

Switching off the lights, recalling the past: The Jewish Community of Stellenbosch

as the last active synagogue congregant living in Stellenbosch

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A lecture in Afrikaans!

I felt a bit awed when 'die Heemkring' a cultural Afrikaans society, that concentrates on the history of Stellenbosch, asked me to give them a talk in Afrikaans (!) on the history of the Stellenbosch Jewish community. I agreed because we Jews have played an important role in the development of this town which deserves to be recorded and recognised. The talk has been preserved on tape lodged in the Stellenbosch Archives with the other talks of *die Heemkring*.

About 50 interested members and their guests turned up on 9 March 2005 to listen to the lecture which I presented in the Stellenbosch Synagogue itself. It was preceded by a short history of the congregation as well as a description and explanation of the Shul and the various services, which are conducted therein. The audience was very interested and asked many questions.

[pictured right is the interior of the synagogue and Gerald Rosendorff who with his wife, Bernice, came to Stellenbosch in 1956 to join Bennie Spiro's medical practice. They became stalwarts of the community and he was the last one left lining in Stellenbosch.]



Beginnings of the Stellenbosch community

From the 1880s Eastern European Jews started to emigrate to the Cape driven out by poverty and persecution. From Cape Town they fanned out into the country communities seeking places where they could settle down and earn a living. As sufficient Jews settled in an area, attempts were made to form a congregation. A report in 1891 stated that "In Cedarland, Calvinia, Prince Albert, Swellendam, Stellenbosch, Ceres, Picketberg, Klapmuts and similar dorps, there are likewise many well-to-do Jews. Most of these have come from Germany during the last decade."¹

The first stirrings to form a congregation in Stellenbosch started soon after with contacts being made with the mother synagogue, the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation,² which 'played the role of Mother to the fledgling communities encouraging and assisting them in every possible way.'³ However it was only with the beginning of the new century that a congregation was formally established.

On 8 April 1900 24 people assembled at the home of David Daitsch for a Siyum Hatorah, following which they agreed to form a congregation to be called *Agudas Achim*. The first services on record were held in the home of Mr Brown in Herte Street after which they moved to premises in Plein Street.⁴

The first Jewish wedding took place two years later when Moses Zuckerman married Rebecca Glaser who taught German at the Rhenish Institute (today the Rhenish Girls School) -“Not because I was especially clever but because the German teacher had to leave suddenly and I just happened to be handy”, she was to explain. They were described as forming part of Stellenbosch’s young band of Jewish intellectuals.⁵ This places a different perspective on the integration of Jews into the lives of country communities, the usual image being the Jew as the smous, not as the school teacher. The Zuckermans later moved to Cape Town and became very involved in Zionist activity. Their son was knighted as Sir Solly Zuckerman.

By 1902 the new congregation’s numbers had swelled as the community absorbed temporary refugees from the Witwatersrand displaced by the hostilities of the South African War. The premises in Plein Street were no longer large enough and a small hall on Bird Street was rented for £1-15-00 a month. Altered and equipped as a synagogue, it was opened by the Rev AP Bender of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation on 11 February 1903. He was presented with an address thanking him for his untiring efforts to promote the cause of Judaism. (The synagogue site today is on the right-hand side of Bird Street going towards the intersection at Dorp Street about 12 metres from the corner.) Later they built a mikvah and in November 1904 formed a Chevra Kadisha.

The Jewish Board of Deputies – at first opposed by Rev Bender

When the Rev Bender laid the foundation stone for a synagogue in Paarl in 1904, the Stellenbosch Hebrew Congregation sent a telegram of congratulations.⁶ Soon the community was abuzz at attempts to form a Jewish Board of Deputies. Rev Bender vehemently opposed its establishment, as a threat to his pre-eminence in Jewish affairs, as he opposed Zionism, as an indication of disloyalty to the British crown. Under his influence, Paarl would have nothing to do with the Board of Deputies. Stellenbosch, more diplomatic and progressive, yet not wanting to spoil its relationship with the influential Rev Bender, joined the Board - but not as the Stellenbosch Hebrew Congregation. The Stellenbosch delegate to the Board was P Agranat who was representing the Stellenbosch Zionist Society, whose president he was. However he just happened to be one of the synagogue’s founder members and subsequently its president with his wife as the president of the *Agudas Achim’s* Ladies Benevolent Society.

