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Jewish Identity and Attitudes toward Militarism in Scotland c.1898 to the 1920s

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Award date:
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**Jewish Identity and Attitudes toward Militarism in Scotland
c.1898 to the 1920s**

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October, 2015

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Acknowledgements

During the past four years a number of people and organizations influenced the progress of this thesis, and for their help I will attempt to provide appropriate recognition. First and foremost, I thank my supervisor, Dr. Billy Kenefick, for seeing the potential in the research and taking me on as his student. His guidance and honesty have been steadying influences throughout, while allowing me the freedom to take the research in directions that surprised us both at times. His equal attention both to his students and to historical research is inspiring, and for his constant availability despite a continuously full schedule I cannot thank him enough.

I also thank Professor Callum Brown for his tough critiques during the opening stages of the research which were justifiable and motivational. During the final stages of writing and organising, I must thank Professor Graeme Morton for his guidance and insight. His thorough commentary, experience, and humour were exactly what I needed toward the end of a long journey. Dr. Chris Storrs was also kind enough to provide helpful feedback on a late draft. I must also thank Dr. Murray Frame and Dr. John Regan who as module coordinators were gracious enough to give me the opportunity to put my research and knowledge to use in the classroom. Many others in the history department at the University of Dundee showed interest in this research and provided support for which I am truly grateful.

A number of archivists deserve mention, particularly those at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre. Fiona Brodie and Deborah Haase were most helpful in locating the appropriate materials during my many visits to Glasgow. Harvey Kaplan deserves special thanks for organising each visit, for making the time to meet and discuss the research, and for allowing me to inundate his email inbox with constant questions. Dr. Irene O'Brien and her colleagues at the Glasgow City Archives in the Mitchell Library deserve many thanks for their tireless work and efforts on my behalf. The staff of the Local History Room at the Dundee Central Library also deserves special mention for helping with various searches and answering numerous questions. To all other archivists and librarians across Scotland and England who have provided invaluable service throughout the research process, I give my sincere thanks.

I would also like to thank a number of professionals and fellow researchers who kindly shared their knowledge. Dr. Mark Gilfillan, kindly introduced to me by Harvey Kaplan, deserves first mention for answering a number of my questions and sharing his own research on the Edinburgh Jewish community. His insights were particularly invaluable during the early research stages, and he kindly responded to various questions throughout. Similarly, I thank Dr. Anne Lloyd for sharing her insights into British Jewry during the Great War and for providing me with helpful materials and contacts. I also thank Dr. Sharman Kadish for taking the time to meet me and discuss my work during a research trip to Manchester.

Financially, the University of Dundee deserves thanks for providing important funding at various stages. Two departmental grants allowed me to travel to conferences at Bangor University and Queen's University Belfast where I was able to present papers and meet fellow researchers and professionals in my field. The Arts & Humanities Research Institute at the university also provided a tuition fee reduction for my first year of research and in addition provided three small grants which funded a conference paper presentation at the University of Chester and enabled me to conduct multiple research trips to London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. I am also grateful to the Scottish Funding Council for its aid from the Scottish Overseas Research Student Award Scheme which significantly reduced my tuition fees during my second and third years and thereby allowed me to continue the work that had been started.

Finally, I thank my entire family for investing their love and support in me throughout my education. Most importantly, I thank my wife Caroline for leaving her hometown and family to share an adventure with me. She has supported me in every way possible and has added joy to our family by bringing our two little boys, Brodrick and Lewis, into the world. I hope that I can repay her dedication and their love in the years to come.

Author Declaration

I hereby declare that I, Kirk Gregory Hansen, am the sole author of this thesis; that unless otherwise stated, all references cited have been consulted by me; that the work of which the thesis is a record has been done by me; and that this thesis has not, in whole or part, been previously accepted for a higher degree.

Signed:

Date:

Abstract

This thesis concerns Scottish Jewish participation and non-participation with the military, primarily during the Great War, and the connection to Jewish integration and interaction with Scottish society.

