, 'Jewish People in the Atlantic Migration, 1850-1914' in Aubrey Newman ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 6.

[382] Nicolas J. Evans, 'The Port Jews of Libau, 1880-1914' in David Cesarani and Gemma Romain ed., *Jews and Port Cities: 1590-1990 - Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), 200.

[383] Ibid., 206.

would have landed at either London or Hull and was put directly on the train to Liverpool before sailing to Cork. Again, while such a trajectory cannot be completely proven or disproven, it is, however, reflective of many Jewish migrants and their lack of financial means. It was cheaper and more affordable for many migrants to buy their tickets to the new world in stages. Many migrants did not have the funds to pay for the full ticket to America. Consequently, they broke the journey in Britain and ultimately Ireland where they stayed for varying periods of time before eventually continuing their journey towards America.

Many scholars of migration have shown that while Jews who arrived at British ports such as Hull, Grimsby and London tended to gravitate towards the larger cities such as Manchester, Leeds and London, a significant number also moved on to some of the more provincial towns and cities in the United Kingdom and ultimately Ireland, where they may have faced less competition for jobs before resuming their journeys. Also, the Jewish Board of Guardians' own initiatives to share the burden of the new arrivals with the provinces rather than placing it entirely on the shoulders of the London community led to the growth of many small Jewish communities not only England and Scotland, but also Wales and Ireland.[384]

Like many other writers who wrote about the Jewish immigrant arrival in Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Lentin also refers to the communal narrative of accidental arrival:

> Many swear that their ancestors were swindled, sold half way tickets to America. As the ship approached Cork harbour, they supposedly heard 'Cork, Cork' and assumed that it was New York.[385]

However, unlike many other accounts of this alleged arrival, Lentin uses insights from the historian Hasia Diner to nuance the authenticity of such narratives. Diner states in the documentary that: 'Migrants are very clever people, communications received back home showed the power of one person to set off a tidal wave'.[386]

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[384] David Morris, 'Between East and West: Jewish Secondary Migration through Ireland and Wales, 1900–1930', in *Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* (Volume 36, issue 1, 2018); Williams Bill, *The making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (Manchester: University Press, 1976; Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow, 1879-1939: Immigration and Integration* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). Braber highlights the fluid transient nature of many peripheral Jewish communities in both Britain and Ireland.

[385] Louis Lentin, *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian*, http://ifiplayer.ie/grandpa-speak-to-me-in-russian/ (accessed 19 April 2018).

[386] Ibid; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 18-20. As previously seen in Chapter One, Cormac

She also opines that the pull of one person and their power to influence others to leave is not unique to the Jewish community of the period in question, rather it is reflective of many migrant communities of the time.

Later in the documentary, Lentin's personal narrative further embodies the more universal aspect of Jewish emigration, that of the chain migration to Ireland and Britain. He tells us that upon arrival in Cork, his grandfather made his way to the area of the city known as 'Jewtown'. There, he first stayed in a room in Hibernian buildings, possibly with someone from his mother's family. He would later marry Annie Clein in May of 1899 and settle in the area, in number 12 Eastville.

Cork appears in the documentary as a mere steppingstone in the life of Louis Lentin's grandfather. While Cork was the place of his arrival in Ireland and where he first married and later briefly settled, Kalman, like many other Jews who arrived in Cork, did not remain there for long.

Kalman left Cork for America on 30 July 1903. Once there, he planned to join his brothers, Max and Marcus in Globe, Arizona where they had a small business. Again, reminiscent of so many of his eastern European coreligionists, Kalman's wife was supposed to follow him to America, once he had made enough money for her passage.

Such an arrangement was not only representative of Jewish emigration to the United States at the time, but also of many other non-Jewish groups. At that time, Jewish emigration tended to be less male dominated than that of other groups, it was more of a family migration, with a higher proportion of children under the age of fourteen.[387] Nevertheless segmented male lead migration made economic sense for someone like Kalman. Brothers particularly set migrations in motion. As many came from large families, often the older brothers would travel first, and younger brothers would follow across the ocean once funds became available. Wives and children consumed and constituted economic liabilities, and their migrations had to follow the carefully planned steps of the forerunners.[388]

What is striking about Kalman's emigration is that he remained a mere three months in America before returning to his family in Cork and eventually settling in Limerick. Few,

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Ó Gráda has also linked this chain migration of Jews from the northwest of the Pale of Settlement to the growth of the Irish Jewish community.

[387] Charlotte Erickson, 'Jewish People in the Atlantic Migration, 1850-1914' in Aubrey Newman ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 7.

[388] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 56.

if any, of the biographies, autobiographies or communal narratives of the Irish Jewish community truly reflect the transience of the provincial Jewish community of Cork. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, they do not dwell on the ephemeral, transitory aspects of the community. Hasia Diner states in Lentin's documentary: 'We rarely get to learn about the failures, those who didn't make it on the road'.[389]

Most of the personal histories of Cork Jewry reflect neither the fluidity of the migration, nor the important, often unacknowledged role chain migration played in the arrival of Jews to not only Cork, but Ireland as a whole.

While Lentin's documentary might not entirely dismantle the familiar tropes of accidental arrival which form the basis of much of the communal narrative of the Cork Jewish community, it does, however, emphasise not only the economic and social links between the Irish and British Jewish communities, but also the transient, changeable nature of provincial Jewish communities such as Cork. Chain migration and the important role the port of Cork played in Jewish migration to the city also feature in Larry Elyan's short story *From Zhogger to Cork*[390] which is analysed in the next section of this chapter.

3.2.6 Larry Elyan, *From Zhogger to Cork* (1980)

Similar in many ways to Lentin's documentary, Larry Elyan's short story *From Zhogger to Cork* published in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1980 also briefly mentions the familiar themes of exile and persecution. However, like Louis Lentin's documentary, it also highlights the role of chain migration and the importance of Cork's geographical location as a destination for Jewish migrants.

Elyan's grandfather, Zelda, originally came from a shtetl in Lithuania called Zhogger. At the time, Elyan tells us Lithuania was part of the Tzarist Empire and: 'The persecution the Jews suffered there made them strive to get the hell out of it. Anywhere.'[391]

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[389] Hasia Diner, *'Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way'* in Louis Lentin, *Grandpa, Speak to me in Russian*, http://ifiplayer.ie/grandpa-speak-to-me-in-russian/ (accessed 19 April 2018).

[390] Larry Elyan, *From Zhogger to Cork*, https://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/.../Memories_From%20Zhogger%20to%20Cork.doc (accessed 30 April 2018).

[391] Larry Elyan, *From Zhogger to Cork*, 1.

Zelda had heard that the community of Cork was looking for someone who could act as a Rabbi, shocket and mohel. He decided to apply for the position:

> He had never heard of the place, but from a look at the map he saw that it was almost half-way to America. What's more, Cork, he found out, was a port of call for ships from Europe to America. That settled it.[392]

The important role that chain migration played in the establishment and growth of provincial communities such as Cork is succinctly captured here. It again underlines the importance of the geographical location of Cork. The port of Cork was a regular port of call for ships crossing the Atlantic to the Americas.

According to Hasia Diner, not only could Jewish settlements in places like Cork be seen as outposts of shtetls in Lithuania, but relationships from back home facilitated the orientation process of the new arrivals and the launching of each new Jewish immigrant peddler.[393] Like those who had arrived in Cork before him, Zelda also became a peddler of holy pictures.[394] Elyan's story also helps to dispel the dominant narrative of accidental arrival. It also, unlike many of the other portrayals of the Jewish community shows that the Jewish immigrants to Cork were not all passive. They actively chose to halt, albeit briefly, their journey in Cork as it was on the shipping route to America.

Similar to Lentin, Elyan does not evoke the narrative of accidental arrival to give credence to his story. Like Louis Lentin's grandfather Kalman, Larry Elyan's grandfather also settled initially in Hibernian Buildings in the area of the city, which would become known as Jewtown.

Elyan directly acknowledges the pivotal role the port of Cork played in his grandfather's decision to settle in Cork. Indirectly, he also recognizes the migratory trajectory of many Jewish emigrants from Russia to America. Stiff competition from shipping companies meant that it was more economically viable for migrants to break the journey in Britain or Ireland before continuing to America:

> America, of course, was the objective of most of them, but there were two basic problems to overcome: how to smuggle yourself out of the country, and once out, how to raise the money to travel further.[395]

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[392] Ibid., 1.

[393] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 37.

[394] Larry Elyan, *From Zhogger to Cork*, 1.

[395] Larry Elyan, *From Zhogger to Cork*, 1.

The notions of accidental arrival following persecution and also the fluidity are also evident in Cecil Hurwitz's autobiography *From Synagogue to Church*.[396]

3.2.7 Cecil Hurwtiz, *From Synagogue to Church* (1991)

Unlike both Louis Lentin's documentary and Larry Elyan's article, Cecil Hurwitz's autobiography *From Synagogue to Church* is a very personal account of the Jewish community in Cork and his life before and after his conversion from Judaism to Catholicism:

> I am first and foremost a Corkman, and very proud to be so. I am by the grace of God, a Catholic, of Jewish origin. As a member of the Hebrew-Catholic Association, I can say that I am a Hebrew-Catholic.[397]

Relying very much on familiar communal anecdotes surrounding the supposed accidental arrival of the community in Cork, it is, at times, sentimental and nostalgic in its portrayal of the former Jewish community's links with the non-Jewish population of Cork and the alleged lack of Antisemitism in Cork.

Nevertheless, Hurwitz's short autobiography does give the reader an insight into how the community saw itself, what it was like to be part of a minority religious group in a predominantly Roman Catholic country, the parochialism of the Jewish community itself and most importantly Hurwitz's own conversion to Catholicism.

Cecil Hurwitz was born in Cork on 18 November 1926 in the family home, number 2, Dunedin, Connaught Avenue, Cork City. The location of his family home at Connaught Avenue, a mere stone's throw from University College Cork highlights the upward economic and social mobility of the relatively new Jewish community of Cork. His parents, he tells us, are 'middle class' and do not live in Monrea Terrace or Hibernian Buildings near Albert Road in Cork City, the area colloquially known as 'Jewtown'.[398]

Moreover, Hurwitz says his family home 'should have been named "Ecumenical Terrace" instead of "Dunedin"' as a Catholic family, a Church of Ireland family and a Jewish family all lived there. Hurwitz continues, 'may I say that harmonious relations existed amongst us all'.[399] The above quote succinctly captured the mawkish tone that prevails

[396] Cecil Hurwitz, *From Synagogue To Church* (Cork: Pauline Publications, 1991).
[397] Ibid., 3.
[398] Cecil Hurwitz, *From Synagogue To Church* (Cork: Pauline Publications, 1991), 3.
[399] Ibid., 4.

through much of Hurwitz's autobiography. Each of the events in the book is characterised by this sentimental tone. It is almost as if Hurwitz is seeking to ingratiate himself with the non-Jewish reader from Cork.

Like many other members of the Cork Jewish community, his father's family originated in modern day Lithuania. He was born in Priekule and was, according to Hurwitz, like many others when travelling to America, he was '[put] off the ship in Ireland, and they came to live in the Emerald Isle instead of the next parish, America'.[400]

Again it is worth noting here, that his father was from Priekule not Akmene, the shtetl from where according to Dermot Keogh and many of the authors of autobiographies and biographies the majority of the Jewish community of Cork originated.

Rather than acknowledging the gravitational pull of the relatives and friends of the Jewish migrants who had already emigrated to the British Isles and the United States, as both Lentin and Elyan do, Hurwitz evokes the community narratives of passivity and victimhood, which are palimpsest of the narratives of arrival of many of the former members of the Jewish community of Cork.

It is, nevertheless, interesting that Hurwitz states that his father was born in 1884, the same year that the G.A.A. was founded.[401] Here again we see an attempt to create a link between his father's birth and the founding of a quintessentially Irish nationalist organisation. The making of this connection displays a possible further desire by Hurwitz to not only emphasise his Irishness, but also to endear himself to the non-Jewish reader.

This linking of biographical details with events in Ireland, in particular events related to Irish nationalism is a feature of many of the testimonies examined in Chapter Two. It is also one of the dominant themes of David Marcus's works, which were also analysed earlier in this chapter.

While Hurwitz's mother was born in Dublin in 1900, her family, like that of his father's also originated in Lithuania. After some years in Dublin, the family moved to Cork. Hurwitz's mother's family's origins and eventual move to Cork not only highlight for us the inter-communal relationships which existed between Anglo-Jewish communities in both Britain and Ireland, but also like so many others who came to live in Cork, Hurwitz's mother's family, the Jacksons had first settled in Dublin. Such internal migration within the British Isles, also calls the all too often unquestioned narrative of accidental arrival to the

[400] Ibid., 4.
[401] Ibid., 4.

port of Cork into question. Unfortunately, Hurwitz, like many other writers analysed in this chapter does not make this correlation. It is not analysed in any depth. Despite his overreliance on the accepted communal narrative of accidental arrival, anecdotes such as the following, emphasise the orthodoxy of not only Hurwitz's family, but that of the Jewish community as a whole:[402]

> I remember very well my sisters and myself travelling out a few miles from the city to the farm at Castlewhite, which normally supplied and delivered our milk, bringing our milk cans with us, so that at milking time, we would receive the milk cans from the cow to the can. We did this faithfully every day during Passover.[403]

However, in stark contrast to the joyful accounts of other former members of the community when reminiscing about the High Holidays in Cork, Hurwitz remembers Passover of 1949 very differently:

> In the Passover of 1949 I was present in the Synagogue, feeling very ill at ease. I began to examine my religion very closely. If I truly believe that the Catholic religion is the true religion, then "in the name of God" I said to myself: "What am I doing in the Synagogue?".[404]

In his autobiography Hurwitz candidly discusses telling his mother about his desire to convert to Catholicism. His mother, he says:

> Listened to me very patiently, and when she spoke, she begged me not to undertake this step. She says it as a great betrayal of my Jewish tradition, because when I would become Catholic, I would be taking with me the wonderful heritage of my Jewish faith.[405]

Cecil Hurwitz, nevertheless, converted to Catholicism and was baptised on 12 June 1949. The consternation this caused not only for Hurwitz's immediate family, but also for other members of the Jewish community is described in great detail in his autobiography. Hurwitz tells us that Reverend Bernard Kersh wanted to see him urgently to arrange a visit with the Chief Rabbi of Ireland. Upon meeting Hurwitz, the Chief Rabbi said:

> I am not a prophet, not the son of a prophet, but I am making this prophecy. In twelve months, you will contact either myself or Reverend Kersh, and you will tell us that

[402] Similar anecdotes arise in the oral testimonies, discussed in the previous chapter, of former members of the community and among their non-Jewish neighbours.

[403] Cecil Hurwitz, *From Synagogue To Church*, 36.

[404] Ibid., 54.

[405] Cecil Hurwitz, *From Synagogue To Church*, 59.

you have made a terrible mistake, and that you will want to return again to Judaism.[406]

Hurwitz describes the non-Jewish fascination in relation to his conversion to Catholicism in Chapter 19 of his book. A local bread-delivery salesman was alleged to have seen black crepe hanging from the doorknocker of his family's home. This sign was supposed to give credence to the wider public's belief that the Jewish community of Cork was in mourning as a result of Hurwitz's conversion. According to Hurwitz, it was also widely reported that a mock funeral for him took place in Curraghkippane, the Jewish cemetery of Cork.[407] Hurwitz says that at the time of his conversion, coincidently, a member of the Jewish community of Cork had died, and it was his funeral that was making its way towards Curraghkippane cemetery. It was this funeral that was reported as being Hurwitz's fake funeral.[408] Reports of these alleged events also feature in the testimonies of two non-Jewish inhabitants of Jewtown.[409]

While these incidents were clearly exaggerated, the sense of hurt and betrayal felt by Hurwitz's immediate family and some members of the Cork Jewish community as a result of his conversion should not be underestimated. One evening, shortly after his conversion, a relative called to say, 'in the circumstances, I was not to call any more to the family home'.[410] The news, Hurwitz says was not entirely unexpected, but he decided to call to see his mother anyway. Upon arrival, he was told that he was no longer welcome.[411] Hurwitz had become in his words: 'Persona non grata with all the other members of the Cork Hebrew Congregation'.[412]

The 'alienation and discord'[413] was to remain in place for several years, until a chance encounter with a member of the Jewish community in the street. After sympathising with him over the untimely death of his brother, the two agreed to 'let bygones be bygones'.[414] This incident is also mentioned in the oral testimony of the member in question, which was analysed in the previous chapter.[415] According to Hurwitz, reconciliation did,

[406] Ibid., 65.
[407] Ibid., 66.
[408] Ibid., 66.
[409] Oral testimony 4 (Cork, 21 April 2014); Oral testimony 7 (Cork, August 19 2016).
[410] Cecil Hurwitz, *From Synagogue To Church*, 66.
[411] Ibid., 66.
[412] Ibid., 66 – 67.
[413] Ibid., 67.
[414] Ibid., 67.
[415] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 15 August 2014). The interviewee also discusses this incident.

however, gradually take place between his family and himself and other members of the Jewish community of Cork.

While Cecil Hurwitz's very personal and at times overly sentimental autobiography all too often relies on the familiar tropes of accidental arrival and communal insularity, it, nevertheless, gives us a unique perspective insight into the Jewish community of Cork and its relations with the non-Jewish community.

Through Hurwitz's conversion to the Catholic religion, we learn about the orthodoxy of the Jewish community of Cork, and how its non-Jewish neighbours viewed and often drew assumptions about the community. Both the oral testimonies of former members of the Cork Jewish community and its neighbours which were examined in the previous chapter also examine this unique perspective and also further examine the often stereotypical view that non-Jewish members of the Cork community had towards their Jewish neighbours. Gerald Goldberg's unpublished story *Passover comes to Cork*[416] also gives us further insight into the orthodoxy of the Cork Jewish community.

3.2.8 Gerald Goldberg *Passover comes to Cork* (unpublished)

> Gerald Goldberg played a pivotal role in the economic and cultural development of Cork and in changing attitudes towards Ireland's Jewish community. He began life as an outcast, and throughout his legal career represented the downtrodden as well as 'the great and the good'. He was ultimately elected to be his city's 'First Citizen' – the first Jewish Lord Mayor of Cork.[417]

The unpublished story *Passover comes to Cork* by Gerald Goldberg is similar to Hurwitz's *From Synagogue to Church* in that it is a very personal, subjective view of the community and its origins. It describes the preparation that took place in a Jewish house in Cork before Passover. Like Hurwitz's autobiography, it again heavily relies on the familiar communal tropes of persecution, escape and accidental arrival. However, unlike Hurwitz's autobiography, there is very much a pedagogical aspect to the short story. It is as if Goldberg

[416] Gerald Y Goldberg, *Passover comes to Cork*, Gerald Goldberg papers. University College Cork Library, Special Collections and Archives Service, Box 8 (accessed 23 August 2018).

[417] Dermot Keogh and Diarmuid Whelan, *Gerald Goldberg. A Tribute* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2008), 10.

is trying to educate the non-Jewish members of the community in Cork about what it meant to be Jewish.

The first draft of the story which was written in the first-person narrative, before being amended to the third person narrative, recounts the trials and tribulations of preparing for Passover in an orthodox Jewish house. *Passover comes to Cork* appears to have been written for a non-Jewish audience, an audience that is apparently ignorant of Jewish dietary requirements, customs and traditions, 'in Cork all Jewish women baked and prepared delicacies not, only, for the festival, but also, for the Sabbath'.[418]

The story also combines both local and transnational elements of the Cork Jewish community. The story is replete with cultural and geographical references to Cork city such as 'Monerea Terrace and the Hibernian Building'[419] and 'every Passover my father brought his children to Cashes in St. Patrick's Street'.[420] Such references would only be recognised by readers familiar with Cork city and its environs. They also suggest that Goldberg was writing his story with a local Cork readership as opposed to a national readership in mind.

Nevertheless, the story does also contain some references to, albeit, weak communal ties with the Dublin congregation: 'That lovely rye bread, which we called "brown" bread was obtained from a firm of Jewish bakers in Dublin called Clein'.[421]

Commercial ties to cities in the north of Britain such as Carlisle and to eastern Europe are also mentioned. Interestingly, emigration from the Cork community is only briefly mentioned in the story:

> From time to time the Community suffered defections when members emigrated to Dublin or went farther afield to countries like South Africa. One or two older members left Cork to die in Palestine.[422]

Rather than stating the emigration was a consistent feature of the Cork Jewish community, Goldberg almost appears to trivialise it here.

Despite this trivialisation of emigration within the Jewish community of Cork, Antisemitism, on the other hand, which is often omitted in many of the other works on the Cork community, is mentioned in the story:

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[418] Gerald Y Goldberg, *Passover comes to Cork*, 7.
[419] Ibid., 3.
[420] Ibid., 5.
[421] Ibid., 7.
[422] Gerald Y Goldberg, *Passover comes to Cork*, 8.

> Their questions weren't always the most tactful, or palatable. Certainly, they were, never, acceptable. We were never allowed to forget that "ye killed Christ".[423]

Goldberg seems to want to draw the reader's attention to the poverty, orthodoxy and even insular nature of the community, in an attempt to show how much the Jewish community had in common with its non-Jewish neighbours. Statements such as 'how like the Irish were our Lithuanian Jews'[424] feature throughout the short story.

This desire to draw parallels, however tenuous between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations of Ireland is also a feature of another unpublished, untitled piece written by Goldberg.[425] In this piece, Goldberg suggests that despite the poverty of the non-Jewish population, that there was no animosity between the Jewish and non-Jewish residents of Cork:

> I grew up with boys who had neither shoes nor stockings on their feet, and because of that my mother insisted that it we wished to play with those boys, we should remove our shoes and stockings, which we did. And the friendships which I made as a child have endured, and those of my contemporaries who are still alive are amongst my closest friends.[426]

The arrival narrative, which is a frequent trope in Goldberg's writings and speeches on the Cork community, is also present in *Passover Came to Cork*. While describing dissent within the community, he mentions Jews arriving from Riga into the Port of Cork:

> The worst ferribles, however, went much deeper. They came over, like the Pilgrims who sailed from Riga into the Port of Cork.[427]

In an interview with Andy O'Mahony[428] in 1981 Goldberg talks about the Jewish community in Cork, Arthur Griffith, education, loyalties to Cork, Ireland and Judaism. He states 'I'm essentially an Irishman, but more importantly a Cork man'.[429] He also says, 'my

[423] Ibid., 8.
[424] Ibid., 9.
[425] Gerald Y Goldberg, *Alderman G. Goldber*g, Gerald Goldberg Papers. University College Cork Library, Special Collections and Archives Service, Box 8, Folder 1 (accessed 23 August 2018).
[426] Gerald Y Goldberg, *Alderman G. Goldber*g, Gerald Goldberg papers, Box 8, Folder 1 (accessed 23 August 2018), 2.
[427] Gerald Y Goldberg, *Passover comes to Cork*, 10.
[428] Andy O'Mahony, *A Jew, an Irishman and a Cork man, In Context,* 11 October 1981, https://www.rte.ie/archives/2013/0722/463890-a-jew-an-irish-man-and-a-cork-man (accessed 3 October 2018).
[429] Ibid.

loyalties are first and foremost to Ireland as my country, I would have the same loyalty and respect to my religion as the Irish Roman Catholic would have to the Vatican State'.[430]

Moreover, during this interview, while discussing the arrival of Jews to Cork, Goldberg draws on the familiar themes of poverty, persecution, the forced conscription to the Russian army and the apparent duping of Jewish emigrants into believing that America was the next parish after Cork which features heavily in other works by both Jewish and non-Jewish writers of the Cork community. After having escaped the draft, Goldberg's father was 'on his way to America and put ashore in Cork and told America was the next parish'.[431]

It is again worth noting that Goldberg alludes to possible antisemitic instances in the short story *Passover comes to Cork*, when he tells the reader that Jews were never allowed forget that they had killed Christ. However in an interview with the journalist Andy O'Mahony, he seems to contradict these statements. He unambivalently states, 'I had no difficulties growing up'.[432] This selective, subjective and even manipulative use of memory is further underlined when during the interview, Goldberg says, 'when I was a boy, I can remember five or six hundred people here'.[433] The subjectivity of memory is clear here. Census figures, while restricted to 1901 and 1911, show a Jewish population of Cork of approximately 400 people. The Jewish population of Cork was at its zenith closer to 400. It never surpassed 500. These figures are analysed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

While his reliance on this often-told arrival narrative portrays those Jews who arrived in Cork as being both victims and passive in the shaping of their own destiny, Goldberg does, nevertheless, highlight the chain migration which was a feature of Jewish emigration in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century: 'Those who found themselves stranded here, and they were stranded, they went to work and ultimately brought over the entire village where my father was born'.[434]

The choice of the word 'stranded' is important here. While an initial reading does imply passivity and helplessness, it is nevertheless open to interpretation. 'Stranded' does imply a more nuanced reflection of how some Jews may have accidently arrived in Cork due to a ship breaking down. They were then stranded in Cork, unable to complete their

[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid.
[434] Andy O'Mahony, *A Jew, and Irishman and a Cork man, In Context.*

journey to America, at least until the engine was repaired. For these people, one could say that they had arrived accidently in Cork and had no choice but to stay.[435]

The unpublished story *Passover comes to Cork* by Gerald Goldberg, the interview with Andy O'Mahony and the third article from the Goldberg archives at UCC do not provide any new information or different perspectives on the Jewish community of Cork. They rely heavily on the familiar tropes surrounding the arrival to Cork and the reasons for settling in Cork.

At times, the short story and the two articles seem to even contradict each other, however, in spite of these contradictions, not only do similar threads permeate each piece, but there remains a heavy reliance on the communal narratives of persecution, escape and deceit upon arrival in the Port of Cork in each one.

Nevertheless, as they all only briefly touch upon the themes of chain migration, and the at times hard reality of being Jewish in Cork the stories do not greatly further our knowledge of the Cork Jewish community. They reiterate many of the familiar themes of persecution and escape while at the same time emphasising the Jewish community's similarities with the non-Jewish community of Cork. The stories, at times, even appear to be an attempt by Goldberg to ingratiate the Jewish community of Cork with the non-Jewish community of Cork by highlighting their supposed similarities, poverty and love for Cork. The didactic nature of Goldberg's story could be seen as an attempt to demystify the communal rites and religious practices of the Jews for the non-Jewish population. Wolf Mankowitz's play the *The Hebrew Lesson*[436] also deals with many of the same themes and again seems to emphasise the mutual love and loyalty for Cork and Ireland that the Jewish community of Cork shared with the non-Jewish community of Cork.

3.2.9 Wolf Mankowitz *The Hebrew Lesson* (1976)

Wolf Mankowitz's *The Hebrew Lesson* is a further example of the reductive, simplistic portrayal of the Cork Jewish community in much of the secondary literature. Like Louis Goldberg's *Passover Comes to Cork*, there is also a didactic aspect to his play.

[435] The record books of the Cork synagogue and articles in *The Jewish Chronicle* reference ships being towed to the port of Cork following engine trouble. Chapter Four of this thesis analyses these record books and articles in detail.

[436] Wolf Mankowitz, *The Hebrew Lesson* (London: Evans Brothers, 1976).

The play is set in an eighteen-century house in Cork, where the main character of the play, who is referred to as the 'Jew' 'has lived in Cork for thirty years. He has traces of an Irish accent upon his Yiddish English'.[437] The reader is told that the man came to Cork approximately thirty years ago following a pogrom:

> After that I left. We came to Cork. That was in eighteen-ninety something. Now it's 1921.[438]

We are also told on the first page that the play is set in 1921, a year that is synonymous with war between the British forces and those seeking Irish Independence.

While learning Irish, the Jewish man is disturbed by a man who is on the run from the Black and Tans. An immediate comparison between the English and Russian Empire is made when the Jewish man answers the fugitive with 'I've seen worse, Cossacks. The streets ran with blood'.[439] The comparison is further developed when the Jew tells the man:

> A cholera on them, we used to say. Only then it was the Russian Empire. Where's all that gone? All these empires come down into the dust and then a little child walks on it.[440]

The man replies 'Please God.' and in response the Jewish man says 'now, that's a Jewish expression'.[441] The comparison between the alleged Jewish suffering under the Russian Empire and what the Irish have supposedly had to endure under British rule is blatant here. The comparison seeks to immediately highlight the similarities between the Irish and the Jews.

This analogy between the difficulties for Jews under the yoke of the Russian Empire and the difficulties endured by the Irish under the British Empire is further developed when the elderly Jew tells the man that he knows what it's like to be in his position:

> I killed a man once. It's not so difficult. But it was a pity. He was only a stupid peasant and drunk and poor. For him antisemitism was a kind of business, a pogrom was a chance to improve his standard of living.[442]

The evocation of the pogroms allows the Jew in the play to align his own suffering and past with the cause of Irish independence. It also attempts to underline for the non-

[437] Wolf Mankowitz, *The Hebrew Lesson,* 1.
[438] Ibid., 5.
[439] Ibid., 3.
[440] Ibid., 3.
[441] Ibid., 3.
[442] Wolf Mankowitz, *The Hebrew Lesson,* 5.

Jewish reader the similarities between the Jewish suffering in the Russian Empire and the Irish suffering under the British Empire.

The all too familiar narrative of accidental arrival in Cork is also mentioned here:

> You know something? I thought it was New York here, because the bastard in Lithuania who sold me the ticket told me it said New York![443]

Later in the play when the Black and Tans enter the room in search of the fugitive, it is only by giving the impression of speaking Yiddish that he escapes. The Black and Tans are led to believe that he is a recently arrived Jewish immigrant to Ireland. The fugitive pretends to be praying in Hebrew:

> Im ech-kachach yurushalayim tish cach yimini. Tidbuck leshoi leschichi im lo ezerechi, im lo a'alech et yurushalayim ul rosh simchati.[444]

A similar anecdote is recounted in David Marcus's novel *A Land Not Theirs.*[445] In a scene reminiscent of that of Mankowitz's *Hebrew Lesson*, while trying to protect Denis, Judith leads him to Fanny Rubin's house. She says 'the Rubins live there. They're Jews. We can stay in there till the Tans pass'.[446]

Like the Jewish character in *The Hebrew Lesson*, Fanny Ruben had been in Cork quite some time and had even picked up something of an accent. 'Cork might have been her natural home, so easily had she picked up its style, its sayings, even its very accent'.[447]

The sentence 'might have been her natural home' is interesting here. The Jewish inhabitants of Cork may have had different origins, however, the implication is that they have quickly become like the native Irish, subtly suggesting that they have assimilated very easily. Again, like *The Hebrew Lesson*, when the Black and Tans enter the room, Judith says 'we're Jews'.[448]

Similar stories in relation to the Black and Tans and the Republican uprising also appear in the oral testimonies of some of the former members of the Cork community which were analysed in the previous chapter. In an oral testimony, a former member of the Cork Jewish community describes a similar scene:

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[443] Ibid., 6.
[444] Ibid., 10.
[445] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs* (Great Britain: Bantam Press, 1986).
[446] Ibid., 282.
[447] Ibid., 285.
[448] David Marcus, *A Land Not Theirs,* 292.

> The West Cork Bar was a great haunt of the Republicans. We got out of bed and lay down on the floor, close to the window. We wouldn't raise our heads above the ground and of course the Army would come along, the Black and Tans and they would attack the West Cork Bar. There was a great fight and eventually it died down.[449]

Another oral testimony also mentions another such scene involving the Black and Tans and the burning of Cork:

> My father saw Cork burn. Because they had moved around the corner when the Brits, the Black and Tans had burned Patrick's Street. My Dad was in Con Murphy's, the night of the burning of Cork. He was taken by British troops, he poked his nose out, walked out into the street. He was taken up to the Barracks; there had been a curfew and he had broken it. He didn't know.[450]

While it is impossible and beyond the remit of this thesis to cast doubts over the authenticity of these anecdotes, it is, nevertheless, important to recognise the constant repetition, albeit with some minor changes, of the same stories in different literary works by different writers. The repetition of the same themes again highlights for us the dominance of a reductive narrative that is not representative of the nuanced reality of Jewish arrival, settlement and ultimately emigration from Cork.

The placing of the Cork Jewish community on the same side as the Nationalists in each of these stories is also worth noting. 'Death to the English'[451] is a blatant nod to the non-Jewish nationalist reader. It again seeks to convey the same message. The Jews of Ireland have much in common with the non-Jewish population.

While David Marcus in *A Land Not Theirs* briefly alludes to the fear of the Jewish community after the British had left Ireland, the common theme running through each of these pieces is one of shared hardship, victimhood and persecution of both the Jews and the Irish under foreign empires. This supposed commonality of their experiences is captured in Mankowitz's play when he says, 'the hunted are always on the same side'.[452] The repetition of similar narratives or anecdotes is again evident in *The Hebrew Lesson* and some of the oral testimonies of former members of the Cork community.

