

JEWS IN EDINBURGH AND THEIR MARRIAGES 1841–1911

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Fig. 1. The building housing the first Synagogue in Scotland in Richmond Court, taken in 1929 by Alfred Henry Rushbrook. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

It is just over 200 years since the founding of the first Jewish synagogue in Scotland in 1817 in Edinburgh. The congregation's services were held in a flat in Richmond Court, off what was then North Richmond Street, since demolished as part of slum clearance in the early 1930s. The path that led into the Court from Richmond Place still exists; although it now leads through a 1930s block to a lane leading to the Pleasance, passing the entrance to St Leonard's nursery school (Fig. 1).

Several initiatives were taken to mark this bicentenary and to explore and document the history

of Jews in Scotland. One of these, sponsored by the International Institute for Jewish Genealogy in Jerusalem,¹ produced two books: a general history of Jews in Scotland, and an edited collection of more scholarly articles.² I contributed a chapter to the latter book, a demographic summary of all Jews in Scotland from 1841 to 1911,³ based on 45,000 records from Censuses and registrations of births, deaths or marriages relating to over 29,000 Jewish individuals, transcribed by a team led by the eminent genealogist Michael Tobias.⁴

This article uses the records from the 5,300

Jews found in Edinburgh records during this period to describe Jewish life in the city up to 1911. By focusing on the 347 marriages that took place from the introduction of civil registration in 1855 up to 1911 where at least one of the partners was Jewish, we get some insight into religious life in that period.⁵ Several books on the history of Jews in Edinburgh, two of them published in 2019, were a great help in understanding the communities during the period. The books, by Mark Gilfillan and Hannah Holtschneider respectively, are major sources, as are other earlier works.⁶ Online resources now make it easy to trace individuals. In particular, the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Scotsman* archives as well as Post Office directories available from the National Library of Scotland can be searched for individual names and organisations. Two very different memoirs from Jews who lived in Edinburgh just after this period help to breathe life into the people in the records. David Daiches paints lively pictures of his father’s congregants in his autobiographical tribute to his father, Salis Daiches, who was the rabbi of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation from 1919 to his death in 1945.⁷ Howard Denton describes life in the then Jewish Quarter of Edinburgh as the ‘Happy Land’ where he was born in 1914 and spent his childhood as Hyam Zoltie.⁸

Although the genealogical data includes many later records, the choice of dates (1841–1911) was dictated by the current availability of the Census records, and also by the need to protect the privacy of any individuals who may still be alive today. But it was a fortunate choice because it covers the period of mass westward migration of Jews from Eastern Europe before it was slowed by immigration restrictions brought in by the Aliens Act of 1905, and ceased completely with the outbreak of World War I.

Migrants and trans-migrants

The first synagogue in Scotland was founded by just 20 families. Tobias’s thorough investigation found little evidence of Jews in Edinburgh before its founding.⁹ The exception was a small group of Jewish families resident in the Canongate in the 1790s. One of them, the chiropodist Heyman/Herman Lion/Lyons, purchased a plot of land on Calton Hill for a mausoleum, now buried under the foundations of

the Observatory but rediscovered and investigated in 2013.¹⁰ These families originated elsewhere in the UK and in the Netherlands. The Census records show the increase in numbers of Jews in Edinburgh from 1841 to 1911 (Table 1). Those captured in the

Census year	Numbers		% of households with any members in Edinburgh at the next Census	Household size %		
	people	households		1	3 to 5	6+
1841	145	43	32.6	16.3	60.5	23.2
1851	114	28	42.9	10.7	60.7	28.6
1861	152	36	36.1	8.3	69.4	22.4
1871	231	52	38.5	9.6	57.7	32.6
1881	338	74	68.9	4.1	63.5	32.5
1891	925	178	66.9	10.1	46	43.8
1901	1614	302	59.9	9.6	42.3	48.1
1911	2006	380	---	7.6	46.8	45.6

Table 1. Number of Jews and Jewish households in Edinburgh Census returns 1841 to 1911, percentage of households where any family member is present at the subsequent Census, and household sizes

Censuses can only have been a small proportion of those Jews who passed through Edinburgh during this period. Emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe increased from a trickle of around 7,000 per year from the 1820s onward, but became a flood after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 prompted a wave of pogroms across Russia and the economic position for Jews in the Russian Empire worsened. In total it is estimated that around three million Jews left Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century.¹¹ A popular route to North America was from Hamburg to Leith, then to Glasgow to set sail for the *Goldene Medina* of North America, made easier by the opening of the rail link between Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1842. Evans¹² discusses the transmigrants who followed this route and the philanthropic efforts by Jews and others to relieve their wretched condition.

What factors influenced some Jews to settle in Scotland? A popular myth is that they were duped by unscrupulous travel agents who sold them tickets to America that only took them as far as Scotland. Jack Ronder’s novel, based on the life of his grandfather, tells such a tale as well as giving a dramatic account of his escape from a pogrom in his home town.¹³ A more plausible explanation is that they were forced to stay in Scotland to earn sufficient money for the second leg of their journey, and some ended up settling here for long enough to be recorded in the Censuses. Once a Jewish person was settled in Edinburgh, other family

members would often join them, either directly from Eastern Europe, or from other parts of the UK.¹⁴

The number of Jewish people and Jewish households increased only slightly in the first part of the period but then rose steeply from 1881 to 1911. The numbers are slightly lower than in my earlier analyses of these data,¹⁵ because further checking of evidence for Jewish status led to the exclusion of some families.¹⁶ The households with only a single Jewish member were most often boarders or lodgers, usually single men: we know from ships’ manifests that men often travelled first to be joined later by their wives and families. The proportion of large families increased in the later years. Table 1 shows a large turnover of families from one Census to the next, although a larger proportion of families remained in Edinburgh in the later years. Figure 2 shows how the proportion of Edinburgh Jews born in Eastern Europe increased sharply during the period 1851 to 1911.¹⁷ Their origins were in what was known as the ‘Pale

were integrated into English life in which many played prominent roles. According to Gartner these established families ‘showed no pleasure in the arrival of these new immigrants and did everything in their power to persuade them not to come.’²⁰ In contrast, the small number of Jewish families in Edinburgh before 1881 was a mixture of professionals, mainly teachers or doctors, and a few successful businessmen²¹ who had set up in Scotland, often immigrants themselves. Despite the tensions between the religious communities, described later, there is little evidence of hostility to new immigrants among the existing Jewish population. Gilfillan²² describes the efforts of both Jewish and Christian communities to support these new arrivals. Funds were raised, mostly by non-Jews, and welfare organisations were set up to support them and to provide temporary accommodation for trans-migrants. At a public meeting held by Lord Provost Boyd in 1882 on the persecution of the Jews of Russia, a letter of support was read out from the Earl of Rosebery.²³ Rosebery himself had a link to the Anglo-Jewish establishment through his marriage in 1878 to Hannah Rothschild. He and his wife were benefactors to the immigrant community in Edinburgh, and Gilfillan argues that this may have been a factor in changing Rosebery’s stance on immigration policy.

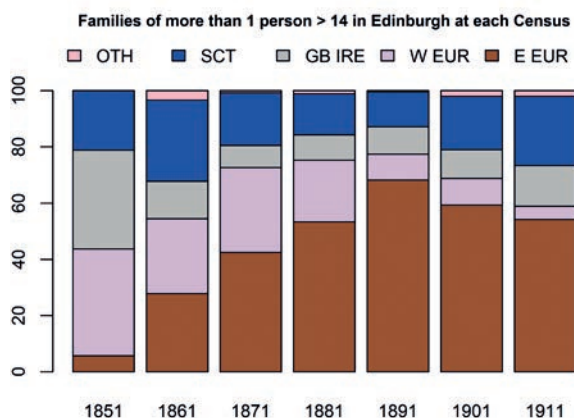


Fig. 2. Percentage of Jews (aged >14) in Jewish families by place of birth in Census records 1851 to 1911

of Settlement’ of the Russian Empire in what is now Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Ukraine.¹⁸ Most of these immigrants were Yiddish speakers from small towns known as *shtetls* where Jewish traders and artisans formed a high proportion of the population.¹⁹

How did the local population, Jewish and non-Jewish, react to this influx of largely destitute Jews? The nature of the Jewish population of Scotland before the influx of new migrants was very different from the Anglo-Jewish establishment in London at that time. The latter included many wealthy families, such as the Rothschilds and the Montefiores, who

Jewish occupations in Edinburgh

The occupations of individuals entered in the Census enumeration books have been transcribed by Tobias and his team. Algorithms such as HISCO²⁴ have been developed to classify such historical occupations, but none of them would classify more than a small proportion of the Census text strings into one of their categories, and on checking the output many of them looked wrong. To make sense of the data, I developed an algorithm that built upon what we know were typical Jewish occupations (see Fig. 3). First, I attempted to identify the wealthy and successful, shown in yellow, including professional groups such as teachers and doctors, those with independent means, and cases where the text string mentioned employees. The next group were those in retail, brokers/wholesalers, shopkeepers, and pedlars, shown in shades of pink in Figure 3. The pedlar group were the *trebblers*²⁵ described in David Daiches’s memoir as travelling