Within British Jewish historiography, Scottish Jews receive little attention in relation to military activity, and what has been written about Scottish Jewry predominantly focuses on participation and patriotism. This thesis re-examines Scottish Jewish participation in the military, and it explores both legal and illegal non-participation in order to provide a balanced evaluation of Scottish Jewry. This investigation of both participation and non-participation furthermore reveals a divide within Scottish Jewry between the establishment and immigrant sectors that presented a challenge for Jewish integration. Through examining attitudes toward militarism during the Great War, this thesis uncovers persistent anti-Jewish sentiment heightened by a tense wartime atmosphere to levels previously unknown in Scotland. Evidence of this tension between Scots and Jews, previously overlooked, is found primarily in the Scottish press which provided frustrated Scots with a place to complain, but also offered the Jewish community an opportunity to respond to criticism and declare their loyalties. The press is therefore valuable to this thesis in observing wartime interactions and relations between Scots and Jews. Additionally, the press along with various military records are used in this thesis as outside-in sources in order to gain a broader understanding of the Jewish position within Scottish society where previous historiography has relied heavily upon specifically Jewish sources. With a deeper understanding of attitudes toward militarism before, during, and after the Great War, this thesis will be able to place the wartime experiences of Scottish Jews and their efforts toward integration in a broader context of British Jewish history.

Abbreviations

British Socialist Party	BSP
Glasgow Jewish Representative Council	GJRC
Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association	GJVA
Highland Light Infantry	HLI
Independent Labour Party	ILP
Jewish Lads' Brigade	JLB
Jewish Young Men's Association	JYMI
National Service League	NSL
No-Conscription Fellowship	NCF
Scottish Jewish Archives Centre	SJAC
Royal Army Medical Corps	RAMC
Volunteer Battalion Highland Light Infantry	VBHLI

Terms

Chanukah – Jewish holiday commemorating the restoration of the Temple of Jerusalem

Goy – Yiddish term for a non-Jewish person; plural is *goyim*

Minyan – ten adult males necessary to perform a Jewish religious service

Shechita – Jewish religious method of slaughtering

Shul – a synagogue; a place of Jewish worship

Treife – food unfit for consumption according to Jewish religious food rituals

Introduction

Historiography and Aims

Three years prior to the outbreak of the Great War, the 1911 Census placed the Scottish population at 4,760,904.¹ Within this number around 10,000 were Jewish, making this minority only .002 per cent of the total population.² In 1914 the *Jewish Yearbook* calculated that in the three Scottish cities with the largest Jewish communities, Jews comprised nearly one percent of the population in Glasgow, .56 per cent of the population in Edinburgh, and .07 per cent of the population of Dundee.³ These figures showed a general Jewish attraction to Scottish urban areas, and this was true of the minority groups spread across the United Kingdom. Proportionally, the numbers appeared small but were nonetheless impressive considering that the first organised Jewish community was established in Scotland less than 100 years before the start of the Great War. Although some Jews have been identified in Scotland as early as the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century, it was not until 1816 that an organised community appeared in Edinburgh. Traditionally, a Jewish community required a *minyan* which is defined as a minimum of ten adult men, the number required for conducting religious service. A second community developed a few years later in Glasgow in 1823.⁴ The process of building these communities in Scotland began mostly with a handful of Germans, exemplified in Dundee where German Jewish businessmen took part in the lucrative jute industry. Likewise in Glasgow by 1831, before the Glasgow community was even a decade old, around half of the Jewish population was German with the other half composed of Dutch and English Jews.⁵ The small numbers rapidly grew after 1880 with the mass immigration of Russian Jews fleeing persecution and hardship, inflating the number of Jews across Britain to nearly 300,000 by 1914, although around half this number resided in

¹ Michael Flinn (ed.), *Scottish Population History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 302.

² Harvey Kaplan, 'The Jews of the Gorbals in 1911' (unpublished article).

³ *Jewish Yearbook 1915*, (London, 1915), pp. 171-172.

⁴ Abel Phillips, *History of the Origins of the First Jewish Community in Scotland-Edinburgh 1816* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979); Abraham Levy, *Origins of Glasgow Jewry, 1812-1895* (Glasgow: A. J. Macfarlane, 1949).

⁵ C.C. Aronsfeld, 'German Jews in Dundee', *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 November 1953, p. 15; Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879-1939* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), p. 8.

London.⁶ A majority of those Jews who migrated to Scotland were drawn to Glasgow, and by 1914 the city housed the fourth largest Jewish population in Britain with around 10,000, trailing only London, Manchester, and Leeds. In the same year a sizeable community of around 2,000 was found in Edinburgh, and a number of smaller communities were scattered across Scotland. This rapid growth from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century combined with religious dissimilarity within a Protestant dominated society made Scottish Jews and their coreligionists throughout the United Kingdom a visible minority group despite their proportionally small numbers.⁷