The newly formed Board of Deputies was asked by the Cape Government to assist with naturalisation. Over 1 200 Jewish residents in the Cape Colony applied for naturalisation between 1904 and 1906 - eleven were from Stellenbosch.⁷

1923 Agudas Achim Synagogue foundation stone laid

The congregation continued to grow and the Bird Street Synagogue became too small for its needs. On 12 December 1923 Rev Bender was invited back to lay the foundation stone for Stellenbosch’s own purpose-built house of worship, the *Agudas Achim* Synagogue in Van Ryneveld Street, which was affiliated to the Union of Orthodox Synagogues. By this time Rev Bender had come to terms both with Zionist aspirations and with the Jewish Board of Deputies. Many notable guests were present, including the local magistrate, the mayor, ministers from the Dutch Reformed Church and even Paul Roos, the famous Springbok rugby captain and headmaster of the Paul Roos Boys High (today called the Paul Roos Gymnasium).

The Stellenbosch congregation, recognising the historic importance of the event, produced a special commemorative booklet with photos of the stone laying ceremony. It produced another commemorative booklet, *Remember the Days of Old*, for its golden jubilee in May 1950, with a

message from the Chief Rabbi, Professor Israel Abrahams, who called himself the successor to the Rev AP Bender who had laid the foundation stone.

Purchase of the Skuinshuis

In 1925 the congregation decided to buy a house for the rabbi and purchased the *Skuinshuis* – the skew house. This was a T shaped house of the De Calabassen Kraal farm, probably built in the middle of the 19th century, facing onto the then newly laid out road. It survived the great fire of 1803 and when the new town plan was adopted after the fire, a new road was laid out at an oblique angle to the previous road. As a result the house is now the only one situated obliquely to the present street, and appears skew. The 1929 Jewish Year Book records that the Stellenbosch Hebrew Congregation, the *Chevra Agudas Achim*, had been established in 1899 (sic) and had 40 members⁸. By 1932 the congregation had become sufficiently well established to build a Communal Hall adjacent to the Shul adjoining the old *Skuinshuis* which was opened by chairman SJ Joffe.

Women's Role

In 1938 the women formed a WIZO society to work for the establishment of a Jewish homeland. It was Moses Zuckerman who had first recognised the importance of having women's Zionist societies – previously this had been the prerogative of men. Another society was the Union of Jewish Women which was founded in Stellenbosch in 1945 to work for local causes and which replaced the now defunct Ladies Benevolent Society. By 1946 the WIZO group was meeting fortnightly to knit and sew garments for the Holocaust survivors in DP camps and the new immigrants in Palestine.

Close relationships with surrounding communities

The relationship between the Jewish community and the other religious communities, including the Muslim community, has always been very good. Professors Weis and van der Merwe often brought students from the Theological Seminary to our Friday evening services and once a year members of this church invited the Jewish community to an evening of entertainment. As long ago as 1881 the newspaper *Het Volkblat* referring to a fund for Russian pogrom victims started by Rev Rabinowitz, of the CT Hebrew Congregation, wrote

'When, however, we remember how very liberally our Jewish fellow citizens, headed by their Pastor, always come to the front, when anything is to be done to relieve sufferers by such dire calamities as, some years ago, the fire at Stellenbosch, we cannot help reminding our Western country friends that it is now in their power to show that they are neither forgetful nor deficient in sympathy with those who are victims of the prejudice and the spirit of persecution.'⁹

In 1956 there were 50 to 60 families in Stellenbosch. The women were actively involved in raising money for Israel and for local charities, selling tickets to their functions to their Afrikaans neighbours and would entertain the children from the Oranjia Jewish Orphanage every year. A Men's Zionist Organisation was organised in 1953 by Simon Leeman which he chaired for a number of years. Fanny Segal remembered a hobo dance held in Stellenbosch for Zionist funds.

'If you saw how these people came dressed in rags wearing costumes made from bags. We got six men to dress up in bathing costumes with wigs but we had to get them drunk first before they would go on the stage. My late husband blacked out his teeth so he

really was no beauty. It was a cheap fund raiser - as hobos we could not eat anything fancy, just soup and sandwiches.' ¹⁰

Max and Freda Zetler would host fund raising braais with dancing on their farm and would also hold country rallies on their farm for the different women's Zionist societies from Worcester, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Somerset West and the Strand. Sam and Josie Zetler often hosted groups of children from the Jewish Orphanage to picnics on their farm, 'Mooiberge'.