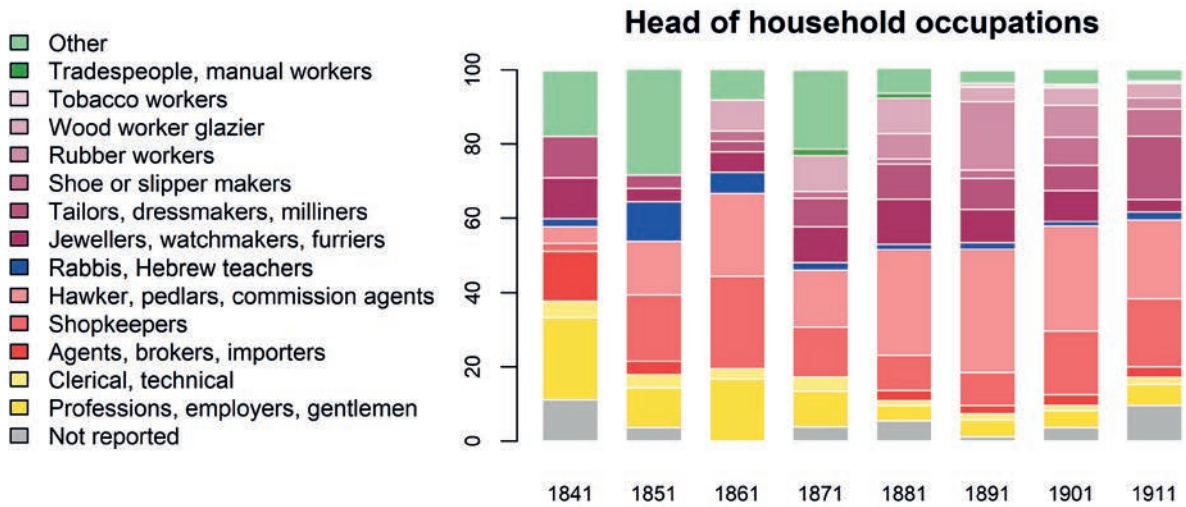


Fig. 3. Percentage of occupations of Jewish heads of households in each group for Censuses 1841 to 1911

out of Edinburgh to peddle their wares in the Scottish countryside. Rabbis, Hebrew teachers and Synagogue beadles are shown in blue. The purple bars show craftsmen including the typical Jewish occupations of jewellers/furriers and tailors/dressmakers. The shoe/slipper makers and rubber workers who appeared in later years arrived from Leeds and Manchester respectively to work in a slipper factory and in the manufacture of waterproof clothing.²⁶ Many of the woodworkers and glaziers were engaged in producing the furniture and framed pictures that were popular items for peddling. Cigarette-making was a home-based trade, often carried out by women. The occupations shown in green were those with a very small proportion of Jews: tradesmen, farmers and manual workers. Within each colour group the more prestigious occupations are shown in a darker shade.

Although the proportions in the most prosperous groups were higher in the earliest years, the numbers were small.²⁷ The proportions in the retail group (pink) and in craft occupations (purple) increased as more immigrants arrived from Eastern Europe. Within the retail group there were a high proportion of hawkers etc., only falling slightly in 1911.

The Jewish Quarter

Most of the new immigrants settled in what would come to be known as the Jewish Quarter, bounded by Drummond Street to the north, by East and West

Crosscauseway to the south, with Potterrow and Buccleuch Street to the west and Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat to the east (see Fig. 4). The street layout remained as on this map until well into the twentieth century, although many of the tenement blocks are now demolished and replaced by new housing, especially in the Dumbiedykes area leading down to Arthur's Seat. It was a district of slum housing, described in 1865 as 'wretched tenements and courts ... at many points fallen into decay' by Henry Littlejohn, Edinburgh's first Medical Officer of Health.²⁸

I selected these boundaries from areas with large numbers of Jewish households, but excluded streets just to the South of this area, such as Rankeillor Street and St Leonard's Hill, where the records showed that families would often move to better housing once they had been established in the city, but would often return to the Jewish Quarter to shop or go to one of the synagogues. Denton describes life there as follows:

The scene was not a Scottish one. There was much extrovert activity: arms flayed [*sic*] and hands were outstretched in a thousand dramatic gestures as banter was traded and newspapers were argued over, People yelled their strange greetings from one pavement to another while, filling the roadway were salesmen, scholars, schemers, inventors, rogues and Rabbis.²⁹

At that time there were several Jewish bakers and butchers, and even a kosher dairy. But it was by no means a ghetto, in that Jews did not make up the majority of the population of the Jewish Quarter

at any time. The Census records show that most addresses would have only a single Jewish household among what were often ten to twelve households on a stair. In the 1901 Census³⁰ Jewish households made up only three per cent of the households in the Census enumeration districts³¹ in the Jewish Quarter. Even in the enumeration districts with the highest concentration of Jewish households, North Richmond Street and Arthur Street, they only comprised eleven per cent and ten per cent of households respectively. The last Jewish butcher and baker³² in Edinburgh

districts in the Jewish Quarter, and those in the area around Caledonian Crescent in Dalry. The latter area was initially settled by the workers in the Caledonian Rubber Works, but in the three Census years 1891, 1901 and 1911 only one third of heads of households were rubber workers, while the rest were almost all travellers or tailors. For these two areas persons per room are compared for Jewish and non-Jewish households. Sixty-three per cent of all households in Edinburgh had more inhabitants than rooms (persons per room over 1), but for both

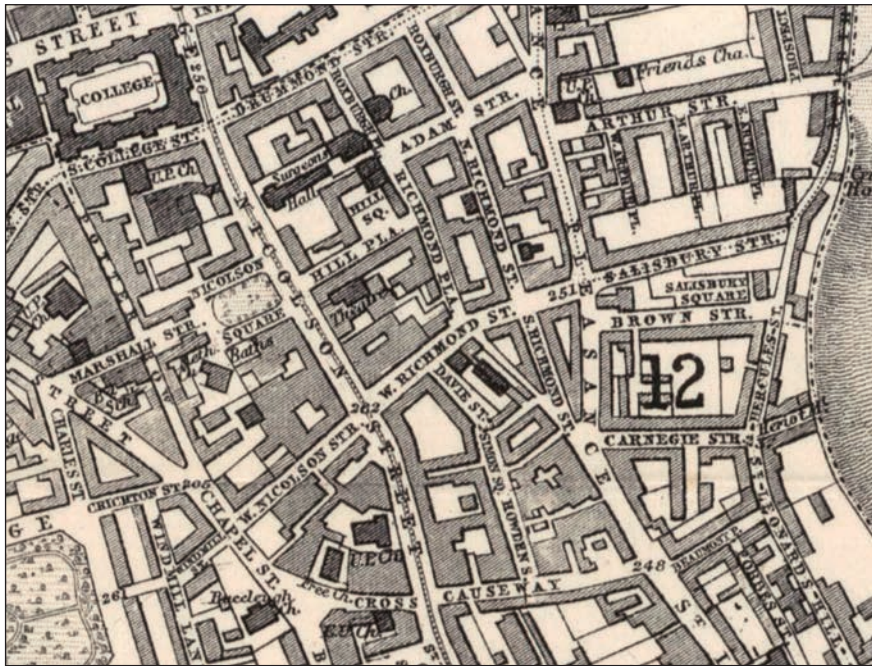


Fig. 4. Extract from Bartholomew's *Plan of Edinburgh & Leith* (1882). Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

were situated in the Jewish Quarter until 1986 and 2005 respectively. Anyone wanting to explore the area now can download the Jewish History Tour, a self-guided app for mobile phones, and read about it in Hannah Holtschneider's book.³³

The anonymised data from the 1901 Census allows us to learn more about Jewish housing in Edinburgh.³⁴ The 1901 Census was the first to collect data on the number of rooms available to each household. The ratio of household size to number of rooms (i.e., persons per room) assesses overcrowding in these homes. Table 2 shows persons per room for all Edinburgh households, and then for households in Census enumeration

Jews and non-Jews living in the Jewish Quarter and in Dalry the figure was over 90 per cent. Within each area Jewish households were somewhat more crowded than non-Jewish households, especially for the most crowded homes. Denton describes living conditions in the flat in Heriot Mount (see Fig. 5) where a family of ten shared three rooms (3.3 persons per room).³⁵ Their neighbours' homes would be equally impoverished and what little evidence there is suggests that non-Jews and Jews coexisted peacefully in these areas. Many of their neighbours would have been immigrants themselves. Correspondents to the *Scotsman* revealed anti-immigrant and anti-Jewish views but

	Area				
	All Edinburgh	Jewish Quarter		Dalry	
% households over	non-Jewish	Jewish	non-Jewish	Jewish	
1 person per room	63	93	96	91	95
2 persons per room	26	58	71	47	68
3 persons per room	10	29	39	19	41
4 persons per room	3	12	17	5	9
5 persons per room	1	5	7	1	5
Number of households	15964	3127	109	925	22

Table 2. Percentage of Edinburgh households in the 1901 Census that exceeded each level of persons per room, by area, and by whether households were identified as Jewish

these were stoutly rejected by Jews and by others.³⁶

The synagogue in Richmond Court in the centre of the Jewish Quarter was still the only one in Edinburgh in 1854. The annotation to the Ordnance Survey town plan of that date reads ‘Jews Synagogue seats for 100’ over the building illustrated in Figure 1. Another building in Richmond Court, the Chapel of the Latter-day Saints, is shown on subsequent maps as a Baptist church and later as a synagogue which became the home of the New Hebrew Congregation (NHC), with seats for 350 (Fig. 7). The description of a bar-mitzvah in Jack Ronder’s novel appears to have been set there.