Scottish Jewry may have been visible, but this did not mean that it was united. In Glasgow internal division existed in a roughly geographic realm as the older, settled segment lived in the West End while the immigrants resided in the South Side, specifically the Gorbals. Class and religious practice often magnified the differences between the two sections, and this is exemplified by South Side Jews who referred to the West End synagogue of Garnethill as the 'Englische shul.' Kenneth Collins suggested that this was uttered with a sense of awe for the beautiful purpose built building,⁸ and while this may have been true in some cases, this phrase better captured an underlying contempt held by some South Side Jews for the British character of their West End brethren. This internal division complicates an understanding of Scottish Jews, a broad term which will be used throughout this thesis to refer to any Jewish person born or living in Scotland. A sense of 'Scottishness' or 'Britishness' was not alike for all Scottish Jews, and therefore the term 'integrated' will reference those in the Jewish community, both natural born and naturalised, who embraced their identity as both Jews and British citizens.⁹ The terms 'immigrant' and 'alien' will refer to unnaturalised Jews residing in Scotland, and references to 'Russian Jews' and 'German Jews' will generally take the same meaning, particularly when used by British nationals to observe the otherness or outsider status of the Jewish

⁶ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 4; Susan Tananbaum, *Jewish Immigrants in London, 1880-1939* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014) p. 26.

⁷ Murray Watson, *Being English in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003) pp. 83-101.

⁸ Kenneth Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives, 1990), p. 39.

⁹ Collins argues that a British identity was common whereas a general 'concept of being Scottish' was not explored by Scottish Jews until sometime after the Great War. In general this is true, but chapter one will challenge this idea specifically through a more thorough examination of the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association and the Jewish Lads' Brigade. See Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 105.

community. This general split between integrated and immigrant Jews is admittedly oversimplified, but it is necessary in order to drive the analysis forward and will be nuanced where necessary.

Although a noticeable and distinctive minority group, the Jewish community has been largely overlooked within broader Scottish historiography aside from a few works such as those by Mary Edward, Suzanne Audrey, and Billy Kay which have given specific attention to minority groups within Scotland as well as brief mention in general Scottish histories such as Tom Devine's *The Scottish Nation*.¹⁰ Within the historiography of British Jewry Ben Braber has observed that Scottish Jews have been 'traditionally' overlooked, starting with the works of Cecil Roth in the mid-twentieth century and continuing into present times.¹¹ In Nathan Abrams' examination of the historiographical terms 'Anglo-Jewish' and 'British-Jewish,' he noted that the first term has essentially ignored the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish parts of Britain while the second has feigned inclusivity though it has continued to focus on the large English communities, primarily London.¹² While Jewish communities in England may have longer histories and greater size, these factors should not negate the experiences of smaller communities elsewhere. The history of Scottish Jews therefore owes a debt to Kenneth Collins for his pioneering work on Scottish Jews, particularly his examination of health and education amongst Scottish Jews, and his focus on the development of the Glasgow community.¹³ Collins' research has laid the groundwork for Scottish Jewish studies, and the final two chapters of his book *Second City Jewry* are particularly beneficial to the research in this thesis since they cover Glasgow Jewry during the years of the Great War. This thesis will build upon the basic outline of the war years provided by Collins through an analysis of both participation and non-participation and by introducing additional sources outside of the Jewish community in order to gain a broader understanding of the Jewish place and struggle within Scottish society.

¹⁰ Mary Edward, *Who Belongs to Glasgow?* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2008), pp. 55-78; Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 46-61; Billy Kay (ed.), *The Complete Odyssey* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), pp. 1-10, 227-235; Tom Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2000* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999), pp. 518-521.

¹¹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. xvii.

¹² Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews* (London: McFarland & Company, 2009) pp. 8-9.

¹³ Kenneth Collins, *Go and Learn: The International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988); Kenneth Collins, *Scotland's Jews: A Guide to the History and Community of the Jews in Scotland* (Glasgow: Scottish Council of Jewish Communities, 2008); Kenneth Collins, (ed.), *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow: Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, 1987).

Next to Collins, Ben Braber has established himself as an authority on Glasgow Jewry, having built upon Collins' work and explored on a deeper level issues of Jewish integration and their struggle to find a place within Scottish society.¹⁴ Braber's works capture the societal tensions between Scots and Jews to a far greater extent, and in the context of the Great War his article analysing anti-Germanism and its effects upon Glasgow Jews during the Great War makes a significant contribution.¹⁵ Braber's most comprehensive work, *Jews in Glasgow*, occasionally discussed and acknowledged the importance of the First World War period to the integration efforts of Scottish Jews, but his topical approach prevented him from entering into an examination of the conflict in any depth. Apart from Braber and Collins, the Great War is largely ignored amongst Scottish Jewish historians, and thus, a thorough and broad analysis of Scottish Jewry during the Great War remains unwritten despite Braber's acknowledged importance of the war. This thesis seeks to address this gap and will use Braber as a guide in understanding the significant tensions during the Great War between Scots and Jews which have gone largely unrecognised.