Our women catered for local weddings and barmitzvahs to raise funds. When the State of Israel was established the Somerset West/Strand/Stellenbosch Zionist branches would come together to celebrate Yom Ha'atzmaut with an outing to the Gordon's Bay Angling and Yacht Club. There were sufficient members to make it worthwhile for overseas dignitaries to come to Stellenbosch to address the Jewish community. The first one took place in 1972 in the form of a regional WIZO garden party at which Esther Michael, wife of the Israeli charge d'affaires, was guest of honour. These functions were of sufficient local importance for *Die Burger* newspaper to send a reporter to cover it. For example, *Die Burger* reported on the open meeting in Stellenbosch addressed by Ora Namir, head of Knesset Education Department, saying that she made a plea for more women to serve in politics because their warmth, compassion and responsibility could have an important influence. ¹¹

We were involved in the Rotary, on the City Council, in sports, in amateur theatricals. When it was a Jewish holy day, the business part of town was virtually deserted, as most of the shops were closed. The Jewish community formed an intrinsic part of the fabric of Stellenbosch.

In January 2004 we commemorated the 80th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone of our synagogue. Over 150 Stellenbosch residents, past and present, assembled from the four corners of the globe for the occasion, including two nonagenarians. It was an emotional reunion. Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris remarked that this showed that how apt the name of our synagogue, *Agudat Achim*, 'a band of brothers', had proved to be.

Sadly, I am now the only Jew actually living in the Town who actively participates in Shul matters although there are two other Jewish families who live in Stellenbosch who are not involved in synagogue affairs. Remarkably we still manage to have a minyan on Friday evenings with services conducted by Leslie or Barry Zetler.

How do we manage this? The majority of the members of our congregation are from the Zetler families, who live on farms in the Stellenbosch district and not in the Town itself. They themselves have made a substantial development to the agriculture of Stellenbosch with their innovative strawberry and vegetable farms. Their involvement in Stellenbosch started with the arrival of Mendel Zetler in 1900. We also have two members who come in from Franschoek, one from Somerset West and one from Cape Town.

Where has our once thriving community gone?

There are 148 marked graves in the Stellenbosch cemetery. Apart from these who lived and died here, most of the other members left for the bright lights, mostly to Cape Town, a few to Israel and other countries. Young people are attracted to the cities. Their parents follow. A few years ago, even a couple of octogenarians went on aliyah to be near their children and grandchildren. Simon (Sam) Leeman's story is a good example of this pattern. He came to Stellenbosch in 1930. Freshly arrived from Lithuania, he was offered a job at £2 per month with free board and lodging. He was told that

'the work was very easy, and that I would be able to learn the language and also the business. I decided to accept the job and so I came to Stellenbosch. Here I was able to concentrate upon learning some English and Afrikaans, and also to get a deeper understanding of the business structure of this country. After about six months I managed to save a few pounds and opened my own business.'¹²

He married and brought up a family here. His children grew up, went to university, married and did not return to Stellenbosch. Finally in 1962 he decided to sell his business and go to Cape Town to be near his family.

With this pattern of people dying or leaving Stellenbosch and not being replaced by new Jewish residents, our numbers started to shrink. In 1965 there were 70 Jewish families, 283 Jewish souls in Stellenbosch, and our rabbi was Rabbi M Kay. Two years later there were still 70 Jewish families, 283 Jewish souls in Stellenbosch, and our rabbi was Rabbi M Kay. Ten years later, in 1977, there were 31 Jewish families, 92 Jewish souls, and it was recorded in the Jewish Year Book that the 'rabbi' was Mr H Walt. A loss of 39 families, 191 Jewish souls, in only ten years. The community had halved. This represents a massive, sudden and dramatic decrease, a wholesale exodus from the town. After 1978 we no longer employed a full-time rabbi.¹³

There is nothing unique about the demise of Stellenbosch Jewry. I found these paragraphs in a recently published book by David Biggs called *Karoo Ramblings* and it is as valid for Stellenbosch as it is for the Karoo. It explains, in a nutshell, the causes of the disappearance of the Jews from the small country towns, including Stellenbosch.¹⁴

In almost every little Karoo town you'll find a synagogue, usually now used as something else: a museum, perhaps, or a library or possibly a private home. The story behind these buildings is similar in every Karoo dorp. Only the names are different. One of the features of early Karoo country life was the Jewish 'smous'. These hardy, determined men were usually immigrants whose families had fled the pogroms of Eastern Europe and arrived penniless to start a new life in the young South Africa. They were used to hardship and poverty. They knew how to barter and trade. Somehow they gathered a pack of small, portable items to sell, often assisted by immigrants who had arrived before them. ... They knew their best bet was to get as far as possible from the towns where the goods they were selling were readily available. Karoo farms were far apart and their inhabitants had very little opportunity to shop. The arrival of the smous was an important event in the life of the farm family... If he was lucky, the smous would be offered a hot meal before he set off again. Sometimes not.