There were many Christian houses of worship in the Jewish Quarter (Table 3). Adding up the 1854 mapmaker’s number of seats gives a total capacity in Christian churches of almost 14,000. With the influx of immigrants from 1881, missions to the Jews



Fig. 5. View down Heriot Mount taken in the 1950s, published in *The Scotsman* with the headline ‘Scotland’s Disgrace’. © The Scotsman Publications Ltd

Location	Denomination	Seats
South College Street	United Presbyterian	1570
Potterrow	United Presbyterian	1800
Nicolson Square	Methodist	1169
Roxburgh Place	St Peter's (Episcopal)	465
Roxburgh Place	Roxburgh Church (CoS)	1150
Simpson’s Court	United Presbyterian	874
Chapel Street	Buccleuch Church (CoS)	1330
Nicolson Street	United Presbyterian	1200
Hill Place	Free Church	740
Davie Street	Free Church	800
N Richmond Street	United Presbyterian	400
Richmond Place	Independent Chapel	950
Richmond Court	Latter-day Saints	---
Arthur Street	United Presbyterian	1000
Pleasance	Friends Meeting House	500

Table 3. Christian churches within the Jewish Quarter in 1852. Source: Ordnance Survey town plan of Edinburgh, 1854 (surveyed 1852)

opened in the Jewish Quarter, often providing English classes as well as food and other means of support.³⁷

Not all Jews lived within the Jewish Quarter. In the earlier years several families lived in the more spacious housing in the New Town, or in less spacious flats on the Royal Mile, Cowgate or St Mary’s Street, all close to the Jewish Quarter. In later years Jewish households were spread across the city, but with the greatest concentration in Marchmont, and in the St Leonard’s area just south of the Jewish Quarter close to where the Salisbury Road synagogue now stands.

Marriage legislation and registration

Now that the scene has been set, I can go on to discuss Jewish marriages. But first some information about marriage legislation. During this period marriages were either *regular* or *irregular*. Regular marriages were religious marriages carried out by a minister of religion. Until 1874 all religious marriages had to be preceded by the calling of the Banns of Marriage, at least three weeks before the marriage, by a minister of the Established church of the parish where they resided. However, this law does not seem to have been adhered to as records from that period report

banns having been called in churches of other denominations and in synagogues.³⁸ After 1874 notices of religious marriages could be posted with the Registrar.

Irregular marriages were very rare before the 1870s but subsequently increased.³⁹ The commonest type was marriage by declaration where the couple had simply to make a statement before two witnesses, and then they were married. After the start of marriage registration in 1855 this was often done at the Registrar's Office, but such a marriage could be held anywhere, and the signed declaration submitted to the Office. A satirical poem by Lord Neaves, a prominent member of the nineteenth-century legal establishment in Scotland, describes them:

Suppose that young Jockey and Jenny say,
 'We two are husband and wife'
 The witnesses needn't be many –
 They're instantly buckled for life.
 Woo'd and married an' a'
 Married and woo'd an' a'
 It isn't with us a hard thing
 To get woo'd and married an' a'.⁴⁰

This form of marriage remained legal until 1940.

Jews marrying in Edinburgh

In the following sections I have used examples from the marriage records to look at the variety of Jewish families resident in Edinburgh at this time. Some details of each marriage are given indexed as M1, M2, etc. The officiants at the weddings, usually the ministers, identify the community affiliation of the couple, and details of the backgrounds of some of them are given as O1, O2 etc.

Over three-quarters of marriages involving Jews had a Jewish ceremony. This increased up to the 1890s and then declined again. Tobias has also collected data on marriages involving Jews after 1911 and although these may be less complete than the earlier data they show that the decline in the percentage of Jewish marriages starting around 1890 was the start of the much more precipitous decline that we see in Figure 6.

Although the *Glasgow Herald* announced an 1822 wedding in the Edinburgh Synagogue as the first Jewish marriage in Scotland,⁴¹ the first registered marriage with a Jewish ceremony (M1) took place in 1861:

% marriages with a Jewish ceremony

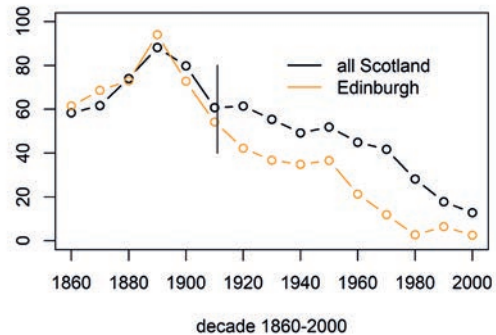


Fig. 6. Percentage of marriages involving Jews with a Jewish ceremony by decade 1860–2000. The vertical line indicates 1911

M1 Morris Rosenbaum to Rachel Friedlander. Officiating **Levi Rosenbaum**, 'after Banns according to the forms of the Jewish Church' at the Synagogue in Richmond Court. Morris was a warehouseman from Manchester. Rabbi Rosenbaum lived in three rooms in North Bridge with his wife and two young children, born in Hull. In the 1861 Census, just before the wedding, the bride lived with her family at 227 High Street, along with her six younger siblings. Rachel's father, Myar, was a picture dealer. From the birthplaces of the children we can tell that they had arrived in Edinburgh from Poland six years earlier and they were now in what, for the time, was fairly spacious accommodation with five rooms. By the 1871 Census most of the Friedlander family were found in Whitechapel, London.

There were three non-Jewish marriages registered before this one, all with Christian ceremonies. In all cases the groom appears to have been Jewish and the wife not; the first (M2) was in 1855:

M2 Hyman Assenheim to Jane Mac Pherson, a hawker's daughter, by a Church of Scotland minister. In the 1861 Census they and their baby son were in a single room at 8 Cowgate, a building with a total of seven families all with one room each. Hyman makes eleven appearances in Census or birth and death records. His occupation was sometimes confectioner, once chiropodist and latterly a hawker. His first wife died and he remarried much later in 1874 in Inverness to another hawker, apparently not Jewish, who was also widowed. He and his daughter both died in Dingwall, north of Inverness, in 1881 and 1882.

Synagogues and communities 1817–1911

Until the late 1880s the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation was the only religious Jewish community in Edinburgh. From the 1890s onwards the new arrivals started to form their own communities. In this section I will give brief histories of each of the congregations.

EDINBURGH HEBREW CONGREGATION (EHC)

In 1868 EHC moved from Richmond Court to grander premises in Ross House, Park Place, behind the spot where Edinburgh University Students' Union now stands. In 1896 the Park Place building was taken over by the University and the congregation moved to a former Free Church in what was then Graham Street, now Keir Street, in 1898. The congregation remained there until 1932 when, with Rabbi Daiches's unification of all the Edinburgh congregations, it moved to the new Salisbury Road synagogue where it still meets. EHC was initially a Yiddish speaking congregation but its members increasingly became integrated into Scottish life, spoke English and, according to Gilfillan, many of them prospered.

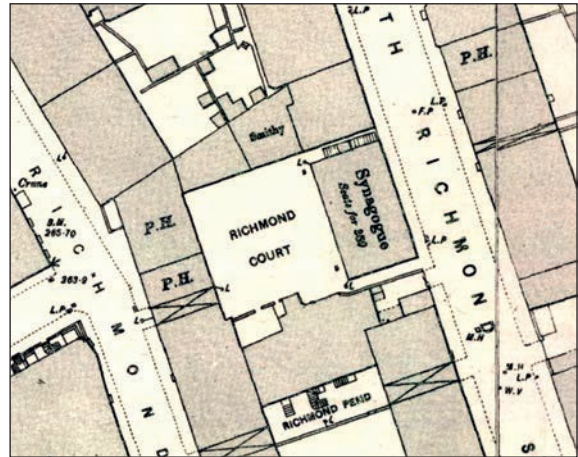


Fig. 7. Extract from the Ordnance Survey town plan of Edinburgh 1894, sheet III.8.21. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

NEW HEBREW CONGREGATION (NHC)
AND OTHERS

Jews migrating from Eastern Europe formed their own congregations (*Chevroth*) initially meeting in rooms in tenement buildings, rather than joining EHC. Eventually they formed Yiddish speaking congregations separate from EHC, which they referred to as the *Englishe Shul*. There were synagogues in North Richmond Street, Clerk Street, Guthrie Street and Roxburgh Place. Only the first, the NHC, has a building that appears on maps of the period: the Ordnance Survey town plan of 1893 shows the NHC synagogue building at the back of Richmond Court – itself the site of the first synagogue – that had been a Mormon Chapel in 1854 (Fig. 7). The Guthrie Street synagogue was a room in a slipper factory in this short street that links Chambers Street to the Cowgate, run by a group of Jews who had moved from Leeds. Several of the marriages took place in each of North Richmond Street and Guthrie Street synagogues.