Although other historians have passed over the Great War years, their works still provide key insights into Scottish Jewry that influence this thesis. William Kenefick, one of the few historians to step out and include the Jewish experience within Scottish history, has produced works which have provided a comparative analysis of the Jews and Irish in Glasgow which will serve as relevant examples where this thesis seeks to contextualise the wartime Jewish community as one of many Scottish minorities.¹⁶ Kenefick ultimately concluded that the two minority communities in large part lived peacefully side by side while the sectarianism between Catholic Irish and Protestant Scots, increasing particularly during the interwar period, meant the Jewish community was able to integrate relatively overlooked and undisturbed. This comparative research is unquestionably valuable and insightful, but like the works of others which acknowledge the struggles of Scottish Jews, it does not uncover the extent of anti-Jewish feeling found within Scottish society which the Great

¹⁴ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*; Ben Braber, 'The Trial of Oscar Slater (1909) and Anti-Jewish Prejudices in Edwardian Glasgow', *History*, 88 (2003).

¹⁵ Ben Braber, 'Within Our Gates: A New Perspective on Germans in Glasgow during the First World War', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 29:2 (2009), pp. 87-105.

¹⁶ William Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations: The Glasgow Waterfront c. 1880-1914', *Jewish Culture and History*, 7:1-2 (2004), pp. 215-234; William Kenefick, 'Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities in Twentieth Century Scotland', *Jewish Culture and History*, 9:2-3 (2007), pp. 60-78.

War exposed to an extent that had been previously unknown by Scottish Jewry. Likewise, Henry Maitles' expositions of class conflict and anti-Semitism in Scotland circumvented the Scottish Jewish experience during the Great War, but his explanation of the class divide within Scottish Jewry is important where this thesis explores the varying attitudes toward militarism amongst Scottish Jews which was often divided between support from the integrated sector of the community and rejection or reluctance amongst the immigrant sector. Maitles furthermore provided an antidote to some of the sentimental remembrances of relations between Scots and Jews.¹⁷ David Daiches, son of the well respected Rabbi Salis Daiches, fondly recalled his teachers and classmates during his schoolboy days in interwar Edinburgh regarding him with a 'Presbyterian respect for the People of the Book.'¹⁸ Evelyn Cowan remembered in her autobiography growing up in interwar Gorbals as 'a world of poverty, which to me, was not misery, but rich and happy.'¹⁹ Discussing the same time period, Ralph Glasser's autobiography compares in stark contrast to Daiches and Cowan in his details of the squalor and violence faced by Jews living in the Gorbals.²⁰ This thesis therefore does not argue that societal tensions are completely absent from Scottish Jewish historiography as even Collins, alongside Braber, has addressed the strained interactions between the Jewish community and Scottish society, namely Protestant conversionist activity performed through the creation of local Presbyterian Jewish Missions. The problem lies in that these tensions within the context of the Great War have been limited historiographically to Braber's brief exploration of anti-Germanism in Glasgow, however, anti-Jewish sentiment did appear throughout Scotland during the war and affected not only German Jews but also Russian Jews as well.

This signals another issue with Scottish Jewish historiography which is its primary focus on the largest community of Glasgow. Some important recent additions to the historiography have been made such as Mark Gilfillan's much needed history of

¹⁷ Henry Maitles, 'Confronting Fascism: Attitudes of the Glasgow Jewish Community in the 1930s,' *The Local Historian*, 27:2 (1997), pp. 106-116; Henry Maitles, 'Jewish Trade Unionists in Glasgow', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 10:3 (1991), pp. 46-69.

¹⁸ David Daiches, *Two Worlds* (Edinburgh: Cannongate Books, 1997), p. 10.

¹⁹ Evelyn Cowan, *Spring Remembered: A Scottish Jewish Childhood* (New York: Taplinger, 1978), p. 10.

²⁰ Ralph Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1986).

the Edinburgh Jewish community.²¹ Gilfillan portrayed the Edinburgh community as influential beyond their size and provided insightful information on their wartime experiences, particularly information regarding Jewish appellants before Military Service Tribunals, which is beneficial to the exploration of Jewish non-participation within this thesis. Nathan Abrams' book *Caledonian Jews* took aim at the Glasgow-centric historiography and provided a counterbalance through the examination of the smaller communities in Scotland.²² This thesis will attend to Abrams' awareness of the smaller communities by considering the experiences of smaller Jewish communities alongside Glasgow and Edinburgh. Particular attention will be given to Dundee, providing a comparative approach that has hitherto been mostly absent in Scottish Jewish historiography.