Every Karoo town had its Jewish shopkeepers and hoteliers. Following Jewish tradition they valued education above all else and made sure their children would not have to struggle through life as they had. Sons and daughters were sent to good schools and universities... When their parents retired they moved to the cities too, to be near their successful children. Slowly the Jewish communities dwindled in each little Karoo town until there were only nine families left. In order to have an official Jewish congregation there must be ten heads of family forming a minyan, or quorum. With only nine the synagogue could no longer function. It was sold and the remaining families moved away. When you're travelling through the Karoo, take time to find the old schul. Stand and wonder at the story behind it.

The skuinshuis

You can also stand and wonder at our *skuins huis*. It is the second oldest building in Stellenbosch and is a national monument. Over the years it fell into a state of great disrepair and stood empty for a long time, until in 1979, due to the efforts of Lossy Ginsburg, Louis Perel and Chippy Armstrong, it was renovated, extended and restored. When the work was completed, a ceremony was held at which Lossy Ginsberg unveiled the Historical Monuments Plaque and Rabbi Duschinsky, the Av Beth Din, planted an olive tree from the garden of Gethsamane in Jerusalem. Today it is rented out for business purposes and provides the major source of the income of the Congregation.

Finally, although we only hold one service a week, for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, we host about 12 young people from Cape Town to help make a minyan and amongst them are one or two who are able to conduct the services for us. We still hold our heads high, however. All the Shuls in the surrounding towns have closed, with the exception of Paarl and Somerset West who are still managing to keep their heads above water.

Our 1950 Golden Jubilee brochure proudly stated that 'the Stellenbosch Jewish Community marches on - carrying aloft the torch of Judaism; full of hope for the future of our people and our religion. We have not betrayed the trust reposed in us by the early pioneers who laid the foundation... Our beautiful Synagogue will always stand as a monument to their labours and faith.'¹⁵

The future of our people and our religion is safe, but not any longer in Stellenbosch whose Jewish community has marched on elsewhere. It is unfortunate and inevitable, that one day the doors of our beautiful Synagogue will be closed, but in our constitution it is laid down that this building will have to remain as either part of the Stellenbosch Museum or be used by the University for academic purposes, a monument to our labours and faith.

JEWISH CONTRIBUTION TO LIFE IN STELLENBOSCH (approx 1925 to 2005)

With the help of Mr Willem Lubbe and his prodigious memory, and some others, I have attempted to draw up the following list of businesses and professions in which Jews were involved from about 1925 until today¹⁶. It is amazing that in a period of about 80 years, there could be such a change in the business and professional world. Previously there was a comprehensive Jewish participation in fields as diverse as ranging from farmers to barbers, from bookies to woodcutters, to doctors, shopkeepers and lawyers. Today, apart from one business run by a Jewish man, who does not live in Stellenbosch, there is not a single Jewish business or professional person in Stellenbosch apart from a senior lecturer in the Music Department of the University of Stellenbosch.

This list has been compiled to the best of our abilities and memories. Please accept errors and omissions in good humour and regard these as signs of fallibility and age.

ACADEMIC: LIONEL BOWMAN, (Prof Music); DR JOKL ,(Prof Physical Education);PROF KABAT,(Prof Italian);SIMONE KIRSH, (Senior lecturer, piano);LOSSIE GINSBURG, (world famous fruit refrigeration expert - also chairman of Shul for many years); DR HYMIE EBEDES, (Elsenberg Veterinary Surgeon); FELIX GUT, (expert on Nazi oppression, donated his collection of material on the Holocaust to Stellenbosch University);DR BENNIE EISENBERG (worked at Fruit Research with Lossie Ginsberg)

PROFESSIONS: Accountant: HYMIE CHORN; **Attorneys:** PIKKIE GEFFIN & RUBY SCHNEIDER, MICHAEL ZETLER; **Pharmacist,** BENNIE PERL (converted to Dutch Reform !!) **General Practitioners:** Dr BENNY SPIRO, (First Jewish Dr. 1938 – 1968);

Dr LEN SILBERSTEIN, (now "Selby" and living in London) joined Spiro + _ 1950 – 1959); Dr GERRY ROSENDORFF, (joined Spiro, 1956 –1992, since then, Hon Sec/Treas/Shamus of Congregation); Dr MORRIE BASKER – (partner with Rosendorff for 13 years, now living in Israel) and his brother IVOR, (now living in Canada); Dr MAX ELSTEIN,(partner with Rosendorff for +- 5 yrs, became Prof of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at Manchester University); **Road Engineer:** CHIPPY ARMSTRONG.