[449] Oral testimony 3 (London, 28 November 2015).
[450] Oral testimony 1 (Cork, 14 August 2014).
[451] Wolf Mankowitz, *The Hebrew Lesson,* 5.
[452] Wolf Mankowitz, *The Hebrew Lesson,* 13.

At the beginning of the play when the man enters the stebl and sees a cat, he says, 'fat as a synagogue cat, my father used to say'.[453] When the Jewish man questions the meaning of the simile, the man replies, 'fat, you see, from the great feast of foreskins'.[454]

At the end of the play, as the Black and Tans prepare to leave the stebl, one of the Black and Tans again repeats the expression, 'fat as a synagogue cat'.[455] Paradoxically, the repetition of the expression by the Black and Tan highlights the similarity of views held by both the Irish and English native populations towards the newer Jewish population.

Another oral testimony also recounts a similar anecdote. While discussing antisemitism, the interviewee says:

> There is no native Gaelic tradition of anti-Semitism, probably because there were no Jews here. You do get, one of my closest friends from the Aran islands knew phrases like 'mean as a Jew' and he had another beautiful one 'as fat as a synagogue cat. I said what does that mean and he said 'that is all the circumcisions being fed to the cats![456]

Again the repetition of such anecdotes in the oral testimonies and literary pieces highlights the overarching emphasis placed on a small number of communal stories. While neither Goldberg's *Passover Came to Cork,* nor Wolf Mankowitz's *The Hebrew Lesson* give us any further or indeed deeper insights into the Cork Jewish community, the reliance on the familiar stories around the community in Cork, the repetition of anecdotes and idioms such as a 'fat as a synagogue cat', which also feature in the oral testimonies of former members of the community is important. It shows us the credence given to such a reductive communal narrative by both members and non-members of the Jewish community of Cork.

The use of certain words such as 'stebl' and 'gefillte' by Mankowitz point to the origins of the community in Eastern Europe. A former member of the clergy of the Cork community, also refers to stebls or shtiebels[457] when talking about the prayer habits of the

[453] Ibid., 4.
[454] Ibid., 4.
[455] Ibid., 11.
[456] Oral testimony 16 (Dublin, 18 August 2015).
[457] *Shtiebel* is the Yiddish diminutive form for *shtub*, which means house. It commonly refers to a small, informal house of prayer. Thus, while a *shul* (which is actually related to the English word "school") refers to a larger, more organized synagogue, the *shtiebel* is a heimish (homey) affair, where the pews may be secondhand and the kiddush reception is probably served on the same well-worn tables where prayer took place just moments before. True to its name, a *shtiebel* may often be a converted house (or a storefront) that has not been entirely renovatedChabad.org, *What Is a "Shtiebel"?*, https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/4091052/jewish/What-Is-a-Shtiebel.htm (accessed 15 June 2019); Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff:

Cork Jewish community.[458] When discussing how the members of the Cork community used to pray, he says that they used to pray out loud, something, he believed related to their origins in Lithuania, a way of praying that would be generally frowned about in a synagogue:

> I think that is the way they prayed in Lithuania. I think in Jewish law, you shouldn't pray loud to disturb the person next to you, but if they were all doing it, you know.[459]

While this may appear to be a small, relatively insignificant detail, it, nevertheless, gives us an insight into the religious practices of the community.

Despite the overreliance and repetition of often the same, if not, very similar anecdotes relating to the Cork community, there is no denying that there is an attempt by both Goldberg and Mankowitz to educate the non-Jewish reader. Ruth Gilligan's novel *Nine Folds make a Paper Swan*[460] makes no such attempt. It reiterates the all too familiar communal tropes of accidental arrival and persecution in order to write and ultimately sell a story set in Cork.

3.2.10 Ruth Gilligan *Nine Folds make a Paper Swan* (2016)

> 'At the start of the twentieth century, a young girl and her family emigrate from the continent in search of a better life in America, only to pitch up in Ireland by mistake'.[461]

According to the *Irish Times* Ruth Gilligan's *Nine Folds make a Paper Swan* tells 'the stories of Jewish immigrants in Ireland from the turn of the twentieth century to the present day'.[462] The reviewer's use of stories instead of simply story implies that a nuanced, accurate portrayal of Jewish immigrants will form the basis of Gilligan's novel. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Gilligan's story is entirely based on a very limited, reductive interpretation of the history of the Cork Jewish community.

University of Wales Press, 2017), 40. In Wales it was very normal for early Jewish settlers, like in Cork, to gather for prayers and services in very modest settings.

[458] Oral testimony 17 (Manchester, 1 January 2017).

[459] Ibid.

[460] Ruth Gilligan, *Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan* (Great Britain: Atlantic Books, 2016).

[461] Ruth Gilligan, *Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan*, back cover.

[462] Sarah Gilmartin, 'Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan review by Ruth Gilligan review', *The Irish Times* (9 July 2016), https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/nine-folds-make-a-paper-swan-by-ruth-gilligan-review-1.2714094 (accessed 17 September 2018).

The very expression 'to pitch up in Ireland by mistake' implies a certain unplanned aspect or passivity to the Jewish arrival in Ireland. In one sentence the complex routes to migration to Cork, often involving arduous ship journeys coupled with long rail journeys are reduced to accidental arrival in Cork. Ruth Gilligan's *book Nine Folds make a Paper Swan* does not tell 'the stories of Jewish immigrants in Ireland'. It simply regurgitates one reductive communal narrative of accidental arrival and builds a fictional tale around it. This misconception that Gilligan's book is an accurate portrayal of the Cork Jewish community is also the dominant theme of the *Jewish Chronicle's* review of the same book. The article states that:

> Ruth Gilligan has turned on its head the old adage that a novelist should write about what he or she knows. Instead, she has confidently written about what she wanted to know - namely, the history and experience of Jews living in Ireland.[463]

Sadly, Gilligan's novel is nothing more than a repetition of the all too familiar tropes, which have been retold about the arrival of Jews to Cork over the past one hundred and thirty years: 'He had been an aspiring young playwright in a village called Akmian, which meant 'a river full of stones.'[464] The naming of the shtetl as Akmian and the use of the name Goldberg in the story proffers a layer of authenticity and historical accuracy. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case.

By repeating the same previously told anecdotes such as 'Some said that when their boat found land, there had been cries of 'Cork! Cork!, but that in their exhaustion they had heard New York! New York!' instead; didn't notice the difference for weeks,'[465] Gilligan's novel does not enhance the reader's understanding of what it meant to have been a member of the Cork Jewish community.

Despite a possible limited understanding of English, to suggest that the new Jewish arrivals to Cork did not notice the difference between the names Cork and New York is nothing short of insulting and patronising. Lines like 'Only up the road to America; only a short, final shimmy in the wilderness – sure, they would be there in time for tea'[466] further reduce the more complex reasons as to why a significant number of Jews and their descendants arrived and some in cases, eventually settled in Cork.

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[463] Sipora Levy, 'Review: Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan', *The Jewish Chronicle* (August, 18, 2016), https://www.thejc.com/culture/books/review-nine-folds-make-a-paper-swan-1.62861 (accessed 17 September 2018).

[464] Ruth Gilligan, *Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan*, 15.

[465] Ibid., 26.

[466] Ruth Gilligan, *Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan*, 26.

In a separate interview, perhaps to justify her reliance on the myths surrounding the supposed accidental arrival of Jews to Cork, Gilligan states that 'every writer has a right to tell a story', and that is often 'grumpy old men' who often cast doubt on the authenticity of her story. She says that she:

> Spent time all around Cork and Dublin, meeting countless members of the depleting Jewish population. I went to Israel and hung out with the Irish population there, listening to their stories; immersing myself in their unfamiliar narratives.[467]

Gilligan's choice of the word 'narratives' here is again spurious. There is only one narrative in this book. It is the narrative of accidental arrival following persecution and escape. It is a story that had been repeated so often that it is become to represent most Jews who passed through Cork and settled in the city. The mere repetition of the story does not allow space for any other story to exist.

While it is neither the remit of this thesis to cast doubt over Gilligan's research, it is, nevertheless, a pity that the book does not make any reference to any of those former members of the Jewish community in Cork, Dublin or Israel who supposedly helped her with her research.

It is not the aim of this chapter to discredit any particular family anecdotes or narratives. Nevertheless, it is the aim of this chapter to look at the many different pieces that make up the rich tapestry of stories that surround the wave of immigration of Jews to Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This book is to quote Gilligan 'just a story'.[468] It is 'just a story' based on an unnuanced communal narrative of accidental arrival that has been repeated constantly in oral testimonies, academic works and secondary literature.

However, as seen in the various reviews of this book, therein also lies the danger. This story is yet another account of a very limited understanding of Jewish migration and settlement in Cork. It renders the Jewish migrants nothing more than passive actors in their own story. Not only are their courage, ingenuity and mobility ignored, but anecdotes such as the one where Gilligan states that they did not realise for weeks that they were in Cork and not New York, portray them as hapless and clueless. It reduces the often long circuitous, and hazard journeys over land and sea to a single paragraph. It also ignores the social and

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[467] Sipora Levy, 'Review: Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan', *The Jewish Chronicle* (18 August 2016), https://www.thejc.com/culture/books/review-nine-folds-make-a-paper-swan-1.62861 (accessed 17 September 2018).

[468] Ruth Gilligan, *Nine Folds Make a Paper Swan*, 15.

economic links that the Jewish community of Cork had with other Anglo-Jewish communities. The last book to be analysed in this section by Lionel Cohen does not rely on the oft-repeated, reductive communal narrative of accidental arrival following persecution. It gives a unique, authentic insight into the life of a former member of the Cork Jewish community.

3.2.11 Lionel Cohen *Memoir of an Irish Jew* (2021)

It is appropriate to finish this section with Lionel Cohen's *Memoir of an Irish Jew.*[469] Not only is it the most recently published book on the Cork Jewish community, but also it mentions many of the themes such as attendance at Presentation College Cork, Antisemitism, the orthodoxy of the Cork community and contact with the wider community. In spite of many of the similar themes, Lionel Cohen's autobiography, nevertheless, gives the reader a unique insight into not only the Jewish community of Cork, but life in Cork in general. His family history, in many respects closely resembles the reality for many Jewish families in Cork in the early twentieth century. In the first chapter of his autobiography Lionel tells the reader:

> I was born into a Jewish family or, more correctly, into an Irish family whose parents were Jewish. Whatever, I arrived in 1922 during, in colloquial terms. 'The Troubles' in Ireland. For those unfamiliar with Irish history, this covered the period from roughly 1916 to 1923 and encompassed the War of Independence and Civil War.[470]

Like many other former members of the Jewish community, Lionel Cohen links his birth with the 'The Troubles' and Irish Independence. From the first page of his book, he places his personal story within the story of Irish Independence and the growth of the Irish Republic. For other former members of the community, the creation of links between their own personal histories and Irish Independence seems to have been an attempt to create a place for themselves within the Irish nationalist narrative. Cohen having been part of the Volunteer Forces during the Second World War and briefly a member of the Irish Army

[469] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew* (Cork: Cork City Libraries, 2021).
[470] Ibid., 5.

does not need to attempt to create such links. The early years of his life show that he was clearly part of this new Irish nationalist identity.

Lionel Cohen states that he realised from an early age that his family were not very representative of Jewish families:

> It was beginning to dawn on me that my family were not exactly the typical Jewish family of the time. It wasn't so much that we were not a truly Orthodox family but that the family seemed to go its own way and that if people didn't like it, well that was their misfortune.[471]

First, he tells us as that there was only, he and his sister. Their family was unusual for the time:

> My sister was born three years later, and this completed the family. I suppose we were rather an unusual family in those days as a two-child family was considered very small.[472]

Cohen estimates the Jewish community of Cork at that period to have numbered about three hundred people, a total of forty families. He briefly mentions the communal narrative of accidental arrival, but does not dwell on it: 'Most of the Jews were from Eastern Europe and some of the older people, it seemed, thought they were in America when they arrived penniless in the 1880s or thereabouts'.[473] Unlike many of other accounts of the communal narrative of accidental arrival, Cohen states that he is not in position to verify the story:

> More learned people than I could correctly identify the numbers and history of the community in Cork. As for me, I can only tell what I experienced and what befell me growing up in this small community.[474]

Both the insularity of the Jewish community of Cork and the, at times, fascination of the wider community with the Jewish community is also mentioned by Cohen. 'As I grew up, I began to wonder if three quarters of the population of Cork must have been Jews because one heard the Jews being mentioned so often in conversation by others'.[475]

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[471] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew*, 8.
[472] Ibid., 5-6.
[473] Ibid., 6.
[474] Ibid., 6.
[475] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew* 6.

Cohen also tells us that his family was not very religious. As an adult he continued to attend synagogue, however, not so much for religious reasons but more to appease his mother:

> I was about fourteen when I started thinking for myself about religion. My father was not very religious but my mother tried her best and asked me to attend synagogue on the Sabbath and on the holidays. I did this for a while for the sake of a quiet life and to please her.
>
> But I began to wonder where God came into all of this and gradually, I got to the stage when I felt I was being a complete hypocrite by attending religious services.[476]

He remembers the Cork Jewish community, as early as in 1946, being in decline, but nevertheless quite religious. He, however, was not an active member of the religious side of the community:

> The Jewish community in Cork was still active though not very numerous. As far as religious practice was concerned, I was a non-starter, at least in a church-going manner.[477]

Cohen's description of the community at this time contradicts with several of the oral testimonies by former members of the community who state that the community numbered between 400 and 500 members at this time and was at its peak. The community maybe have been small, according to Cohen, but it was, nevertheless, 'tight-knit and active'.[478] *The Minutes Book of the Hebrew Congregation* and the *Burial Records of the Cork Jewish Community* which are analysed in the next chapter show that Cohen's assessment of the community is more accurate than some of the other oral accounts of the community.

Both Cohen's maternal and paternal family histories represent the trans-nationalism of many of the Jewish families of Cork. His father's family arrived in Britain following emigration from Russia. His paternal grandmother came to England around 1875. His grandmother met his grandfather in Liverpool where he worked as a tailor. The family subsequently moved to Cork where his grandfather ran a drapery business. They had eight children, all born in Cork. Of the eight siblings, only two including Cohen's father remained in Cork. The others all emigrated to Australia, Canada, England, America and New Zealand.[479] The emigration of family members and members of the Jewish community from

[476] Ibid., 55.
[477] Ibid., 125.
[478] Ibid., 7.
[479] Ibid., 11-12.

Cork is something that is only fleetingly mentioned in the literary works and oral testimonies of the former members of the community. Yet as both Chapter Four and Five show, it was this transience and emigration from Cork that would define the community. Cohen's father family, like many families in the community put a great emphasis on education. The poverty of the community, especially in the early years, meant that, it was an additional challenge for the community to afford an education for their children. As his father was one of the younger siblings, the family was able to afford to send him to Presentation College Cork.

Like many Irishmen, Cohen's father enlisted in the British Army in 1917 was sent to fight in Mesopotamia, modern day Iraq. On his return to Ireland in 1920, he learned that his brother had been a member of the Irish Republican Army, fighting for Irish Independence.[480]

The participation of the brothers in both World War One and the War of Independence hint at perhaps the divided loyalties the Jewish community held in relation to Irish Independence.[481] His family's involvement in the both the fight for Irish Independence and World War I help to nuance the more dominant alleged narrative of Jewish Irish nationalism, which features in many of the other testimonies and literature on the community.

Lionel, like his father and many other male members of the Jewish community attended Presentation College, Cork. Like other members of the community, he also experienced Antisemitism there:

> You're the new boy, aren't you?' I said was and he asked me what my name was. When I replied 'Liney Cohen', he said 'Oh, another bloody Jew boy.[482]

Lionel also joined the Scouts when he was a child. Again, like other members of the community he did not join the Catholic Boy Scouts:

> I joined the Scouts. Not the Catholic Boy Scouts but the Baden Powell Scouts who welcomed all denominations but were, in the main Protestant in Cork, with the exception of one Jewish member, yours truly.[483]

[480] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew*, 12-14.

[481] Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place' (paper presented at the Davis Seminar, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, April 2003). Diner discusses the conflicted position of Irish Jewry in relation to Irish Independence.

[482] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew*, 33.

[483] Ibid., 38.

Both the gregariousness and Zionist views of the small community are also mentioned in Lionel's autobiography. He mentions the blue box that most families had in their houses to collect for The Jewish Appeal:

> Most of us were committed Zionists and practically every family contributed to what was known as The Jewish Appeal. There was a small blue box in most Jewish homes into which the younger children could put their pennies and it was filled as often as possible.[484]

In spite of the small, ever-diminishing size of the community, there were, according to Lionel, active social clubs and visits from members of the Dublin Jewish community:

> There was a social club for the younger people in the Jewish community at that time. All sorts of small events were held in the rooms adjoining the synagogue. One visitor – Vladmir Jabotinsky. This would have been about 1934 or 1935….. There were small events held such as dances and quizzes. The visit of Jewish boys or girls from either Dublin or London led to great excitement as were such a small community.[485]

Following his secondary education, Lionel's story takes a different path to many of his contemporaries. Unlike many of the second generation of the community, he did not attend university. Instead he joined the Irish Army in 1940 when he was 18. It was also during his time in the Army that Lionel says he experienced Antisemitism. It was not among his fellow soldiers, but in his dealing with more senior ranking officers: 'I found anti-Semitism was mostly found in the 'upper ranks' and in my position, after one proved oneself a man and a soldier, my comrades couldn't care less'.[486]

Lionel found that as he progressed through the army that his Jewish background began to pose problems for him. There was a glass ceiling, which he could not penetrate:

> I had been in the army over two years and it was decided by the powers that be that I should go on a Potential Officers' course. I did and passed out fairly near the top. My CO took me aside again and said he didn't think I would be going any farther down the path. A long time afterwards, I found out why I was not put forward for the actual course. It was simply because I was Jewish and there were a few Protestant officers in the army who didn't like the idea of a Jewish officer.[487]

Towards the end of the Second World War, Lionel left the Irish Army and decided to become a Radio Officer in the hope of working in the British Army. Again, contrary to

[484] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew*, 37.
[485] Ibid., 36-38.
[486] Ibid., 59.
[487] Ibid. 86.

other testimonies by former members of the community, he tells us that back in Cork in 1945, the Jewish community was already getting smaller. There were still some social events, but with ever dwindling numbers.[488]

It is during Lionel's work and travels for the Royal Navy that we get a glimpse into the family connections and links abroad with the Cork community. He had met his father's sister and her husband in Singapore, where he was the Chief Customs Officers. In Sydney, he had met a friend of his uncle's in New Zealand, who he subsequently contacted. His uncle in New Zealand told him that he had met his other uncle, who was living in Australia in Gallipoli in 1917, but had not heard from him since then.[489] These encounters in the book underline for us not only the emigration from the nascent Cork community at the turn of the century but also the transnational links the peripheral Jewish community of Cork had with other communities. This is to a certain extent ignored in many of the other literary works of the Cork community. It is only visible in the Minutes Book of the Cork Jewish Community and in the announcements in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

In 1948, Lionel became the Chief Radio Officer on one of the four Israeli merchant navy ships, the *Kedmah*. People he said, had hardly heard of Ireland and an Irish Jew was not something that they were used to:

> I myself was a bit of an oddity as some passengers had hardly heard of Ireland and an Irish Jew was a real rarity. At dinner one night, a passenger christened me 'O'Cohen' and it stuck.[490]

David Marcus also highlighted the surprise for people to meet an Irish Jew in his book of short stories *Who had ever heard of an Irish Jew*?

Lionel moved back to Cork in 1952 to help his father run the family business. Despite being offered the role of the first Chief of an Israeli Costal Station, Lionel settled and later married a non-Jewish woman in Cork: 'I married her after a stormy courtship, which wasn't helped by the fact that she was Catholic, I was Jewish and Ireland wasn't exactly a broadminded society at that time'.[491] Lionel tells the reader about two other Jewish men who had relationships with non-Jewish women, one of whom decided to ultimately move to England as he wanted to marry the woman.[492] When his sister confided

[488] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew* 110.
[489] Ibid., 136 and 163.
[490] Ibid., 186.
[491] Ibid., 213.
[492] Ibid., 235-236.

in him that she was considering marrying a non-Jewish man, Lionel advised her against it and told her that it would ultimately be better to leave Cork:

> I had advised her against it as it would break our mother's heart. I didn't know about Dad, but I supposed he would not be over the moon about it. I added that they would probably have to leave Cork if they wanted to have any sort of happy live together.[493]

These anecdotes, together with his mother's reticence in relation to his own marriage highlight for us the difficulties of living in a small peripheral Jewish community. These stories again nuance the picture of communal orthodoxy that is often a feature of many of the testimonies and literature on the Cork Jewish community. Lionel married May and had a daughter Yvonne. He lived the remainder of his life in Cork, where he died in 2000.

Lionel's life in many ways differed from other former members of the Cork Jewish community. He joined the Irish Army, then the Royal Merchant Navy and spent four years working for the Israeli Coast Guard before returning to spend the rest of his life in Cork. He was not religious and most of his social contacts were with the non-Jewish community of Cork. He also married a non-Jewish woman. Nevertheless, his autobiography gives us a unique insight into both the insularity of the Cork Jewish community and also its social and economic links with not only the Dublin Jewish community, but Jewish communities around the world. His autobiography is one of the few literary works that highlight the emigration that was a dominant feature of the Cork Jewish community from its very inception. His book also reiterates both the Zionism and orthodoxy of the Cork Jewish community. His father and his uncles' decision to fight for the British Army and also to fight for Irish Independence show the mixed loyalties of some members of the Cork Jewish community. This contrasts with the, at times, overemphasis on the recounting of anecdotes relating to Irish Independence in some of the other literary works and oral testimonies of former members of the Cork Jewish community.

[493] Lionel Cohen, *Memoir of an Irish Jew*, 305.

3.3 Conclusion

According to Jack Phelan in a chapter on the late Gerald Goldberg:

> The Goldbergs decided that America was the destination to which they would emigrate. Just like the Irish, emigrants from the Baltic States had to travel by the cheapest method possible. While the ships were a considerable improvement in terms of comfort and speed to the ships used earlier in the nineteenth century, they remained very basic. Often in need of repair, the broke down a lot. Going ashore at what they were told was the 'next parish to New York', they found that this was true – kind of- but that the stretch of water separating Ireland from New York was a little too wide to cross in a day.[494]

Later in the same book, Damien O'Mahony tells the reader that Louis Goldberg, the father of the late Gerald Goldberg:

> had been among the first wave of Russian Jews who fled. According to Gerald, he had been conscripted into the Russian army at the age of fourteen. But before he could serve as a soldier, he fled his home in Akmijan. Stopped by Police in Riga, however, possibly because of his fair colouring, he was allowed to proceed. He found passage on a timber ship sailing to Ireland. This was supposed to be the first leg of his journey to the US. He had never seen a map before coming to Ireland; therefore, he did not know how far Ireland was from the US. The year was 1882.[495]

The above two quotations succinctly summarise the works analysed in this chapter. As seen in this chapter, the all too familiar tropes of accidental arrival, persecution, escape and pogroms feature in both the museum exhibition at Cork Public Museum and in much of the literature on the Cork Jewish community. Many of the same anecdotes appear either unchanged, or are retold in a very similar fashion in many of the testimonies, stories and accounts of the community.

Very little attention, if any, is given to the actual reality in nineteenth century Britain and Tsarist Russia. While fear of violence and pogroms, unscrupulous sea captains undoubtedly played a role for some of those Jewish migrants, factors such as migration and geography coupled with the complicated, nuanced reality in Tsarist Russia are often reduced to the minimum in many of the accounts. Both the important role played by Anglo-Jewry in

[494] Jack Phelan, *A Man of Many Talents* in Dermot Keogh and Diarmuid Whelan ed., *Gerald Goldberg. A Tribute* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2008), 20.

[495] Damien O'Mahony with Dermot Keogh Gerald Yael Goldberg in Dermot Keogh and Diarmuid Whelan ed., *Gerald Goldberg. A Tribute* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2008), 50.

the dispersal of newly arrived immigrants to provincial cities and the importance of the location of Cork, one of the last ports in the British Isles on the way to the Americas are to large extent ignored or trivialised.

Some of the literature, in particular the works of David Marcus, Cecil Hurwitz and Gerald Goldberg give the reader an insight into the how the members of the Jewish community of Cork viewed their position in Cork society. There is an also a slight didactic element to some of the literature, in particular Gerald Goldberg's unpublished story, Larry Elyan's piece in the *Jewish Chronicle* and Wolf Mankowitz's, *The Hebrew Lesson.* The writers seek to teach the non-Jewish reader about Judaism while at the same time, emphasise the similarities between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities of Cork. The Jewish community's alleged Irish nationalist links and sympathies are also underlined in perhaps an attempt to again to emphasise the Jewish community's place in Cork.

Neither Simon Lewis' Anthology of poetry *Jewtown* nor Ruth Gilligan's *Nine Folds a Paper swan* add much to our understanding of the Jewish community of Cork. Both simply repeat the much told reductive narrative of accidental arrival. Both reduce the history of the Cork Jewish community to unsubstantiated anecdotes and banalities. Lionel Cohen's *Memoir of an Irish Jew* gives us an insight into the emigration, national and trans-national links that form an important part of the identity of the Cork Jewish community. The emigration and socio-economic links feature in the communal records of the community and also the many announcements of the *Jewish Chronicle*. Chapter Four examines the communal records of the community through the Burial Records, the Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Community and the announcements in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Chapter Four

REPRESENTIONS OF THE CORK JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE *JEWISH* CHRONICLE AND IN THE *MINUTES BOOK OF THE CORK HEBREW COMMUNITY*

Chapter Four continues to examine the portrayal of the Cork Jewish community by analysing the articles, which appeared at regular intervals in the *Jewish Chronicle* and by examining the *Minutes book of the Cork Hebrew Community*. Both the newspaper articles and the entries in the *Minutes book* provide us with, at times, two very different perspectives of the same events. The articles of the *Jewish Chronicle* were written for publication, for a wider audience, whereas the entries in the *Minutes book* were not written for public consumption and have never been published.

An analysis of the *Minutes book* broadens not only our understanding of the Jewish community, but also helps to better understand the community that is portrayed in the articles of the *Jewish Chronicle*. The articles in the newspaper vary from wedding announcements to the community's ongoing struggle to acquire kosher meet and retain a minister and *shochet.* The various articles and announcements proudly present the charitable contributions of the community, its Zionist associations and links with the larger Anglo-Jewish communities.

While there are some articles that highlight the internal politics and disputes within the community, the prosaic content and tone of most of the articles portray the community in a positive light. They tend to depict the Cork Jewish community as it would like to be seen by other Anglo- Jewish communities. It is only when these articles are read in conjunction with the *Minutes Book* that a more complete, rounded picture of the Cork Jewish community begins to emerge. This representation not only highlights the charitable contributions, the links with Anglo-Jewish communities, but also the internal squabbles and strife that went in tandem with such initiatives.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part will examine the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, while the second part examines the entries of the Cork Hebrew community.

4.1 *The Jewish Chronicle*

4.1.1 Representations of the Cork Jewish Community in the Jewish Chronicle Newspaper

David Cesarani explains the importance of the *Jewish Chronicle* when analysing not only Cork Jewry but Anglo-Jewry as a whole:

> Founded in 1841, the *Jewish Chronicle* is the oldest continuously published Jewish newspaper in the world. A force for change, a forum for debate and a shaper of Jewish identity, it has played a central part in the development of Anglo-Jewry. More than just a mirror of Anglo-Jewish life, registering waves of immigration and social change, the JC has been an active player in historical events.[496]

Cesarani also underlines the importance of examining ephemeral articles such as births, weddings and death announcements, stating that 'no historian can understand the inner life of British Jews without looking at social reports, the sports column, arts and cultural coverage and the advertising the paper has carried'.[497]

While Cesarani in the above quote is explicitly referring to Anglo-Jewry as a whole, much of what he says also applies to the Cork Jewish community. From the newspaper's inception in 1841 to Irish Independence in 1921, the Cork Jewish community was a provincial, peripheral Anglo-Jewish community. For some years after Irish Independence, the paper would continue to publish articles on both the Cork and Dublin communities in the section of the newspaper called 'The Provinces'. Therefore, it would be remiss not to include an analysis of the portrayal of the Cork Jewish community in the *Jewish Chronicle* in any study of the Cork Jewish community.

One of the first articles to be published in the newspaper relating to Cork Jewry was in 1875 and one of the most recent was in 2016. Both articles relate to the death of members

[496] David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), inside cover.

[497] Ibid., inside cover.

of the community and indirectly highlight the isolated, peripheral and even moribund nature of the community. These entries will be analysed in more detail later in this chapter.

The articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* range from small ads for jobs such as Hebrew teacher and Rabbi within the community to announcements on births, bar mitzvahs, educational success, engagements, marriages, anniversaries and deaths. There are also regular articles relating to the poor financial status of the community, the community's charitable efforts, communal social groups including Zionist groups and both inter and external-communal relations.

While on the surface such articles may appear superfluous to a study of Cork Jewry, on the contrary, they offer the reader a unique insight into the daily life of the community and what they felt was important to their lives. Important communal matters such as migration, emigration and links to bigger Anglo-Jewish centers such as London, Manchester, Dublin and Glasgow come to the fore in the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

The census of both 1901 and 1911, which are analysed in the next chapter of this thesis provide us with an analysis of one particular night in the life of the Cork Jewish community. We gain important data such as the number of households within the community, the areas in the city and county where the members of the community lived, the breakdown of the number of males and females and also the professions of the members of the Cork Jewish community. It is, however, the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, which deal with the minutiae of the community that not only help to complete the black and white picture gained from an analysis of the census, but also give its colour and depth. It is therefore important to study the articles in the Jewish Chronicle before looking at the Census data of 1901 and 1911.

Due to the sheer volume and range of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, the articles are categorised and discussed under the following categories - representations of the Cork Jewish community in the newspaper, the prevalence of the arrival narrative and the pogroms, links to other Anglo-Jewish communities and Jewish communities in the Americans, Africa and Australia, Irish Nationalism and Republicanism, charity, Zionism, the financial status of the Cork Jewish community and the educational achievements of the members of the Cork Jewish community.

4.1.2 Communal Orthodoxy and Size in the Jewish Chronicle

The sheer volume and variety of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* chart the growth and ultimately decline in size of the Cork Jewish community from its inception. As previously mentioned, one of the early articles in the newspaper gives us an insight into the small size of the community:

> A small congregation of about thirty foreign Jews exists at Cork. Its income amounts to 15s. Of this sum 10s is paid to the Shocket and 5s for the room, which serves for a synagogue. For religious instruction, there is, of course, no provision.[498]

In an article published in the newspaper in August of 1888 called 'Mr Samuel Mongau, MP., on the Jews in Ireland'[499] we learn that two foreigners by the name of Clark and son came to Cork. It subsequently turned out that their real name was Katz and that they were two German Jews, known to the Police. Concerned with any subsequent adverse publicity and consequences on the Jewish community in Cork, Mr. Montagu consulted both Jews and non-Jews in Cork. Through the article we learn that the Jewish community of Cork at now jumped from approximately thirty to seventy people, 'about seventy souls, comprising about twenty adult Jews in all'.[500] We also learn in the article that the community maintained good relations with the non-Jewish community. It stated, 'They have no complaints to make against their neighbours with whom they stand in most friendly relations'.[501]

Through these two articles, we see that in five years the Cork Jewish community doubled its numbers. It went from a community of around thirty in 1883 to about seventy people in 1888.

The article makes one of the earliest references in the newspaper to Cork Jews and Irish nationalism. In addition to the cordial relations between the Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours, we are told that the community rented rooms for the synagogue from the National League:

> In whose offices in Marlboro' Street they assemble for public worship. Their greatest friend is the Rev. Mr. Carr, a Protestant clergyman, yet an ardent Home-Ruler.[502]

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[498] *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 July 1883.
[499] Ibid., 31 August 1888.
[500] Ibid., 31 August 1888.
[501] Ibid., 31 August 1888.
[502] Ibid., 31 August 1888.

We can also read in the article that the same Reverend Mr. Carr collected money from Christians in Cork and Jews in London to buy the Jewish burial ground in Cork. This proves, according to Mr. Montagu, that the 'Jews in Cork are not persecuted and never will be by Parnell and the rest of Irish Nationalists'.[503] Finally, Mr. Montagu concludes by making some favourable remarks in relation to Irish nationalism. He also states that Ireland 'is the only country in the old world that has never been stained by Jewish blood'.[504] We have already noted in the oral testimonies of former members of the Jewish community of Cork in Chapter Two and in much of the secondary literature of Chapter Three that there was a tendency to link the narrative of Jewish suffering and poverty in Russia with the Irish nationalist cause of the early twentieth century.