The other congregations appear not to have had their own premises, other than rooms in flats, until after 1911. The Central Synagogue met in the Literary Institute, South Clerk Street, where two marriages were held; later they had their own premises in Roxburgh Place. Rev. Teitelman, who had previously been the Rabbi of the NHC, moved to the Central Synagogue in 1911.

THE DALRY SYNAGOGUE

Another congregation, the Dalry Synagogue, was established at around the same time. It was founded by the Jews from Manchester working in the Caledonian Rubber Works.⁴² They initially held services in tenement rooms, but in 1890 moved to a building in a back-court in Caledonian Crescent known as the *Blechene Shul* because of its tin roof. Figure 8 shows it, with seats for 100, sharing a courtyard with a mission hall with seats for 200. Gilfillan describes this area as a slum. It might be by today's standards, but as we saw above, conditions were less crowded than those in the Jewish Quarter. Residents had modest but fairly modern flats with inside toilets but no baths – although they could make use of the nearby Dalry public baths, the large building to the right in Figure 8. As we shall see they had close relationships with EHC.

Gilfillan's and Holtschneider's books on Jewish Edinburgh stress the differences between EHC and these new congregations. While these did exist, with the new immigrants feeling excluded, there is also evidence of officiants working together. In the *Jewish Chronicle* of 15 February 1895 we read:

The Edinburgh New Hebrew Congregation have suffered a severe loss by the death of Mr B. Rosenheim, one of the founders of the congregation, who worked as an indefatigable member of the Committee since its formation. His funeral on

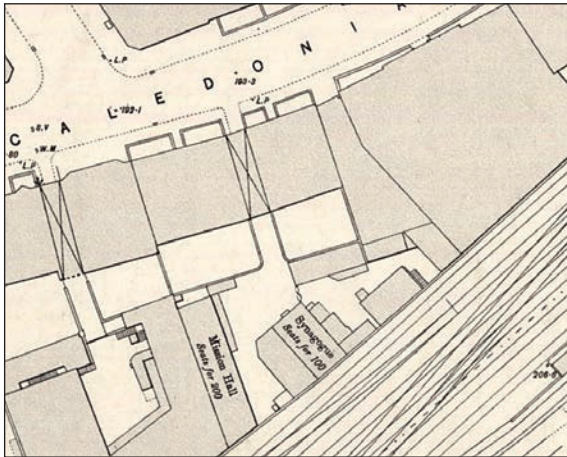


Fig. 8. Extract from the Ordnance Survey town plan of Edinburgh 1894, sheet III.11.2. Reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland

Sunday last was attended by a large concourse of members of both congregations. The funeral service was conducted by the Revs S. Gerber and J. Levine, and the Rev. J. Fürst delivered a pathetic address at the Cemetery.⁴³

Fürst was the minister of EHC, Gerber of the Dalry congregation and Levine either from Dalry or perhaps I. Levine from the NHC. From the examples in the marriages, described below, we can see that there were many connections between individuals in the congregations. But it was EHC that engaged with Edinburgh civic society by having its activities reported in the *Scotsman*. For example, the edition of 21 June 1897 included tributes from all the Christian denominations for Queen Victoria’s diamond jubilee and quoted at length from the sermon given by Rabbi Jacob Fürst at a special service in her honour. Many new Yiddish-speaking immigrants who attended the NHC, the Central or other smaller groups felt alienated by what they called the *Englischer shul*, and it was not until Rabbi Daiches united the synagogues in 1932 that disputes between the congregations came to an end.⁴⁴

The majority of marriages took place in private homes. This was true of both Christian and Jewish ceremonies. Only a third of marriages with a Jewish ceremony were held in synagogues, one-fifth were held in halls or hotels, the most popular being the Oddfellows Hall in Forrest Road.⁴⁵ For most Jewish marriages the location of the marriage does not tell us the congregation to which the bride or groom were affiliated.

Officers at Jewish marriages

To make up for the lack of evidence on synagogues I have attempted to assign each of the ministers who officiated at the 271 Jewish weddings as affiliated to EHC, NHC or Dalry using the sources that described the histories of the congregations. It was not always an easy task, the transcription of their names often differed from one record to the next. There were two Isaac Levines (as well as one who was minister at Garnethill in Glasgow) and two Rev. Rabinowitzes. Figure 9 shows the Jewish marriages by the apparent affiliation of the officiant. There was a total of 21 ministers who conducted the Jewish marriages, and they had very different backgrounds as the following examples show.

O1 Jacob Fürst officiated at 127 marriages, in three of which the bride was one of his daughters. He was the minister of EHC from 1879 until just before his death in 1918. He and his family are found in four Censuses, for 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. When the family arrived in 1881 they had six children and five more were born in Edinburgh, three of whom died in infancy. Although he was the minister at EHC he also preached at Dalry⁴⁶ and later at the Central Synagogue. Fürst used to take his family (probably just his sons) to Tynecastle to watch Heart of Midlothian play on a *Shabbos* afternoon, perhaps after preaching in Dalry. His son Elias became the chairman of Hearts and later the chairman of the Scottish Football League.⁴⁷

O2 Isaac Levine (no 1) was the minister of the New Hebrew Congregation in North Richmond Street from 1891 to 1896, but we first find him in 1891 in a room and kitchen in Guthrie Street, at the same address as the slipper factory. The first marriages he conducted were at the Guthrie Street Synagogue, but later ones were in North Richmond Street. He then moved to Glasgow as a Hebrew teacher, a *shochet*⁴⁸ and a house furnisher.

O3 and O4 Rabinovitz (A. and J.) officiated at marriages from the New Hebrew Congregation from 1897 until 1905. One of them was a witness at a trial in Liverpool where his English was such that the judge addressed him in German, and when asked about his rabbinic qualifications he said that ‘he did not recognize the Chief Rabbi and obtained the degree of *Rav* from his father in Poland.’ After 1905 Jacob Teitelman carried out the majority of NHC marriages.

O5 David Hoppenstein was one of several Rabbis who officiated at just one marriage during this period. Fiona Frank has documented his life and that of his descendants over five generations from family documents and memories.⁴⁹ The son of a Rabbi, he was born in the village of Wladyslawow, 100 km to the East of Poznan in Poland. He and his wife Sophia were married in Poland in 1882 and arrived in Edinburgh just one year later where their first child was born in a flat in the Jewish Quarter. At the births of their further eight children they moved to many different addresses in the Dalry area and then by 1911 to a four-roomed flat in Argyle Place, close to

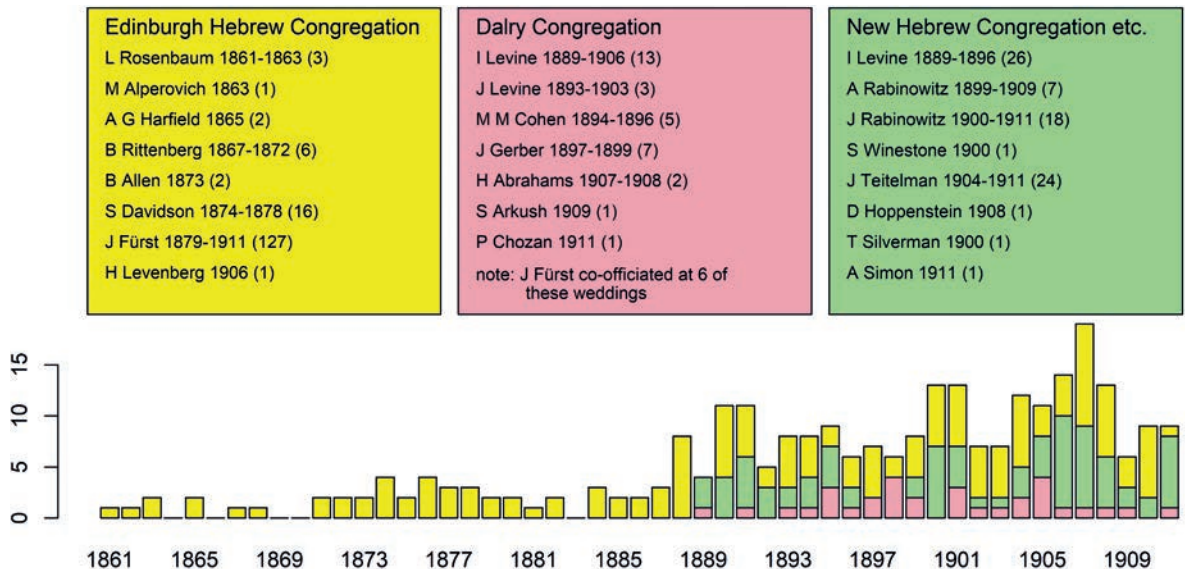


Fig. 9. Number of Jewish marriages by year and by the affiliation of the officiant to congregations. The officiants are listed by their apparent affiliation with the range of years for their marriages and, in brackets, the number of marriages where they officiated

the Meadows, south of the Jewish Quarter. In 1891 they were joined in Edinburgh by David's older sister, Beatrice, and her family who had been living in England. In the *shtetls* of Eastern Europe, young Jewish men were encouraged and supported to study at Yeshivas⁵⁰ and some would gain the status of Rabbi. This was the case for David, or Zvi David as he is named in Frank's book, but it did not guarantee a living when he first moved to Scotland. For his first few years in Edinburgh he worked as a hawker of pictures but subsequently was able to make a living as a Hebrew teacher. Although he officiated at only one wedding he was a witness at six further weddings, one officiated by Rev. Fürst and the others by ministers of the New Hebrew Congregation or the Central Synagogue. A photograph of David Hoppenstein appears on the cover of Frank's book and one of his wife with their first grandchild on page 28 (see **M8** below).