In light of the limitations within Scottish Jewish historiography as it deals with militarism and the Great War, this thesis will seek to address three main issues. First, this thesis will go beyond Glasgow and investigate the experiences of Jews across Scotland. Secondly, both wartime participation and non-participation will be explored, providing a more balanced understanding of Scottish Jewish attitudes toward the war. Thirdly, and of prime importance, this thesis will uncover anti-Jewish sentiment within Scottish society that was particular to the Great War period and hitherto unobserved in the current historiography. In addition to these three points, this thesis will place the wartime experiences and mindsets of Scottish Jews within the broader context of British Jewry. As observed above in Abrams and Braber, Scottish Jewry has been largely overlooked within the works of those claiming to write 'British-Jewish' or 'Anglo-Jewish' histories. British Jewish historiography has, however, covered the Great War extensively and thus provides facts and analyses that are beneficial to this thesis. In the years following the Great War, works such as Lieutenant Colonel John Henry Patterson's *With the Judeans in Palestine* and the Reverend Michael Adler's *British Jewry Book of Honour*, both published in 1922, extolled the military efforts of British Jews during the war. Two decades later the Second World War provided an opportunity to point back to the past patriotism of British Jews and was expressed in works such as Cecil Roth's *The Jews in the defence of Britain, thirteenth to nineteenth*

²¹ Mark Gilfillan, 'Two Worlds: Jewish Immigration and Integration in Edinburgh, 1880-1945' (PhD, Ulster University, 2012).

²² Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, pp. 9-10.

centuries, a paper read at Magdalen College, Oxford before the Jewish Historical Society of England in 1940, and Vladimir Jabotinsky's *The Story of the Jewish Legion* (1945). All of these works were written as a positive showcase of Jewish military participation and identification with British wartime goals, and in this way these works fell in line with pre-1970s British Jewish history which has been described as 'whiggish, apologetic, triumphalist' in their attempts to counter the anti-Jewish sentiments found in British society.²³ The most extensive coverage of Scottish Jews and the war found in Collins' work mirrored this optimistic view of Jewish participation, and this thesis looks to more recent histories for examples of more thorough and complex analysis of Jewish wartime experiences.

In the past thirty years British Jewish literature has taken a more complex and critical view of the Great War, and here the influence of the 'Sheffield school' should not be undervalued in its significant growth of the 'historical study of immigration, minorities, racism and Fascism in Britain.'²⁴ In contrast to earlier British Jewish historians, David Cesarani explored the hardships and prejudice faced by British Jews during the First World War and asserted that Jews experienced a decreased standing within British society after the war.²⁵ While providing a necessary counterpoint to previous studies of this conflict, Cesarani's broad thesis focused mainly on London Jews and failed to account for the diversity found within British Jewry. This thesis, while employing Cesarani's attentiveness to significantly overlooked societal tensions, will also examine where Scottish Jewry falls within the scope of Cesarani's conclusion. Alyson Pendlebury explored similar social themes in her examination of the negative British representations and portrayals of 'the Jew' during the Great War, and Sharman Kadish examined the backlash against Russian Jews based on perceived and actual ties

²³ Todd Endelman, 'Writing English Jewish History', *Albion*, 27:4 (1995), p. 627. Some works on the Jewish communities found in the wider British Empire follow the same pattern by extolling military participation while largely ignoring any adverse social conditions. See Irving Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1990), pp. 164-165; Ray Rivlin, *Jewish Ireland: A Social History* (Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2011), pp. 136, 200; Hilary Rubinstein, *The Jews in Australia: A Thematic History, Volume I* (Port Melbourne: Heinemann, 1991), pp. 29, 399-401.

²⁴ Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn (eds.), *The Politics of Marginality* (London: Frank Cass, 1990), pp. vii, xiv. The 'Sheffield school' refers to the focus on bottom-up studies at the University of Sheffield under the leadership of Colin Holmes and Richard Thurlow and continued by their students such as Tony Kushner, Kenneth Lunn, Donald MacRaild, and others who have contributed a vast number of scholarly works and have influenced a great many of the historians and authors referred to throughout this thesis.