A further article in 1906 while highlighting the favourable treatment Jews received from the local population when they initially landed in Cork, also gives us further insights into the origins, professions and relations within the community: 'When Jews first landed in the South there was an unbounded respect for them as the hitherto unknown representatives of the grand old race'.[505]

We are also told that 'some of the better class natives actually came to see what Jews looked like'.[506] This article also highlights the fascination that existed among the wider community with Cork Jewry. Much of the secondary literature, oral testimonies and the display on the Cork Jewish community at Cork Public Museum analysed in Chapters Two and Three also mention this fascination.

According to the article, when the community was quite small, only three or four families, with some bachelors, they brought over a *shochet* Mr. Mayer Elyan. The community primary occupation was pictures and picture frames.[507] The group settled in the same area, 'known as Hibernian Buildings'.[508] We are told that ultimately sixty to seventy Jewish families would settle in this area. There was an open space near the buildings which

[503] Ibid., 31 August 1888.
[504] Ibid., 31 August 1888.
[505] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 September 1906; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 90. Parry-Jones also notes in the context of Welsh Jewry that by and large surviving evidence suggests that Jewish settlers in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Wales were treated by their indigenous Welsh neighbours with reverential curiosity; Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 182. Abrams also records similar treatment of Jews in provincial Scottish communities. As the 'sons of Abraham' there was a respectful curiosity shown to them.
[506] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 September 1906.
[507] Ibid., 7 September 1906.
[508] Ibid., 7 September 1906.

'keeps the Jews of Cork from advancing forward. It stands to the Jews of Cork for everything – it is their theatre, their parliament, their promenade ground, their library, their newsroom etc'.[509]

The article claims that only a small number of Jews lived elsewhere and that it was not good for 'a certain class of Jews to be huddled up so close together'.[510] Similar to many of the testimonies of former members of the Cork congregation, the article states that 'they are all of the same origin, many of them actual blood relations; all of the one standing; all of the one occupation; and all with the highest interest in life – the Kehillah'.[511]

The internal strife that would lead to the establishment of a second house of worship is also touched upon in the article. We are told that while initially there was only one place of worship, 24, South Terrace, there was considerable tension among some members within the small community: 'Fresh troubles arose every day, and shame to relate, it was the police magistrates who had busy times of it.'[512] The importance the community and the wider Jewish community placed on the image of the community is again succinctly captured here.

The strife would, however, ultimately lead to the creation of a second house of worship. One part of the congregation would remain in 24 South Terrace, while the other part would move across the street to number 10 South Terrace.

Articles in the newspaper speak to the poverty of the community:

> Generally speaking the Jews of Cork are not in easy circumstances. The vast majority have to struggle for existence.[513]

The paucity of the community's finances is not, however, the reason why the community has no qualified minister under the direct authority of the Chief Rabbi. Rev. J.E. Mayers had been in Cork before moving to Belfast. The article regrets that 'Cork should remain a stray flock'.[514] This has not always been the case. The article points out, as we have seen in the previous article that '[some] twenty years ago, when there was scarcely a single man in Cork of real substance, they managed to acquire a large field for the purposes of the burial ground'.[515]

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[509] Ibid., 7 September 1906.
[510] Ibid., 7 September 1906.
[511] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 September 1906.
[512] Ibid., 7 September 1906.
[513] Ibid., 7 September 1906.
[514] Ibid., 7 September 1906.
[515] Ibid., 7 September 1906.

Were the two groups of the community, the writer believes, to unite, they would be able to build a synagogue within a month. From these articles, we gain an impression of a small, peripheral, fractious community struggling to survive.

The articles in the newspaper also show a community that was very proudly orthodox:[516]

> They are *froom* in Cork, and very *froom*. Many of the women would not remove the wig or handkerchief for the world; and the men would not trim their beards. On a Sabbath afternoon you can hear the voices through the windows chanting psalms, or the women's sing-song, as they wade laboriously through their prayers. It is very nice. But these are all the nice things I have to say of Cork.[517]

The impression the reader gains of the Cork Jewish community from this article in 1906 is of a peripheral, on the one hand, close-knit, inwardly looking community, but also, at times, a fractious community that remained apart not only from the non-Jewish inhabitants of Cork, but also from other Anglo-Jewish communities.

While the Census of 1911 is examined in more detail in Chapter Five, an article in June of 1911 in the newspaper refers to the census. It states that there are some 431 Jews living in the Cork county.[518] The same article does not provide any further explanation or analysis of the Census figures. As an analysis of the census figures in Chapter Five show, this number does not represent a stable, settled Jewish community living in Cork. It also includes lodgers, guests and members of the British Armed Forces based in Cork. The newspaper does not nuance these figures; therefore the size of the Cork Jewish community is mistakenly misrepresented.

Some fifty years later, we learn in an article published in 1964 that despite its ever-dwindling numbers, 'about eighty souls'[519], the Cork community still functioned as an organised community. The article went on to state that 'the two-dozen families are bravely determined to preserve their traditional Jewish loyalties and maintain their long-standing communal services'.[520]

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[516] The orthodoxy of the community was also discussed in the oral testimonies that were analysed in Chapter Two.

[517] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 September 1906.

[518] Ibid., 2 June 1911.

[519] Ibid., 8 May 1964.

[520] Ibid., 8 May 1964.

This article again highlights the orthodoxy of the community and at the same time its dependence on the Dublin community. To meet the communal needs, we are told, a *shochet* was to travel from Dublin two days a week for the purpose of performing shechita.[521]

The newspaper continues this portrayal of a community of dwindling numbers that nevertheless held firmly to their religious beliefs and practices throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Articles such as that in 1973, which recorded what was then considered to be the last bar mitzvah in Cork, state that the Cork community had dwindled from over sixty families to twelve.[522]

As articles in the newspaper in subsequent decades show the community would continue to decline, but would, nevertheless, do its utmost to maintain its Holy-day services. In 1987, the community, which had according to the 1981 census dropped to sixty-two members, would offer either home or free accommodation in a hotel to anyone willing to visit from Dublin for the Rosh Hashana festivities.[523] The following year in 1988, some six men travelled from Dublin to enable the community to hold High Holy-day services.[524]

In 1998, the newspaper tells us that services for the High Holidays were made only made possible due to the visit of some Lubavitch members from America. We learn that 'seven members of the New York Lubavitch made a trans-Atlantic flight to Ireland to help the tiny Jewish community in Cork celebrate the New Year'.[525] The situation was repeated the following year. We are told that 'members of the Lubavitch went to Cork, in Ireland, to help the 30-strong Cork Hebrew Congregation celebrate the High Holy-days and the festivals'.[526]

Again, to state that there were thirty members of the Cork Jewish community in 1999 is somewhat misleading. It, again, gives the impression of a stable community. It does not reflect that this figure thirty also consisted of visiting family members from Dublin and abroad.

One of the most recent articles on the Cork Jewish community in 2007 describes how the community had come to an agreement with Cork City Corporation and sold some land attached to the Jewish graveyard in Cork. The article reported that 'a new prayer and

[521] Ibid., 8 May 1964.

[522] Ibid., 18 May 1973. Again, as the analysis of the Census of both 1901 and 1911 in Chapter Five show, the figure of sixty families is again an exaggeration of the total number of Jewish families that had lived in Cork.

[523] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 September 1987.

[524] Ibid., 30 September 1988.

[525] Ibid., 23 October 1998.

[526] Ibid., 8 October 1999.

taharah house was opened at Cork's Jewish cemetery. The community dwindled to just a handful in recent years, it became clear that it would never require the full lands'. [527]

The ongoing personal connections that many former members of the Cork Jewish community held to Cork is also highlighted in the article. We learn that 'many former members of the community attended the event'.[528]

All of these columns and reports paint a picture of a struggling peripheral Jewish community. As the content of the *Jewish Chronicle* shows the community was from the onset both financially poor and small. It struggled as far back as 1906 to attract a minister. Despite the majority of the community being originally from the same area, communal strife was a feature in the early years, resulting in the creation of a second house of worship. Nevertheless, despite the paucity of means and members, the community always remained devout and tried to ensure a minyan until the very end to at least allow the High holidays to be celebrated in Cork.

The newspaper, at times, over-inflated the numbers in the Cork community and it also did not nuance these figures. As a result, a slightly inaccurate portrayal of the size of the community was a feature of many of the reports in the newspaper. The prevalence of the arrival narrative and the pogroms in the reports also feature in many of the articles relating to the Cork Jewish community. The next section of this chapter examines this.

4.1.3 We thought it was New York

One of the first references to possible accidental arrival to Cork in the *Jewish Chronicle* was in 1891. The article states that 'a sum of £50 was remitted to the Minister of the Cork Synagogue for the relief of some Russo-Jewish refugees, who had been passengers on the "Edam" steamer, wrecked off Queenstown on Thursday, the 22nd last'.[529]

The story of possible accidental arrival to Cork would feature again in a number of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*. However, as the quotation above, from an article entitled 'The Russo-Jewish Committee' in 1891, demonstrates, while accidental arrival to Cork did

[527] Ibid., 26 January 2007.
[528] Ibid., 6 January 2007.
[529] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1891. Further articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1891, 16 November 1894, 7 June 1895, 10 February 1899 and 17 March 1899 all refer to ships carrying Jewish migrants to the U.S. being stranded in Cork for repairs.

occur, it is considerably more nuanced and complex than the often citied 'they thought it was New York'[530] would lead us to believe.

In a further related article on the same page under the heading 'Russian Refugees at Cork,' we learn that such incidents were neither isolated nor unique to Cork. It states,

> By a somewhat remarkable coincidence, the adventures which befell a number of Russian Jewish emigrants on board the Dutch steamer, "Dubbledam" that was obliged to put in disabled at Plymouth, last month, have had their counterpart through and accident to another Dutch steamer, Edam.[531]

The emotive language employed by the writer in the article is interesting here:

> The emigrants were in a most pitiable state, some of them almost starving, and in a state of nudity. The poor creatures who were, for the most part, victims of the Russian persecution of the Jews; many of whom, when driven from their homes, had no time to provide themselves with suitable clothing, and had been wearing for the space of three months the apparel in which they left their homes in Russia.[532]

The use of both 'victims' and 'persecution' in the article are highly evocative words often used to describe and justify the arrival of Russian Jews to not only Cork but to other destinations in the Great Britain. We are also told that one hundred Jewish emigrants arrived in Cork, 'about one hundred of these poor people found their way to Cork and applied to their brethren in that city for relief which was immediately given to them'.[533]

Considering 'the emigrants were in a most pitiable state, some of them almost starving, and in a state of nudity'[534], it is more than plausible that a number of these emigrants had to remain at least in Cork until such time as they had gathered the financial means to continue their journey to America. The newspaper does not develop this hypothesis. Similar to much of the secondary literature and to many of the oral testimonies examined in Chapter Two, there is a tendency in many of the articles of the *Jewish Chronicle* to simplify the reasons between the arrival of Jewish emigrants to Cork. The newspaper tended to reduce the complex reality of liners breaking down, the possible lack of Kosher food onboard, as well as the lack of money to complete the entire journey in one go, or the

[530] Numerous testimonies, articles in newspapers, novels, short stories and even academic works summarise so-called accidental arrival to Cork by stating that Jewish migrants 'thought it was New York'.

[531] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1891.

[532] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1891.

[533] Ibid., 30 October 1891.

[534] Ibid., 30 0ctober 1891.

influence of social connections in provincial communities such as Cork to the much repeated narrative of the migrants supposedly mixing up Cork with New York or being swindled by ship captains.

The newspaper reports some years later in 1899 on a similar situation of a ship breaking down and having to be towed to Cork for repairs before completing its journey to America. It was reported in 'the Provinces' section of the *Jewish Chronicle* that a steamer had been damaged and needed to be brought to Cork for repairs:

> A steamer, while on the voyage from Hamburg to New York, was seriously damaged and put into Passage West, near Cork for repairs. There were about fifty persons on board, of whom more than half were Jews.[535]

As the newspaper does not report as to how long the ship and its passengers had to remain in Cork or whether a number of the Jewish passengers did indeed decide to stay, albeit temporarily in Cork, it is clear that due to circumstances outside of their control, a number of Jews did arrive accidently in Cork. It is, however, not as simple as saying that they arrived in Cork due to the mixing up of Cork with New York or having been swindled by unscrupulous ship captains.

These two articles also emphasise the links Cork Jewry had with bigger Anglo-Jewish communities and in particular the Chief Rabbinate in London. According to the newspaper, in 1891 the Russo-Jewish Committee in London donated £50 and 1899 a further £10 was donated. While the connections between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish are examined in more detail in a later section of this chapter, it is, nevertheless, worth highlighting the financial contribution of the Anglo-Jewish committee such as Russo-Jewish Committee in London to aid those who apparently arrived 'accidently' to Cork.

Two more articles in both 1894 and 1895 further add to this picture of 'accidental arrival'. An article in 1894 on the 'The Russo-Jewish Committee' states that 'applications were received from the Jewish Board of Guardians at Glasgow and the congregations of Southampton and Cork for grants in aid of refugees at those ports. Grants were made in suitable cases'.[536]

A letter from A.H. Goldfoot to the newspaper in the following year 1895 again highlights the role of the port in the so-called accidental arrival of Jewish emigrants to Cork. While the main thrust of the letter deals with the poverty of the community and its attempts

[535] Ibid., 10 February 1899.
[536] *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 November 1894.

to build a synagogue and school, it also highlights the additional financial burden placed on the community by the unplanned arrivals of such emigrants. Mr. Goldfoot refers to 'the calls made upon them by the poor emigrants who are now and then put on shore at Queenstown, and other casuals, cause a great strain on their slender means'.[537]

Another article, which again mentions the accidental arrival of Jewish migrants at Cork due to vessels being stranded and towed to the port of Cork, is an article relating to the Manchester Jewish Community in 1906. Dr. Szinessy who became a minister in the mid-nineteenth century in Manchester writes in the newspaper about his ship breaking down on the way to America and subsequently stopping at Cork. The minister tells us that he 'had fought under Kossuth and been wounded, was on his way to America, but owing to the accident to his vessel was stranded in Cork, Ireland, just before Passover'.[538] We learn that he made his way to Dublin, before eventually making his way to Manchester via Birmingham. Not only does this report nuance the communal narrative of accidental arrival to Cork, but it also alludes to the formal and informal connections that existed between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish communities.

While the above articles clearly point to the many diverse factors, which may have provoked an unplanned arrival of some Jewish emigrants to Cork, the secondary literature on Cork Jewry in addition to the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* tend to reduce the many reasons that may have led to accidental arrival in Cork to unscrupulous captains, and communication issues. Very few if any mention the geographical significance of the port of Cork.

Another example is an article written by Bernard Shillman, author of *A Short History of the Jews of Ireland* [539] in 1964. Shillman references the role of the port of Cork, however, the emphasis is again on the passivity of the Jewish arrivals and the hardship they had endured in Russia before leaving. According to Shillman the May Laws of 1882 led 'great masses of Russian Jewry to fly from the Tsarist oppression'.[540] The Jewish migrants who left Russia are reduced to being solely victims of Russian persecution. He informs the reader that the Jewish emigrants were obliged to disembark at Cork. We are told that 'one group of these hard-driven Jewish fugitives from Courtland and Lithuania made the long trek to Baltic ports. There they boarded cargo tramp steamers which disembarked them at Cork'.[541]

[537] Ibid., 4 January 1895.
[538] Ibid., 4 January 1895.
[539] *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 May 1964.
[540] Ibid., 8 May 1964.
[541] Ibid., 8 May 1964.

The use of the term 'hard-driven' again conveys the notion of victimhood, while the choice of the verb 'disembarked' again reduced the long, broken and often-circuitous journey to Cork to a single journey with a clear beginning in Russia and a clear end in Cork.

Again, there is little attention to geographical accuracy. Shillman states that refugees from Courtland and Lithuania 'made the long trek to Baltic ports'. This is simply inaccurate. The area of Courtland and Lithuania was one of the geographically best-located places in Russia to travel to the Baltic ports. Most of the shtetls from which Irish Jews hailed, were located within a one-hundred-mile radius of the ports. Train lines, connecting these areas with the ports, were constructed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The development of the train lines as well as the economic and political situation for Jews in Tsarist Russia was discussed in Chapter One.

The publication of the Larry Elyan's short story *From Zhogger to Cork*[542] in the newspaper in 1980 gives us a further example of the reductive arrival narrative that appeared at regular intervals in the *Jewish Chronicle* in relation to Cork. The all too familiar stories relating to persecution and pogroms feature in Elyan's short story. Shillman's story begins by telling the reader that 'Lithuania was at the time part of the Czarist Empire. The persecution the Jews suffered there made them strive to get the hell out of it. Anywhere. America, of course, was the objective of most of them'.[543]

The geographical importance of the port of Cork is inferred even though the writer admits that his grandfather Zeida had never heard of Cork. According to Elyan his grandfather had learned of Cork when he looked at a map, 'but from a look at the map he saw that it was almost half-way to America. What's more Cork, he found out, was a port of call for ships from Europe to America. That settled it'.[544]

The acknowledgment by Elyan's grandfather that Cork was 'almost half-way' to America not only highlights the importance of the location of Cork, but also points to the transient aspect of the Jewish community in Cork, which the arrival narrative often overlooks or reduces to passing, opaque inferences.[545]

A review in the newspaper of a Channel 4 documentary *Pilgrimage*[546] in 1998 again reduced the often-staggered journey overland and by sea to Cork to mistaken, accidental

[542] Ibid., 26 September 1980.
[543] *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 September 1980.
[544] Ibid., 26 September 1980.
[545] An analysis of the Census of 1901 and 1911 in Chapter Five shows this transient aspect to the Cork Jewish community in more detail.
[546] Ibid., 20 November 1998.

arrival. We are told in the article that the writer's grandfather confused Cork with New York. In the same review, we learn that the Stanley Price's grandfather 'a poor Russian Jewish immigrant' subsequently became known as Charles Beresford Price 'after getting off the boat in Cork instead of New York, because of seasickness.'[547]

In addition to giving us a more detailed picture of the many factors behind the so-called accidental arrival of Jews to Cork, this article again also clearly shows the many social and economic links between the community in Cork and other Jewish communities across the British Isles.

The next section of this chapter looks at these links not only with other Anglo-Jewish communities such as Dublin, Manchester and London, but also communities in America, Canada and South Africa.

4.1.4 Cork's Connection to other Anglo-Jewish Communities as Seen in Articles of the Jewish Chronicle

An editorial in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1899 titled 'Our Responsibility to the Provinces'[548] not only succinctly describes both these formal and informal links, but also clearly places the Cork Jewish community within the greater sphere of Anglo-Jewry. The writer states that 'the Jews in England are a corporate whole, whose interests cannot be separated; the concerns of the Jews of Cardiff or of Cork, are in a large degree concerns of the Jews of London, and neglect of the one means injury to the other'.[549]

Furthermore, the article also shows how dependent peripheral communities such as Cork were on not only financial but also spiritual support from greater communities and in particular London:

> London will have to do a great deal more than supply a competent minister for provincial towns. It must bestir itself to help in the erection of schools and synagogues, and to promote in a number of ways the social and moral progress of Jews in the provinces. To be strong in London is worthless, if we are weak beyond its boundaries.[550]

The article also refers to the policy of sending Jews to the provinces rather than allowing them to settle in London. The writer warns that 'by neglecting the provision of religious and

[547] Ibid., 20 November 1998.
[548] *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 April 1899.
[549] Ibid., 28 April 1899.
[550] Ibid., 28 April 1899.

educational requirements we render the diversion of the immigration stream a practical impossibility'.[551]

The financial effects of this policy have already been seen in the previous section of this chapter. The Russo-Jewish Committee provided financial aid not only for stranded refugees in Cork, but also for the building and maintenance of the synagogue and school.

Further reports such as 'Cork Synagogue and National School Fund'[552] demonstrate that from its inception, the Cork Jewish community would not have been able to survive without the financial support and aid of the Chief Rabbinate in London and other Anglo-Jewish philanthropists such as Sir Samuel Montagu who we learn from the article, donated £25 to the Cork synagogue and school building fund.

A piece titled 'A Peerage for Sir Samuel Montagu'[553] in 1907 tells the reader that following a special meeting of the Jewish community of Cork 'a vote of congratulations was passed to Sir Samuel Montagu on his elevation to the Peerage'.[554] In 1910 the newspaper reports that the Cork Jewish community expressed its condolences on the death of King Edward VII. He writes that 'the Cork Hebrew Congregation beg to give expression to their deepest sympathy and condolence with your Majesty on this deplorable and sad occasion of the death of your father, King Edward VII'.[555]

These reports highlight that the Cork Community clearly saw itself as an Anglo-Jewish community, whose allegiances lay with the Chief Rabbi in London. Nevertheless, in spite of the community's perception of its place within Anglo-Jewry, the relationship between Cork and London was not always benign.

In an article in the newspaper in 1901, we learn that following a lecture by *The B'NEI ZION Association*, the Cork community did not hesitate to express its disagreement with certain decisions taken in London. The board of the Cork Jewish community met and 'a resolution was adopted, expressing the fullest satisfaction at the refusal of the Cork congregation to accept Sir Samuel Montagu's circular on account of its containing a clause 'against Zionism'.[556]

In another account entitled 'Manchester News' in 1996 we learn that a reunion was held in Manchester for former member members of the Cork Jewish community. It is

[551] Ibid., 28 April 1899.
[552] Ibid., 2 December 1898.
[553] *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 July 1907.
[554] Ibid., 5 July 1907.
[555] Ibid., 13 May 1910.
[556] Ibid., 29 November 1901.

reported that 'Linda Cohen hosted a reunion for twenty former members of the Cork Jewish community. They exchanged news and reminisced about their life in Ireland'.[557]

Further articles relating to the financial status of the community, pastoral visits to the community by the Chief Rabbi and articles expressing congratulations and condolences to various leading members of Jewish and non-Jewish British society all help to convey a desire by the community to be recognised and placed within the sphere of Anglo-Jewry.

It is, however, the plethora of articles relating to births, engagements, marriages, anniversaries, reunions and deaths and also the numerous articles in the newspaper on the Rabbis and Hebrew teachers who passed through Cork at various stages of their career, which appear at regular intervals in the newspaper that clearly show the extensive links between the Cork Jewish community and other Anglo-Jewish communities. The next section of this chapter looks at the appointment of Ministers, Hebrew teachers and *shochets* to the Cork Jewish community as reported by the Jewish Chronicle.

4.1.5 Recruitment of Ministers to the Cork Jewish Community

One of the first publications in the newspaper relating to ministers and visiting ministers to the Cork community in 1899 makes reference to the visit of a Rabbi Tarsis from Birmingham to Cork, 'the Rev. M. Tarsis, of Birmingham, has visited Cork, where he delivered addresses in the Synagogue of the Remnant of Israel Congregation'.[558] From the initial establishment of the community in the late nineteenth century, there was always a very close connection between the role of Minister in Cork and other, for the most part, larger Anglo-Jewish communities. Cork Ministers or Rabbis tended to start their career in other peripheral Jewish communities, move to Cork where they would spend a relatively short period before continuing their careers in other Anglo-Jewish communities or Jewish communities in the wider English-speaking world. Cork was in, many instances, a short stop en route to more prestigious Jewish communities.

[557] Ibid., 23 August 1996. An analysis of both the 1901 and 1911 Census in Chapter Five shows that there were always strong social, formal and informal ties with larger Anglo-Jewish communities such as Manchester.

[558] *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 January 1899.

In 1907, Rabbi Birmansky died suddenly. Following his death, 'the Cork Jewish community have suffered a great loss at the sudden death of Rabbi Abraham Sheftel Birmansky who had been for seventeen years Rabbi of the city'.[559]

In 1908, we learn that Rev. Elli Bloom had been elected Reader and Shochet to the Jewish Congregation of Portsmouth. Before his appointment in Portsmouth 'he has held a similar post in Cork, receiving a call to Merthyr Tydfil, where he acted as Reader, Teacher, Schochet and Mohel'.[560]

The transience of the post of minister to the Cork congregation is again reported in 1909. The newspaper states that 'Rev. Zadok Cohen, of Cork, was appointed Chazan, Shochet and Mohel to the Glasgow Beth Hamedrash Hagodol for a term of three years'.[561]

A mere four years later in 1912, we learn that the latest appointed minister also left Cork for a bigger community, 'before leaving Cork for Wolverhampton, the Rev. S. W was the recipient of a beautifully illuminated address'.[562]

Six year later in 1915, the Rev. H. Klein, of Woolwich was appointed to the vacant position of Chazan-Rishon and Head-teacher of the Hebrew and Religion school in Cork.[563]

Two entries in 1937 further emphasise the transience of the post of Minster in Cork. An article in July of that year informs us that a reception was held to honour Rev. J. Wolman. After having spent over eleven years in Cork, Rev. J. Wolman had 'accepted a "call" to Brisbane'.[564]

A month later, the newspapers informs its readers that following Rev. Wolman's move to Brisbane, 'the Rev. Bernard Kersh, Minister to the Derby Hebrew Congregation, has accepted a unanimous "call" to the vacant position of Minister, First Reader, Mohel, and Teacher to the Cork Hebrew Congregation'.[565]

An article forty years later, following the retirement of Rev. Kersh in 1977 informs us that after his time in Cork, Rev Kersh moved to Middlesbrough where he would spend the majority of his career as a Rabbi.[566] Rev. Kersh stayed in Cork fourteen years before

[559] Ibid., 23 August 1907.

[560] Ibid., 10 July 1908; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 52. Parry-Jones also refers to the multiple functions ministers in small Welsh Jewish communities were often required to carry out. Similar to Cork, they often had to act as *shochets*, readers and teachers.

[561] Ibid., 4 February 1909.

[562] *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 August 1912.

[563] Ibid., 30 July 1915.

[564] Ibid., 2 July 1937.

[565] Ibid., 6 August 1937.

[566] Ibid., 29 April 1977.

moving to Middlesborough. The Cork community placed the following advert in the newspaper seeking a replacement for him. The advert stated that the 'Cork Hebrew Congregation, Minister, shochet and teacher required; excellent salary and conditions'.[567]

Following the advertisement, the community appointed Reverend Barron who would stay five years in Cork. Before taking up the post in Cork, he had worked in Darlington and Stockport. His subsequent departure from Cork and move to South Africa is recorded. 'The Rev. Shalom Barron, who has served the Cork Hebrew Congregation for the past four years as minister and shochet, has accepted a "call" from the Harrismith Hebrew Congregation, O.F.S., South Africa'.[568]

Following Rev. Barron's appointment in South Africa, Rev. M. M. Baddiel was appointed Minister to the Cork congregation. Rev. Baddiel would be the last minister to serve the Cork Jewish congregation.[569]

The articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* relating to the arrival and departure of Ministers to the Cork Jewish community give us a deep insight into not only the links the Cork community had with other Anglo-Jewish communities, but they also highlight the instable, transient nature of the community from its inception. The various Ministers to the community stayed on average five years in Cork before moving to bigger communities in Britain, South Africa or Australia. Cork was never more than a brief stopping point on the way to other communities.[570]

Between 1889 and 1951, no less than thirteen advertisements for Hebrew teachers, *shochets* and readers for the Cork community were published in the *Jewish Chronicle*. Ministers to the community, like many of the congregation came to Cork for a relatively short period of time, before ultimately moving on to settle in a bigger more established community, generally in Great Britain, however, as we have seen Ministers also left Cork for Australia and South Africa. This transience and reliance on bigger Anglo-Jewish for

[567] Ibid., 19 January 1951.
[568] Ibid., 3 February 1956.
[569] Ibid., 6 September 1957.
[570] The transient nature of the post of minister to the Cork Jewish community and the fact that the Cork community paid slightly more than other small Anglo-Jewish communities in an effort to attract candidates is also mentioned in three of the oral testimonies with former members of the Cork Jewish community, in particular with one of the former Rabbis in Chapter Two; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 53. One of the main reasons for the high turnover of ministers in most of Wales's small Jewish communities was a desire to progress to what was perceived to be a more prestigious position in one of Britain's larger Jewish centres. Indeed, newly qualified ministers and those who were recent immigrants were more or less expected to begin their careers in smaller communities and then use the experience they acquired as a stepping stone to appointments in larger congregations.

both economic and social reasons is also very evident in social adverts such as the engagement notices for members of the Cork Jewish community which also appeared at regular intervals in the newspaper.

4.1.6 Engagement Announcements for Members of the Cork Jewish Community in the Jewish Chronicle

> Brown: Liebesman – Annie, third daughter of Mrs. Brown (late of London), to Soll, son of Mr. H. Liebesman, of Cork, Ireland, both of Johannesburg.[571]

Between 1906 and 1977, there are approximately seventy-one small ads, like the above advert, announcing engagements between a member of the Cork community and a member of another Jewish community. The publication of these ads in the *Jewish Chronicle* was a means for members of the Cork Jewish community to inform family members and friends who resided in other Anglo-Jewish communities of the good news. These social relationships and links with other Anglo-Jewish communities were a feature of the Cork Jewish community from the onset. Most of the young people of the community found marriage partners in other Anglo-Jewish communities.[572]

The pie chart on the next page (figure 1) shows the numbers of marriages between members of the Cork community and other Jewish communities. The biggest number of marriages took place between the Cork and Dublin communities. This is followed by London and Manchester. The graph also demonstrates that most marriages were with members of other Anglo-Jewish communities rather than within the community itself. This again shows not only the close social connections between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish communities, in particular Dublin, but also the fact that the Cork Jewish community was never able to exist in isolation from other Jewish communities. It required not only financial support from other communities, but marriage partners for its congregation.

It is also worth noting that eight of these engagement ads, which amounts to just over ten percent include a variation of the line 'American and African papers please copy'.[573] The

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[571] *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 December 1909.

[572] Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 88 and 98. Writing about the Dundee Jewish community, Abrams noted that rarely did the engagements section of the *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish Echo* announce marriages between two native Dundonians.

[573] *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 June 1906.

inclusion of this line further emphasises not only the relationships, formal and informal, that existed between the Cork community and other Anglo-Jewish communities, but also Jewish communities in the Americas and South Africa.

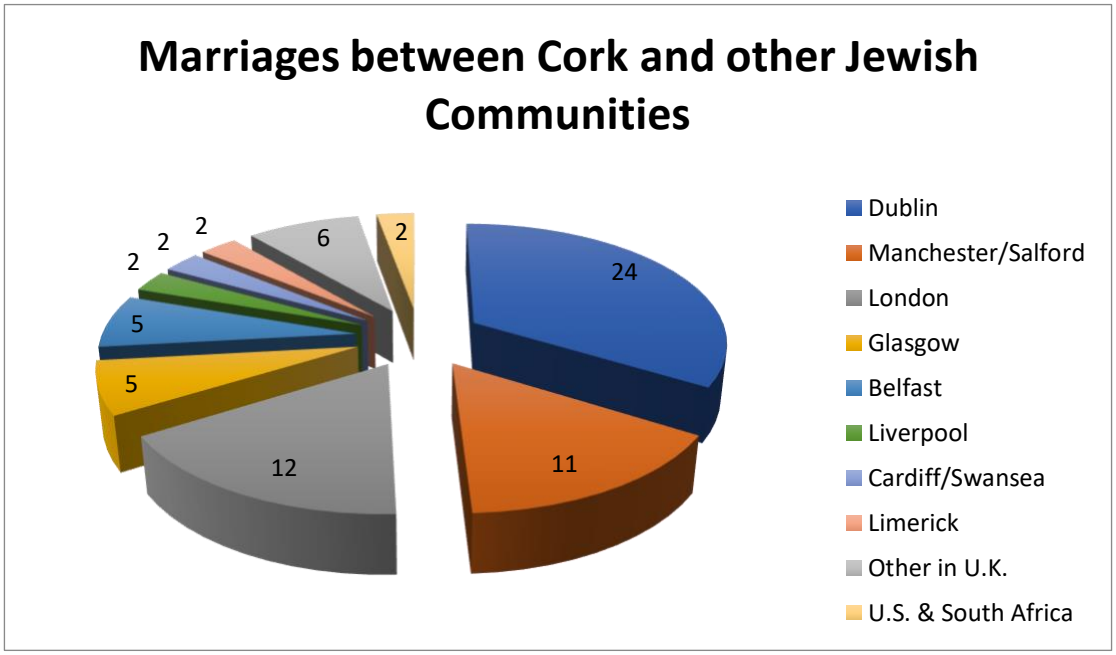

Figure 1

Furthermore, the inter-communal marriages not only highlight the links with other Anglo-Jewish communities, but they also give us an insight into the development and ultimately the decline of the Cork Jewish community. The marriages should have had a positive effect on the size of the Cork Jewish community, however, due to the significant number of couples who ultimately settled elsewhere after the marriage, this was not the situation. The inter-communal marriages contributed in no small part to the diminishing numbers of the Cork Jewish community.