Almost all of marriages conducted by Rev. Fürst were authorised by the Chief Rabbi's Office in London, while ministers associated with the NHC never had their marriages authorised. The ministers of the Dalry congregation had most of their weddings authorised. Rev. Fürst carried out some marriages jointly with the Dalry ministers, some in the Dalry synagogue and elsewhere in the area. Moses Max Cohen (O5) officiated at five marriages jointly with Rev. Fürst.

O5 Moses Max (M. M.) Cohen was the minister of the Dalry congregation from 1892 until he moved to become the Rabbi in Leicester in 1896. He did not officiate at any marriages by himself, but he joined Fürst as co-officiant for five marriages. Michael Tobias's records do not include any for Cohen – he does not seem to have had children born in Edinburgh and his stay was between Censuses, but he figures prominently in the

pages of the *Jewish Chronicle* in addressing various gatherings. From his obituary we learn that he arrived in Edinburgh and that he had studied at the Volosin Yeshiva in Poland. In 1892 he delivered a *hesped*⁵¹ before a large audience at the Dalry Synagogue which lasted over two hours. It honoured the recently deceased Alexander Zederbaum, a Russian journalist and leader of Chovevei Zion. We can assume that this was delivered in Yiddish, because a year later he gave a talk to the Jewish Literary Society⁵² on 'The Book of Daniel': the *Jewish Chronicle* correspondent remarked that 'the lecturer, who has only been a short time in this country, was congratulated on the lucid language in which he delivered his address.' He went on to become a minister in Leicester and in Manchester.

The final minister to be mentioned is Isaac Levine of the Dalry congregation. Unlike M. M. Cohen it is not clear how he gained his Jewish education.⁵³

O6 Isaac Levine (no 2) was the oldest child of an immigrant hawker family of parents and seven children living in the Polwarth district in 1901 when he was 26 and listed as the minister of the Dalry Synagogue. From the ages of his siblings he must have been between sixteen and eighteen when the family arrived from Poland. He conducted his first marriage ceremony with Rev. Fürst in 1898, when he can have been in Scotland for only a few years, then went on to conduct a further twelve marriages. He conducted the Edinburgh Jewish Amateur Orchestra with great success. He then moved on to become the minister in Hull, where he continued his musical activities. His brother Philip won a scholarship to the Royal College of Music in London and became a concert pianist.

We can summarise the Jewish congregations over this period as follows. All would have followed the same liturgy (in Hebrew) and festivals, and their members

were largely composed of immigrants from Eastern Europe. The Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation (EHC) included more families who had been settled longer in the UK and sermons there would be delivered in English. Members of the New Hebrew Congregation and the Central Synagogue were newer immigrants and sermons there would be delivered in Yiddish. The same would be true of the Dalry synagogue, but it had a close relationship with EHC whose minister, Rev. Fürst, appears to have mentored the congregation and its ministers towards greater acculturation. In the next sections the Jewish weddings have been grouped as ‘EHC/D’ and ‘NHC’ according to the affiliation of the officiants.

Marriages without a Jewish ceremony

The non-Jewish marriages included 40 church weddings and 32 marriages by declaration. The Christian ceremonies were most often Church of Scotland (28 marriages) but included Episcopalian (three) and other Presbyterian denominations. None of the marriages with a Christian ceremony appeared to be between two Jews, suggesting that the many missions to the Jews that were active in Edinburgh in this period had limited success. Fourteen of the marriages by declaration, perhaps by choice, or by failing to get the notice of marriage organised in time, were between couples who both appeared to be Jewish. Four of these marriages were authorised by the Chief Rabbi’s Office at a date very close to the marriage. These have been counted in the EHC/D group. Table 4 summarises the numbers of Jewish and non-Jewish brides and grooms by types of marriage.

Brides, grooms and their families

Scottish marriage records are a very rich source. They give the ages of the couple and details, including occupations of the couple’s parents. Of the 62 marriages between couples where one appeared to be Jewish and the other non-Jewish, it was the groom who was Jewish in all but four marriages. The median age of the brides in the records was 22 and that of grooms, 25. The few marrying at older ages were mainly widows or widowers, including (M3) the marriage of a minister, Abraham Shyne, of the

	Jewish ceremony		Civil ceremony	
	Affiliation of officiant		Type of marriage	
	EHC/D	NHC	Declaration	Church
Groom Jewish	194	81	32	36
Bride Jewish	194	81	11	3
Groom not Jewish	0	0	1	3
Bride not Jewish	0	0	22	36
Total marriages	194	81	33	39

Table 4. Type of marriage ceremony and affiliation of the officiant by the Jewish status of brides and grooms

Gorbals in Glasgow, to an Edinburgh widow.

M3 Abraham Shyne (62), Jewish Rabbi, to **Rachel Zive**, teacher (60) daughter of a Rabbi, living in Summerhall Square, in 1907, officiated by J. Rabinovitz.

Almost all grooms and parents of grooms or brides had an occupation recorded, but this was true for only a third of brides. Figure 10 shows the occupations of the fathers of grooms and brides classified by the same algorithm used for the census data shown in Figure 3. Table 4 gives the Jewish status of bride and groom by type of ceremony, affiliation of officiant and type of marriage. The 33 marriages by declaration include 10 between two Jews. There is little evidence of a different pattern of occupations in brides’ and grooms’ fathers’ occupations comparing EHC/D and NHC weddings. Fathers of non-Jewish brides were more likely to be in occupations that were not typically Jewish and in the more prosperous group. The fathers of their Jewish husbands have a higher proportion in prosperous occupations. Unsurprisingly, all rabbis’ children had religious marriages.

The proportion of pedlars in Figure 10 seems lower than in the Census data in Figure 3. Part of the explanation for this may be that people reported occupations differently on public documents such as marriage records. One example of this is Moische, the groom of marriage M4, who is described by David Daiches reciting prayers with fellow-*treblers* on the train to Fife as ‘a huge round-shouldered man with a red beard and a peculiar fierceness of gesticulation (which belied the essential gentleness of his nature) that would scare off many an interloper to their compartment’.⁵⁴

M4 Jacob Moses Pinkinsky married **Sophia Kate Caplan** at the Literary Institute, South Clerk Street in 1899 officiated by A. Rabinowitz (NHC). The groom’s occupation at the time of his marriage was ‘jeweller’ but at the births of his children it

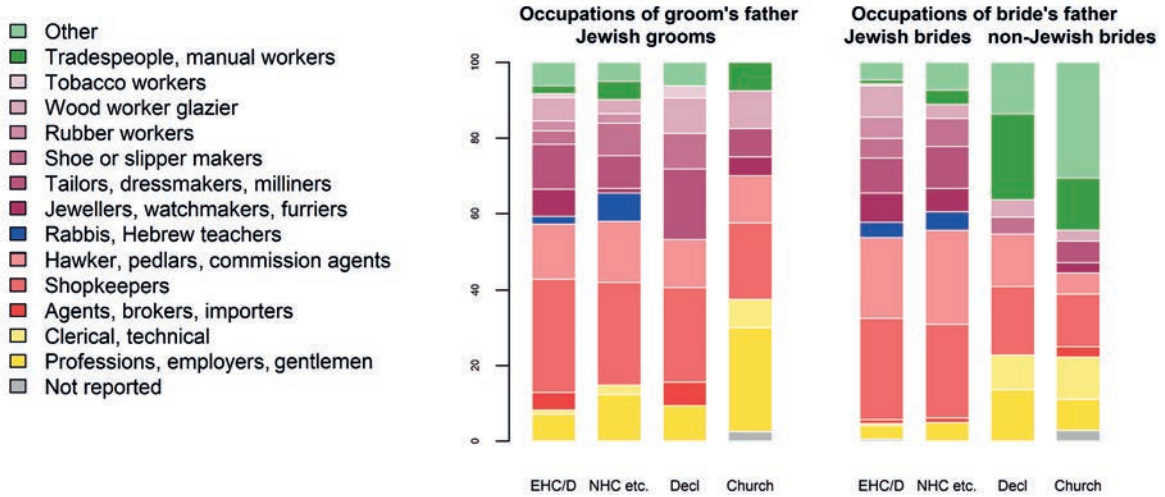


Fig. 10. Percentage of occupations of fathers of brides and of grooms by affiliation of minister and type of marriage. Note that numbers of Jewish brides in non-Jewish weddings were too low to show results

became ‘jewellery traveller’ and ‘hawker’. Sophia’s father was a baker and Moses’s a general dealer. His travelling must have been profitable because by 1911 the couple and their seven children aged between ten and two were living in 33 Buccleuch Place in a flat with four rooms and employing one servant. The building is now part of the University of Edinburgh.