²⁵ David Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority: The Jews in Britain during the First World War,' *Immigrants and Minorities*, 8:1-2 (1989), pp. 60-61.

to radical left-wing politics as well as resistance to conscription.²⁶ The societal perceptions and reactions to Jews as outsiders and as non-participants examined by all three historians, Cesarani, Pendlebury, and Kadish provide excellent insight for this thesis' exploration of the Scottish context. Mark Levene has attempted a balanced approach by looking at Jewish participation alongside military service evasion, and Anne Lloyd has further expounded upon this while and added context with an exploration of British identity and related Jewish attitudes toward militarism prior to the start of the Great War.²⁷ The complexities that Levene and Lloyd both found in Jewish attitudes toward militarism and warfare were succinctly captured by Derek Penslar in his sweeping examination of European Jewish military relations who states, 'Jews have been Jacob and Esau and everything in between.'²⁸ In other words, in terms of military participation, they have been both the aggressors and the passive, and to stereotype the community as one or the other, patriotic or shirkers, is to ignore the incredible complexity of the people and the times. Aside from occasional mentions in Kadish and Lloyd, none of these historians attempted to develop an analysis of Scottish Jews during the Great War. By broadly examining the participation and non-participation of Jews across Scotland and their relationship with the host society during the Great War, this research will be able to place their experiences within the broader framework of British-Jewish history.

Approaches and Structure

One of the keys to unlocking the three main historiographical gaps of expanding the Glasgow-centric view, re-evaluating participation and non-participation, and particularly in uncovering inter-societal tensions is the Scottish press. While newspapers such as the *Glasgow Herald* or *The Scotsman* have been used in Scottish Jewish history, many of the other sources which have been used such as the Jewish press, minutebooks of Jewish organisations, and oral testimonies have essentially

²⁶ Alyson Pendlebury, *Portraying "the Jew" in First World War Britain* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006); Sharman Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews* (London: Frank Cass, 1992).

²⁷ Mark Levene, 'Going Against the Grain: Two Jewish Memoirs of War and Anti-War, 1914-18,' *Jewish Culture and History*, 2:2 (1999), pp. 66-95; Anne Lloyd, 'Jews Under Fire: the Jewish Community and Military Service in World War I Britain' (PhD, University of Southampton, 2009).

²⁸ Derek Penslar, *Jews and the Military* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 3.

covered Scottish Jews from the inside. Bill Williams has criticised the solitary use of Jewish documents in British Jewish history as elitist and open to myth building, and Fiona Frank has specifically advised caution on Collins' work on Scottish Jews for its inward approach.²⁹ While Jewish sources will be used throughout this thesis and are essential, the Scottish press provides an outside-in approach to Scottish Jewry that is lacking in Jewish materials. Furthermore, this thesis will use a wider variety of newspapers not only from Glasgow and Edinburgh but also from Aberdeen, Dundee, and other Scottish areas in order to show the widespread coverage and commentary on Jewish issues within the press. The press could be cast aside as a self-censoring puppet of the government since under the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA), passed on 8 August 1914 after Britain's declaration of war, the government flexed its regulatory powers of the press through the establishment of the Press Bureau and the Foreign Office News Department.³⁰ While the press by and large submitted to the wishes of the government throughout the war, this does not detract from its value as a purveyor of information regarding Jewish issues which cannot be found in the available Jewish sources, and are at times unavailable in the relevant archives.³¹ This absence of archival or primary source evidence is easily exemplified through the commentary by the Scottish press on both the criminal activity and police cooperation of the Glasgow Jewish community. Investigations into the holdings of both the Glasgow Police Museum and the City Archives at the Mitchell Library showed that the desired documentation for Glasgow cases is no longer available, although some criminal cases which made it to the High Court in Edinburgh can be found at the National Records of Scotland. The records of Jewish organisations held at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre (SJAC) contain few mentions of police matters, and aside from some discussions of illegal gambling considered in some oral testimonies, the archival holdings largely ignore police relations. All common interaction between Scottish Jews and police, both criminal and cooperative as they relate to Jewish/Scottish relations during the

²⁹ Bill Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History', *Oral History*, 7:1 (1979), p. 52; Fiona Frank, "'An Outsider Wherever I Am?': Transmission of Jewish Identity through Five Generations of a Scottish Jewish Family', (PhD, University of Strathclyde, 2012).

³⁰ Dennis Griffiths, *The Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422-1992* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1992), p. 42.

³¹ The process whereby documents are added to archives and managed by archivists leaves historians with only the smallest percentage, estimated to generally be between 1 and 5 per cent, of records available. The archives and holdings pertinent to Scottish Jewry are no exception. See John Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory* (Duluth, Minnesota: Litwin Books, 2009), p. xv.

Great War, are therefore primarily found in the press. These and other press reports, given their language and frequency, clearly reveal societal attitudes toward the Jewish minority, and more importantly will be shown to form a central focus of this thesis.