As seen in the table below (figure 2), the biggest number of inter-communal marriages took place from 1911 to 1920 and again from 1941 to 1950. Consequently, we can see from the very low numbers of marriages after 1950 that the Cork Jewish had started to grow old. Those who remained in the community were older, therefore there were fewer births and subsequently marriages.

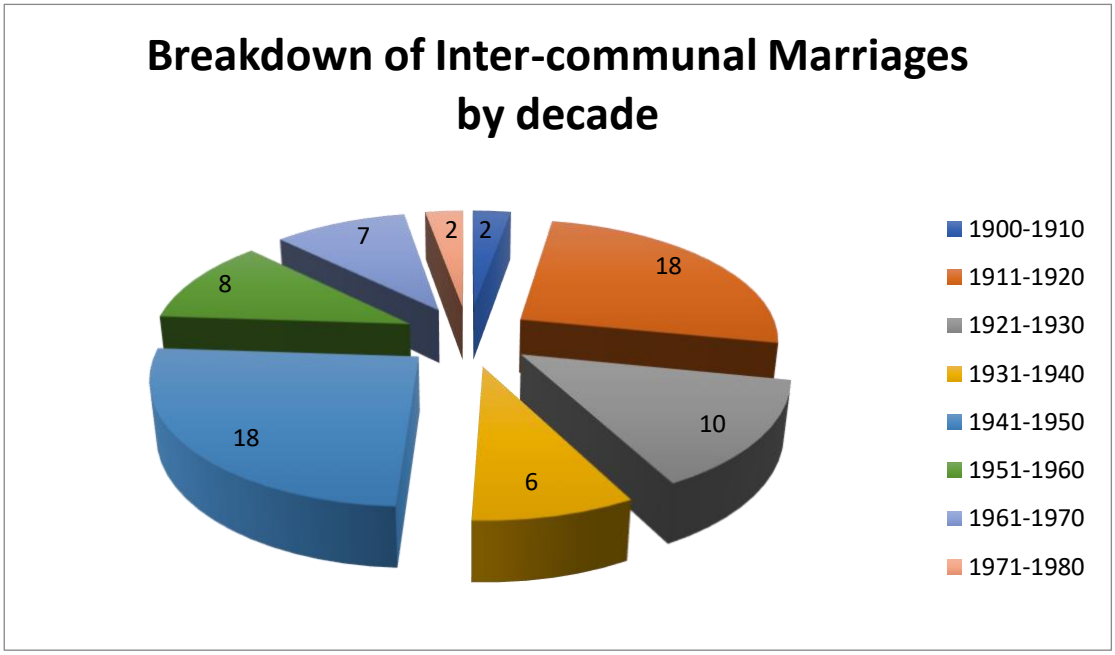

Figure 2

In addition to the engagement and marriage announcements, the death announcements for members of the Cork Jewish community which also appeared at regular intervals in the *Jewish Chronicle* also supplement our knowledge and understanding of the age demographic and profile of the Cork Jewish community.

4.1.7 Cork Obituaries in the Jewish Chronicle

In many respects, the death notices and obituaries of the *Jewish Chronicle* give us an even more nuanced insight into the Cork Jewish Community. These short notices, often no more than five lines long, reveal the achievements of the person, and at times their political views. They also illuminate the many cultural aspects to the Cork Jewish community and perhaps even more importantly, the transient nature of the community.

Between 1880 and 2016, there are some forty-five death notices such as that of Abraham Jackson in 1988:

> Jackson. Abraham (Sabie – late of Cork). Passed away peacefully on August 16, 1988, in his 95th year after a long illness bravely borne.[574]

The obituary also informs us that Mr. Jackson was 'late of Cork'.[575]

[574] *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 August 1988.
[575] Ibid., 26 August 1988.

This line succinctly, yet clearly, highlights the transient nature that came to define the Cork Jewish Community from its inception. When one thinks of migration, one generally tends to think of young people migrating for economic reasons or as we have seen in the engagement announcements who decide to leave after having met someone from another community. The obituaries of the Cork community, like that of Abraham Jackson, show us that once their families left, older members of the community often followed them. Such 'older migration' was a feature of the community from the middle of the twentieth century. Obituaries like that of J.T. Clein who died in 1961 in Dublin show us that many of the community, even if they had left Cork, found it important to state that Cork had been an important part of their lives:

> J.T. Clein who died recently in Dublin, was born in Cork in 1888 and gave practically a lifetime of devoted honorary service to the Cork Jewish community.[576]

We also learn from his obituary that Mr. Clein had been Honorary Secretary for over forty consecutive years of the community. Mr. Clein had moved to Dublin following his retirement, but he continued to follow events in Cork with great interest. The newspaper column says that 'on his retirement eighteen months ago Mr. Clein moved to Dublin, but his heart was still in Cork, in which he continued to take a keen interest'.[577]

A much earlier death notice published in the *Jewish Chronicle* following the death of a former member of the Cork Jewish community in Rhodesia in 1908 shows us that from its inception the Cork Jewish community was always in flux. Jews settled in Cork, briefly became members of the community before ultimately travelling to communities, which perhaps due to their size, offered much greater social and economic opportunities:

> Cohen – On the 4th of May, 1908, at 63, Hofmeyr-street, Cape Town, late of Cork, Ireland, Marks, the dearly beloved father of Mrs. Jack Moss, Bulawayo, Rhodesia. God rest his dear soul in peace.[578]

Such entries like the one above in 1908 for Marks Cohen show us that from a very early stage in its development as a community, the Cork Jewish community was a community in transition, a community, which was very much defined by the migration of its members.[579]

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[576] *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 October 1961.
[577] Ibid., 6 October 1961.
[578] Ibid., 5 June 1908.
[579] Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 38. Abrams sees the 'revolving door' nature and the significance of population turnover as a complex and important element in the history of the Aberdeen Jewish community in Scotland. Aberdeen, a small and

The death notices also reveal the socio-economic links that existed between members of the Cork community and not only other Anglo-Jewish communities, but also communities in America and South Africa. Published death notices in 1912, 1963 and in 1968 all show these socio-economic connections that existed between the Cork community and other Jewish communities.

In 1912, Rachel Goldfinger died in Hightown Manchester.[580] We learn that she was deeply mourned by her children in Pretoria, South Africa, Higher Broughton and by her daughter Leah Rosehill of Patrick's Street, Cork. Soloman Birkhahn died at the age of 97 in Dublin in 1963.[581] His children in Cork, Dublin and Howe in New York mourned his death.

In March 1968 Aer Lingus flight 712 crashed en route from Cork to London killing all 61 passengers and crew. Ruth Sless from Cork was among the dead.[582] Mrs. Sless was on her way to visit her daughter in Haifa. Mrs. Sless had family in Cork, Haifa and Manchester. These entries exemplify the deep family and social connections between members of the Cork Jewish community and other Jewish communities around the world.

Obituaries such as that of Lawrence Elyan[583] in 1991 and that of Rachel Goldberg[584] in 1958 show us that migration was not a single event in one's lifetime. Lawrence or Larry Elyan's obituary informs us that he was born in Cork. He later moved to England after he had finished his schooling in Cork. He spent some years at the British Civil Service before returning to Ireland, where he would spend the next forty years in Dublin. Following retirement in 1962, he moved to Israel, where he settled in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, he would work for *Kol Yisrael* as a successful disc jockey.

Rachel Goldberg, mother of Gerald Goldberg, was born in Limerick. Following the events in Limerick, the family moved to Leeds, before eventually returning to Ireland and settling in Cork. Mrs. Goldberg died in Dublin, but her body was brought to Cork for burial.

While many of the death notices published in the *Jewish Chronicle* do not list a place of death, Dublin is listed seventeen times as the place of death, while a further nineteen list

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remote community like Cork was able to survive as a peripheral Jewish community in no place part due to this important population turnover.

[580] *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1912

[581] Ibid., 4 June 1963.

[582] Ibid., 29 March 1968.

[583] Ibid., 22 March, 1991; Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2018), 22-23. Diner also emphasises these multiple migrations.

[584] *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 November 1958.

Great Britain as the place of death. The table below (figure 3) gives a more precise breakdown of the places of death listed in the death notices.

Place of Death	Number
Dublin	17
Glasgow	2
Manchester including Prestwich	3
London	4
Other in Great Britain	11
Israel	3
Cape Town	2
Other - Paris, New Zealand & U.S.	3

Figure 3

From the forty-four published obituaries that listed a place of death, we can see that the majority was living either in Dublin or Great Britain at the time of death. Like the engagement announcements, the death notices show the close connections between the Cork Jewish community and other Anglo-Jewish communities. While members of the Cork community and their families settled all over the world, the publications in the *Jewish Chronicle* show us that the majority either settled in Dublin or Great Britain.

While communal pride at the educational and professional achievements of the community, is discussed in the next section of this chapter, their evidence in many of the death notices is also worthy of comment. One such announcement, the obituary of Dr. J.I. Jaffe in 1918 clearly highlights the communal pride in his educational and professional achievements. We learn from the obituary that Dr. Jaffe had studied medicine in both Cork and Dublin before moving to Britain:

> Russian born, Dr. Jaffe's youth was passed in Ireland. He received his education at Queen's College, Cork – where he had the distinction of being the first Jewish scholar – and the Royal University, Dublin, and came subsequently to King's College Hospital, London.[585]

[585] *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 October 1918.

Similar to many non-Jews in Ireland, often Jews born and educated in Ireland had to move abroad due to limited career opportunities in places like Cork.

Another example of such communal pride can be seen in the obituary for Gladys Wartski who was born in Cork in 1912 and died in Bournemouth in 2003.[586] We learn from her obituary that before being called up for service during the The Second World War, Gladys Wartski had worked as a matron at the Norwood Orphanage. Ms Warstski had 'enlisted in the Jewish Brigade, she entered Bergen-Belsen concentration camp seven days after its liberation and helped survivors prepare for leaving'.[587]

Similarly, we learn that Dr. Henry Louis Lentin was born in Cork in 1911. Like Ms. Wartski, he also played his part in supporting the Allies during the Second World War, 'at the outbreak of the Second World War he was appointed the city's chief officer in charge of training personnel in first aid, ambulance work and ARP duties'.[588] When he died in 1975, he had been living in Leicester for over forty years. It is also stated in the obituary that Dr. Lentin was medical officer of Leicester City FC.

As previously stated, many of the death notices and obituaries not only show the communal pride in the educational and professional achievements of former members of the Cork Jewish community, but they also emphasise how integrated former members of the Cork community were in their new communities. This desire to integrate oneself in the community, to be formally or informally recognised as being part of the community can also be seen in the section of the newspaper, which was called 'Naturalisations'.

4.1.8 Naturalisation of Members of the Cork Jewish Community

In an article published in 1902, 'Naturalisations in August', we learn that 'one hundred and nine certificates of naturalisation were officially registered during the past month'.[589] The article also seems to state with pride that most of those refugees who arrive in Britain with Jewish names form the greater group applying for naturalization. The newspaper says that 'we give as usual, a full list, because it will be observed that out of the large number of aliens who annually come to this country, those with Jewish names form the majority of the applicants for formal enrolment in the ranks of British citizens.'[590]

[586] *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 September 2003.
[587] Ibid., 19 September 2003.
[588] Ibid., 5 September 1975.
[589] Ibid., 5 September 1902.
[590] Ibid., 5 September 1902.

In this list of one hundred and nine certificates of naturalisations, we learn that that one 'Solomon Steinberg, 19 Anglesey Place'[591] in Cork was among those who were naturalised. In a similarly entitled article 'Naturalisations in August' in 1904, we learn that among forty-four naturalisations from Russia, two were for people residing in Cork. They were for 'Nathan Jackson, 3. Monerea Terrace, Cork and Bernard Louis Rostovsky, 3. East Ville, Cork'.[592]

Later in November of the same year, we learn that 'David Sober, 1, Anglesea Place, Cork' [593] was among the twenty-eight naturalised British citizens who had originated in Russia. The following year in February 1905, they were two further naturalisations from Cork. These were 'Max Levin, 5, Hibernian Buildings, Cork and Simon Medalie, 13, East Ville, Cork were among twenty-nine naturalised citizens from Russia.[594]

Later in October of the same year, we are told that another resident of the Cork Jewish community was also among those who were naturalized. Samule Brodie '25, Hibernian Buildings, Cork was among the twenty-three naturalised citizens from Russia'.[595]

While a desire to become British and a part of their community underpinned many requests for naturalisations among Jews, it is nevertheless, important to put it into the national and historical context. Since the late nineteenth century, ever-increasing numbers of Jews and non-Jews had started to emigrate from Russia to the New World, crossing and at times remaining in Great Britain for a period of time. Coupled with this rise in emigration, there were calls, and at times, even vociferous calls, to curb emigration to Great Britain. Such calls would ultimately lead to the Aliens Act of 1905. In spite of these attempts to limit emigration, events in Russia such as the pogrom in Kishinev in 1903 and the mixed Anglo-Jewish response had only limited success in curbing the numbers emigrating. The requests for naturalisation, while no doubt reflected a certain desire to integrate oneself, they also highlight a certain level of insecurity on the part of many newly arrived Jews to Great Britain and Ireland. The naturalisations, in addition to several other articles in the newspaper, also complicate and nuance the picture of Jews and Irish nationalism. As already seen in the oral testimonies of many former residents of the Cork Jewish community and in much of the literature on the Cork community, there is a tendency on the part of Jews and non-Jews to

[591] *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 September 1902.
[592] Ibid., 9 September 1904.
[593] Ibid., 9 December 1904.
[594] Ibid., 10 February 1905.
[595] Ibid., 6 October 1905.

place Cork Jews and their story within the particular narrative of Irish nationalism and in particular in the fight for Irish Independence.

The requests for British naturalisation as well as the role some Jews played in British society once they left Cork further complicates this previously black and white picture. The complex issue of Irish Jews and specifically Cork Jews in the narrative of Irish nationalism and independence will now be looked at through the prism of some of the announcements in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

4.1.9 Reports of Cork Jews and Irish Nationalism

As previously seen in the oral testimonies of the Cork Jewish community and in much of the secondary literature written about the Cork Jewish community, there was often a tendency to place the Jew in the narrative of Irish nationalism. While it is not the remit of this thesis to doubt or call into question the authenticity of these accounts, some of the ads and articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* show that the picture is a little more complex than the nationalistic narrative where Cork Jews fought unquestionably alongside their non-Jewish neighbours for Irish Independence.

In 1918, the final year of World War I, we learn that Rev. A. Gudansky of Dublin held a service at the synagogue in Cork. The service was for those in the military, who were based around Cork. The article stated that it was 'a military service for officers and men in and around Cork'.[596] The Jewish community of Cork offered hospitality to those who attended:

> After the service the soldiers were entertained to tea by Mr. Louis Jackson. At the earnest invitation of the Communal Officers, Mr. Gudansky remained over the weekend and officiated at the service on Saturday morning. On Sunday he preached in Yiddish to a crowded congregation.[597]

While it is not stated explicitly here, we can assume that the service and hospitality was a sign of gratitude from the community for the military's war efforts. It is also worth noting here that the sermon on Sunday was in Yiddish. While some of those interviewed in Chapter Two of this thesis refer to their parents and grandfathers speaking Yiddish, this is one of the very few references in the newspaper to the community speaking Yiddish.

[596] *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 February 1918.
[597] Ibid., 1918.

Later in July of the same year, we learn of the death of Second-Lieutenant B Bloom in a column in the newspaper called 'The Fallen'. We are told that Lieutenant B Bloom had died on June 30 at the Cork Military Hospital. The newspaper reports that 'Anglo-Jewry has lost a gallant officer for whom a brilliant career might have been anticipated had he lived to fulfil the promise of his school days. He was buried at the Jewish Cemetery in Cork'.[598]

In August of 1918, in a newspaper column called 'Killed in Action' we learn of the death of Pte. Henry S. Cristol from Bayswater. Mr. Cristol had been engaged to a member of the Cork Jewish community, 'Pte. Henry S. Cristol, aged 21 from Bayswater. Pte. Cristol was of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the dearly beloved fiancé of Sara Herman, 9 Cornmarket Street, Cork'.[599]

These three short announcements in the newspaper, nevertheless, again nuance the often-simplistic nationalistic narrative that is evident in some of the oral testimonies of Chapter Two and in some of the secondary literature on the Cork Jewish community. These articles do not serve to call into the question the nationalistic beliefs of some of the members of the Cork Jewish community, however, they portray a community whose members may have had Irish nationalistic views, but also show their social and economic links to not only Jewish communities in Britain, but also their support of the Allied effort.[600]

An article some twenty years later in 1937 'Fascist Threat in East London. Mandate for Jew-Baiting Sought' further nuances this, at times, simplistic view that all of the members of the Cork Jewish community were Irish nationalists. As early as 1895, we were told that members of the Cork Jewish community were intimidated and threatened in they voted in the election:

> In a Parliamentary election in Cork in 1895, Jews were intimidated by the anti-Parnellites and threatened with violence if they dared to vote. On the advice of the Board of Deputies the Jews applied for police protection and voted. This public gesture was sufficient to prevent the threats fructifying, and we recommend it again to-day.[601]

Again during the Second World War, as seen earlier in this chapter, the Jewish community in Cork attempted to support the Allied war effort. In 1941 the pupils of the Cork

[598] *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 July 1918.
[599] Ibid., 2 August 1918.
[600] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 189 and 207.
[601] Ibid., 26 February 1937.

Hebrew classes with Mr. Harry Rosehill under Rev. Kersh contributed to the fund 'Name a Bunk'[602] in one of the Jewish Fresh Air Home and School, Delamere, Manchester.

Also in 1941, in a column within the 'Social and Personal' section of the newspaper titled 'Flying Officer Sydney Rosehill, R.A.F.V.R. and Miss Fligelstone' the involvement of some members of the Cork Jewish community in the Allied war effort is highlighted. While the article was ostensibly a marriage announcement, the reader, nevertheless learns that a member of the Cork Jewish community is fighting in the British Army. The newspaper is delighted to announce 'the engagement of Sydney, so of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Rosehill, of Fernhurst Villas, College Road, Cork to Esmee, eldest daughter of Mr. and Ms. H Glatt, of 84, Mount Pleasant Road, N.W. 10'.[603] A similar announcement appears in the paper in February of 1945:

> The engagement is announced of Warrant Officer Morton Cohen, R.A.F.V.R., son of Mr. Lewis Cohen and the late Mrs. Rose Cohen, of 57, Teignmouth Road, Brondesburg (late of Jamesville, Western Road, Cork), to Eva Rosalind, daughter of Mr. Abraham (Pat) Jackson, of 18, Wellington Court, N.W.8.[604]

It would be wrong to state that the above articles from the newspaper show that Cork Jewry was against Irish nationalism and independence, however, the participation of many Cork Jews in the British war effort in both the First and Second World War show that the picture is not so simplistic as one is let to believe in the oral testimonies and much of the secondary literature of the community.

The obituaries do show that some members of the Cork Jewish community were involved in Irish Republican activities:

> Born in Limerick in 1895 Mrs. Shillman had vivid childhood recollections of the anti-Jewish riots there in 1904. When the family moved to Cork in 1908 she took an active part in its cultural life. She was a member of the Cumann na Ban (the women's group of the Republican movement) in Cork and took part in a number of pro-national demonstrations and was an active support of the Cork suffragette movement.[605]

The other articles, however, show that it is not accurate to over-emphasise or at times even exaggerate the role Cork Jewry played in the Irish nationalist narrative, as much of the

[602] *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 January 1941.
[603] Ibid., 16 May 1941.
[604] Ibid., 16 February 1945.
[605] Ibid., 10 November 1967.

secondary literature on the Community and oral testimonies of former members of the community tends to do.

As many of the previously cited articles highlight, the Cork Jewish community has always had formal and informal, direct and indirect contact with members of other Anglo-Jewish communities. Before 1921, services were held at the synagogue for the British military based in Cork, Jewish military were buried in the Jewish Cemetery in Cork. Cork born Jews enlisted to fight alongside their co-religionists in both World Wars. Cork born Jews mourned the death of British Jews, who died fighting for Britain.

These articles, coupled with the other pieces which relate the charitable efforts of Cork Jewry, which are examined in the next section of this chapter show, that it is simply too reductive and too simplistic to state that that Cork Jews were all Irish nationalists.

4.1.10 Charity and the Cork Jewish Community

While there are several articles relating to the charitable efforts of the Cork Jewish community, they can be, for the most part, categorised as those relating to World War One and World War Two. We will firstly look at those articles relating to World War One before then examining articles relating to World War Two.

There are at least ten different articles which reference the monies raised by the Cork Jewish Community at the end of World War One. All of these articles make reference to either 'Russian Jewish victims' or 'Polish Jewish victims'.[606] An announcement in 1919, while after the end of the World War I typifies many of the articles, which appeared in relation to the community's effort to raise money for charitable purposes relating to World War One. We learn that 'a dance held recently by the Ladies' Zionist Association in aid of the Polish Relief Fund realised £37'.[607]

There is also an article in 1915 'For the Jewish Belgian Refugees, "Jewish Chronicle" and "Jewish World" Shilling Subscription'[608] specifically for Belgian Jewish refugees. The article lists the various congregations and their members who have contributed to the appeal. The names of approximately thirty members of the Cork Congregation and their contributions are listed. Similar charitable efforts for Belgian Jews are also referenced

[606] *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 December 1915, 7 January 1916, 4 April 1916, 30 June 1916, 4 August 1916, 11 June 1915, 22 June 1917, 7 September 1917, 11 January 1918, 15 March 1918.
[607] Ibid., 19 December 1919.
[608] Ibid., 12 March 1915.

in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* which are analysed the second part of this chapter.

The Germans torpedoed the transatlantic liner the Lusitania in 1915 off the Cork coast.[609] The Jewish community of Cork arranged to identify and bury Jewish victims of the disaster. In an article called 'Prompt action by the Cork Community'[610] we learn that 'the officials of the Cork community lost no time in taking steps for the burial of the bodies of Jewish victims of the disaster'.[611] An article a week later gives us further details as to the Jewish community's efforts to help the victims. 'Every day since the disaster of the "Lusitania" batches of corpses have been brought into Queenstown, and Jews resident in Cork journey to the port to examine the bodies. Photographs have been taken of all the interred, and further particulars can be obtained from Mr. J. Sayers, 7, Monerea Terrace, Cork'.[612] In a third related piece, which appeared the following month, the officers of the Hebrew Philanthropic Burial Society of Cork wrote to the *Jewish Chronicle*. The members of the Cork Burial Society wished to 'express their willingness to supply information, where possible, to relatives of the Jewish victims of the "Lusitania" disaster'.[613]

While the perilous financial status of the Cork Jewish community is examined in the next section of this chapter, it is, however, important to state that the majority of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* show that neither the paucity of funds or the relative small size of the Cork Jewish community deterred the charitable efforts of the community during and immediately after World War One.

The charitable spirit of the Cork Jewish community comes again to the fore in the newspaper on the eve of World War II. In one of the first articles to reference the charitable efforts of members of the Cork Jewish congregation in aid of German and Austria Jews in the late nineteen thirties, we learn that due to the efforts of the Jewish Ladies' Refugee Committee of Cork £115 had been raised since its initiation earlier that year.[614]

Following the events of the Kristallnacht pogrom on 9 November, 'collections for refugee relief funds were made at several services. Blackpool and Glasgow each subscribed £300, and Cork £150'.[615]

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[609] *The Irish Times*, 2 May 2015.
[610] *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 May 1915.
[611] Ibid., 14 May 1915.
[612] Ibid., 21 May 1915.
[613] Ibid., 18 June 1915.
[614] Ibid., 4 November 1938.
[615] Ibid., 25 November 1938.

In 1938 the Jewish community of Cork also canvassed the government to allow Jews from Germany to come to Cork. The newspaper reports that a 'Jewish Refugee Aid Committee formed in Cork has submitted a series of proposals to the Government for the admission of Jewish refugees from Germany'.[616]

A related article in April 1939 called 'The Council for German Jewry'[617] lists five members of the Cork Jewish community as having contributed £3 to the fund. At the time of publication, the fund had raised £693,256. In March 1939, one contributor, J. Levin contributed 6 shillings.[618] Support for Jewish victims of the Holocaust would continue after the war. Following a visit to Cork in 1945, we learn that 'the sum of £500 was subscribed at a meeting in Cork to inscribe the name of Rev. Bernard Cherrick in the J.N.F. Golden Book'.[619]

All of the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* that reference the Cork Jewish community's charitable efforts and donations point to an awareness of events such as the refugee crisis in Russia, the sinking of the Lusitania ship and World War One and Two on their coreligionists. From the articles published in the newspaper, neither the small size of the Jewish community of Cork nor its limited financial means did not impede the community's willingness and efforts to help and support their fellow coreligionists abroad.

4.1.11 Zionism and the Cork Jewish Community

An early article published in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1922 shows us that The Cork Zionist Association was already a feature of the community in the early years of the twentieth century:

> By the passing away of Louis Herman, the Cork community lost one of its most valued and respected members. He was a guiding spirit locally of the Zionist cause, and was President and later Treasurer of the Cork Zionist Association. He was one of the first members and a strong supporter of the "Chovevi Zion".[620]

As early as 1901 and 1902, Zionist meetings were held in Cork.[621] While not much detail is given about the first meeting in 1901, however, in 1902, we are told that a meeting

[616] *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 December 1938.
[617] Ibid., 28 April 1939.
[618] Ibid., 24 March 1939.
[619] Ibid., 19 October 1945.
[620] Ibid., 31 March 1922.
[621] Ibid., 20 December 1901 and 23 May 1902.

was held of the Cork Zion Association at number 14 East Villa. Financial support for the Zionist movement was promised at this meeting. The minutes state that 'it was unanimously resolved to subscribe £10 to the National Fund, and to have the name of the society registered in the golden book'.[622] The community expressed its unanimous support in the Zionist movement at its meeting in 1903. It is reported that 'a resolution expressing confidence in the Zionist movement and Dr. Herzl was carried by acclamation'.[623]

Two years later, the Lades Zionist Society was established in Cork as well as in a number of other cities such as Dundee and Newton-on-Ayr. We also learn in 1904 that the 'Cork Chovevei Zion had successfully enriched the Golden Book with the names of Dr. Max Nodau, Dr. Theordor Herzl, and the late Colonel Goldemid'.[624] Following the untimely death of Theordor Herzl in 1904 the Secretary Mr. B Rostovsky sent the community's condolences as well as a subscription of £10 to the Jewish National Fund. Mr B Rostovsky 'announced that as soon as he heard the sad news he sent a wire of condolence to Vienna'.[625]

The ladies of the Cork Jewish community also played their part in the Zionist movement. 'Under the auspices of the Ladies' Zionist and the Cork Chovevi Zion Associations, a meeting was held on Sunday at the Assembly Rooms, South Mall'.[626]

A resolution was adopted at this meeting in 1905, at which the ladies urged cooperation in the interests of the Zionist movement:

> This mass meeting of Cork Zionists express its unabated confidence in the Actions Committee and urges upon every individual Zionist the necessity of working harmoniously in the interest of the movement according to the decision of Congress.[627]

A further thirty articles were published in the *Jewish Chronicle* which related to the various activities of the different Zionist groups in Cork. Between 1939 and 1952, twelve articles were published on Cork Zionist group activities. These articles detail the amounts raised by the Jewish community of Cork in aid of the J.N.F, Wizo or the 'distressed Jews in Europe'.[628]

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[622] *Jewish Chronicle*, 1902.
[623] Ibid., 30 October 1903.
[624] Ibid.,3 June 1904.
[625] Ibid., 15 July 1904.
[626] Ibid., 17 March 1905.
[627] Ibid., 17 March 1905.
[628] Ibid., 17 May 1946.

Articles in both 1946 and 1952, show us that the Cork Jewish Community organised a clothing appeal and ultimately dispatched five bales of clothing for the 'distressed Jews of Europe' and the collection of £144 for a home for babies in Jerusalem.[629]

In addition to highlighting the Cork community's support for the Zionist cause,these articles also highlight the consistent charitable efforts of the members of the community.[630]

4.1.12 The Financial Status of the Cork Jewish Community

From its inception the Cork Jewish community struggled financially. It did not have the population of larger urban Anglo-Jewish centers such as Manchester and consequently regularly sought financial help from London. A letter to the editor of the newspaper from Sir Moses Montefiore in 1893 commented on the precarious financial situation of smaller peripheral communities like Cork:

> A city like Manchester, with its large population of poor Jews, a large proportion of which I suppose, without the means of obtaining a Jewish education for their children, no matter how much they may wish to do so. But Manchester is possessed of large and well to do congregations; what do we see when we come to struggling communities like those of Dublin and Cork, and many others we see in England?[631]

Excerpts from the *Minutes of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*, which are analysed in the following section of this chapter, also clearly attest to this.

In 1899, there are seven articles alone, which detail the precarious financial status of the Cork Jewish community. Emotive, unambiguous article titles such as 'Cork Congregation Most Urgent Appeal'[632], 'Serious Position of the Cork Congregation'[633] and 'The Bitter Cry from Cork'[634] encourage their coreligionists in larger, more affluent communities to donate to the various funds to support the construction of a synagogue and school in Cork. A summary in the newspaper in 1899 highlights the possible bankruptcy of the nascent community. The financial report states that '£120 only is required to save the

[629] Ibid., 1946.

[630] Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews. A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), 179. Zionism was also a feature of small community life in Scotland. Zionist groups were in existence. Like Cork, each of the remote communities maintained Jewish communal social activities linked to their charitable obligations under Jewish law.

[631] *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 October 1883.

[632] Ibid., 17 February 1899.

[633] Ibid., 10 February 1899.

[634] Ibid., 24 February 1899.

building from foreclosure. If some generous friends would contribute or guarantee this balance without further delay, ruinous law expenses would be avoided'.[635] The precarious financial means of the community are similar to other small Anglo-Jewish communities such as Londonderry and even Leeds. The newspaper says that 'money grants were allocated to classes at Londonderry (especially earmarked for augmenting the salary of the teacher), Cork (for one year only) and the Leeds Talmud Torah'.[636] Cork's financial situation would seem to be representative of many smaller Anglo-Jewish communities in the late nineteen and early twentieth century.

In an article published in 1919 called the 'West London Zionist Association'[637] we learn that despite its poor financial status a 'handful of poor Jews in Cork had recently contributed the sum of £500 towards the Restoration Fund.'[638] Not only does the above article and the previously cited articles show us the ongoing difficult financial situation in Cork, but they also emphasise the close links between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish communities, the Zionist tendencies of the Cork community and the importance of charity within the community. In spite of the community's limited financial means, the education of the children of the congregation was very important to the members of the community. The children's success was a source of great pride for the community. The individual and communal pride in the educational success of the children of the community are are very evident in the many articles which were published in the *Jewish Chronicle*. The next section of this chapter looks at some of these articles.

4.1.13 Education and Professional Achievements

Despite the limited financial means of the community, from the initial establishment of the community, its members placed significant emphasis on the educational progress and success of their children. Articles citing success at both school and university entrance examinations, singing competitions, sporting achievements and career appointments feature regularly in the columns of the *Jewish Chronicle.* The publication of such articles spans the lifetime of the community. One of the earliest of such articles was published in 1899.

[635] Ibid., 3 March 1899; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 41. Similar to Cork, Parry-Jones also highlights the burden of debt that the acquisition of a purpose-built or converted synagogue places on small communities in Wales.
[636] *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 May 1932.
[637] Ibid., 19 December 1919.
[638] Ibid., 19 December 1919.