There are few differences between the occupations of grooms or parents according to the affiliation of the minister officiating. A very similar pattern was seen when the data were restricted to the period after 1880. A comparison of the occupations of fathers and sons shows that it was not until the next generation that we see Jews moving into more prestigious occupations.⁵⁵ As expected, grooms and brides married by officiants affiliated to NHC and other Yiddish speaking congregations were more likely to have been born in Eastern Europe than those married by officiants from the EHC/Dalry group.⁵⁶

Only one bride gave an address outside Scotland, but there are fifteen grooms with addresses from elsewhere, all but one from England. Weddings are usually organised by the bride’s family, so any grooms marrying English brides would not have married in Scotland. Of the fifteen marriages with grooms from outside Scotland, only four (36 per cent) had any evidence from Census records of births of later residence in Scotland, compared to 71 per cent of the grooms from Scotland. The two families appearing in Census records after the marriage were recorded with the bride’s family. In one case the daughter was apparently just visiting,

but in the second (M6) the whole family had moved in with the bride’s family, giving a household of thirteen people in four rooms.

M6 Janet Rosenberg, daughter of a licensed hawker, to **Abraham Wienberg**, a tailor from Newcastle, June 1900, at the bride’s home, 5 Parkside Street. At the 1901 Census Janet was back visiting the family home where her daughter, Ettie/ Ester was born a few weeks later. By 1911 she and Abraham were living there with Ettie and three younger children, two born in England and the third in Wales. In addition the four-roomed flat was home to seven of the bride’s original family and a lodger with occupation ‘general dealer’.

Of the fifteen brides with grooms from outside Scotland, nine were from prosperous families. Two examples show how immigrants could prosper in Scotland. Philip Dresner, an immigrant from Russia who had first lived in a small flat in Sandport Street in Leith, was the father of two brides. He described himself as a clothier on one marriage record and as a general merchant on another and was thus categorised as a shopkeeper. The trade directories show that he did have a clothier’s business, off the High Street, but his main business was as a pawnbroker with three branches in different parts of the city. This was the occupation he gave at the births of his children. In 1901 and 1911 the Dresner family lived in a twelve-roomed house in Smith’s Place off Leith Walk with one servant. Philip was very active in the Leith Chamber of Commerce and in charitable works. And by 1914 he had become a Leith Bailie.

One of the two jewellers whose daughters married grooms from outside Scotland was Jacob Michael. He had arrived from North Prussia in the late 1860s, living initially in the Pleasance with a business in South Bridge, and then moving by the 1881 Census to 116 Findhorn Place, an eight-roomed villa, with his eight children and one servant. Gilfillan notes that he was Scotland's only *mohel* until 1879, carrying out circumcisions around the country. The last of his three daughters married a husband from outside Scotland.

M7 **Rosetta Michael** married **Michael Bennoson**, a glass merchant from Newcastle, in March 1890 at 116 Findhorn Place, officiated by Jacob Fürst.

Presumably these brides' marriages would have been arranged by the grooms visiting Edinburgh. The relative absence of Jewish marriages with brides from outside Scotland can be explained by Edinburgh grooms being married in the bride's home town, so that their marriage records would not be among those being analysed here. One example of this is the announcement in the *Scotsman* of the marriage of Rabbi Jacob Fürst's son, Simon, in the Middlesbrough Synagogue.⁵⁷ A similar pattern is seen for brides and grooms from elsewhere in Scotland: 21 Edinburgh brides with grooms from elsewhere in Scotland, mainly Glasgow, but only three Edinburgh grooms with brides from other parts of Scotland. One example of such an Edinburgh bride is Eva, eldest daughter of Rabbi and Hebrew teacher David Hoppenstein (O5):

M8 In 1908 **Eva Hoppenstein** married **Morris Levy** from Ayr at the Masonic Hall in Graham Street, officiated by Rev. Teitelman of the Central synagogue. Their first child Harry was born in Ayr in 1909 and the couple are shown in Frank's book standing on either side of grandmother Sophia who is holding the baby. They all look extremely stylish with Eva wearing a hat with an ostrich feather.

These examples of prosperity were the exception (see Fig. 9); the next three examples (M9 to M12) were more typical of couples with Jewish marriages. The first was the marriage of Howard Denton's parents:⁵⁸

M9 In 1907 **Morris Zoltie**, Denton's father, a slipper traveller, was married to **Katie Shulberg**, a slipper machinist and slipper maker's daughter, by Jacob Rabinovitch of the NHC.

Other brides came from poor families on Potterrow (M10), where the Edinburgh Mosque now stands, and from West Richmond Street (M11):

M10 In 1898 **Amelia Julius** married **Barnett Pearlman**, a slipper maker at Simpson's Court, Potterrow. After the marriage, in 1901, we can see that ten other members of the family were sharing three rooms there.

M11 In 1899 **Annie Wolffe**, daughter of a slipper maker, married **Harry Narunsky**, also a slipper maker, at the bride's home in 54 Richmond Street. At the 1891 Census Annie's family had been living in Hill Place, just round the corner, with eight people in two rooms.

Nine families of the eighteen daughters with fathers recorded as jewellers on the marriage record could be linked to their records in one or more Censuses. In eight of these nine cases the Census records did not record them as jewellers, but as pedlars, jewellery travellers, general dealers or other occupations. In one case the father of a bride who was marrying a watchmaker had occupations in the Censuses as general dealer, grocer and salad oil merchant. He was John Lipitz, father of Jane Lipitz (M12). Before the wedding the family of eleven lived in three rooms in Buccleuch Terrace. From the 1901 Census we find the Lipitz family, including Jane, in six rooms in St Patrick Square.

M12 **Jane Lipitz** married **Morris Rosenfield** in 1898 at the bride's home at 27 St Patrick Square, with Gerber, one of the Dalry ministers, officiating.

An example of a more comfortable family would be that of Bernard Turiansky, three of whose daughters were married in this period. He recorded jeweller as his occupation on his first daughter's marriage certificate but furniture dealer and general dealer on the latter two. Gilfillan reports that he was a supplier of jewellery and furniture to travellers.⁵⁹ The family moved from two rooms in the Richmond Street area to four-roomed flats, successively in Leith Walk, Montague Street and Dalkeith Road. Turiansky was one of the founders of the NHC who wrote to the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1893 to explain that the NHC had split from the EHC five years before because of exclusion of new immigrants from decision-making. Yet in the same year his daughter was married by Rev. Fürst of the EHC, co-officiated by a Rabbi from Nottingham who may have been the father of the bridegroom. Turiansky had two sons who became medical students and every exam they passed was reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*. Father and sons were active in the Jewish Literary Society.⁶⁰ His son Louis delivered a lecture there to a large audience in 1901 on 'The Human Body' with particular attention

to ‘the injurious effects tight lacing had on the female sex’.⁶¹ In 1895 Turiansky was still president of NHC, but contributed 10s 6d to a hospital fundraising dinner at EHC. By 1990 the Jewish Chronicle reported that he was *Chatan Torah*⁶² at the Graham Street Synagogue and in 1904 his youngest daughter was married by Rev. Fürst.

There was a total of 79 daughters of shopkeepers. The majority came from poor families living in crowded conditions. Only seven brides came from relatively prosperous families. One family who were at least comfortably off, and perhaps well-off, were the parents of Emma Hyman (M13) whose own marriage (M15) appears in the next section.

M13 Emma, daughter of **Robert Hyman** and **Jeannie Lyle** was married to **Julius Pinto**, a clothier with an address in Dundas Street, by Jacob Fürst in 1880 at the Oddfellows Hall, Forrest Road.

Non-Jewish Scottish brides

As a convert to Judaism myself, I was interested to find any evidence of non-Jewish wives who converted to Judaism either before or after their marriage. Orthodox Judaism now makes conversion difficult in the UK. Was it any easier in the 1880s? Howard Denton/Hyman Zoltie reports on his older brother’s fiancée receiving instruction from the Rabbi, who would have been from the Central Synagogue: but that was in the 1920s, and his brother was not married with a Jewish ceremony. One way to investigate this is to see if any civil marriages with apparently non-Jewish brides were authorised by the United Synagogue at a later date. Only one such could be found, and this was authorised by Garnethill Synagogue in Glasgow over a year later. But there were two other examples where Scots-born brides became part of the Edinburgh Jewish community.