Beyond providing information that is otherwise unavailable, the press offered commentary, and thus valuable outside-in observations, regarding the wartime Jewish community. While this thesis adheres to Geoffrey Alderman's definition of Jewish as any who considered themselves so or was considered by contemporaries as such,³² the perceptions found in the Scottish press concerning the Jewish community are vital in understanding the relationship between Scots and Jews and the struggle for Jewish integration. During the First World War the corresponding heightened anti-alienism provided an environment in which the existing anti-Jewish sentiments became less restrained than before. It is therefore the 'ideas,' the basic element upon which newspaper language is built rather than 'facts about the world,' that Scottish society put forth about the Jews in their midst and Jews in general through the press which are important.³³ The press provided an outlet for journalists and members of the public, particularly for the latter in the sections dedicated to letters to the editor, to vent their anger and frustration not only toward enemy aliens but also toward friendly minorities such as the Jewish population. In turn the press also offered the Jewish community a venue to respond to any challenges perceived or real, and thus provided documentation of interaction between Scots and Jews where little otherwise exists. Although it must be carefully noted that the press does not 'mirror society,' it is undeniable that the social atmosphere during the Great War fostered a pattern of persistent anti-Jewish feeling enshrouded in a pervasive anti-alienism which has hitherto been overlooked.³⁴ Indeed, it has been entirely ignored and this remains part of the hidden history of the Jewish community in Scotland.

In a broad sense of newspaper history, both past and contemporary historians have also largely overlooked the provincial press within which is included the Scottish press. Indeed, those who have included the Scottish press focused mainly on the two

³² Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 1-2.

³³ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 1.

³⁴ Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-historical Perspectives* (London: Continuum, 2010), pp. 3-4.

traditionally most prestigious of Scotland's establishment press, *The Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald*.³⁵ More specifically regarding the First World War press, John McEwan's analysis of the 'national press' was typical in that it inherently and admittedly ignored all Scottish, Welsh, and Irish papers.³⁶ However, three recent works made extensive use of the Scottish press as a means for understanding the social setting during the Great War. Most recently, James Fanning's investigation of the wartime reporting of three newspapers, the *Aberdeen Evening Express*, *Dundee Courier* and *The Scotsman*, confirmed a Scottish press which manipulated the violent reports and experiences of Scottish soldiers into stories for the Scottish public that 'better served the war effort.' Fanning suggested, however, that the regional press was less self-censored in comparison to London based papers.³⁷ Julie Danskin emphatically argued for the importance of the press in her study, *A City at War*, in which she explored the Dundee press and revealed the local newspapers to be a vital link between the city and the local battalion of the 4th Black Watch. In many ways Danskin's research built upon the work of Catriona Macdonald who used Scottish press reports to analyse local anti-German violence following the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The wartime press, Macdonald argued, was important in shaping identities while instilling those on the home front with a sense of purpose within the context of the present war, essentially creating an imagined local battlefield for civilians.³⁸ Although Fanning, Danskin, and Macdonald do not provide any revelatory alternative findings concerning the Scottish press and its nationalistic reporting on the war, their works are important because they demonstrate the powerful impact of the Scottish press on the reporting of local social issues. The continual commentaries on the Jewish community throughout the war and their depiction as friend, victim, and/or enemy are therefore important.

The works of Fanning, Danskin, and Macdonald all recognised that in general, newspapers must be viewed as a viable resource given their social significance during

³⁵ Andrew Walker, 'The Development of the Provincial Press in England c. 1780-1914', *Journalism Studies*, 7:3 (2006), pp. 373-375; Alan Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press, 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

³⁶ John McEwan, 'The National Press', p. 461.

³⁷ James Fanning, 'Does the publication of soldier's correspondence by the Scottish Press during the years of the Great War depict battlefield conditions in an accurate manner?', (MLitt, University of Dundee, 2015).

³⁸ Catriona Macdonald, 'May 1915: Race, Riot and Representations of War', in Catriona Macdonald and E.W. McFarland (eds.), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 166.