Published in 'The Provinces' section of the newspaper under Cork, we learn that Mr. George Goldfoot had done very well at examinations in Glasgow for the Royal College of Surgeons and Physicians:

> At the recent examination held in Glasgow by the Royal College of Surgeons and Physicians, Edinburgh, and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, Glasgow, Mr. George Goldfoot (18 years), second son of Mr. A. H. Goldfoot, passed the Third Professional Examination.[639]

One of the last articles to be published in recognition of an achievement of a member of the Cork Jewish community was in 1997. We learn that 'Fred Rosehill, president of the Cork Hebrew Congregation, who has received Rotary International's highest award, a Paul Harris fellowship. He was nominated for it for promoting international understanding'.[640]

In addition to highlighting the communal pride in the success of its members, there were many other articles which celebrated the achievements of members of the Jewish community of Cork and indirectly also showed the community's interaction with the wider non-Jewish community of not only Cork, but in Ireland and at times Britain. Again these articles appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* very early in the history of the community and were a regular feature in the newspaper throughout the lifetime of the community. In 1915 we learn that the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A Hurwitz had successfully passed singing exams in London:

> Cork – Dora Hurwitz (15 years of age) daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. Hurwitz, 4, Monerea Terrace, who recently passed the local examination of Trinity College of Music, London, in Solo Singing, has since passed a similar examination of that College in Theory of Music with very high marks.[641]

In another article fifteen years later in 1939, we learn that 'Sydney Rosehill, son of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Rosehill, of 58, Patrick Street, Cork, was awarded Silver Medal for Advanced Senior Violin at the recent Feis Ceoil'.[642]

While the events reported in these articles appear as nothing exceptional, it is their ordinariness that is important to us. It is, in fact, this very ordinariness that is often ignored in much of the literature of the community, which not only shows the families' pride in their children's achievements, but also gives us an insight into the interactions with the wider

[639] *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 August 1899.
[640] Ibid., 19 December 1997.
[641] Ibid., 16 July 1915.
[642] Ibid., 01 January 1930.

non-Jewish communities. It is through their participation in non-exclusively Jewish events that we obtain an additional insight into the Jewish community's integration with non-Jewish society.

However, despite the variety of articles detailing the success of members of the Cork community, most of the articles that feature in the newspaper relate to educational success, in particular, in the fields of medicine and dentistry. These articles not only highlight the emphasis the community placed on education, but also the pride it took in the educational achievements of its members. We learn in 1917 that 'Mr. Abraham Clein (second son of Mr. Solomon Clein, 81, South Mall, Cork), had passed the first medical professional examination at the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland'.[643]

Articles like the above article dominate the pages of the newspaper. There are over fifteen articles in the newspaper highlighting the successes of members of the Cork Jewish community in the areas of medicine and dentistry.

These ads also indirectly give us another important insight into the Cork Jewish community. The proliferation and publication of such ads in the early years of the community show us that the community grew up and moved on very quickly. As the marriage and engagement announcements show, the young, the second and third generations of the community, did not, for the most part, remain in Cork. They settled and raised their families in larger Jewish communities.

As the chart on the next page shows (figure 4), there were a total of twenty-two announcements relating to the educational achievements of the Cork Jewish community between 1899 and 1990. The highest number of announcements, twelve, was published between 1921 and 1940, between thirty and fifty years after the establishment of the community in the late nineteenth century in Cork. This number dropped to five in the next twenty years, before dropping again to two for the period between 1961 and 1970. Between 1971 and 1990 only one announcement related to the educational achievements of the members of the Cork Jewish community was published.

[643] Jewish Chronicle, 13 July 1917.

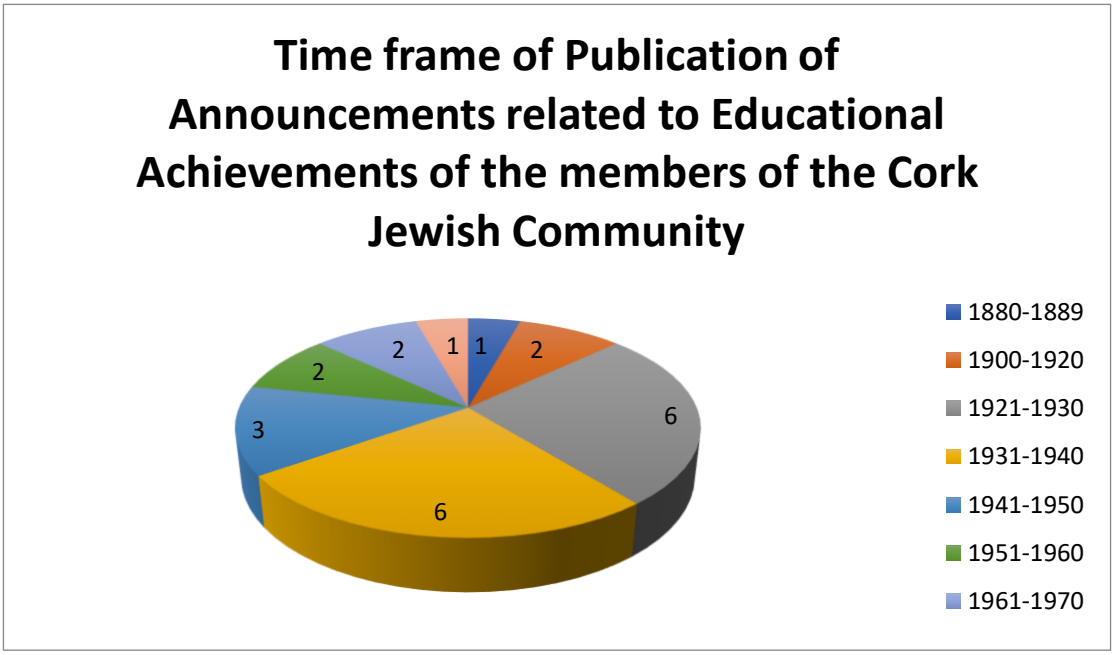

Figure 4

In addition to the publication of death notices which were analysed earlier in this chapter, the articles relating to the educational achievements to the Cork community help to complete this picture of a small peripheral Anglo-Jewish whose members were raised and educated in Cork, but once they had qualified, settled and ultimately died elsewhere.

4.1.14 Conclusion

The articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* list the births, deaths, marriages, and educational and social achievements of the Cork Jewish community. They also list the community's charitable efforts throughout the first half of the twentieth century. They also highlight the community's links with other Anglo-Jewish communities through the recruitment procedures for ministers. There are also articles, which attest to the Zionist beliefs of the community. While there are some articles appealing for financial help, which show the community's precarious financial status, the articles published are, for the most part, the image the community wished to portray of itself. The articles paint a picture of a traditionally religious, proud, Zionist community, which sought to find its place within Irish and British society. Taken at face value, the articles paint a picture of a small harmonious community. The articles also show that the Cork Jewish community was clearly alighted to the Chief Rabbinate in London. It looked to London and not Dublin for economic and social support.

The articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* also show that the Jewish community of Cork was not overtly nationalistic as some members of the community would late claim.

As we have seen there are articles published are both numerous and varied. They are, however, an almost curated, complimentary, one-dimensional picture of the community. The articles, do not, for example, show the efforts and the behind the scenes politics that were required by certain members of the community to gather the charitable funds from its largely poor congregation. Nor do the articles mention the regular disputes in relation to money, Kosher meat or the paying of one's debts to the synagogue. The entries in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Congregation* record the discussions and decisions taken at the monthly meetings of the Cork Hebrew Congregation. Such entries were never meant to be published. The events and issues discussed in the minutes may, like many of the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* appear trivial and banal, but again they give us a profound insight into the daily life of the community. Both the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* and in the *Minutes Book of the Hebrew Congregation* have largely been ignored by scholars. Their analysis here helps to give us a more holistic understanding of the Cork Jewish community. The next section of this chapter looks at some of these articles.

4.2 *The Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*

The Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation (henceforth, *Minutes*), written between 1898 and 1947, can be seen as the private face of the community.[644] Many of the articles reference the same themes as those in the *Jewish Chronicle*, however, they were not written for publication or to be shared with a wider audience. As a result, they further illuminate and clarify important issues, such as the poor financial status of the community, strife within the community, communal migration, relations with their non-Jewish neighbours and contact with larger Anglo-Jewish communities. Familiar tropes such as

[644] *The Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* was kept by a former President of the Cork Hebrew Community at his home. He allowed me to access them on several occasions beginning in July 2014. I subsequently had access again to them in July and August of 2015. Unfortunately, he died in February 2016. His daughter who acquired the record books allowed me to verify them again in July 2016.

accidental arrival and Jewish involvement in the Irish Nationalist cause are also covered. *Minutes* also mentions the Zionist and charitable activities of the community.

The volume and range of articles in *Minutes* is in many ways similar to those in the *Jewish Chronicle*. Consequently, the articles are categorised and discussed under the same headings as the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

The analysis begins with representations of the Cork Jewish community in the Minutes book, the prevalence of the arrival narrative and the pogroms, links to other Anglo-Jewish communities and Jewish communities in the Americans, Africa and Australia, Irish Nationalism and Republicanism, charity, Zionism, the financial status of the Cork Jewish community and the educational achievements of the members of the Cork Jewish community. Finally, inter-communal strive and relations with their non-Jewish neighbours is also examined.

4.2.1 Representations of the Cork Jewish Community

The first entry in the *Minutes* in 1898 was called to elect officers for the coming year. The entry states that 'minutes of an annual general meeting of the Cork Hebrew Congregation held on Sunday October 2nd, 1898, at 14 East Ville Cork for the purpose of electing new officers for the ensuing year'.[645]

The Minutes, which covers a period of forty-nine years, charts not only the matters which affected the daily lives of the members of the community such as the acquisition of kosher meat and access to schooling, but also gives us an insight into how the community viewed itself and its role, firstly, in British society and secondly, in the Irish Free State, following Irish independence.

Again, as early as 1898, the links between the Cork Jewish community and British authority in Ireland were evident. One of the first letters sent is to thank the Adjutant of the British local battalion for allowing a British soldier stationed in Cork to celebrate Passover with the Cork Jewish community. We are told that the community planned to send a 'letter of thanks to be sent to Adjutant 4th battalion Kings Royal Rifles now stationed in Cork for allowing Private Glover leave to attend prayers for holidays. Passed'.[646]

In addition to the election of new members to the board and the approval for a letter of condolence to be sent, the above entry, which is the first entry in *Minutes,* is important.

[645] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation,* 2 October 1898.
[646] Ibid., 2 October 1898.

This first entry, albeit short, nevertheless gives us a deep insight into how the Cork Jewish community wished to be seen by wider society. It also shows from the beginning the importance the community placed on its relationship with wider society and in particular with British forces based in Cork.

Three subsequent entries in 1900, 1915 and 1916 again make reference to the presence of Jewish soldiers stationed either in Cork city or in peripheral army barracks such as Ballincollig. The community felt confident enough in itself to contact the British Forces in relation to Jewish soldiers based in and around Cork:

> Soldier named Brookes attending Church of England services as required by army, actually Jewish. Serving in Reserve Squadron 17 based in Cork. Brought to attention of Commanding Officer. Once changes made in his attestation papers was allowed to attend Jewish services. Letter of thanks send to Commanding Officer.[647]

Another such letter is sent in 1915 to the British Forces, one year into the First World War, to ascertain how many Jewish soldiers were based in Cork:

> Reference made to Jewish soldiers stationed in Cork who want to be accommodated during the Passover services. It was decided to write to the commanding officers of both Cork and Ballincollig to ascertain how many soldiers were stationed in each place.[648]

A year later, in 1916, the same year as the Easter Rising in Ireland, the community again felt confident to write to the British Army seeking leave for Jewish soldiers to attend services in Cork. A positive reply was again received from the British Forces:

> The secretary informed the meeting that he had written a letter to the Adjutant of the Cork Barracks requesting leave to be given to the Jewish Soldiers stationed there to attend the Chanunical Service. The Adjutant replied that he has instructed the officers commanding the different units to allow every facility to the Jewish Soldiers to attend the Service.[649]

These three entries are important. First, they again emphasise the transient nature of the Cork Jewish community. This ephemeral aspect of the Cork Jewish community is also clear from many of the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle,* which were discussed earlier in this chapter. It has been for the most part ignored in much of the literature on the Cork Jewish community. From very early on, the Cork Jewish community included members of the

[647] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation, 2*5 November 1900.
[648] Ibid., 14 March 1915.
[649] Ibid., 30 July 1916.

British army, who were serving in Cork in its services. Secondly, these entries show us that despite its small size, the Cork Jewish community was not hesitant to interact with the wider community. It also clearly saw itself as part of Britain.

The importance the community placed on its relationship with non-Jewish Irish society is also noted in entries in *Minutes*. An entry in 1913 shows the community's pride at having been invited by the Lord Mayor of Cork to take part in a ceremony. The officers of the community decide to formal thank Mr. Spiro for having this honour conveyed on it. The community clearly valued the interaction and integration with the wider Cork non-Jewish community:

> A vote of thanks to Mr Spiro for having the means of a having a compliment conferred on the community of Cork in as much as the representative members of the community were invited by the Lord Mayor to witness the ancient ceremony of the throwing of the dart thereby raising the special status of the community in the City of Cork. Vote of thanks also sent to the Lord Mayor.[650]

Entries in *Minutes* show us that contributions to non-Jewish charities were not only an opportunity for the Jewish community of Cork to contribute to worthy causes, but they were also occasions to raise the profile of the community. It is worth noting, as seen in the first part of this chapter, that these contributions to charitable fundraising in Cork were in addition to the fundraising for Jewish related causes. In 1914, the Jewish community contributed towards a Christmas toy collection for the children's hospital. The entry states that 'a letter received from a nursing sister from the district hospital looking for money/donations for toys for children in the Children's hospital in hospital over Christmas. Community agreed to help'.[651]

A similar decision to participate in non-Jewish charitable events some years later in 1932 was taken. This time the appeal was to help the unemployed of Cork city:

> The Chairperson informed the members that the meeting was summoned re the appeal for the unemployed of the city. After some discussion it was unanimously decided that a subscription be raised and sent on behalf of the Cork Hebrew Congregation. The President and Treasurer were appointed collectors.[652]

[650] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation,* 6 July 1913.
[651] Ibid., Cork, 13 December 1914.
[652] Ibid., 6 November 1932.

Not only do these two entries show the community's willingness to take part in non-Jewish charitable events, but they also show us the community's attempt and perhaps a certain desire for recognition and integration into the wider non-Jewish society of Cork.[653]

This desire for recognition and for contact with the wider non-Jewish community in Cork can also be seen in other entries in *Minutes*. One such example can be seen in 1938. An entry shows that the Jewish community had sent a birthday card to the Bishop of Cork on his birthday. An entry notes that 'correspondence from Bishop Coughlan thanking the congregation for letter of congratulations on his 80th birthday'.[654]

The Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation also highlights the prevalence of the communal arrival narrative. The next section looks at some of these entries.

4.2.2 The Arrival Narrative

Similar to the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, several entries in *Minutes* also give us a more nuanced insight into the arrival narrative of the community. As articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* show, it was not just the reductive narrative of unscrupulous ship captains and ticket fraud that led to the establishment of a small Jewish community in Cork. The entries in *Minutes* not only give us more detailed insights into the 'accidental arrival' but they also show us not only the communal response, but its contact with the Chief Rabbi's office in London. An early entry in January 1899 notes the arrival in Cork harbour of a ship on its way to America, which had broken down. The entry stated that a 'disabled steamer, Alesia with 28 poor Jews on board had entered harbour. Chief Rabbi wired re assistance. The committee replied that it would provide 10 to 20 pounds "providing there are sufficient number of Russian Jews aboard".[655]

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[653] Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 97-98. Parry-Jones says that the small size of many Jewish communities in Wales, which were similar in size to Cork meant that Jews in Wales were more likely to come into contact and interact with non-Jews on a regular basis than those living in towns and cities with neighbourhoods that were overwhelmingly Jewish in character. Also it is possible that the Jewish tradition of self-help and charity projected a respectable image of the Jewish community to the wider non-Jewish population, and thus pre-empted any suggestions that Jews were financially burdensome or an encumbrance on public welfare schemes. A later section of this chapter also looks at the importance the Cork Jewish community placed on charity.

[654] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 13 November 1938.

[655] Ibid., 29 January 1889.

We know from entries in the *Jewish Chronicle* that this was not the only ship to dock in Cork due to engine trouble. The entry here in *Minutes* reveals to us additional information that is not available from such articles in the newspaper. The entry reiterates the Cork Jewish community's dependence on help from London. The sentence 'providing there are sufficient number of Russian Jews aboard'[656] shows us that support was not always guaranteed. It also underslines that aide was also primarily targeted towards Russian Jews. While the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* report the arrival of the stranded passengers in Cork, they do not reveal the potential strain such requests for help place on the relationship between Cork and London.

The entry further states that Sir Samuel Montagu would only guarantee the funds following proof of the number of Jews. It would appear that the Cork community had previously exaggerated the number of Jews on board when it had first contacted London. Initial communication stated that there were fifty Jews on board, however, this turned out to be inaccurate. As the entry shows, there were in fact only twenty-eight.[657] Like the entries in the *Jewish Chronicle*, these entries relating to 'accidental' arrival again show that the reality was far more complex than the accepted communal narrative of accidental arrival due to ticket fraud or misunderstanding of names, confusing Cork with New York. Entries in *Minutes* also show the links between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish communities. The next section of this chapter looks at this contact.

4.2.3 Links to Other Anglo-Jewish Communities and Jewish Communities in the Americas and Australia

Of all the entries in *Minutes*, it is perhaps an entry in May 1901 that succinctly, yet truly captures the links the Cork Jewish community had with other, for the most part, bigger Jewish communities. The entry also gives us a clear insight into the transient nature of the community, a community that was defined by this transience from the very beginning. Constant emigration to the New World, coupled with the draw of greater economic and social opportunities in larger Anglo-Jewish communities came to define the Cork Jewish community from its very inception.

[656] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation,* 29 January 1889.
[657] Ibid., 29 January 1889.

In this entry, we are told that Reverend Bloom had resigned to take a post in Wales. The President W Jackson also gave his resignation as he was leaving for America, while the treasurer also resigned. He was immigrating to South Africa:

> Reverend Bloom attended and tendered his resignation from the office as he has been appointed in the same capacity to the Merthyr Tydfil Hebrew Congregation. The President W Jackson tendered his resignation as President in consequence of his leaving Cork for America. W.H. Levy, the Treasurer also tendered his resignation on his leaving Cork for South Africa and his resignation was accepted with regret.[658]

A year later in 1902, two entries again highlight show how emigration was a constant feature of the Cork Jewish community. The first of these entries also shows us the communal links with the Dublin Jewish community. *Minutes* notes 'our worthy President Goldfoot who signaled his intention of residing in Dublin'.[659]

A second entry in the same year again reiterates the effects of emigration on the community. This same report also shows that when a member of the community left, it had also financial implications on the community. He would no longer be contributing to the communal finances. 'A letter was read from MD Tooney resigning his seat at the synagogue in consequence of his leaving Cork for South Africa'.[660]

Not only did ordinary members of the congregation continually move on in search of greater economic opportunities, so too did the members of the clergy who often spend only a couple of years in Cork before moving on to bigger communities in Britain and America. *Minutes* shows in 1915 that Rev. Klein, before moving to Cork, asked if the Cork community would contribute towards his eventual move. We are told that a 'letter received from Rev Klein of Woolwich accepting the appointment of chazan, teacher etc. Klein had written to know what the community would give him towards his move to Cork. Sum of 5 pounds agreed'.[661]

It appears that Reverend Klein of Woolwich was prepared to leave Cork already in 1917, a mere two years later, 'provided ample compensation was provided'.[662] A Reverend Schalz would be appointed both as *shochet* and teacher. While Reverend Klein's decision to

[658] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 5 May 1901.
[659] Ibid., 28 September 1902.
[660] Ibid., 9 November 1902.
[661] Ibid., 11 April 1915.
[662] Ibid., 28 January 1917.

leave may not have been entirely based on economic factors, it does, nevertheless, again highlight the ephemeral, transient nature of the community.

4.2.4 Irish Nationalism and Republicanism

There are several entries in *Minutes*, which chronicle the Jewish community's response to the events of World War One. The next section in this chapter looks at this response in more detail. It is, however, important to look a number of these reports in the context of Irish Nationalism and Republicanism.

As already seen in the Chapter Two and Chapter Three of this thesis, considerable emphasis is given to the Jewish community of Cork's alleged role in the fight for Irish independence in not only the oral testimonies of former members of the community, but also in the secondary literature on the community, and in academic works such as Keogh's *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*[663] and Ray Rivlin's *Jewish Ireland. A Social History.*[664]

However, entries from the *Minutes* suggest that at the beginning of World War One, members of the community were more concerned with the issue of citizenship and naturalisation than Irish Independence. The entries show that many members of the community were interned as enemy aliens at the outbreak of war, as they did not have British citizenship. An entry in 1914 highlights the importance of naturalization for some members of the community:

> Mr. L Cohen proposed that the thanks of the congregation be passed to our worthy President, Mr. S. Spiro J.R. for his influence in securing the immediate release of several members of the Community who were arrested under the 'Alien Restriction Act 1914' in consequence of the present war. The proposition was seconded by Mr. S Gremson and supported in flattering terms by Mr. I. Diamond and passed unanimously.[665]

The importance members of the community placed on being naturalised, in becoming British citizens was also highlighted earlier in this chapter when articles from the

[663] Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).
[664] Ray Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland. A Social History* (Dublin: The History Press, 2011).
[665] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 16 August 1914.

Jewish Chronicle were analysed. It is hard to believe that the same community some of whose members had been interned, while others worked hard to be naturalised, would at the same time have a strong vested interest in Irish Independence. Additionally, as the war progressed, and nationalist fervour grew in Ireland, it appears that Jewish community had not been included in the discussions regarding Home Rule by other groups:

> The Jewish community of Ireland was snubbed at not being invited to elect a delegate of theirs to look after their interest at the forthcoming Home Rule Convention. The secretary was invited to write confidentially to the Board of Deputies and the Secretaries of Dublin and Belfast Congregation about what action they intend to take.[666]

The use of the expression 'write confidentially to the Board of Deputies' is interesting as it highlights a certain desire by the Cork Jewish community to be heard. One cannot, however, unequivocally say from reading the entries in *Minutes* that there was the significant interest in Irish Nationalism that oral testimonies, academic and secondary literature imply. As the next section on the charitable efforts by the Jewish community of Cork shows, if anything, there was more of an interest in playing a part in Anglo politics and in the overall war effort.

4.2.5 Charity

While examples of some of the charitable activities of the community detailed in *Minutes* have already been discussed in this chapter, the charitable endeavors of the community during the World War One and Two are of particular interest to us. These efforts are mentioned in the articles of the *Jewish Chronicle,* which were discussed earlier in this chapter, however, the entries in *Minutes* give us a deeper, more complete insight into not only the community's charitable actions, but also the community's reaction to the war. As previously stated, unlike the articles published in the *Jewish Chronicle*, the entries in *Minutes* were not written for publication, consequently we obtain a clearer, untarnished insight. A detailed entry in November 1914 shows us that the community was acutely aware of the situation for Jewish refugees in Belgium. A letter from the Chief Rabbi in London gives the Jewish community of Cork clear guidelines on how it can contribute to the war effort and help those Jews in other countries who were directly affected:

[666] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation,* 17 June 1917.

> The community was urged to form a local Jewish Committee for the relief and maintenance of Belgian Jewish refugees. The appeal contained the following suggestions:
>
> 1. Of establishing and maintaining a local hostel.
> 2. Of obtaining offers from local Jewish families to rescue one of more Jewish refugees.
> 3. Of collecting weekly or other subscriptions from those who are willing to help the local or Central Fund but are unable to offer hospitality.
>
> A protracted discussion took place as to whether some of the refugees be brought to Cork or the money collected and sent to the Central Fund in London instead Messors Lifferman, A Maruc, L Goldberg and M Cliff and Dubnow advocates that the refugees be brought to Cork while Messers I Diamond, W. Jackson maintained the refugees would be more economically and efficiently maintained in London and that the money be sent to the Central Fund instead. On a vote being taken it was decided by 21 against 15 that the refugees be brought to Cork. The relief committee, which was then formed decided to create a weekly subscription fund to aid the Belgian Jewish refugees.[667]

The use of the expression 'a protracted discussion' in the above entry is important. It emphasises for us that all members did not agree on concrete measures such as whether or not the refugees should be brought to Cork or whether the funds raised should be simply sent to London. Finally, we learn that it was only following a vote, that it was agreed that the refugees would be brought to Cork.

A week later, we read that the community again received correspondence from the Chief Rabbi. This letter seemed to change the previous advice for the Cork Jewish community. It was now stated that all monies should be sent to London. 'Money for Belgian Refugees should be sent to London to central fund rather than trying to house refugees in Cork'.[668]

Unlike the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, which simply state the funds raised by each Anglo-Jewish community, the above two entries highlight the, at times, confusing and not entirely harmonious internal politics behind the collection of such charitable donations.

The Cork Jewish community responded positively for help for the Belgian refugees from the Chief Rabbinate in London, yet it disagreed internally on the exact form of this help. Finally, having decided on a course of action, it had ultimately to bow to the final decision of the Chief Rabbinate in London.

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[667] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 8 November 1914.
[668] Ibid., 15 November 1914.

Later that same year the community was again asked to assist in the war effort. This time the community was asked to organize collections for injured soldiers. The minutes tell us that the objective was 'to assist in the collections of clothing and other comforts for wounded soldiers. Messer Cohen agreed to undertake this matter'.[669] Such charitable assistance was in addition to the charity the community provided at a local level. In the same entry, we learn that 'Birkhahn mentioned the case of a poor family in need of assistance. Agreed to make a collection for the family'.[670] The request in 1914 to help Jewish victims of World War I would be followed by a request in April of 1915 to assist the Polish Jewish Relief Fund.[671]

Unlike the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, the articles in *Minutes*, allow us to see not only the individual, but also the communal efforts and, at times, the discussions that took place. In many ways, the entries in *Minutes* nuance and complete those in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Further examples of the community's response to the events of World War One can be seen in May 1915 following the sinking of the Lusitania off the coast of Kinsale in Cork. Approximately 1500 people lost their lives. Most of the bodies retrieved were buried in the cemetery in Cobh, County Cork. Among the dead, were many members of the Jewish faith. An entry in 1915 in *Minutes* details the communal involvement:

> Among the bodies landed at Queenstown eight have been identified as members of the Jewish persuasion. Five of these have been claimed by relatives in America and will be sent back by the American Consul at Queenstown. One has been obtained by relatives in London while the other two were taken charge of by local members of the Jewish community. The latter were conveyed by road to Cork, and were met about five o'clock yesterday afternoon at the Tivoli Station by two hearses and most of the Jewish community of Cork. A funeral procession was formed and the remains were escorted to the Jewish cemetery at Mount Desert, Blarney Road, where they were interred. The coffins were draped with the Union Jacks.[672]

The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book shows that in fact, five people were buried in the Jewish cemetery following the tragedy. Two were buried on the 10 May 1910, while another three were to be buried on 14 May 1915.[673] *Minutes* recorded that the Jewish

[669] Ibid., 13 December 1914.
[670] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 13 December 1914.
[671] Ibid., 11 April 1915.
[672] *Cork Free Press*, 11 May 1915.
[673] *Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book 1887-1960*, (Private archive of Fred Rosehill). The burial records are analysed in more detail in Chapter Five.

community of Cork received a donation to help pay for the burial costs of Mr. Samuels in Cork who had died on the Lusitania. We learn that a 'note of thanks to be send to Messers Levin and Marcus for securing a donation of 15pounds towards the burial of one Mr. Samuels who had died on the Lusitania and buried in Cork Jewish cemetery'.[674]

The above entries from 1915 and 1916 highlight the significant time, effort and expenditure the community put into burying and even repatriating Jewish victims of the disaster. It is also noted in *Minutes* that a funeral procession involving most of the Jewish community of Cork took place. The procession across the city demonstrates the pride the community took in undertaking such charitable activities. Again, neither the personal commitment of so many members of the community nor this civic pride is evident from solely reading the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*. It is once again the entries from *Minutes* that help to give us a more complete picture of particular events that had an impact on the community and the efforts of various individuals in the community. A subsequent entry in 1916 shows that the despite the willingness of the community to aid its co-religionists during World War One, it was not always easy to raise these funds. We read that 'the collection on behalf of the Polish Russian refugees was mentioned by Mr. Herman who stated he was going 'to wind up the collection' due to lack of interest by the congregation. Discussion ensued and agreed that Rev Clein and M. Gladstone would reorganise the collection for the 'unfortunate sufferers.'[675]

Surprisingly, there are very few references to World War One or the plight of European Jewry in *Minutes*. It is worth noting that the only two references to the concerns of the community during World War Two are to be found in the papers of Gerald Goldberg at University College Cork.

In these papers, there are some loose pages, which would appear to have been from *Minutes*. The first of these entries on the third of November 1940 refers to a collection that was made for the Red Cross Society. No further details are given.[676]

The only other reference to the events of World War II and the implications for the Jewish citizens of Cork is to be found in November 1943. An appeal was launched among

[674] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 2 January 1916.
[675] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 02 January 1916.
[676] *Gerald Goldberg Papers*, (Special Collections and Archives Service, UCC Library, University College, Cork), Box 14.

the community for Jewish refugees. 'Reference was made by Mr. J. Jackson re the appeal for the refugees and offerings made for same on Yom Kippur'.[677]

Again, no further or elaborate details are given. The difficulty in raising funds and possible reluctance of certain members of the community to donate money again, is not evident from the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle.* The articles in the newspaper only report the sums collected and list the contributors' names, while the entries in *Minutes* give us a more rounded, complete picture of not only the charitable activities of the Cork Jewish community, but also its financial situation. The next section of this chapter looks at the financial situation of the Jewish community through the entries in *Minutes*.

4.2.6 The Finances of the Cork Jewish Community

In addition to the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, the precarious and fragile financial status of the community features in many of the records in *Minutes*. These entries begin in the late nineteenth century shortly after the establishment of the community in Cork and feature throughout the minutes of the congregation.

As previously mentioned, the first account in *Minutes* is on 2 October 1898. Six months later in May 1899, the reluctance of certain members to pay their dues and the possible consequences are noted. We are told that 'any member failing to pay his weekly amount will have to forgo the *shochet*, but a week's notice will be given'.[678] The following month, we learn that the community owed rental arrears for over two years. Professor Hartog 'complained about arrears owed by the community for non-payment of rent for over 2 years. Six shillings to be paid a week to building fund to repay debt. Friction between Messers Cruger, Spiro and Jackson. Matters to be dropped'.[679]

Two further entries in 1900, a year later further highlight the lack of communal funds as a result of its members either not wanting or not being in a position to pay for communal expenses. On 2 September 1900, we learn that not only is there annoyance in the community at 'the insolvent' behaviour of Solomon Crufer and Louis Clein, President and Treasurer of the community, but we also learn that due to the lack of contributions by the majority of the

[677] *Gerald Goldberg Papers*, (Special Collections and Archives Service, UCC Library, University College, Cork), Box 14.
[678] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 22 May 1899.
[679] Ibid., 4 June 1899.

congregation the Rabbi's salary was in danger of not being paid. The record states that the 'bulk of community is no longer contributing to community expenses and as a result Rabbi Bloom's salary is in doubt'.[680]

We also learn here that due to the lack of communal funds that it was decided to organise membership. The community would only also only use one building as it was financially not able to renovate a second building. We learn that '10 South Terrace was in a state of collapse'.[681]

A week later a penalty was agreed for those who did not pay their subscription. It was decided that only those who had paid their subscription could be called members. The register stated that 'only members of the congregation will have the privilege of being present at the meetings and voting on the matters'.[682]

The precarious finances of the community were again raised in 1911. It was decided at a Special General Meeting to enquire about the financial position of two communal buildings. The entry notes that it was 'decided to write to Prof Hartog re the financial position of the building 9 & 10 South Terrace. With a view to forming a suitable synagogue and school-rooms for all the Jewish population of Cork'.[683]

The paltry state of communal finances is again recorded in 1914. According to an entry in November of that year, an advance had been acquired from the Hibernian Bank:

> Mr. Spiro informed the meeting that the Directors of Hibernian Bank Ltd have sanctioned an advance of £500 to the Congregation on the security of the Bills deposited with them but asked that the Current Acc of the Congregation should be opened in the Hibernian Bank and produced a resolution drawn up by the manager to that effect.[684]

The record also shows that the poor communal finances also strained relations between the members of the community. Shortly after the outbreak of World War One, in August 1914, we learn that Mr. Clein had urged the members of the community not to support the financial decisions of the community in relation to the rebuilding of the school and payment of the balance owed on the synagogue:

> Mr. Solomon Clein, in a rigorous speech denounced the rebellious conduct of Mr. Somon Crifer, who ascended the Bimah on the previous day urging those present not

[680] Ibid., 2 September 1900.
[681] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 2 September 1900.
[682] *Ibid.*, 9 September 1900.
[683] Ibid., 7 May 1911.
[684] Ibid., 15 November 1914.