M14 Margaret Strachan and **Abraham Jacob** were married in 1885 by a Church of Scotland minister. They were both living in different addresses in Richmond Street and Abraham gave his occupation as a woollen napery salesman. At subsequent census and birth records his occupation became traveller, dealer, painter, hallkeeper, herbalist and printseller. The couple moved to Glasgow where they registered a second marriage officiated by Rev. Mark Alperovich. Margaret gave her name as Rachel Abrahams, the first name she continued to use. The couple had nine children in Glasgow and in 1903 one of them, Rebecca, was married in Edinburgh by Rev. Fürst to David Rosenheim, a waterproof coat maker.

M15 Jeannie Lyle was married to **Robert Hyman** in the small village of Kilbarchan near Paisley in 1851, before marriages were registered. We can trace their lives through the births of their eleven children: from Kilbarchan where three were born, then to Glasgow and Aberdeen, with Robert as a traveller, spirit dealer and coffeehouse keeper. At the time of the 1861 Census Jeannie was back in Kilbarchan with her uncle while Robert (then a painter) was in lodgings in Edinburgh. But within a couple of years he had set up a successful business as a glazier and had a comfortable home at 10 Nicolson Street, opposite what is now the Festival Theatre, employing seven men in his painting and glazier’s business around the corner in East Crosscauseway. The sad story of this family is that five of their eleven children died in infancy – something all too common at this time. But in 1887 their daughter Emma was married by Rev. Fürst (see M13 above).

Follow-up after the weddings

In the 347 marriages there were 346 brides (one married twice) and 343 grooms (four married twice). I have only linked the marriages to births or deaths of children up to the end of 1911 as Census data is not available after that date. In addition, some of the families will have left Scotland and we will therefore miss any births after their departure. The following analysis of births to the couples is restricted to wives under 35, married before the 1911 Census and with evidence of residence in Scotland after the wedding from Census records or births or deaths of children (241 marriages). The couples in these marriages had a total of 823 births in Scotland during follow-up to the end of 1911, of whom 28 were conceived before the marriage. In one case where two births were conceived before the marriage the couple had been co-habiting for some years before they married. The others were conceived weeks or months before the wedding, giving a rate of pre-marital conception of 26 out of the 241 (eleven per cent). M16 is the clearest example of a shotgun wedding:

M16 Barnett Simons married **Mary Matthews** by declaration at the registry office in Chambers Street in 1901. Barnett came from a family who had lived in the Richmond Street area since his parents arrived from Poland around 1876. Barnett’s father was a glazier and Mary’s father was a bricklayer. Their daughter was born eleven days after the wedding.

Figure 11 shows the number of children born to each marriage by the decade in which the marriage took place. The most recent group in Figure 11 will only have had between one and ten years follow-up, hence fewer large families. The middle group will be less affected by this as they will have from eleven to 21 years follow-up.

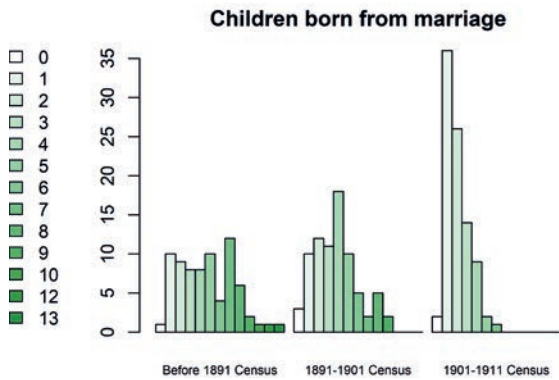


Fig. 11. Number of children born to the 241 marriages with brides under 35 by decade of marriage

In all cases some families may have left Scotland and so further children may have been born elsewhere.

There was a total of 85 deaths of children born to these marriages aged under ten years (rate 85 out of 823, or eleven per cent), with one couple suffering the loss of nine of their thirteen children.

M17 Susan Reach was married to her cousin Henry Nathan in 1876 at her uncle’s house in Frederick Street, in a fairly affluent family. The groom was a jeweller who went on later to run his own jeweller’s business in Dundee.

The most frequent cause of these childhood deaths was bronchitis or lung disease (23 deaths), infectious diseases such as measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever, and diphtheria (23 deaths) and gastro-intestinal problems (eleven deaths).

Then and now

My data exploration suggests that there was just a small proportion of affluent Jews in Edinburgh from 1841 to 1911; a few others were comfortably off, often having started in poverty; but the vast majority were poor and lived in what would be considered by today’s standards very overcrowded homes. There were three main religious communities in Edinburgh at that time, all of them following Orthodox practice. One community, the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation, also known as the *Englishe Shul*, was made up largely of Jews who were well settled in Scotland and the Dalry congregation was allied to them. The other congregations, New Hebrew Congregation, Central Synagogue and other small congregations had more Yiddish-speaking recent immigrants. Books on the

history of Edinburgh Jewry emphasise their divisions, quoting Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler on a visit to Edinburgh in 1892: ‘it filled him with grief that there should be some ill-feeling, some lack of concord and brotherly fellowship between professors of the same creed in that city.’⁶³ His comments may have been affected by the fact that the large group of Jews affiliated to the NHC and associated communities did not accept the authority of the Chief Rabbi’s Office in London as an arbiter of Jewish law. My exploration of relations between individuals in these communities suggests that as well as the divisions there was considerable cooperation and interaction between members of the different communities.

How does the situation of Jews in Edinburgh in the period 1841 to 1911 compare with the present day? We no longer have so many children and, happily, very few of them die as infants. Few of us now live in the same state of poverty and overcrowding as did many families back then. But there are also similarities, particularly for the religious communities.

The numbers of Jews are somewhat reduced compared to the 2006 found in the 1911 Census. The number of Jews in Edinburgh in 2001, as defined by the answer to the religious question in that Census, is estimated at 774,⁶⁴ and this increased to 855 in 2011. This compares to a decrease in the Jewish population in Scotland as a whole between these dates. Migration has played a part in these changes. In particular there is some reversal of the Great Migration, with Jews from North America coming to Edinburgh as students or settling here with their families.

Now, as then, there are three main Jewish religious communities in Edinburgh: The present-day EHC, after the unification of 1932;⁶⁵ Sukkat Shalom, the Liberal Community;⁶⁶ and Chabad of Edinburgh, which caters mainly to students.⁶⁷ Like the NHC before it, Sukkat Shalom does not recognise the authority of the Chief Rabbi in halachic matters. However, the differences between EHC and Sukkat Shalom are more profound than those between EHC and the NHC. In the earlier period the differences were those of authority, not of fundamental principles; but the current situation is different. For example, Liberal Judaism has a different attitude to defining Jewish status, accepting children of non-Jewish mothers but Jewish fathers as Jewish, providing they have had a Jewish education. Women participate fully in services and there is a more liberal attitude to conversion.⁶⁸ A high proportion of Sukkat

Shalom members were born outside Scotland, often in North America, and a proportion of its members are recent converts.

Like congregations in the earlier period there are many ties between the two communities at social and cultural events, though of course also disagreements. The Jewish Literary Society⁶⁹ was and is instrumental in cementing links and even allowing differences to be aired. During those recent months of lockdown due to Covid-19, many online cultural events provided by the new Edinburgh Cultural Centre⁷⁰ and by the Scottish Council of Jewish Communities⁷¹ have been attended by Jews of all religious persuasions, and of none.