ARTISTS: Display Artist: VIC MEYER; **Graphic Designer:** RENFIELD.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS: RIVA LURIE, EDDIE, ABE, FANNY SEGAL

RETAIL: Bazaars: CARP, (ABC bazaar);MORRIS KLEIN, (MK bazaar); **Building Supplies:** LOUIS, BARNEY,WILLIE, **Building Supplies & Hardware:** SAM LEWIS;MARCUS; L PEREL & Co **Butcheries:** STEIN & SHERMAN; JAWITZ; BOET ZETLER; **Café:** RUTSTEIN; **Chain Stores:** OK BAZAARS; ACKERMANS; **Cycle Store:** NOCKIE LEWIS; **Fish shop:** WERB > FLORENCE; **Furniture :** DAVE, MORRIS, GERALD POTASH, (Stellenbosch Furnishers); LARRY MILNER; **General Dealers:** SILBERSTEIN; JOFFE; LEEMAN; MORRIE SPIRO; POLICANSKY; HENRY LEVINSOHN; COHEN; SIMON MOSS; KAPLAN; MAX PEI SACH (1903); SAM LEWIS; **Grocers:** SPITZ & LEVINSOHN; OSRIN; CYWES; **Jeweller:** ABRAHAMS **News Agent:** GREENSTEIN & SENITZKY; **Shoe Store:** MYER SANDLER, (Model Shoe Store)

INDUSTRIES: Motor Industry: JOE SCHULMAN; HARRY LEVINSOHN (& MAREE), (Packard); LARRY ZIMAN (Volkswagen); SAM TOLMAN, (General Motors) **LAUNDRY INDUSTRY: Dry Cleaning and Laundry:** Stellenbosch Steam Laundry ;Stellenbosch Dry Cleaners, LARRY ZIMAN, DOUGIE ZIMAN; **Cabinet Maker:** MEYER (he made the Bimah and benches in our Shul); **Tannery:** ABE BUB; **Cobbler:** SENITZKY

SERVICES: Barber: RENFIELD

PROPERTY: Property Developer: FRED ZETLER

INDUSTRY: Mill& Bakery: GELB; MORRIS JACKSON; **Mineral water:** RIVA LURIE, EDDIE, ABE, FANNY SEGAL

HOTELS AND LIQUOR: Hotels: GOTSCHALK > JOEL FRIEDMAN,(Grand Hotel); SAM REICH (barman: Grand Hotel); MOSSIE TOLMAN (Coetzenberg Hotel); JOSIE TOLMAN (OLIVIER) (Coetzenberg Hotel); MORRIS NUROK, (Masonic Hotel); **Bottle Stores & Bars:** MORRIS JACKSON (A1 Bottle Store); MAX SAACKS (Castle Bar); HARRY SCHEIFFER (subsequent owner of Castle Bar); RUBY & LEONARD JACKSON, (Railway Bar);

ENTERTAINMENT: Cinemas: HARRY LEVINSOHN (Plaza & "Rec"); **Amateur Theatre,** MYREL GINSBURG also BERGHZICHT TRAINING CENTRE (important administrative position)

BETTING AND GAMING: Tattersalls: LARRY ZIMAN

FARMERS: In Stellenbosch vicinity: FARMERS: In Stellenbosch vicinity: MENDEL ZETLER arrived in 1900. His son SAM farmed at "Mooiberge" where Sam's sons HERSCHEL, LENNIE, DENNIS and JEFFREY still farm as well as Herschel's son, BEVAN. Sam's son MICHAEL farms at "Limberlost" with his sons JULIAN, LESLIE, BARRY, (who helps out when possible in the farm stall) and LEON (emigrated). Other Jewish farmers were SIMMY BLUMBERG (Stellenvale Winery); SAM BRUNOW; ABE BARAITSER; JOE FRIEDMAN; SACKS (Nietvoorby); SONNY DORFMAN; EMBER; **Out of town:** SACKS (Koelenhof); SACKS (Muldersvlei); SHABAN (Lynedoch); SHAPIRO, (Vlottenberg); **Livestock Dealer:** MENDEL ZETLER and his son BOET ZETLER; BARUCH LEVINSOHN **Wood Chopper:** LOSKY COHEN