> to support the legitimate decisions of the Congregation in making provisions for the rebuilding of the schools and for the payment of the balance due on the building of the synagogue.[685]

An entry in 1915 highlights the ill will that the collecting of subscription arrears in the community created. *Minutes* states that a 'letter and amount received from Mr. Scher resigning membership over the manner in which the letter regarding arrears was sent. No one else had complained, but a letter would be sent to him asking him to reconsider'.[686]

An entry in 1924 describes the difficult financial situation of certain members of the community without giving us too much information. We learn that Mr. Goldberg had helped out a number of poor men. We are told that 'a sum of £3 to be paid to Mr. Goldberg which he had paid out to poor men'.[687]

The communal finance was again a cause for significant concern in 1929. From the minutes, we learn that Rabbi Herzog 'attended the meeting and asked the members to see their way to wipe out the debt of 300 pounds due to the builder in connection with repairs done to the synagogue'.[688]

As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, the many articles in the J*ewish Chronicle* devoted to the finances of the Cork Jewish community detail the facts and figures donated to various charities as well as the debts of the community. The entries in the newspaper do not give us any real insight into the internal politics and emotions behind these figures. The above-mentioned entry from 1915, in addition to revealing the issues surrounding the community's finances, shows us that despite its relative poverty, the Cork community sought to retain a certain image of financial security when dealing with greater Irish society. Following a letter received by the community from the Public Health Committee offering free meals for children in need at the school, the community replied that 'while there were needy children, children elsewhere are more in need'.[689] Communal pride and appearance was very important. The entry finished by noting that the appeal for the Polish Jewish Relief Fund was to be brought forward'.[690]

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[685] Ibid., 16 August 1914.

[686] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 11 April 1915.

[687] Ibid., 26 October 1924.

[688] Ibid., 24 November 1929.

[689] Ibid., 11 April 1915; Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 98. As previously mentioned Parry-Jones posits that the Jewish tradition of self-help and charity projected a respectable image of the Jewish community to the wider non-Jewish population, and thus pre-empted any suggestions that Jews were financially burdensome or an encumbrance on public welfare schemes.

[690] Ibid., 11 April 1915.

It should be noted that not all of the entries in the Minutes detailing the finances of the community are in relation to negative equity. An entry in 1939 details how Reverend Kersh was 'summoned to the meeting in reference to the money left to the Congregation by the late Mr. Beamish'.[691] However, it should be stated that the above entry is very much the exception. The entries in the Minutes Book show for the most part, the paucity of not only individual members, but the community as a whole. Entries in the *Minutes* clearly show us that from a financial point of view, the community struggled to survive and sustain itself from the very beginning.

4.2.7 Communal Concerns

As previously seen in the articles of the *Jewish Chronicle*, the limited funds of the community were a regular source of concern. The lack of communal funds and the resulting problems are noted at regular intervals in *Minutes.*

In addition to the financial concerns of the community and its ability to fund its activities, the appointment and retention of ministers and *shochets* to the Cork community, problems relating to the access of schools as well as issues relating to the provision of meat to the community feature at regular intervals throughout the minutes. While these topics may appear trivial to the outsider, their repetition in the minutes of the meetings underline their importance to the community. Such internal communal matters do not generally count as newsworthy or of interest to other Anglo-Jewish communities. Consequently, they tend not to feature in any detail on the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle*. They are nonetheless important to us as they deepen our knowledge and understanding of what it meant to be a member of the Cork Jewish community.

This section begins by looking at the many entries relating to the appointment of ministers or *shochets*. This is followed by an analysis of the entries relating to educational provision in the community. Finally, the articles relating to the provision of meat for the community are examined.

The many references to the appointment of ministers and *shochets* to the Cork community in *Minutes* give us an additional, deeper insight into the insecure finances of the Cork Jewish community.

[691] Ibid., 22 October 1939.

Between 3 March 1883 and 12 October 1951, there are some twelve advertisements in the *Jewish Chronicle* for Hebrew teachers, *shochets* or readers for the Cork Jewish community. While the adverts in the newspaper rarely reveal more than the minimum information such as salary and accommodation in Cork, the entries in *Minutes* are nonetheless, though succinct, are a little more nuanced. They allude to the poverty of the community and inability to attract and maintain teachers, *shochets* or readers for a sustained period.

In 1915, the community appointed Reverend Klein of Woolwich as *chazan* and teacher. From a related entry, we learn that Rev Klein had contacted the community in relation to his salary and moving expenses. The minutes tell us that a 'sum of 5 pounds was agreed'.[692] We also learn that 'Reverend Goldstone Rev Goldstone had vacated his position without sufficient notice'. [693] The community was required to re-advertise the post. The record also tell us that there is at least one possible candidate from Croydon. There was a 'discussion on appointment of Rev Zeidenfeld of Croydon for the vacant position of *shochet* and teacher etc'.[694]

Subsequent entries in 1919 and 1920 reference the difficulties the community had in finding a *shochet*:

> Chairperson explained the difficulty there was in regard to a shocet and also mentioned that he had received a letter from the Rev Jaffs of Dublin who was willing to accept the position of shocet. There were also applications for the post from the Rev Routh of Dublin and Rev Rabonovitch of South Shields. Decision taken to accept Rev Routh.[695]

The instability and difficulties in retaining ministers is a regular feature in the minutes of the communal meetings throughout the following decades. The community must again take a decision in 1925 in relation to the appointment of a *shochet*. We learn that that the 'consideration of the candidate Rev Kezelman as Schachtel was to be postponed until after the High Holidays. Letter read from Rev Budwick regarding officiating for the coming High Festivals'.[696]

We read in 1929 that Reverend Wolman was given a contract for two years at a salary of 5 pounds per week. The entry stimulates the communal requirements For Reverend

[692] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 11 April 1915.
[693] Ibid., 30 July 1916.
[694] Ibid., 30 July 1916.
[695] Ibid., 13 September 1919.
[696] Ibid., 5 July 1925.

Wolman. Reverend Wolman is to 'attend all services and act in a manner suited to his position as Minister of the Cork Jewish Congregation'.[697]

An entry in 1937 demonstrates that the community was again looking to appoint a minister. Reverend Wolman had stayed six years and there was only one candidate for his position. 'Rev B Kersh was the only candidate for the job. Discussion as to finding another candidate before appointing him'.[698]

Despite the relatively poor communal finances, there is only one entry that explicitly cities financial concerns in relation to the appointment of ministers. This account also shows us the social and economic links between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish communities. In 1931 Rabbi Segal in Manchester wrote to the Cork Jewish community proposing his brother for the role of minister in Cork. His brother, it appears, was still in Russia at the time of writing:

> A letter was then read from Rabbi Segal of Manchester re bringing over his brother from Russia to act as Rev for our community. After a lengthy discussion it was decided that no steps be taken until we get full guarantee from his relatives towards his support.[699]

The repetition of the various minutes relating to the appointment of ministers, coupled with the references to Ministers leaving Cork after a relatively short period of time indicate to us that the salary and the small size of the community were some of the factors which led the ministers to remain only for a short period in Cork. For many ministers in Cork, like the ministers of other peripheral Jewish communities across the British isles, one of the main reasons for leaving Cork would appear to be the desire to move to a bigger, more prestigious community.

As previously mentioned, ministers in smaller communities often were often obliged to carry out multiple functions. One of these functions in Cork included taking charge of the religious education of the young of the community. The entries in *Minutes* show us that a significant emphasis was always placed on the education of the children of the community. The next section looks at some of these entries.

4.2.8 Educational Provision

[697] Ibid., 24 November 1929.
[698] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 13 June 1937.
[699] Ibid., 8 March 1931.

As seen in some of the oral testimonies previously discussed in Chapter Two, there was a perception that all Jewish boys attended Presentation College Cork. It was regularly repeated, and one could say even part of the communal narrative of the community. An analysis of the entries in *Minutes*, points to a more complex situation.

Entries show that enrolment at Presentation College Cork was not axiomatic. It was in fact, quite the opposite and would appear to have always been dependent on cordial relations between the Jewish community and certain members of the Catholic clergy. An entry from 1922, which refers to correspondence between the community and Mr. Fr. Connolly, Principal of Presentation College, shows the delicate position the Jewish community often found itself in when seeking to enroll boys at the college. 'A scribbled letter to a Mr. Fr Connolly to discuss the future position of Jewish children at the college'.[700] The precarious nature of the enrolment of Jewish boys at Presentation College is again evident in an entry in 1939. The community sought to meet the principal of the school to discuss the future enrolments of Jewish boys at the school. The record shows that a motion was passed to send 'a letter to Rev Dr Connolly Presentation College asking him to receive a deputation form the community in order to discuss the future position of Jewish children at his school'.[701] The entry highlights the fragile relationship between the Jewish community and the college. This entry is seventeen years after the first entry, which shows us that this was a reoccurring issue.

The articles lauding the educational success of the members of the Cork community in the *Jewish Chronicle* were published out of pride, to inform friends and family in other Jewish communities. The articles cite the achievements of the individuals, they do not, however, reveal the struggles and even negotiating that took place behind the scenes to ensure access to education for members of the Jewish community.

As previously stated, unlike the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle,* that were written for publication, the entries in *Minutes* were not written for publication, or for a wider audience. As a result, they reveal a more complicated, delicate relationship between the Jewish community of Cork and the clergy that ran many of the schools.

The job adverts in the *Jewish Chronicle* for the position of *shochet* in the community, give us an insight into the needs of the community and the failure of the community to attract someone to the position for a long period. The entries from *Minutes* complete the picture.

[700] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 14 May 1922.
[701] Ibid., 04 May 1939.

They show us that for many of the ministers, being appointed to the Cork community could be seen as a good career move. It invariably led to a position in a bigger, even more prestigious community. These entries also highlight the difficulties for members of the community who tried to live an orthodox Jewish life in a peripheral city in Ireland. The next section looks at the provision of kosher meat to the community.

4.2.9 The Provision of Meat

The first entry in relation to the provision of meat was very early in the life of the community in 1898. We are told that 'meat supply was unsatisfactory. Negotiations were to begin with O'Flynn of Grand Parade Market'.[702] Similar entries appear regularly in the Minutes of the community. The second of these records relating to the purchase of meat was in 1911. At the A.G.M. that took place on 29 October, 1911 we learn that new knives were bought for the *shochet* and that 'Mr. Jackson brought to the board's attention, issues around the cutting of meat'.[703] Three years later in 1914, the ongoing discussions with local butchers are again highlighted. 'Officials from the congregation interview some of the leading butchers in the city with a view to obtaining the same satisfactory terms and conditions'.[704] Negotiations, we learn, were ongoing two months later. While there was a slight reduction in the price, members were still unhappy with the current provision:

> Letters sent out regarding the tendering for the meat supply to the community. Mr. Diamond handed in a list of prices on behalf of the present contractor, Mr. Treacy, showing a reduction of one penny per lb of all kinds of meat. While this concession was regarded with favour by some members, there were others who complained of the way in which the Jewish customers are served by the present contractor.[705]

Issues surrounding the meat continued in 1916. In April of the same year, we learn that the issue of supplying meat was discussed again.[706] Six years later in 1922, we learn

[702] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 6 November 1898.
[703] Ibid., 29 October 1911.
[704] Ibid., 11 April 1914.
[705] Ibid., 14 June 1914.
[706] Ibid., 2 April 1916.

that the community was still trying to find a *shochet*.[707] In February 1926 'complaints were again made about the butcher'.[708]

These entries together with the many records relating to the appointment of a *shochet* and minister for the community reveal to us the issues that preoccupied the members of the Jewish community of Cork on a regular basis. As already said, while they may appear trivial to the outsider, however, such issues are of paramount importance to the existence of an orthodox community.

4.2.10 Tensions in the Community

From the very first page, the minutes of the community show us that despite the relatively small size of the Cork Jewish community, relations between members were not always harmonious. An early entry describes the 'election of new President and board'. We learn that a certain 'Cruger was reelected President after vote. The secretary complained at irregular nature letters were getting to him'.[709]

The split within the Jewish community of Cork in the early twentieth century is also mentioned in the minutes of the meeting. A Jewish community was formed in Union Quay in Cork, while the other members of the community would be become to be known as the United Hebrew Community, which was based in South Terrace. The minutes formally acknowledge the split of the already small community into two even smaller communities in 1912. It is recorded that the chairman gave a 'speech expressing his delight at presiding over a meeting of the United Congregation'.[710]

In March of the following year, the strained relationships between certain members came to the fore again. A member stated in the Jewish press that there were financial improprieties in relation to the collection of money for the communal buildings:

> A.M. Sandler proposed and Mr. Epstein seconded that 'we condemn the insinuations of Mr. J, recently made in the Jewish Press that the treasury collected money of the properties of no 9 & 10 of South Terrace amounted to a higher sum than that paid out.[711]

[707] Ibid., 14 May 1922.
[708] Ibid., 7 February 1926.
[709] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 2 October 1898.
[710] Ibid., 24 November 1912.
[711] Ibid., 16 March 1913.

Not only does the above statement show us the strained relationships within the community, but it also highlights the importance the community placed on appearance. The community was clearly not happy that these issues had been printed in the Jewish press. Some months later in 1913, another entry again reiterates the importance the community placed on its image. The minutes state that the board 'keenly regret the recent communication which appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* and we entirely disassociate ourselves with the actions of'.[712]

The following year saw the suspension of a member Mr. Somon Crifer for his behaviour at the synagogue. Entries in both 1914 and 1916 further highlight interval strive within the community due to what some members deemed as the inappropriate behaviour of other members. A member was suspended from the community until an apology for his behaviour was received:

> Mr. Solomon Clein, in a rigorous speech denounced the rebellious conduct of Mr. Somon Crifer, who ascended the Bimah on the previous day urging those present not to support the legitimate decisions of the Congregation in making provisions for the rebuilding of the schools and for the payment of the balance due on the building of the synagogue. Suspended from the community until apology received.[713]

Another member's inappropriate conduct was also noted in an entry in 1916. In July of that year, we learn that 'Mr. Diamond commented on the inappropriate behaviour of Mr. Nathan on Yom Kippur'.[714]

Following the splitting in two of the community in 1911, the minutes show that it was only in 1917 that the two communities decided to try to settle their differences, amalgamate and form one Jewish community again. 'The Chairman states that he received a letter from the Secretary of Union Quay Synagogue proposing terms of amalgamation. Mr. Marcus objected to the reading of the letter on various grounds. Discussion ensues'.[715]

The minutes in 1916 and 1917 highlight both the amalgamation and the consequences of the amalgamation of the two communities in Cork. One such consequence is that Reverend Klein will be obliged to leave Cork. We read that 'Rev Klein was willing to leave Cork provided ample compensation was provided. Rev Schalz appointed both *shochet* and teacher'.[716]

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[712] Ibid., 6 July 1913.
[713] *Minutes of The Cork Hebrew Congregation,* 16 August 1914.
[714] Ibid., 30 July 1916.
[715]Ibid., 30 July 1916.
[716] Ibid., 28 January 1917.

Further entries show that the amalgamation of the two communities in Cork would not be without its difficulties and compromises. According to the minutes the 'members of the Union Quay congregation must be subject to rules of Hebrew congregation'.[717]

The entries in *Minutes* on the internal strife within the Jewish community elucidate for the reader the internal politics, squabbles and big personalities within the community.

The references in the various entries on Home Rule in Ireland and Zionism give us an even deeper insight into the internal politics of the community. The next section looks at the entries relating to Zionism those relating to Home Rule in *Minutes.*

4.2.11 Zionism and Home Rule

According to an entry in 1916 the Jewish community of Cork were asked if they were in favour of Jewish autonomy after the war:

> A circular was received from the Zionist Federation enclosing printed forms asking for the signatures of the Jews resident in Cork who are in favour of autonomy being granted to Jews when the question is likely to be discussed at the forthcoming peace repatriations on the conclusion of the hostilities.[718]

A subsequent article in 1917 shows the community's delight at the decision of the British government in relation to Jewish autonomy in Palestine:

> Letters were read from the Zionist Federation enclosing the decision of the British Cabinet Re Jewish home in Palestine. A telegraph was proposed to be sent to the Prime Minister thanking the Cabinet for their declaration to the Jewish people. Passed unanimously. [719]

In addition to the many articles on the fundraising efforts of the Zionist associations of Cork in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the references to Zionism in the oral testimonies of many of the former members of the community, an entry in 1924 shows that local Zionist activities were an important aspect of the Cork Jewish community.[720] At the meeting, 'a

[717] Ibid., 30 July 1916.
[718] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 2 April 1916.
[719] Ibid., 18 November 1917.
[720] Cai Parry-Jones, *The Jews of Wales. A History* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), 134. Parry-Jones posits that the existence of Zionist societies was, like in Cork, a feature of many of Wales' Jewish communities. Like any other community in the Jewish diaspora had

letter was read from Mrs. Abranson re procuring a Hall for the Ladies Zionist Society. Building Committee to be formed'.[721]

While there are only three records in *Minutes* that directly relate to Zionism, coupled with the many articles detailing the Zionist activities of members of the Cork community in the *Jewish Chronicle* we nevertheless gain an insight into the Cork community's views on Zionism.

It is interesting to also read the above articles relating to the Zionist activities of the community in the historical context of World War I and Irish Home Rule. Around the same time as these entries were written on Zionism, we also learn that the Cork Jewish community was not happy at having been excluded from a convention on Home Rule in 1917. The minutes state that 'the Jewish community of Ireland was snubbed at not being invited to elect a delegate of theirs to look after their interest at the forthcoming Home Rule Convention'.[722] As a result of this exclusion, it was decided that the Cork Jewish community would discretely contact the other Jewish communities in Ireland to relation to how they would react. We are told that 'the secretary was invited to write confidentially to the Board of Deputies and the Secretaries of Dublin and Belfast Congregation about what action they intend to take'.[723] No further action would be taken, an entry in *Minutes* a month later states:

> Following correspondence from the Board of Deputies and the Belfast congregation in reply to the Secretary's communication re our participation in the Home Rule Convention it was decided not to take any further action.[724]

The use of the first-person plural possessive pronoun 'our' in the above entry demonstrates that the Jewish community of Cork believed that it had a right to be included in discussions regarding Home Rule in Ireland.

The above entries on both Zionism and Home Rule in Ireland give us an insight into both the Zionist beliefs of the community and also their desire to be part of the discussion on Irish Independence. Taken together, they shade the often-simplistic view, propagated in many of the oral testimonies by former members of the community and in much of the secondary literature written about the Cork community. Both the testimonies and much of the secondary literature simplify the political views of the community. They often state that

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incorporated a sense of being a Zionist. As a sign of this, Zionist societies have been in existence in most, if not all, Welsh-Jewish communities from the early nineteenth century.

[721] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 6 June 1924.

[722] *Minutes Book of The Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 17 June 1917.

[723] Ibid., 17 June 1917.

[724] Ibid., 15 July 1917.

the Jewish community of Cork was predominantly in favour of Irish Independence. The entries, however, in *Minutes* together with the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* show that the Jewish community of Cork was neither altogether Zionist nor completely nationalist in its political views.

As both the entries in *Minutes* and the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* show, the communal contact with members of the British Forces, its support of the British war effort, in addition to the many members of the Jewish families of Cork who were married and living in Great Britain make it difficult to draw the conclusion as many of the testimonies and secondary literature do that the Cork Community was entirely in favour of Irish Independence.

The minutes relating to the British government's view on Zionism also show that the community was pleased with the decision and actions of the British Parliament. The decision to send a telegraph to the Prime Minister to thank him would not generally be the behaviour of those seeking Irish independence.

Finally, as we have seen, the entries in *Minutes* relating to Home Rule never explicitly state the community's view, they merely express a desire to be included in the debate.

4.3 Conclusion

As this chapter has shown an analysis of the Cork Jewish Community could not be completed without examining the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the entries of the *Minutes*. A cursory glance at the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* would merely paint the community in a positive light, by emphasising primarily the sporting and cultural achievements of the community. It lists the births, engagements, marriages and deaths within the community. It also states the monies collected for various charitable causes throughout the lifespan of the community. There is very little discussion or analysis in the articles relating to the Cork Jewish community.

A quick reading of the entries in *Minutes* appears to reveal nothing more than the personalities and invariably the squabbles behind many of the articles published in the *Jewish Chronicle.* The entries often appear to be banal and prosaic, focusing on the

difficulties in attracting a *shochet*, the issues around the acquisition of kosher meat and the failure of certain members to pay their fees.

However, when both the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the entries in *Minutes* are analysed and categorized, they give us a profound, unique insight into the Cork Jewish community. It is in the minutiae of daily life events such as the acquisition of kosher meat, the provision of schooling, the educational achievements and inter-communal marriages, the contact with British forces and with its non-Jewish Irish neighbours that help to create a more rounded, holistic understanding of the identity of the Cork Jewish community.

The analysis of the Enrolment books of Cork Model School, the Burial Records of the Cork Jewish Community and of the Census of 1901 and 1911 in Chapter Five further help to complete and expand our insight and understanding of the Cork Jewish community.

Chapter Five

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1901 AND 1911 CENSUS OF IRELAND, THE ENROLMENT BOOKS OF THE CORK MODEL SCHOOL AND RECORDS OF THE HEBREW BURIAL SOCIETY OF CORK

This chapter seeks to further develop and nuance the picture of the Cork Jewish Community that was developed in Chapter Four by looking at the many articles in the Jewish Chronicle newspaper and many of entries of the Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation. Chapter Five begins by first analysing both the 1901 and 1911 Census. It looks at the places of birth, ages, professions and addresses in both Census. It then looks at the Enrolment Records of the Cork Model School. A similar analysis of the information in the Enrolment lists is also undertaken. The professions of the parents along with any previous addresses or schools of the students are examined. The entries in the *Record Book of the Hebrew Burial Society of Cork* are then examined. The person's age at the time of death, the person's profession if noted, as well as the cause of death are analysed. Finally, the information from the Census of 1901 and 1911, the enrolment records of the Cork Model School and the entries from the *Record Book of the Hebrew Burial Society of Cork* are then cross-correlated. The next section examines the information on the Jewish community of Cork in both the 1901 and 1911 Census.

5.1 The 1901 and 1911 Census

Before any analysis of the information taken from either the Census of 1901 or 1911 can be analysed, the close administrative links at the time between Ireland and Great Britain need to be considered. Following the passing of the Census Act in 1800, decennial Censuses began in Great Britain in 1801. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Census and the nature of how the information was collected and subsequently collated gradually evolved from an *ad hoc* affair to the more mature Victorian censuses from 1851

onwards.[725] From 1851 the Census distribution and completion followed the same format. The enumerator left a household schedule with each householder. This gave instructions to the later on how to enter the details required for each individual in the household on census night. This was usually in March or April in order to avoid the distortions in the data that would be caused by the seasonal movements of sections of the population during the summer. Until 1901 the only information sought was the address, and for each person within it, name, marital status, relationship to the household head, age, sex, 'Rank, profession or occupation', parish and country of birth, and descriptions of medical disabilities. The enumerator called the next morning. He was supposed to ask questions if there were details missing or to help complete the Census if the person was illiterate.[726]

A mock-up of the household schedule in Yiddish and German was produced for the information of the Jewish population of East London in 1891 and 1901. In 1891 the Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor drew up a circular, also in Yiddish and German, to accompany the mock-up, and paid for it to be typeset. A similar document was issued in 1901, and the Chief Rabbi undertook to encourage his co-religionists to complete the document properly.[727]

Soldiers in barracks in England and Wales were always enumerated in the same manner as the inmates of other institutions. Small barracks were treated as private households to be enumerated by the ordinary enumerator. Barracks large enough to be treated separately were returned in institutional books, marked 'B' for barracks in 1851 and 1861, and possibly in other years, by the resident barrack or quarter master.[728]

In the manuscript censuses, the people found within a house, however that was defined, could be further divided into 'families' or 'households'. A household in the census is an administrative artefact. It does not correspond to the biological family, or to the sum total of relationships between kin and other members of society. The household in census terms was defined as those people present in a house on census night that a householder places on his or her household schedule. Those absent from home for any length of time

[725] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 2005), 14-17.

[726] Ibid., 17.

[727] Ibid., 35.

[728] Ibid., 47 (There were several small barracks in and around Cork city when both the Census of 1901 and 1911 were taken. The analysis of the 1901 and 1911 Census returns of Cork show Jewish soldiers residing in these barracks).

should not have appeared on this return, although temptation to enter members of the household normally resident might have been strong.[729]

Although the falsification of census returns was a criminal offence, it goes without saying that the information collected on individuals was not always accurate. Certain types of information, such as the individual's name are reliable, but other data such as the individual's age are only a rough guide to the nineteenth century reality. It should be said that this is not usually the result of deliberate evasion but reflects the general ignorance of the precise information required, and prevailing levels of literacy. In some cases, unconventional marital relationships, socially unacceptable physical and mental disabilities, or shameful occupations, may have been ignored or glossed over. In short, although census data en masse give a reliable approximation to the features of nineteenth century society, one should not expect that all data on individuals are entirely accurate or consistent over time. It should also be noted that the head of household was a social position and did not necessarily reflect biological descent. In one household an aged widow may be described as the head of household but in another case a son or daughter who has taken over running the affairs of the group might be designated. Sometimes the usual head of the household was absent, and this was denoted by the first person in the household being described as a wife, son, servant or some other term.[730]

Age is a noted in both the Census of 1901 and 1911. Higgs notes that many people in the nineteenth century had only an approximate idea of their age or date of birth. There were also clerical errors in the inputting of age. It is important, he suggests, to select age bands or cohorts with care when aggregating age data.[731] When analysing the ages, places of birth and age of death in both the Censuses of 1901 and 1911 as well as the information from the Burial records in this chapter, the information on age has been banded.

For each Census, legislation was needed. From the beginning, there were implications for Ireland and separate legislation was also passed in Ireland in 1812 for the Census of 1813. From 1821 there were decennial Acts in Ireland in the same years as in Great Britain. The last one took place in 1910 ahead of the 1911 Census. As a result of the war of Independence, there was no Census taken in Ireland in 1921.[732] From 1871, those

[729] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers*, 75.

[730] Ibid., 79.

[731] Ibid., 85.

[732] Thomas P. Linehan, *History and Development of Irish Population Censuses*, https://www.cso.ie/en/census/censusthroughhistory (accessed: 18 January 2022).

born in Scotland, Ireland, the British Colonies or the East Indies were to state the country or colony of birth, and those born in foreign parts the particular state or country. The 1901 census broke the population down into 4 groups:

1. If in England and Wales, the County and Town, or Parish.
2. If in Scotland or Ireland, the name of the County.
3. If in a British Colony or Dependency; the name of the Colony or Dependency.
4. If in a Foreign Country, the name of the country; and whether the person be a 'British Subject', a 'Naturalised British Subject', or a 'Foreign Subject' specifying nationality such as 'French', 'German' etc.[733]

According to Higgs, the increased specificity of the returns relating to those born abroad may reflect both increasing concern over the loyalty of foreign nationals in any approaching European war and the growing popular animosity towards Jewish immigrants that led to the restrictions placed on immigration in the 1905 Aliens Act.[734] Either way, the information helps us to further our understanding of the Jewish population who settled in Cork in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

While caution should be taken with any Census material as it does not provide us with a dynamic picture but rather a bird's eye view of the population on one night every ten years, the information it does give us on birthplace and in particular on the birthplace of children is very informative. It can help us to not only identity those born in Russia but also in other parts of the British Isles. It also helps us to better understand the migratory journeys that many members of the Jewish community of Cork had undertaken before finally arriving in Cork. The information allows us to further question the communal narrative of accidental arrival to Cork. The information on professions also allows us to compare the Jewish population of Cork with other Jewish populations in the British Isles.[735]

The Census of 1901 and 1911 help us to attempt to reconstruct the Jewish community who arrived in Cork at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. When comparing the same population in two censuses, it is important to ensure that the areas covered by the registration districts in question are constant over time. It is also necessary to consider what other sources are available for that district. What contemporary

[733] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers*, 89.

[734] Ibid., 89.

[735] Diana Rau, 'Census in Spitalfields: A source for migration' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 285.

maps, newspapers, directories, voting records, rate books, photographs, and so on, exist, and are they easily accessible? One of the most useful features of the census returns is that they can be easily linked to other sources, especially via the addresses given.[736] Analysed in conjunction with the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the entries in *Minutes* in Chapter Four as well as the *Burial Records of the Cork Hebrew Society* and the enrolment records of the Cork Model School, the information in both the 1901 and 1911 Census helps to create a deeper understanding of the Cork Jewish community.

Despite their inherent inaccuracies and inconsistencies in relation to age, professions and even place of birth, the Census of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are unique among historical sources from that period in that they place individuals in a temporal, special and social context. The Census of 1901 and 1911 allow us to establish exactly where a person was on a particular night and show the relationship of that person both to the household in which he or she lived, and to the broader society in which her or she worked and migrated. Individuals, families and whole communities can be traced across the censuses.

For this study on the Cork Jewish community, the information from both the 1901 and 1911 Census helps us to gain a deeper understanding of not only the origins of the members of the community, but their links with other Anglo-Jewish communities and also the socio-economic status of many of the members of the community. The next section begins by examining the places of birth of the members of the Cork community that are listed in the 1901 Census.

5.1.1 Places of Birth in the Census of 1901 & 1911

As the pie chart on the next page (figure 5) shows, just under half (some one hundred and ninety-two) of those Jews living in Cork who listed their birthplace in the 1901 Census were born in Russia. If one is to take at face value the narrative of persecution, escape from Russia and accidental arrival to Cork, these figures corroborate this narrative. However, the fact that another two hundred and thirty-five had been born either in Cork or elsewhere emphasises not only the young age profile of the community, but also the fact that the journey to Cork had been completed by many immigrants in stages and not in one single journey to Cork.

[736] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical*, 146-149.

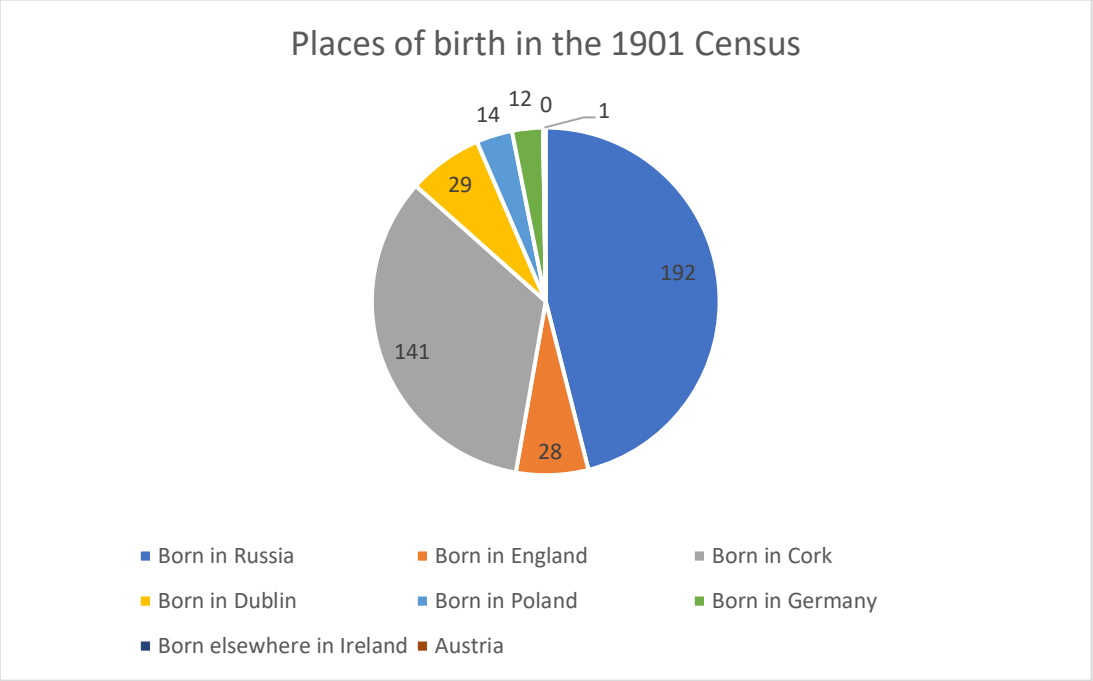

Figure 5

Many of those Jewish emigrants who were living in Cork at the time of the Census had previously arrived at British ports such as Hull and London. While one hundred and forty-one children had been born in Cork, twenty-eight had been born in England, a further twenty-nine had been born in Dublin, fourteen in Poland and twelve in Germany.[737] Three births were listed in Limerick, two in Mountmellick, three in Londonderry and one in Ireland. In addition to those twenty-nine births listed in Dublin, these births in different towns and cities around Ireland show us the migration that had taken even in Ireland before settling in Cork.

An analysis of the Census data shows not only the migratory journey in stages of the members of the Cork Jewish community, but it also allows us to compare the Cork Jewish community with other Anglo-Jewish communities.

In his study of Census information for the Glasgow Jewish community, Kenneth E. Collins states that Census returns show the place of birth of the children in large families gives a clear indication of the migratory patterns of newcomers. Some of the families that settled in Glasgow Gorbals in 1891 had children born in four or five different centres en

[737] *Census Ireland, 1901*.

route from Eastern Europe, through Germany and finally one of two English cities. Collins further posits that the growth of the Glasgow community shows little relation with the May Laws of 1881. It is more closely linked to developments of the transmigrant route across Scotland and the economic pull of the prospects of better financial security.[738] The places of birth listed in the census returns of 1901 show similar patterns for many members of the Cork Jewish community.