Rabbi Salis Daiches united the different congregations in 1932 with the opening of the EHC synagogue in Salisbury Road. His ideal was that of fusing modern Orthodoxy, probably more strict than that of his predecessor Jacob Fürst, with the post-Enlightenment beliefs of citizens and academics in Edinburgh. He united them by making them all conform to one form of Judaism. The current proposal from the Edinburgh Jewish Cultural Centre to attempt to unite the different congregations will need to take a different, and possibly more challenging path that will allow members of the communities to work together and respect each other's ways of being Jewish.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 See <https://www.ijg.org>, accessed 20/12/2020.
- 2 The outputs of the project include a popular book: K. Collins, *The Jewish Experience in Scotland from Immigration to Integration* (Glasgow 2016); educational resources: https://www.scojec.org/resources/jewish_experience/je.html, accessed 20/12/2020; as well as an edited collection describing the work carried out on the project: K. Collins, A. Newman and B. Wasserstein (eds), *Two Hundred Years of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow 2018), available from <https://www.sjac.org.uk/shop>, accessed 20/12/20.
- 3 G. M. Raab, 'Longitudinal Demography of Scottish Jewry 1841–1911', in Collins et al., *Two Hundred Years of Scottish Jewry*, pp. 75–116.
- 4 Jewish identity is complicated and different Jews will define it differently. The ideal definition would be to ask people if they consider themselves to be Jewish, impossible with historical data. At the start of this project it was agreed that we would include all people in Jewish families where one parent had reasonable evidence of Jewish identity, either from Jewish archives, reports in the Jewish press and, most commonly, the first and second names within a family. Those with remote Jewish roots, e.g. a single Jewish grandparent and no evidence of Jewish identity, would be excluded.
- 5 This first analysis was presented as a talk to the Edinburgh Jewish Literary Society (see www.ejlc.org) in April 2020.
- 6 M. D. Gilfillan, *Jewish Edinburgh: A History 1880–1950* (Jefferson NC 2019); H. Holtzschneider, *Jewish Orthodoxy in Scotland: Rabbi Dr Salis Daiches and Religious Leadership* (Edinburgh 2019). Histories of Jews in Edinburgh in this period include A. Levy, *The Origins of Scottish Jewry* (Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 1958), A. Phillips, *A History of the First Jewish Community in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1958), and K. Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow 1987), ch. 7.
- 7 D. Daiches, *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (London 1957, republished Edinburgh 1987).
- 8 H. Denton and J. C. Wilson, *The Happy Land* (Edinburgh 1991).
- 9 M. Tobias, 'Early Jews in Scotland: A Genealogical Study', in Collins et al., *Two Hundred Years of Scottish Jewry*, ch. 6.
- 10 D. Sproat and G. Hudson, *Herman Lyon's Mausoleum & Watching Brief, Calton Hill, Edinburgh* (Historic Building Survey Report, Edinburgh City Council, 2013, AOC project number 22509).
- 11 L. P. Gartner, 'The Great Jewish Migration 1881–1914: Myths and Realities', *Shofar* 4(2) (1986), pp. 12–21.
- 12 N. J. Evans, 'A Staging Post to America: Jewish Transmigration via Scotland', in Collins et al., *Two Hundred Years of Scottish Jewry*, ch. 12.
- 13 Jack Ronder, *The Lost Tribe* (London 1978). It is difficult to tell how much of the novel is based on his grandfather's life rather than pure fiction. His father's arrival, marriage and family life, and the addresses where they lived correspond to those of the character Moshe Kayden in the novel, but other details may be fictional.
- 14 A family's journey can often be traced via the birthplaces of their children.
- 15 Raab, 'Longitudinal Demography of Scottish Jewry'.
- 16 Evidence came from references in the Jewish press, relationships identified via births and marriages and, less securely, from first and second names, birth places and occupations. Partners in marriage records with German or Russian sounding names but no other evidence of Jewish links were investigated. I was sorry to lose some whose family trees had been linked and other interesting couples like the chimney sweep who married a launderer; even more so to have to conclude that a couple married in Edinburgh in 1906 were probably not Jewish. The groom, William Cramer, was an eminent cancer physician and his wife became a well-known Expressionist painter. They ended up in the USA with their children, one of whom had a Christian burial. Additionally, the families of people with Jewish origins but working as Christian missionaries have been excluded: such as Leon Levinson, brother to Alexander Levinson the imposter Rabbi exposed by Rabbi Daiches some years later, Gilfillan, *Jewish Edinburgh*, p. 132.

- 17 Place of birth was not asked in the 1841 Census.
- 18 A map of the ancestral towns of Scottish Jews, derived from marriage places identified on Scottish birth records, can be found at <https://data.jewishgen.org/maps/scotmap3.asp>, accessed 25/11/2021.
- 19 I. Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found*, 30th anniversary edn (New York 2005).
- 20 L. P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914*, 3rd edn (London 2001).
- 21 E.g. Michael Levy who had a tailors and outfitters business in Nicolson Street and who in 1851 was recorded as employing 150 men; and Philip Levy, born in Poland, the proprietor of a jeweller’s shop in Princes Street. See also Jacob Michael who appears in the section below on marriages.
- 22 Gilfillan, *Jewish Edinburgh*, ch. 2, ‘New Arrivals’.
- 23 Rosebery later became the first Honorary President of the Old Edinburgh Club. Owen Dudley Edwards, ‘Rosebery and the Birth of the Old Edinburgh Club’, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* [hereafter *BOEC*], New Series, 7 (2008), pp. 3–41.
- 24 This algorithm attempts to map historic occupations to present-day classifications of social class, see <https://iisg.amsterdam/en/data/data-websites/history-of-work>, accessed 22/12/2020.
- 25 Scots Yiddish for ‘traveller’.
- 26 The slipper factory was situated at the back of a tenement in Guthrie Street and a room in the tenement was used as a synagogue. At the Caledonian Rubber Works on Dalry Road coats were first stitched and then ‘schmeered’ with rubber to make them waterproof.
- 27 Only 10 households in 1841 and fewer than 10 until 1901.
- 28 *Report on the Sanitary Condition of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1865), p. 17, reprinted in P. Laxton and R. Rodger, *Insanitary City* (Lancaster 2013).
- 29 Denton and Wilson, *Happy Land*, p. 36.
- 30 Anonymised data for the 1901 Census is available from the UK data Archive as part of the Integrated Census Microdata Project: <https://icem.data-archive.ac.uk>, accessed 28/12/20.
- 31 Enumeration districts typically include around 100 households.
- 32 Until Kleinberg’s bakery closed I would collect our challah every Friday afternoon from those lined up in the window of his shop in East Crosscauseway.
- 33 <http://curiousedinburgh.org/jewish-history-tour>, accessed 31/12/2020; Holtschneider, *Jewish Orthodoxy*, ch. 4.
- 34 Although no common identifiers were available on the transcribed data and the anonymised data, it was possible to match over 98% of Jewish households using enumeration districts and patterns of ages and relationships within households.
- 35 Denton and Wilson, *Happy Land*, ch. 3.
- 36 Gilfillan, *Jewish Edinburgh*, pp. 45–57.
- 37 Gilfillan, *Jewish Edinburgh*, pp. 38–44.
- 38 The marriage certificates most often include a phrase such as ‘After banns according to the forms of the Jewish Church’. I don’t believe there was ever such a thing as calling of Jewish Banns, but presumably some form of announcement may have been made. Harvey Kaplan of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, <https://www.sjac.org.uk>, has only one record of Jewish Banns. This obeyed the law by being read in the church of the village in Stirlingshire where the groom resided before his Jewish marriage in Inverness.
- 39 *Thirty First Annual Report of the Registrar General for Scotland (Abstracts of 1885)*, 1888.
- 40 ‘A Tourist’s Matrimonial Guide’, in Lord C. Neaves, *Songs and Verses Social and Scientific*, 5th edn (Edinburgh 1879); see https://electricsscotland.com/history/men/neaves_charles.htm, accessed March 2020.
- 41 Tobias, ‘Early Jews in Scotland’, p. 130.
- 42 See note 26, above.
- 43 *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 February 1895.
- 44 See <https://jewishstudies.div.ed.ac.uk/projects/exhibition/edinburgh-synagogues>.
- 45 See A. McKinney, ‘Oddfellows Hall, 14 Forrest Road, Edinburgh’, *BOEC*, N.S., 13 (2017), pp. 29–42.
- 46 I can’t help wondering if the proximity of Heart of Midlothian’s Stadium might have been an encouragement.
- 47 University of Edinburgh, Jewish Studies network see <https://jewishstudies.div.ed.ac.uk/projects/exhibition/elias-furst>, accessed 29/11/2021.
- 48 One who carried out the ritual slaughter of animals according to Jewish law.
- 49 F. Frank, *Candles, Conversions and Class; Five Generations of a Scottish Jewish Family* (Glasgow 2019).
- 50 Institutions for Jewish religious study.
- 51 Jewish Eulogy.
- 52 The Edinburgh Jewish Literary Society (see note 5), founded as the Edinburgh Hebrew Young Men’s Social and Literary Association by Rev. Jacob Fürst in 1888.
- 53 Perhaps he arrived after the rest of the family having finished his Jewish education in Poland.
- 54 Daiches, *Two Worlds*, p. 118.
- 55 Raab, ‘Longitudinal Demography of Scottish Jewry’, p. 107.
- 56 Data not shown, birthplaces of brides and grooms can be found only for those linking to the Censuses.
- 57 *The Scotsman*, 16 November 1905
- 58 Denton and Wilson, *Happy Land*, p. 10.
- 59 Gilfillan, *Jewish Edinburgh*, p. 67.
- 60 See note 52, above.
- 61 *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 January 1901.
- 62 An honour to read from the Torah scroll on the festival of Simchat Torah.
- 63 *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 July 1992.
- 64 G. M. Raab, ‘Jews in Scotland, Results from the 2001 Census’, *The Edinburgh Star*, 46 (September 2003), pp. 10–11. Available at <https://www.edinburghstar>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 65 <https://www.ehcong.com>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 66 <https://www.eljc.org>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 67 <https://www.chabadofedinburgh.com>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 68 Conversion still takes time and at least a year’s study leading to a formal decision by a rabbinic court (Beth Din), see <https://www.liberaljudaism.org/conversion-faq>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 69 <https://www.ejls.org>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 70 <https://www.jcc.scot>, accessed 31/12/2020.
- 71 <https://www.scojec.org>, accessed 31/12/2020.