RELIGIOUS: REV ZEIDEL (1900), REV H NATAS (1904), REV J HURWITZ (1905 -1910), REV EPHRAIM SHER (1913 - 1916); REV FS WALT (1916), REV MA HELMAN (1917 - 1920), REV KASSEL (1923), REV J HERISON (1925), REV I GOLDBERG (1929 – 1934), REV I REICHENBERG (1937 - 1940), REV H SHATZ (1941), REV G GOLUB (1945), REV HILLMAN (1946), REV ISAAC PAKTER (1945 - 1964), RABBI M KAY (1964 – 1966), REV M CANTOR (1967), REV E LAGNADO (1968 - 1970), REV DAVID LAPIN (1973 - 1974), REV P KOEIN (1974 - 1975), REV HAROLD WALT (1976). Others that must be mentioned are LOSSIE GINSBURG, (beloved chairman for many years) and SAMMY SEGALL (Shamus for about 40 years).¹⁷

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT: Municipal Council: EDDIE SEGALL, PIKKIE GEFFIN; **Rotary:** LARRY & DOUGIE ZIMAN (father and son); **Hospital Committee:** ALL Jewish Drs at one time or another; Our ladies have raised funds to establish and maintain the **Trauma Room** at the local Police Station and we are also involved in working for and supporting the **Local Charities**.

SPORTS: Golf: PERELS & SAM LEWIS; POTASH; **Bowls:** SPIRO; LADIES (BETTY MARCUS & JUDY POTASH). LOUIS PEREL was made an honorary life member of the Stellenbosch van der Stel Bowls Club of which I am currently the only Jewish member and also serve as the official coach. **Tennis:** FRED ZETLER

1 ND Hoffman, Hatzefira, 1891, quoted in Israel Abrahams *The Birth of a Community*, Cape Town, 1955, 54

2 Herrman, Louis, *A Centenary History: The Cape Town Hebrew Congregation 1841-1941*, Cape Town 1941, 60

3 Abrahams, op cit., 82

4 *Remember the Days of Old, Golden Jubilee 1900 – 1950*, Stellenbosch Hebrew Congregation

5 Interview with S.L., South African Jewish Times, 28.6.1951

6 Press, Charles, *The Light of Israel: The Story of the Paarl Jewish Community*, Paarl 1993, 34

7 Hotz, Louis, The work of the Board, 1904, (reprinted from the Jewish Affairs, February 1963) in, *A Century of Communal Challenges*, South African Jewish Board of Deputies (Cape Council) 1904 – 2004, edited by Gwynne Robins, Cape Town, 2004, 4

8 De Saxe, Morris (ed), *The South African Jewish Year Book, 1929*, Johannesburg, 1929, 287. For interest, the committee comprised S Joffe as president, I Perel, vice-president, I Silberstein, treasurer, D Stein, secretary and J Shulman, M Sherman, D Segall, M Zetler, S Meyers and M Jackson on the committee.

9 Quoted in Abrahams, op cit. 142

10 Interviewed, 28.6.2000

11 Die Burger, 27.8.1980

12 Leeman, Simon, *My Life and Philosophy*, Cape Town, 1981

13 Feldberg Leon (ed) *South African Jewry, 1965*, Johannesburg, 1965; 191. Feldberg Leon (ed) *South African Jewry, 1967-1968*, Johannesburg, 1968. 156; Feldberg Leon (ed) *South African Jewry, 1976-1977*, Johannesburg, 1977, 117

14 Biggs, David, *Karoo Ramblings*, Cape Town, 2004, 29, 30

15 *Remember the Days of Old, Golden Jubilee 1900 – 1950*, Stellenbosch Hebrew Congregation

16 For assistance in compiling this list I wish to acknowledge and thank the following for their memories and their assistance: Willem Lubbe, well known Stellenbosch businessman; Prof Solly Leeman, retired law professor, University of Cape Town; Michael Zetler, attorney, now living in Israel; Leonie Segal (nee Chorn) of Cape Town and Leon Levy of the CCMA for his help in classifying the employment categories..

17 This list extended from The SA Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth, *Jewish Life in the South African Country Communities*, Vol 11, Johannesburg, 2004, 253