A further examination of the births of children of members of the Cork Jewish community in England reveals three places. Two births are recorded in Liverpool, one in Manchester and a further one in Rush. Manchester was not only a major Jewish population centre in the nineteenth century, but it was also a stop on the newly opened Leeds to Liverpool trainline. Liverpool was also one of the main ports of travel to Ireland and ultimately to the New World.[739] These births nuance the communal narrative of accidental arrival in Cork. They show us that many families had stopped and settled albeit briefly in English cities before continuing their journeys to Cork. These births along the migratory journey to Cork are similar to Collins' findings in Glasgow.

An examination of some of the addresses of Jewish families living in Cork at the time of the 1901 Census, also shows how this migration had taken place in stages. The table below (figure 6) shows how many families had previously lived in Dublin or England and in other cities before eventually arriving in Cork. The births of children in these places again cast further doubt on the possibility of accidental arrival in Cork.[740]

[738] Kenneth E. Collins, 'Scottish Transmigration and Settlement: Records of the Glasgow Experience' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 51.

[739] Gordon Read, 'Indirect Passage – Jewish Emigrant Experiences on the East Coast – Liverpool route' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns Of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 267-275. Read posits that by 1844 a direct line had been established between Hull and Liverpool, via Leeds and Manchester, which was said to have brought the 'German Ocean and the Irish sea to within a few hours of each other.' *Manchester Guardian*, 3 January 1844. Coupled with the completion of rail links between Hamburg and Russia via Poland, and the reduction in the price of steerage tickets from Liverpool to New York to £3 by 1846, constituted a combination of inducements which facilitated immigration as never before. In 1901 Liverpool still held first place for European emigrant (3rd class) traffic, taking 183,000 passengers. In each of these cities along the Hull-Liverpool route there was a Hebrew congregation able to provide practical support was a further and possibly crucial element in the 'pull factor'.

[740] *Census Ireland, 1901*.

Family name	Father's name, age and place of birth	Mother's name, age and place of birth	Children born in Cork	Children born in Britain, Dublin, Germany or Poland.	Address in Cork
Cohen	Hyman (42) Russia	Esther (41) England	1	7 children born in England	10 Georges Street
Clein	Henry (31) Russia	Janey (30) Russia	0	2 born in Dublin, 2 born in Mounthmellick	19 Adelaide Street
Kaminsky	Louis (50) Not stated	Ada (45) Germany	0	4 children born in Germany	18 Anglesea Street
Marcus	Jacob (31) Russia	Anne (29) Russia	3	2 children born in Dublin	5 Elizabeth Terrace

Figure 6

The birth of children in places other than Russia or Cork concurs with the work of many scholars on migration routes, prices of tickets, the construction and expansion of the railway lines and competition among the shipping companies. Several historians have also emphasised the cutthroat competition that existed between the shipping companies.[741]

The 1911 Census reveals similar details to the 1901 census. There is even more evidence in the 1911 Census demonstrating that Jewish migration to Cork took place in stages. The census shows that migrants had previously travelled via Dublin, towns and cities around Great Britain and countries in mainland Europe before settling in Cork.

Like the 1901 Census, there are again over four hundred entries in the 1911 Census for Jews residing in Cork city and county. Just under half, some one hundred and eighty-four, listed Russia as their place of birth. A further one hundred and forty-five Jewish inhabitants were born in Cork, while a further seventy-three were born elsewhere. The table below (figure 7) illustrates the places of birth of the Jewish population of Cork according to the 1911 Census.[742]

[741] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 25-33; Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850 – 1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996). The business of migration was also examined in Chapter One of this thesis.

[742] *Census Ireland, 1911*.

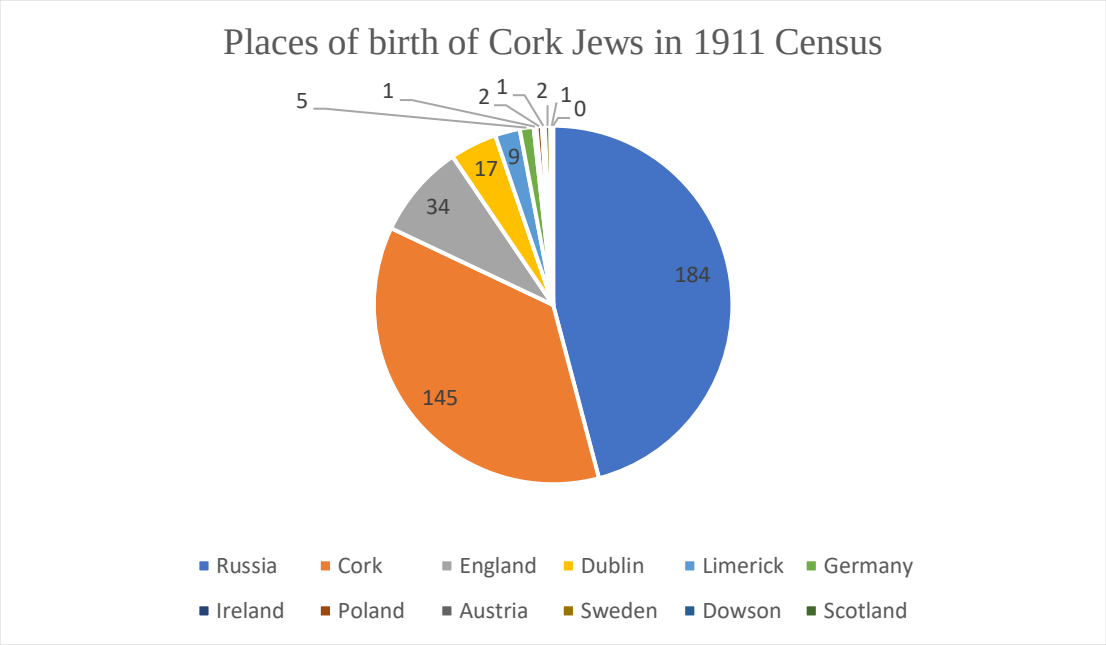

Figure 7

As the table shows, most of the members of the Cork Jewish community were born in Russia. After Cork, some thirty-four were born in Great Britain, seventeen in Dublin and nine in Limerick. The numbers of births in England and Dublin are quite similar in both the 1901 and 1911Census, however, in the 1911 Census we can also see migration to Cork from Limerick. While it is not explicitly stated in the census returns, this migration to Cork from Limerick followed the anti-Jewish economic boycott of 1904.

The table below (figure 8) shows that many of the families who emigrated to Cork in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had previously settled, albeit briefly, in other towns and cities in both Great Britain and Ireland before their arrival to Cork.[743] Irish and English Jews were strongly connected. There were deep personal links. Irish Jews married English Jews often. There was constant travel between the two islands.[744]

[743] *Census Ireland, 1911*.

[744] Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place' (paper presented at the Davis Seminar, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, April 2003), 123.

Family name	Father's place of birth	Mother's place of birth	Children born in Cork	Children born in Great Britain, Dublin, Germany or Poland	Family address in Cork
Martinson	Julius (40) Russia	Annie (32) Russia	none	5 children born in Limerick	2 Anglesea Place
Scher	David (48) Russia	Sarah (45) Russia	4 children	1 daughter born in Manchester. 1 son born in England. 1 son born in Dublin	54 King Street
Hymen	Isaac (37) Frederickstadt, Russia	Hannah (35) Frederickstadt, Russia.	2 children	2 born in Frederickstadt	259 Knockrea
Goldstone	Jacob (32) Russia	Esther (32) Russia	1 child	4 born in England	13 Monerea Terrace
Goldberg	Louis (43) Russia	Rachel (36) Russia	1 child (the youngest)	4 born in Limerick 2 born in Cork	22 Anglesea Street

Figure 8

There are many other such entries in the Census of 1911 which show the multiple migrations of many of the Jewish migrants before arriving in Cork. These entries clearly cast doubt over the reductive communal narrative of accidental arrival.[745] A comparison of the occupants of many addresses in the 1901 and 1911 Census shows not only the relative transience of the Jewish community of Cork, but also highlights the importance of the

[745] *Census Ireland, 1911.*

geographical location of the port of Cork. The next section looks at these multiple addresses and importance of the geographical location of Cork.

5.1.2 Multiple Addresses in the 1901 and 1911 Census

There are some four hundred and twenty-seven entries for Jews living in Cork in 1901. In 1911, there are similar numbers. Some four hundred and fifteen names are recorded.[746] At a first glance, these figures give the impression of a relatively stable community between 1901 and 1911. A closer examination and analysis of the inhabitants of various addresses in the two Censuses shows, however, some further interesting details.

There are some one hundred and thirty-nine addresses listed with Jewish inhabitants in both the 1901 and 1911 Census. An analysis of these addresses shows us that the inhabitants of these addresses were not always the same in the 1901 and 1911 census returns. There are, of course, some inhabitants who change address due to marriage or other reasons between the two Censuses. A significant number of the houses listed in 1901, however, do not have Jewish inhabitants in 1911 and vice versa.

There are some seventy-five addresses listed in the 1901 Census.[747] Eighty-four addresses are listed in the 1911 Census.[748] There are only seven addresses listed in both 1901 and 1911 that have the same residents in both censuses.[749] There are, of course, families such as Isaac and Hannah Sandler who live in 16 Hibernica Buildings in 1901. The Sandlers have children who marry and move to different addresses in 1911. Jacob Sandler marries and lives in 4 Langford Terrace in 1911. Jacob' wife Jenny's place of birth is listed as Dublin. His brother Louis marries is living in 9 Copley Place in 1911.[750] Such changes of address are normal. However, to have only seven houses with the same inhabitants in both 1901 and 1911 is further indication of the transience of the Cork Jewish community.

Scholars such as Aubrey Newman and Nicolas J. Evans have commented on the importance of the proximity to both the railways lines and ports as a factor for Jewish emigration from the north western corner of the Pale of Settlement to the British Isles.[751]

[746] *Census Ireland, 1901 and 1911.*
[747] *Census Ireland, 1901.*
[748] *Census Ireland, 1911.*
[749] *Census Ireland, 1901 and 1911.*
[750] *Census Ireland, 1901 and 1911*.
[751] Aubrey Newman, 'Directed Migration. The Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter, 1885 -1914' in Aubrey Newman & Stephen W. Massil ed., *Patterns of Migration 1850-1914* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1996), 175-177; Nicolas J. Evans, 'The Port Jews of Libau, 1880-

Many studies of Jewish migration focus on factors such as the pogroms, persecution and fear of conscription for Jews in nineteenth century Russia. Little attention has been spent on examining the actual routes of migration and the institutions set up to assist the migrants on their journey. The choice of destination and intermediate destinations such as Cork may have had less to do with the individual choices of the immigrants themselves but much more to the distortions created by factors, such as competition on shipping lines, railway infrastructure and possible networks of travel agencies along the way. Even when such studies are done, little attention, if any, has been paid to the possible role the geographical location of Cork harbour, the ships that called to the city on route to the New World and its railway connections to other parts of Ireland.[752]

1914' in David Cesarani and Gemma Romain ed., *Jews and Port Cities 1590-1990. Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism* (Great Britain: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), 197-215.

[752] Tom McCarthy, 'A Sense of Geography', (http://porttowns.port.ac.uk/cork-port-and-harbour/ (accessed 30 January 2022); Fionnula Mulcahy, 'Farewell to Queenstown', *The Irish Times*, (15 August 2009) https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/travel/farewell-to-queenstown-1.720058 (accessed 30 January 2022); *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*, 5 May 1901. Despite its geographical location facing south to the Atlantic and its natural harbour, Cork harbour was relatively undeveloped at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Following structural works in the first half of the nineteenth century, the harbour started to slowly grow in importance and increase both its passenger numbers and the number of exports from the harbour. During the famine period, between 1846 and 1851 significant numbers of Irish emigrated, primarily from Cork to the New World.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the port of Cork began to handle increasing quantities of mail and it became the most important port of departure for transatlantic emigrants. This was primarily due to the arrival of the transatlantic steamship companies, which began to call to Ireland in 1859. The economy of the lower harbour, in particular Queenstown, benefitted from the American mail boats and the significant emigration numbers from Cork. By the late nineteenth century, some 1000 emigrants were arriving each week in Cobh or Queenstown as it was known then in the lower Cork Harbour to set sail to the US. While most of these emigrants were not Jewish, it can be assumed that there were several Jewish passengers who had travelled from England, possibly via Dublin to Cork. By the 1860s, reflecting the growth in railways not only in Great Britain but also in Ireland, it was mainly by rail that the emigrants arrived in the town before boarding a ship.

In May 1901, there are three entries alone in the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* that refer to onward migration from Cork. We learn that 'Reverend Bloom resigned as he had been appointed Reverend to the Jewish community of Merthyr Tydil in Wales. In the same month, the President of the Jewish community Mr. Jackson resigned as he was leaving Cork for America. W.H. Levy, the treasurer also reigned as he was leaving Cork for South Africa. In spite of entries like these, the geographical location of Cork is rarely mentioned as an important factor as to how and why some Jews have arrived and settled in Cork before continuing their journey. The 1911 Census further shows that not only did Jewish emigration to Cork often take place in stages, but also that Cork was not always the final destination. It also highlights the internal migration of the migrants once they had arrived in the British Isles; Dapne and Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community* (Hull: Imprint unknown, 1986), 5-6. The important role the geographical location of a port could play in the establishment of a peripheral Anglo-Jewish community can also be seen in Grimsby. The deep-water Royal Dock was opened in 1852 facilitated large-scale immigration into Grimsby. The Great Central Railway Company

In addition to the importance of the migrant routes and the importance of the geographical location of Cork harbour, the Census information for Cork also reveals another similarity with other Anglo-Jewish communities, male led Jewish migration. The next section looks at chain migration in both the 1901 and 1911 Census for Cork city and county.

5.1.3 Chain Migration in the 1901 and 1911 Census

Jewish migration in the nineteenth century was often male led. Brothers often set this migration in motion. One brother would typically set out alone. He would make the journey, scout a location and then send for family members. Migrating in this way made economic sense. Dependents such as wives and children not only added to the initial expense of migration but also drained already limited resources.[753] The number of boarders in both the 1901 and 1911 Census reveals that Cork was no different to many other towns in the British Isles in this regard.

In the 1901 Census, there were twenty-three boarders listed in the Census for Cork. These boarders were predominantly male. There was one married couple listed as boarders. It includes three sets of brothers. All these boarders except for one man who was boarding with a Catholic family were staying in Jewish homes in and around Cork city at the time of the Census.

There is a similar number of boarders in 1911. Twenty people, all men, state that they were boarding in the 1911 census. Two of these men were boarding with Catholic families while the rest were again staying with other members of the Jewish community.

A further analysis of the addresses of those Jews boarding in 1901 shows that a certain Simon Smyllen was boarding at an address in Kealkill, a townland located approximately seventy-three kilometres from Cork city. The analysis also shows that

offered cheap package deals from the continental ports of Riga, Libau, Hamburg and Rotterdam via Grimsby and Hull, thence by railway to Liverpool and onwards to America. Annually some 5000 immigrants passed through Grimsby, a total of approximately 100,000.

[753] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 56 – 58; Harold Pollins, *Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: The Jewish Museum London, 1989), 5.

Bernard Jacks was boarding on the night of the census at 1 Coronea Bridge Street, Skibbereen. Skibbereen is situated some eighty kilometres from Cork city.[754]

The 1911 Census reveals a similar situation. A certain Samuel Levinson, on the night of the 1911 Census was boarding at 51 Main Street, Dunmanway. Dunmanway is situated approximately sixty kilometers from Cork city. Mr. Elias Kersner who was also boarding on the night of the census in Crookhaven, a town some one hundred and twenty-one kilometers from the city.

Not only does the location of both Simon Smyllen and Bernard Jacks in 1901 and both Mr. Samuel Levinson and Mr. Elias Kersner in 1911 concur with scholarly research on the migration of single Jewish men, but it also gives us an insight into the dominant professions of the members of the community, peddling. The next section looks at the professions of the Jewish community of Cork.

5.1.4 Professions in the Census Returns of 1901 and 1911

While the occupational information recorded in both the 1901 and 1911 Census is significant in any attempt to reconstruct the Cork Jewish community and its economic activities, a note of caution needs to be exercised.[755] Occupational terms differ in the returns of 1910 and 1911 and there are also some spelling inaccuracies. In recognition of possible linguistic inaccuracies and enumerators differing assumptions, professions have been banded together as much as possible.

The professions of Jews residing in Cork at the time of both the 1901 and 1911 Census further emphasize not only the socio-economic status of the inhabitants of the community, but also how their means of earning a living were very similar to many

[754] *Census Ireland, 1901*.

[755] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers*, 97-102. Higgs says that it is important that while the paid employments for men in the nineteenth century census tend to be accurate, one should not forget that all occupations were also social designations reflecting status and perceived social worth. The differing assumptions that individual enumerators made about what constituted an occupation must be taken into consideration when analysing the data. He posits that there were some inaccuracies in recording the economic activities of women and the exact economic and social position of domestic servants also causes some problems. Finally, occupational terms may have more than one meaning, or a different meaning in differing parts of the country. Linguistic inaccuracies due to English not being the first language for many of those in the Cork Jewish community cannot be ignored either; *Census Ireland 1901 and 1911*. There are spelling mistakes such as 'travler', 'droper', 'cuttley' and 'picture thamer' in the Census returns of 1901 and 1911.

other Jewish migrants not only in Ireland but also in Great Britain.[756] The table below (figure 9) shows the professions listed in both the 1901 and 1911 Census.

PROFESSION	1901	1911
Commercial Traveller/Traveller Draper/Travler	5	6
Dealer in clothes	1	
Tailor/Merchant tailor/Master tailor	7	14
Commission Agent for Clothes	1	1
Medical LRCP and SJLM	1	
Pedlar/hawkers (cuttley and jewellery)	48	20
House Furnisher	2	2
Baker	1	
Drapery (Droper?)	19	26
Picture Frame Maker (Picture thamer)	1	4
Dressmaker/Dressmaker apprentice	3	1
Hebrew Clergyman/Minister of religion	1	1
Huckster	1	
House Carpenter	1	
Mineral Manufacturer	1	
Teacher of Hebrew Language	1	
Shoemaker	1	
Clerk loan Office/Clerk	1	1
Teacher	1	
Minister to Hebrew Congregation	1	
Merchant	1	1
Laborer	3	
Cabinet maker	1	3
Jeweler	1	2
Greengrocer (Haulbowline)		1
Shop assistant (Ballincollig)		1
General Dealer		2
Furniture Dealer		1
Assistant Clerk commercial		1
Chemist Assistant		1
Newsagent and Stationer		2
Financier		3
Traveller music		1
Photo enlarger		1

[756] Hasia Diner, 'The Accidental Irish: Jewish Migration to an Unlikely Place' (paper presented at the Davis Seminar, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, April 2003), 1-60; Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 34 – 47.

Glazier		2
Cap maker master		1
Shopkeeper		2
Marine dealer		1
Marine store head		1
Precantor Hebrew Community Clergyman		1
Moneylender		3
Metal Merchant		2
'shalar' children		2
Collector of debts		1
Beadle		1
Dealer		1
Dentist/Dental students		6
Milk vendor		1
Dental apprentice		1
Truck hand (Victoria Barracks)		1
Confectioner (Victoria Barracks)		1
Tobacconist		1
Canwasser (canvasser?)		1
Retired soldier		1
Auctioneer		1
Music dealer/assistant in music shop		5
Occupation not listed		1
Dealer in electrical goods		1
Coach builder (barracks Fermoy)		1

Figure 9

There are approximately one hundred and five professions listed in the 1901 census returns. In addition to the five entries listed as commercial traveler, some forty-eight men listed peddling or hawking as their profession. A further nineteen stated drapery, while the rest were individuals working as picture framers, jewellers and labourers.[757]

The 1911 Census provides a similar picture of the professions of the community. There is, however, a significant drop in the number of men who list either peddling or hawking as their profession in the 1911 census returns. In 1911 only twenty men list peddling or hawking as their profession. This constitutes a reduction of more than 50 per cent. There is, however, a rise in the number of drapers, tailors and picture framers. The

[757] *Census Ireland, 1901.*

latter rises from one to four.[758] This situation was not unique to Cork. Studies by other scholars reveal similar findings for Great Britain and the United States.[759]

The 1911 Census returns of the professions of the Cork Jewish community list six British army related entries. At the time of both the 1901 and 1911 Census, Ireland was still under British rule. There were British army and naval bases in Cork city (Victoria Barracks), Ballincollig, Fermoy and Haulbowline (naval). In the 1911 Census, there is a greengrocer listed at Haulbowline, a shop assistant in Ballincollig, truck hand and confectioner at Victoria Barracks, coachbuilder in Fermoy and a retired soldier.[760] We have seen from an analysis of the entries of the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* in Chapter Four that there was regular contact between the Cork Jewish community and the British Forces stationed in Cork. While we cannot say how long these men remained in Cork or if they were even regular members of the Jewish community of Cork, they, nevertheless, listed Judaism as their religion and are consequently counted, rightly or wrongly in the numbers of the Cork Jewish community.[761] These entries are also further evidence of the transience of the Cork Jewish community. Neither the scholarly or non-scholarly literature on the Cork Jewish community which was analysed in Chapter One and Three of this thesis do not mention, let alone analyse, entries such as these which further nuance the communal narrative of accidental arrival in Cork. Two children in the 1911 Census returns are listed as 'shalars'. While we cannot be sure, it may be a misspelling of the word 'shawlie'.[762] The listing of 'shalar' as well as the other professions in both the 1901 and 1911 Census show us a working class, poor community where the majority worked in menial, low paid jobs that often did not provide a steady income. Peddling or hawking allowed the immigrant to acquire goods on credit or with financial help from fellow immigrants or members of the

[758] *Census Ireland, 1901 and 1911.*

[759] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 52 -58.

[760] *Census Ireland, 1911.*

[761] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales,1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers*, 47. Soldiers in barracks in England and Wales were always enumerated in the same manner as the inmates of other institutions. Small barracks were treated as private households to be enumerated by the ordinary enumerator. Barracks large enough to be treated separately were returned in institutional books, marked 'B' for barracks in 1851 and 1861, and possibly in other years, by the resident barrack or quarter master. While it is not stated, one can assume that, as Ireland was part of Great Britain at the time of both the 1901 and 1911, that a similar system was applied.

[762] Collinsdictionary.com, https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/shawlie (accessed 4 September 2022). A 'shawlie' coming from Irish is a sometimes-derogatory term for a working-class woman, especially one who wears a shawl.

congregation. Just under half of the professions listed for males in the 1901 Census state peddling or hawking as their principal occupation.[763] In the 1911 Census returns this number drops to about a quarter of those who list their occupations. There are seven tailors listed in 1901. This rises to fourteen in 1911.[764] The breakdown of occupations in both 1901 and 1911 allow us to see to compare the socio-economic situation of the Cork Jewish community with other Anglo-Jewish communities. In communities such as Grimsby, Wigan and Glasgow we can observe a similar list of occupations among the members of the Jewish communities in these cities.[765]

An analysis of the Jewish children listed enrolled at the Cork Model School gives similar information on the Cork Jewish community. This next section looks at the enrolment lists of the Jewish pupils at the Cork Model School.

5.2 The Cork Model School

The Cork Model School opened its doors in 1865. The Model school, which was situated on Anglesea Street in Cork was defined as 'a model for primary education, seeing thousands of children of various religious denominations and social backgrounds go through its doors'.[766]

[763] Lloyd Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), 57. Peddling was an attractive occupation for newly arrived Jewish immigrants because it required little capital or training and not much command of the English or Welsh languages. Peddling also reflected the economic pattern of Eastern European Jewish life, when severe economic restrictions limited many Jews to petty trading.

[764] *Census Ireland, 1901 and 1911*.

[765] Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939: Immigration and Integration* (London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co Ltd, 2007), 85-86. The Census returns of 1891 show that in and around the Gorbals, where the Jewish working in Glasgow was concentrated, of the 401 Jews who mentioned an occupation, 116 listed hawking, 18 picture frame makers and 13 general dealers. The Glasgow community was bigger than Cork, but when communal size is taken into account, the breakdown of occupations is similar to Cork; Hilary Thomas, *From Wolkowisk to Wallgate and Other Stories; A History of the Wigan Jewish Community* (Wigan: Hilary Thomas and Wigan Archives & Local Studies, 2014), 94. Wigan a community similar in size to Cork lists some fifteen drapers, thirteen travellers in jewellery, ten glaziers, six furniture dealers, three travelling hatters, three picture framers, three cabinet makers, several market traders and thirty-seven tailors in 1901; Dapne and Leon Gerlis, *The Story of the Grimsby Jewish Community* (Hull: Imprint unknown, 1986), 100. Almost a fifth of all workers were hawkers or dealers and a further 20 per cent were tailors.

[766] Dan Buckley, 'Model School to model court in Cork city', *The Irish Examiner* (19 May 2018), https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-20470843.html (accessed 23 January 2022).

5.2.1 Enrolment of Jewish Pupils

According to the local Cork historian Kieran McCarthy at its highest school enrolment at the Model School peaked at around 450 pupils. The registers and roll books record the attendance of a small number of pupils of the Jewish faith, whose families arrived in Cork, mainly between 1890 and 1910. Past pupils include former Lord Mayor Gerald Goldberg. Another past pupil was the former Tánaiste Peter Barry.[767]

The first entry for a Jewish pupil was in 1880 for a Jemina Solimon and the last Jewish pupil listed was Celia Jackson in 1922. As the enrolment records list the pupils' names, addresses, date of birth, parents' occupations and last school, they can be cross referenced with much of the information in the Census of 1901 and 1911. A full list of the enrolment records of the Cork Model School is including as an appendix to this thesis.[768]

There are a total of 224 entries for Jewish pupils between 1880 and 1930 in the enrolment lists of the Cork Model School. The table below shows the enrolment of Jewish pupils at the Model School by decade.

Enrolment of Jewish Pupils at the Cork Model School

Time period	Number of enrolments
1880-1890	46
1891-1900	59
1901-1910	44
1911-1920	66
1921-1930	9

Figure 10

The table above (figure 10) shows that enrolment of pupils was at its height between 1911 and 1920. It also shows that the decade immediately following Irish Independence

[767] Kieran McCarthy, *Secret Cork* (Cork: Amberley Publications, 2017), 70-71.

[768] *Enrolment Records of Jewish Pupils at the Cork Model School*. The Enrolment Records were kept at the Cork synagogue, which closed its doors in 2016. A copy was made of the enrolment records in 2014. A full list of the Jewish pupils enrolled at the school is included as an appendix in this thesis. Unfortunately, when the synagogue closed, the original lists were lost. A complete list of all enrolled pupils, Jewish and non-Jewish at the Cork Model School can be obtained at the Cork Archives (www.corkarchives.ie).

recorded the lowest number of enrolments. This drop might not only show concern following Irish Independence, but also reflect international events such as the decision by the American government to severely restrict emigration from 1924.[769]

Out of 224 enrolment entries, 106 state that the child as previously having attended another school. As the table shows (figure 11), some forty-four children had previously been registered at the Jewish school in Cork and another twenty-three at the Infants school. Like the Census records, the inclusion of previous schools in the enrolment entries gives us an insight into the migratory journeys of some of the families of the Jewish pupils attending the Model School. The table below lists the schools both in Cork and outside of Cork that the Jewish pupils had previously attending before enrolling in the Model School.

Previous Schools before Enrolling at the Cork Model school

School name and location	Number of Pupils Previously who Attended
Jewish N.S. South Terrace Cork	44
Model School Infants Cork	23
Belfast Infant Model School, Antrim	1
Model School Limerick	5
Ralph Macklin School, Dublin	2
Presentation Convent Limerick	1
Adelaide Road N.S., Dublin	1
St. Nicholas School Cork	8
Christ Church N.S., Cork	9
Queen Street N.S., Cork	5
St. Leires N.S. (no location given)	1
Southern Road School Cork	3
Summerhill N.S., Cork	3

Figure 11

From a total of 224 entries, 106 entries reveal information on the child's previous schooling. 96 of these entries list a school in Cork as the child's previous school. 10 students

[769] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 147.

list a school outside of Cork as a previous school. These schools are all located in Ireland. While 10 students is a relatively small number, it, nevertheless represents 4.7 per cent of the total number of enrolments. Not only do these entries again nuance the communal narrative of accidental arrival at the Port of Cork, like the Census returns, they elucidate that many families had previously lived in elsewhere in Ireland or in Britain before arriving and settling in Cork. They had made the journey to Cork in several stages.

In addition to the Model School Infant School and the Jewish National School in South Terrace in Cork, a further eleven schools are listed as previously attended schools by the children. At least six of these schools are either multi-denominational or Church of Ireland schools located in Cork or elsewhere around the country.[770] The school enrolment records again enable us to compare the Cork Jewish community with other Jewish communities not only in Britain but also in the Americas and Canada. Similar findings have been reported in Quebec and South Africa. In both countries, Jewish children were schooled with Protestant children. The majority Catholic population provided the Jewish weekly men with much of their livelihood, but their children attended school, for the most part, with the minority Protestant population.[771]

5.2.2 The Professions of Parents of Jewish pupils at the Cork Model School

As well as listing the previously attended schools, the school records, like the census returns, also detail the professions of the school children's fathers. From a total of two hundred and twenty-four entries, some hundred and seventeen professions are listed. While there are some double entries for the professions as some of the entries are for siblings, the professions listed in the enrolment lists again reflect those of many other Anglo-Jewish communities at the turn of the last century. According to Hasia Diner, peddling suited Jewish immigrants as it fit into the communal and kinship system.[772] As Diner also posits, the majority list their profession as 'travellers'.[773] In the enrolment records of the Cork Model School, there are some 139 entries for 'dealer', 'antique dealer', 'traveler' or 'peddler'. This represents some 62 per cent of the parents of Jewish children who attended the school. Six

[770] A list of these schools can be found online at http://cork.anglican.org/education/primary-schools/st-fin-barres-national-school-cork/ (accessed 11 September 2022).

[771] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 165.

[772] Ibid., 60.

[773] Ibid., 52.

tailors, ten shopkeepers, six cabinetmakers, nine marine dealers, two picture-framers and four moneylenders are also listed as the occupations of the parents of the Jewish pupils. The table below (figure 12) lists the professions mentioned on the enrolment lists.[774]

Professions Listed for the Parents of Jewish Children

Profession	**Number**
Dealer/traveller/peddler	139
Marine dealer	9
Tailor	6
Shopkeeper	10
Picture-framers	2
Cabinet makers	7
Moneylenders	4
Hebrew teachers	2
Jewish minister	1
Rabbi	1
Dentist	3
Manufacturer	1
Iron merchant	2
Manager of a loan office	1
Clerk in a loan office	1
Accountant	1

Figure 12

The number of shopkeepers, picture-framers and marine dealers is also indicative of a poor Jewish community slowly settling down and establishing itself.[775] The enrolment records also reflect an economically self-sufficient community. Peddling gave those with little means the possibility of being self-employed and financially independent, allowing them to retain religious some religious observance.[776] In the first part of this chapter, we saw similar professions listed for Jewish members of the Cork community in the census returns of 1901 and 1911.

[774] *Enrolment Records of Jewish Pupils at the Cork Model School.*

[775] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 170-175.

[776] Ibid., 16.

5.2.3 Addresses in the Enrolment Records

The enrolment records at the Cork Model School also list the pupils' addresses. The addresses allow us to compare this information with the census returns of 1901 and 1911. The table below (figure 13)[777] lists twelve names of pupils, their listed address or addresses, parents, siblings (if any) as well as their parents' and siblings' places of birth and fathers' occupation. The list is not exhaustive, but the addresses allow us to gain a clearer insight into the origins, professions, social mobility and transience of the Cork Jewish community.

The first Jewish student enrolled at the Cork Model School was Jemina Solimon. The records show us that she was born in 1872 and enrolled at the school in 1880. Her father was a paper dealer. The Census returns for 1901 and 1911 do not list either Jemina or her family as living anywhere in Ireland. While we cannot be certain, we can assume that her family emigrated before 1901. Like Jemina, the pupil Hinda Brodie who was born in 1895 and enrolled at the school in 1904 had already left Cork by the time of the 1911 Census. The siblings Myer and Abraham Levi who enrolled in 1897 and 1882 again reflect the transient nature of the Cork Jewish community. Neither child nor their family are listed in either the 1901 or 1911 Census for Cork.

Some pupils naturally remained in Cork. One such person is Annie Elyan. Annie who was born in 1881 in Russia, enrolled in the school in 1886. She lived at 9 Monrea Terrace. In 1901, she was 19 and still living at the same address. Again, we cannot be certain, but by comparing her age in the 1901 Census with the school records, we can assume that she married before the 1911 Census. In the 1911 Census she is listed as being 28, married and now known as Annie Cliff. She has moved as a border to number 4 Monrea Terrace. We can see a similar trajectory for Harry Medali. Harry was born in 1901 and enrolled at school in 1907. In 1901, his father is listed as peddler. When Harry enrolled at school, his father is a dealer. In the 1911 Census returns, the family has moved for the third time in Cork and his father is now a draper.

The next pupil, Isaac Cohen was born in 1904 and enrolled in 1908. His address in both the school records and the 1911 Census was 5 Anglesea Villas. One of his parents was born in Dublin and another in Russia. His parents' birthplaces again show us that migration to Cork that took place in several stages for many members of the Jewish community of

[777] *Enrolment Records of Jewish Pupils at the Cork Model School.*

Cork. When Isaac enrolled at school, his father's profession was listed as a furniture dealer. In the 1911 Census, he is listed as a draper. Here again, we can see the upward mobility of the community, something that was apparent in the Census returns for not only Cork, but also other Jewish communities in Britain and the Americas.[778]

Abraham Berman was enrolled in the school in 1894. His father is a travelling draper. In the 1901 Census, Abraham is living, we assume in the same house, although it is listed as number 7 and not 8. He is now a pedlar himself. By the 1911 Census, his parents Mira and Isaac are no longer living in Cork. Abraham who is now 27 is living with another family and his occupation is listed as a financier. The comparison of the Census returns with the school records for Berman allow us again to see the migratory patterns of some members of the Jewish community as well as the upward mobility of some of the members.

This upward mobility can also be seen in the entry for Lazarus Elyan in the enrolment records. Lazarus's father's profession, when he enrolled at the school in 1907, was listed as a dealer. Six years earlier in the 1901 Census, his father's occupation is noted as a pedlar. In 1901, the family was also living at 9 Monrea Terrace. By the time he enrolled at school in 1907, the family had moved to 66 Hibernian Building where they would still be living in 1911. The census returns of that year list his profession as a photo enlarger.[779]

Fanny Wyskensky's enrolled at the school in 1904. Her father was a Hebrew teacher. In Chapter Four we have seen through *Minutes* and the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* that several factors such as communal strive, poor communal finances and the appeal of better paid position abroad ensured that many of the ministers and Hebrew teachers who arrived in Cork did not stay long. The fact that many came from Great Britain again shows us that the dominant communal narrative of accidental arrival does not adequately reflect the Cork Jewish community. The enrolment records coupled with the 1911 Census returns show us that Fanny's father was born in Russia. The family had previously lived in England and Dublin.

Three of the Goldberg children enrolled at the Model School in 1911. In 1901, the family was living in Limerick. From the 1911 census returns, we can see that between 1901 and 1911 when the children were enrolled in the Model School, they lived in England for a

[778] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way*), 34 – 47.

[779] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 175. According to Diner, In Ireland a sizeable number of peddlers transitioned to the sedentary life by becoming picture frame makers.

period of time. In 1911, two of the children are listed as having been born in England, while another two were born in Limerick. The entries for the Goldberg family again reveal not only the links between Irish and British Jewish communities, but also show that like the members of other Jewish communities, members of the Cork Jewish community made multiple country migrations during their lives.[780]

According to Higgs, one of the most useful features of census returns is that they can be easily linked to other sources, especially via the addresses given. This can enable us to build up a much richer picture of selected communities. Moreover, he posits that this sort of record linkage of census returns with other historical sources such as school enrolment records give us a much greater understanding of a period or place.[781] Comparing the enrolment records of the Cork Model School with the Census of 1901 and 1911 enable us to gain a clearer insight into the Cork Jewish community. The comparison allows us to see in greater detail the migratory journeys of many of the members of the Cork Jewish community as well as their places of birth and financial situation.

The last section of this chapter will look at the Burial Records of the Cork Jewish community.

Addresses in Census 1901, 1911 and Model School Enrolment[782]

Census 1901	**Census 1911**	**Model School Enrolment Book**
Does not appear in Census	**Does not appear in Census**	**5 Park View Place** **Jemina Solimon** Enrolled in 1880 Born in 1872 Father's occupation: Paper dealer

[780] Ibid., 23. Diner posits that Many Jews made multiple country migrations, starting off in one new land and moving to another. Polish Jews who emigrated to Sweden and England during much of the early to mid-nineteenth century, or Turkish Jews who went to Cuba in the twentieth century, before ultimately arriving in America. Many Jews who came from Lithuania to Ireland later followed their fellow "Litvaks" to South Africa.

[781] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers*, 149.

[782] *Census Ireland 1901 and 1911*; *Enrolment Records of Jewish Pupils at the Cork Model School.*

Does not appear in Census	**5 Anglesea Villas** **Cohen** Louis, 36 & Rosie, 27 Parents born Russia & Dublin Occuaption: Draper	**5 Anglesea Villas** Isaac Cohen Enrolled 1908 Born 1904 Father's occupation: Furniture Dealer
7 Elizabeth Terrace **Berman** Age 19 Occupation: Pedlar Parents: Isaac & Mira living in Cork	**1 Anglesea** **Berman** Age 27 Occupation: Financier Living with Rostovsky listed as brother-in-law Parents Isaac & Mira **not** listed in Census	**8 Elisabeth Terrace** **Abraham Berman** Enrolled in 1894 Born 1882 Father's occupation: Travelling Draper
Not listed in Census	**Not listed in Census**	**63 Hibernian Buildings** **Myer Levi** Enrolled in 1897 Born in 1884 **Abraham Levi** Enrolled in 1890 Born in 1882 Father's occupation: Travelling Draper
9 Monrea Terrace David Elyan (father) Age 24 Occupation: Pedlar	**66 Hibernian Buildings x** **Lazarus Elyan** Age 9 **Ethel Elyan** Age 7 Father's occupation: Photo Enlarger 5 children born in Cork	**66 Hibernian Buildings** **Lazarus Elyan** enrolled in 1907 **Ethel Elyan** Enrolled in 1909 Father's occupation: Dealer
Not listed in Census	**Not listed in Census**	**25 Hibernian Buildings** **Hinda Brodie** Enrolled in 1904 Born 1895 Father's occupation: Traveller
9 Monrea Terrace **Annie Elyan** 19 years old No occupation listed Born in Russia Unmarried	**4 Monrea Terrace** **Annie Cliff** 28 years old Born in Russia Married Border	**9 Monrea Terrace** **Annie Elyan** Enrolled 1886 Born 1881 Father's occupation: Dealer

9 Monerea Terrace **Sless** Jacob Occupation: Pedlar	**11 Monerea Terrace** **Sless** Jacob & Sara, 50 Traveller Pedlar 7 children 4 living in Cork, born in Russia 3 sons pedlars.	**11 Monerea Terrrace** **Elias Goodman*** Enrolled 1884 Joseph Goodman (born 1880) Father's occupation: Traveller
Not listed in 1901 Census	**2 Anglesea Place** **Martinson x** Julius, 40 & Annie, 32 Russia, Jeweller & scholar 5 children born in Limerick	**2 Anglesea Place** **Hyman Masterson** Enrolled 1911 Antiques dealer
Not listed in 1901 Census	**2.1 South Terrace x Wykansky** Simon, Rose, 30 & 32 Russia, Minister of Religion 2 children born in England 1 in Dublin	**2 South Terrace** **Fanny Wykensky** Enrolled 1904 Hebrew teacher
Elisabeth Terrace **Harrey Medali** Born 1901 Father's occupation: pedlar	**254 Knockrea** **Harrey Medalia** Age 11 Father's occupation: Draper	**Albert Road** **Harry Medali** Enrolled 1907 Born 1901 Father's occupation: Dealer
47 Henry Street **Limerick** **Molly Goldberg** Father's occupation: Wholesale Draper	**Anglesea Street** **Hyacinth Goldberg** Age 4 (Born in England) **Isedore Goldberg** Age 6 (Born in England) **Arthur Goldberg** Age 7 (Born in Limerick) **Molly Goldberg** Age 15 (Born in Limerick) **Nellie Goldberg** Age 8 (Born in Limerick) Father's occupation: Pedlar	**21 Anglesea Street** **Hyacinth Goldberg** Enrolled 1911 Born 1907 **Isedore Goldberg** Enrolled 1911 Born 1905 **Arthur Goldberg** Enrolled 1911 Born 1904 Father's occupation: Dealer

Figure 13

5.3 The Burial Records of the Cork Jewish Community

The *Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book 1887-1960*[783] (henceforth *Burial Society Record Book*) gives us a deeper understanding and a more complete picture of the Cork Jewish community. The *Burial Society Record Book* was unpublished and lists deaths in the community from 1887 until 1960. However, together with the census returns of 1901 and 1911 and the enrolment records of the Cork Model School, they help to gain a further, deeper insight into the Cork Jewish community.

Like some of the information in the Census returns, we must assume that the information might not be completely accurate. Information such as the name of the deceased is reliable, but information such as the age and the profession may only be a rough estimate. There are also many spelling mistakes and there are sometimes different titles for the same job.[784] For some entries, no details other than the names have been given.

In analysing the data in *the Burial Society Record Book* records, the entries have been organised into bands. Within each band, the number of deaths, age, cause of death and profession (when given) are examined. This banding of the information allows us to compare the information with the Census returns and the Enrolment Records of Jewish Pupils at the Cork Model School.

There are in total 274 records of deaths for the Cork Jewish community. As already said, not all entries give details on age, profession or cause of death. There are twenty-two entries were no information other than a name is given. In addition to these entries, there are five entries that state 'name unknown' in 1915. These are recorded between 10 May and 14 May 1915. The cause of death is listed as 'drowning Lusitania'. The next section analyses the records according to time bands.

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[783] *The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record Book 1887-1960* was never catalogued and was part of the private archive of Fred Rosehill. After his death in 2016, *the Record Book* appeared, unfortunately, to have been lost.

[784] Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: Revisited: Census Records for England and Wales, 1801-1901. A Handbook for Historical Researchers, 86 and* 153. Higgs states that the occupational tables contained in the census returns are not simple 'facts', or pieces of 'data' given to users unproblematically. They are culturally mediated texts, which need to be interpreted in the same manner as any other historical sources. The same is true for the records in the *Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book.* In Chapter Two, one of the oral testimonies refers to the *Burial Society*. Due to the small size of the Cork community, everyone knew each other. Efforts to please the deceased family when recording the details of the death, the person's age and profession cannot be ruled out.

5.3.1 1887 to 1900

Between 2 November 1887 and 11 July 1900, there are thirty-one deaths listed in the register. There are no professions listed for this period. Except for two entries, all the deaths were for children under the age of 13. The reasons for death were not always clear or listed, but 'convulsions' is listed for several entries.[785] The high number of deaths of children possibly reflects the young age of the community.

5.3.2 1900 to 1911

There are sixty-two deaths listed for this period. Twenty-two of these deaths do not state a cause of death. Infant mortality remains high with twenty deaths listed for children under the age of ten. There are also seven deaths for the age category 50 – 74. The table below (figure 14) lists the professions and the number of people for each profession.[786]

Profession/Occupation	**Number**
Dressmaker	1
Shopkeeper	1
Hotel keeper	1
Dealers (including one furniture dealer)	3
Dressmaker	1

[785] *The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record Book 1887-1960.*
[786] Ibid.

Draper	1

Figure 14

The professions listed here are similar to the professions listed in both the Census of 1901 and 1911 and also in the enrolment records of the Cork Model School.

5.3.3 1912 to 1920

From 1912 to 1920, there are fifty-five deaths recorded. There are fifteen deaths for children under the age of 10. There are five deaths as a result of drowning linked to the sinking of the Lusitania, three of these are recorded as middle-aged men. The professions listed in the table below (figure 15) are again similar to those listed from 1901 to 1911.[787] They also again reflect the Census entries and the enrolment records of the Cork Model School.

Profession/Occupation	**Number**
Dealers	3
Cabinet maker	1
Tailor	1
Jeweller	1
Shopkeeper	1
Commercial traveller	1
Merchant	1

Figure 15

[787] *The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record Book 1887-1960.*

Some of the professions such as 'commercial traveller' and 'merchant' are open to interpretation.[788] The next period from 1920 to 1929 shows the community already getting older, but the professions remain like earlier entries.

5.3.4 1920 to 1929

There are twenty-eights deaths recorded. Fourteen list the age of death as over 50, while another seven list the age of death over 70. There are six deaths for children under the age of ten. Again, the professions and the nomenclature of the professions remains the same. The table below (figure 16) listed the professions. We can see here again 'travellers' and 'manufacturers' are open to interpretation.[789]

Profession/Occupation	Number
Cabinet maker/ manufacturer	2
Draper	1
Grocer	1
Travellers	1

Figure 16

5.3.5 1930 to 1939

Between 1930 and 1939 a total of thirty-two deaths are recorded. Once again, the aging profile of the community can be observed. There are twenty-five deaths where the age of the deceased is over 50. The age of death is noted as over 70 for five members of the Cork Community. A further eight are over the age of 80. There are only four professions listed here (figure 17), which might be linked to the fact that twenty-two deaths are in the category of 60 to 80.[790]

[788] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way*), 52.
[789] *The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record Book 1887-1960.*
[790] Ibid.

Profession/Occupation	Number
Furniture maker	1
Tailor	2
Merchant	1

Figure 17

5.3.6 1940 to 1949

Between January 1940 and July 1949, there were forty-two deaths listed. Again, the age profile of the communal deaths is worth noting here. There are twenty-two deaths in the age category of 60 to 85. Possibly due to the advancing age of the deceased, there are again only five professions listed in the records (figure 18).[791]

Profession/Occupation	Number
Draper	1
Traveller	2
Metal Merchant	1
Tailor	1

Figure 18

5.3.7 1950 to 1960

The last record death was on 6 March 1960. In the preceding decade, there were twenty-nine recorded deaths. The age of twenty-seven of these deaths were listed as over 50, among these, there were seven over the age of 70 and a further four over 80. The only change to the professions listed was in this category: 'dentist/surgeon' (figure 19).[792]

Profession/Occupation	Number
Tailors	3

[791] *The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record Book 1887-1960.*

[792] *The Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record Book 1887-1960.*

Traveller	1
Surgeon/dentist	1

Figure 19

5.4 Conclusion

Though incomplete, the entries form the *Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book,* enable us to gain a much richer and more detailed picture of the Cork Jewish community. Together with the census returns and the enrolment records of the Cork Model School, we can see that the Jewish community in Cork was very similar to other Anglo-Jewish communities. Like other Anglo-Jewish communities of the time, the professions listed in the *Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book* tend to be menial and low-paid. The most listed profession in the *Hebrew Burial Society Cork's Record book* was 'dealer/traveller'. These professions allowed those members of the community with little financial means, the possibility of being self-employed and to create a work schedule that was not in conflict with their religious faith.[793]

When the addresses of members of the Jewish community were compared in the Census returns with the school enrolment records of the second section of this chapter, we saw that migration was always a feature of the Cork Jewish community. Initially, brothers or single men migrated. They then tended to send for dependents. As seen in the census returns and the school records, some of these early migrants would again leave Cork to continue their journey often to America. Those who remained tended to be older family members.

[793] Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way*), 16.

Conclusion

The historian's essential creative act is the resurrection of the dead.
—Simon Dubnow

The Israeli scholar of Irish history and memory Guy Beiner notes the irony that while the Jewish population of Ireland continues to dwindle 'Jewish Ireland' has emerged as a flourishing academic topic.[794] Beiner's comments are authenticated by the ongoing interest in the Cork Jewish community. When this research commenced over seven years ago, the majority of those former members of the Cork Jewish community who are interviewed in Chapter Two were still alive. As the research draws to an end, the majority have since died. The Cork synagogue closed in 2016. The remaining members of the congregation have dwindled to single figures. Nevertheless, the history of the Cork Jewish community continues to attract considerable attention. New literary pieces and representations of the former community continue to be published and discussed. The most recent of these works, *Memoir of an Irish Jew* by Lionel and Yvonne Cohen was published in 2021. A review of the book in *The Irish Times* in December 2021 states that his memoir 'is one of the best Cork memoirs ever'. According to the writer, Cohen's memoir depicts 'one of the most colourful lives ever lived by a member of that serious and mainly literary community of mid-century Cork Jews'.[795] The comments 'a member of that serious and mainly literary community of mid-century Cork Jews' from the review in the *Irish Times* last year is typical of the assumptions and facile conclusions taken as historical facts which unfortunately continue to form the basis of any representations of the former Cork Jewish community and its members.

Having examined the secondary literature on the Cork Jewish community, it became clear that there were serious shortcomings in the existing historiography on the Cork Jewish community. In spite of the ongoing fascination and interest in the Cork Jewish community, critical and objective analyses are absent from many of the secondary works. The primary

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[794] Guy Beiner, 'The Rediscovery of Jewish Ireland,' review of *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce* (2006), by Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Culture and History* 15, no. 3 (2014): 259 in Aidan Beatty and Dan O'Brien ed., *Irish Questions and Jewish Questions. Crossovers in Culture*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2018), 6.

[795] Thomas McCarthy, '*Memoirs of an Irish Jew: One of the best personal accounts of Cork ever', The Irish Times*, 11 December 2021, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/memoirs-of-an-irish-jew-one-of-the-best-personal-accounts-of-cork-ever-1.4738947 (accessed 25 September 2022).

sources on the Cork Jewish congregation are also limited and at times lacking in objectivity. Both the scholarly and non-scholarly analysis and representations of the former Jewish community of Cork show an acceptance of a one-dimensional communal narrative that continues to reduce the identity of the Jewish community Cork to a narrative of escape from the persecution of the pogroms and subsequent accidental arrival in Cork. One of the principal tenets of this thesis was to critically review Cork Jewish historiography. This analysis had to take place before any examination and possible reconstruction of the Cork Jewish community can be undertaken.

This thesis began by analysing the academic works that have been written on Irish Jewry and in particular the Cork Jewish community. The first section of Chapter One commenced with an analysis of the scholarly works that have been considered the authority on not only Cork Jewry, but also Irish Jewry in general. However, as Chapter One showed, rather than expand and enlighten the study of Cork Jewry, works by Hyman, Keogh, Rivlin, and O' Gráda demonstrate a reliance on the so-called 'gatekeepers' version of the communal narrative of the Cork Jewish community. Their portrayal of the Cork Jewish community is incomplete and does not justly portray the multi-dimensional identity of the community. They unquestionably reiterate the accepted communal narrative, which has been repeated ad nauseam by small number of prominent figures within the former Jewish community of Cork. This communal narrative gives an incomplete portrayal of the community. It regurgitates the perceived communal truths surrounding the origins and the arrival of the original members of the community in Cork. To a large extent, it ignores primary sources such as the *Jewish Chronicle*, school enrolment lists, the burial records and the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*. Unfounded communal narratives and tropes have falsely become accepted as the history of the community.

The second half of Chapter One addressed these omissions and errors in Cork Jewish historiography by examining the reality for Jews in nineteenth century Russia. As the pogroms and escape from persecution not only dominate much of the scholarly but also the non-scholarly literature of the Cork Jewish community, it was necessary to clarify the alleged importance of the pogroms in the communal narrative. Chapter One demonstrates that while there was no doubt fear of the spread of violence and persecution, the majority of those Jews who ultimately settled in Cork originated from the north-west of the Pale of Settlement, an area not generally associated with the violence and persecution of the pogroms. The migrants' principal reasons for migration were economic. Their departure was aided in no small part by the burgeoning business of migration. This business of migration

and the expansion of the railway lines in both Russia and Great Britain was also analysed in the second section of the chapter. The academic works, which are analysed in Chapter One as well as the non-scholarly works and representations of the Cork Jewish community in Chapter Three have largely ignored the role of the migration business and the subsequent patterns of migration. Chapter One reveals that the choice of destinations for the migrants may have had much less to do with individual choices but much more to do with the distortions created by factors such as the proliferation of the railways in Russia and Great Britain competition among the shipping companies. The intense competition between the shipping companies brought the need to create a market, by actively stimulating and promoting the migrant trade.

Many of those original Jews who settled in Cork at the turn of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century benefited first from the widespread expansion of the railways lines in Russia, which by the end of the nineteenth century linked towns across the region with ports such Libau in modern day Latvia. The railways in Russia, which had paradoxically by this time made many of the traditional professions associated with Jews in the Pale of Settlement obsolete, now brought the same Jews closer to the ports from which they could leave for the New world in an attempt to improve their economic prospects. Once the Jewish emigrants arrived in ports like Libau, they could take advantage of not only shorter sailing times to Great Britain but also of the cutthroat pricing among the shipping companies. The pricing of a ticket to America, which was set by a small group of shipping companies, dictated that a ticket, which included a stop in Britain, was cheaper than a direct ticket to the Americas or South Africa. The expansion of the railways in Britain and Ireland, which began in the 1840s, further facilitated the emigrants' journey. The Hull to Liverpool via Leeds railway line also opened in 1844. It brought the 'German Ocean and Irish sea to within a few hours of each other'.[796]

This re-examination of Irish-Jewish historiography in Chapter One laid the foundation for the analysis of the oral testimonies of the former members of the Cork Jewish community and their neighbours in Chapter Two. Applying an oral history historiography to these interviews in Chapter Two allows us to fill in some of the gaps in the history of the community as well as understand how the individuals, many of whom had never spoken or written about their life experiences, viewed their life in Cork. They broaden our

[796] *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 January 1844.

understanding of not only what it meant to be Jewish in Cork, but also how the Jewish community perceived itself and also how it was viewed by its non-Jewish neighbours.

Contrary to the one-dimensional portrayal of the Cork Jewish community in many of the memoirs, biographies, auto-biographies and secondary literature, the interviews show that the reality of being Jewish in Cork was far-more nuanced than many of the published works would suggest. The interviews provided the foundation for the survey of non-scholarly works in Chapter Three. The testimonies shade the simplified, sentimental portrayal of the Cork Jewish community in many of the memoirs, biographies and autobiographies, which are examined in Chapter Three. Interviewing previously unheard voices from the Cork Jewish community allowed me to challenge not only a number of the pre-existing, unchallenged assumptions based on the dominant communal narrative, but also examine the day-to-day reality of being a member of the Jewish congregation in Cork. The testimonies of Chapter Two further question the unreflective nostalgia of the assumptions and beliefs that are taken as fact. These unsubstantiated anecdotes form the basis of much of the scholarly works of Chapter One and the non-scholarly works of Chapter Three.

The methodology of this dissertation was uncomplicated. In Chapter Two, an oral history methodological approach was applied to the preparation, conducting, transcribing and analysis of the interviews. A major concern throughout the thesis was to ensure that conjecture was not presented as fact.

The interviews, which were recorded in Cork, Dublin, London, Manchester and Israel, nuance the previous portrayals of the Cork Jewish community. By conducting twenty-two interviews, I was able to highlight the discrepancies and omissions in the so-called official accounts of the history of the community and that actual reality.

The interviews highlight that contrary to what is often stated as a fact in the secondary literature, enrolment at one's choice of school was not always a given. Presentation College Cork may have been the preferred choice of schools for the Jewish community of Cork, but it did not always accept Jewish pupils. The testimonies reveal that a numerus clausus was evoked on more than one occasion in an effort to limit the entry of Jewish pupils. Even after admission to the school, antisemitic incidents occurred. Much of the literature and 'official' accounts of the Cork community has either ignored this or minimalised its importance.

The interviews also emphasise that antisemitic episodes were not always limited to the playground. Many of the interviews with former members of the Cork Jewish community and their non-Jewish neighbours recall incidents such as name calling, inappropriate

comments, stone throwing, exclusion from sporting and cultural activities and also certain clubs. The dominant communal narrative of the Cork Jewish community downplays antisemitic occurrences that occurred in Cork. Many of the interviewees also extol the virtues of the non-Jewish community in Cork and in doing so attempt to minimise the antisemitic incidents that occurred by comparing them to more 'serious' events in other countries and even the Holocaust. The interviewees do, nevertheless, highlight the occurrence of antisemitic episodes while they were living in Cork. Many also speak to the antisemitic views of certain members of the Catholic clergy and also the influence the Catholic Church could exert on many aspects of their lives such as their educational and career prospects.

The interviews also demonstrate that the members of the Cork Jewish community's involvement in Irish nationalism were for the most part only speculation. The anecdotes that were recounted during the interview process were repeated versions of similar stories in the secondary literature. The minutes of the congregation shows that there was both regular formal and informal contact with the British Forces based in Cork. They also reveal the regular contact with the Chief Rabbinate in London. Members of the British Forces were invited to celebrate at the synagogue and at the homes of some of the congregants. These entries, coupled with the announcements in relation to the naturalisation of members of the Cork community in the *Jewish Chronicle* suggest that the members of the Cork community may have had a latent interest in Irish nationalism, but they were, nevertheless, largely loyal to the British Crown.

Primary sources such as the Census of 1901 and 1911; the *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper, Minute books, burial records and school enrolment lists are one of the main pillars of this thesis. Scholarly and amateur historians of the Cork Jewish community have largely ignored, to their detriment, the articles from the *Jewish Chronicle* and the entries from the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation*. Chapter Four analyses these much-neglected primary sources in detail. The examination of the many newspaper articles, small adverts and announcements of births, engagements, marriages and deaths in the *Jewish Chronicle* together with the many entries in *Minutes* in their historical context allow us to recreate a more detailed portrayal of communal life in Cork and complete the gaps created by the dominant communal narrative of accidental arrival.

The *Jewish Chronicle* had a section entitled 'The Provinces'. Local correspondents reported on a weekly basis about the activities of small peripheral communities such as Cork across the British Isles. The vast quantity of articles that were published in the newspaper

relating to the Cork Jewish community convey to us the social and economic links between Cork and other Anglo-Jewish communities. There was constant travel between the Cork Jewish communities and Jewish communities elsewhere in Ireland, but also in Britain. Many members of the Cork Jewish community had relatives in other Anglo-Jewish communities. Many members of the Cork Jewish community found marriage partners not in Cork, but in other Jewish communities. The entries in the *Jewish Chronicle* rarely announced marriages between two members of the Cork Jewish community. Several members had business ties with these communities. These links between the Cork Jewish community and Jewish communities across Ireland and Great Britain remain largely unexamined by previous scholars of the Cork Jewish community.

Both the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the accounts from the *Minutes Book* also underline the precarious financial situation of the community, the internal strive, the reliance on the Chief Rabbinate in London for advice and support, the charitable fundraising efforts of the community, its support for the Zionist cause and the difficulties the community had in appointing and retaining religious clergy and teachers. The articles also highlight the pride the community took in not only the educational achievements of their children, but also their participation in social events such as Irish Dancing competitions, and Public speaking events.

Similar to the extensive archive of the *Jewish Chronicle*, neither the *Minutes Book of the Cork Hebrew Congregation* nor the burial records of the community have been exploited by scholars of the Cork Jewish community. Like the articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, they enable us to appreciate not only the diversity of the Cork Jewish community, but also the challenges associated with living in such a small community. The transience of the community is evident in many of the entries of *Minutes*. Accounts in *Minutes* detail the onward migration to America, South Africa and Australia of several of its members. Through the appointment of religious officials to the community, we can also see the links with small Anglo-Jewish communities such as Merthyr Tydfil in Wales, Wolverhampton and Gateshead in England and to communities further afield such as Brisbane in Australia. Invitations to serving Jewish members of the British Forces in Cork to spend the High Holidays with the Cork congregation, together with notes of congratulations on the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902 in *Minutes* again emphasise the loyalty of the Cork Jewish community to the British Crown. Such entries further shade the accepted belief based on the repetition of communal anecdotes that the Cork Jewish community members were ardent supporters of Irish Nationalism.

The Jewish community of Cork may have been a small, relatively poor community, yet the details in *Minutes* detailing the congregation's efforts to aid first Belgian Jewish refugees in World War One and Jewish refugees in World War Two again reveal the importance the community placed on charitable contributions that not only aided Jewish causes but might also help have a positive impact on the image of the community.

The entries in *Minutes* enable us to nuance the communal narrative of accidental arrival. Entries record the community's effort to aid their fellow coreligionists who did sometimes arrive 'by accident' to Cork. Chapter One detailed the business of migration. As a result of the high volumes of transatlantic traffic, ships en route to the Americas did sometimes break down. Depending on their location at sea, they were often towed to Cork harbour for repairs. While the ships were being repaired, passengers disembarked and remained at Cork. Several entries show how the community helped such stranded passengers.

The myriad of articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the significant number of entries in *Minutes* help to complete the lacunae left by the over-reliance by many previous scholars of the Cork Jewish community on the unsupported opinions and assumptions of amateur historians and the 'gatekeepers' of the community. Their significance to date has largely been ignored.

Chapter Five uses the primary sources of the Census of 1901 and 1911, the enrolment records of the Cork Model School and the *Burial Record Book of the Cork Hebrew Society* to further deconstruct the communal narrative of accidental arrival. It then uses these previously unutilised primary sources to create a broader, more detailed picture of the Cork Jewish community.

The listed places of birth in the census returns of 1901 and 1911, together with the previous listed schools for children who enrolled at the Cork Model School allow me to further demonstrate the transience of some members of the community that was alluded to in so many of the entries in *Minutes*. Many of the Jewish families who arrived in Cork had previously lived in other towns and cities across the British Isles. Their journey to Cork had been completed in stages. In addition to having previously lived in towns across Britain, some had also settled, albeit briefly, in Irish towns and cities such as Limerick, Belfast and Dublin before eventually travelling to Cork. These primary sources show that many of the Jewish families who arrived in Cork had not simply arrived by accident by ship and disembarked, believing themselves to be in New York.

Furthermore, by comparing the addresses in the census returns of 1901 and 1911 with the school enrolment records, we can observe that despite the influx of migrants at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the population of the Cork Jewish community was never entirely stable. Transition and migration to bigger Jewish communities was always a feature of the Cork Jewish community. Both the census and the school enrolment records demonstrate that people were constantly arriving and leaving Cork. The sources show us that some Jewish emigrants also arrived in Cork, settled for a brief period, then moved on elsewhere, before eventually returning to Cork again. The inclusion of several boarders in both the census returns of 1901 and 1911 for Cork further emphasise the impermanent nature of the community. Economic hardship and the difficulty to make a living were the main factors behind the transience of the Cork Jewish community in its early years. Subsequent generations would continue to emigrate not only for economic reasons, but as the numbers in the community continued to decline, they would also emigrate to find a marriage partner. The struggle to make ends meet led to a geographical restlessness that has yet to be examined in any detail in the historiography of the Cork Jewish community. Like any other work, this thesis has certain constraints. It was not possible to study and quantify in detail the destinations in which those Jews who emigrated from Cork settled in. This is something that I would like to give more attention to in my future research.

The burial records of the Cork Jewish congregation together with the enrolment records of the Cork Model School validate the list of professions in both the Census of 1901 and 1911. They also help to dispel another communal myth of social mobility. This assumption of upward social mobility is much cherished by the Jewish community of Cork and remains uncontested by much of the existing historiography. The names of certain professions as well as the addresses of the congregants might vary in the census returns for 1901 and 1911 and on the school enrolment lists, however, most of the Jewish emigrants to Cork remained poor for the duration of their lives in Cork. If they moved house in Cork, the majority remained within the area known as ‘Jewtown’. They did not move in large number to more affluent suburbs of the city. The professions of the deceased in the burial records for the congregation further corroborate this.

This thesis evaluated a wide range of primary and secondary sources on Cork Jewry. The methodology applied was uncomplicated. The analytical techniques of Jewish historiography were applied to the sources. This analysis demonstrated that neither the secondary literature nor the scholarly literature accurately portrays the Cork Jewish community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It continues to be based on a

reductive, incomplete communal narrative of accidental arrival following persecution in Russia. There are significant gaps that can only be filled with a nuanced historiography, which includes a re-examination and inclusion of all the primary and secondary sources. It is only when the previously ignored and underexploited primary sources such as the census returns, the coverage from the *Jewish Chronicle*, the entries from *Minutes*, the school enrolment records and the information from the communal burial records are thoroughly examined that a deconstruction of the dominant communal narratives of accidental arrival, pogroms and escape can take place. A more nuanced, multi-faceted history of the Cork Jewish congregation can then take place.

Finally, this thesis shows that the Cork community cannot be viewed in isolation. It was not an anomaly, a community created 'by accident'. It was part of Irish, British and European Jewry. It's creation, evolution and ultimately demise reflects changes in the demographics of European Jewish communities. Studies of smaller Jewish communities such as Cork further our knowledge of not only Irish and British Jewry but also European Jewry.

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