the nineteenth century, at which time the press emerged from competition with the 'platform, periodical and sermon' to become the 'dominant medium' (largely due to technological advancements.) The result was a powerful tool with a 'mass readership,' including all classes of society, which during the Great War 'reached an unprecedented level of importance.'³⁹ The social importance of the newspapers was further reinforced by the number of periodicals, over 300, printed in Scotland just prior to the war.⁴⁰ From the *Southern Reporter* which covered Selkirk and other southern regions of the Borders to the *Shetland Times* published in the far northern reaches, the press covered all corners of Scotland. Moreover, national dailies such as *The Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* reached beyond their respective cities of publication and were sold across Scotland. *The Scotsman*, which operated from Edinburgh and established in 1817, became a daily paper in 1855, while the *Glasgow Herald*, established in 1783, became a daily in 1859. By 1870 the circulation of both papers had risen from a few thousand per day to around 30,000, and these numbers only grew as they competed to become the premier newspaper in Scotland.⁴¹ During the war *The Scotsman* boasted of a circulation in 'every town and village in Scotland and the North of England' including 'a considerable circulation in England and Ireland, and largely abroad.'⁴² The *Glasgow Herald* made similar claims with a circulation 'throughout Scotland, the North of England and the North of Ireland.' Indeed, during the war years the *Herald* saw a dramatic increase in circulation which jumped from around 50,000 daily before the war to over 70,000 by 1918, or in terms of weekly circulation there was a growth from 300,000 to 420,000 for a weekly increase of over 100,000 over a four year period.⁴³

Considering the broad readership of both papers and the fact that they stood as the premier newspapers of the two cities containing the largest populations of Jews in Scotland, *The Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* are unquestionably important for this research, as they have been for others who have written on Scottish Jews. Yet

³⁹ Mark Hampton, "'Understanding Media": Theories of the Press in Britain, 1850-1914', *Media, Culture and Society*, 23:2 (2001), p. 214; John McEwan, 'The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17:3 (1982), p. 459.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴¹ Griffiths, *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, pp. 305, 508; A.P. Wadsworth, *Newspaper Circulations, 1800-1954* (Manchester: Manchester Statistical Society, 1955), p. 21.

⁴² *Newspaper Press Directory 1917* (London: C. Mitchell, 1917), p. 196.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 198; Wadsworth, *Newspaper Circulations*, p. 35.

little examination has been made of other major papers such as the *Edinburgh Evening News* which had an influential circulation in central and south-eastern Scotland, or the *Glasgow Daily Record*, costing a halfpenny while the *Glasgow Herald* cost one penny, which claimed the largest circulation in Scotland of over 150,000 daily during the year 1912 for a weekly circulation of 900,000.⁴⁴ Both papers reported on local Jewish matters throughout the war in positive and negative ways, and the *Edinburgh Evening News* received regular correspondence from local Jewish residents. Apart from Glasgow and Edinburgh, two other major Scottish newspaper centres were in Aberdeen and Dundee, areas which both housed smaller Jewish communities. The *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, established in 1784 and considered 'the oldest Scottish title extant,' had aspirations of competing with *The Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* for the title of national Scottish paper. The *Aberdeen Evening Express*, established in 1879 and reported as the oldest evening paper in the north of Scotland, saw its pre-war daily circulation increase from 42,000 to over 56,000 by mid-war which created a weekly increase from 252,000 to 336,000.⁴⁵ In Dundee a number of papers claimed a broad readership. The *Dundee Courier* sold at a halfpenny and claimed to have 'the largest morning circulation north of the Firth of Forth' while its sister paper, the *Dundee Advertiser*, proclaimed itself 'the leading penny morning paper in Scotland North of the Forth.' The *Dundee Evening Telegraph and Post* claimed to have 'a larger circulation than any other halfpenny daily newspaper in Scotland out of Glasgow and Edinburgh' and declared itself to be 'the evening paper for Central Scotland, a field having nearly one million population.'⁴⁶ The popular *People's Journal*, which advertised itself as 'Scotland's National weekly paper' and was published in eight editions across Scotland, enjoyed a weekly circulation of 250,000 during the war.⁴⁷ The *Weekly News* claimed a readership throughout Great Britain and in a 1915 edition stated its weekly circulation to be 504,941.⁴⁸ The *Post Sunday Special*, a child of the

⁴⁴ Macdonald, 'Race, Riot and Representations', p. 147.

⁴⁵ David Hutchison, 'The History of the Press', in Neil Blain and David Hutchison (eds.), *The Media in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 56; Sarah Pedersen, 'A Surfeit of Socks? The Impact of the First World War on Women Correspondents to Daily Newspapers', *Journal of Scottish History Studies*, 22 (2002), p. 52; Fanning, 'Publication of Soldier's Correspondence'.

⁴⁶ *Newspaper Press Directory 1917*, p. 195.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 190; Martin Conboy, *Journalism in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (London: SAGE, 2011), p. 186.

⁴⁸ *Weekly News*, 16 October 1915, p. 1.

Great War first produced in October 1914, quickly gathered a readership which eventually resulted in a circulation of over one million by the Second World War.⁴⁹

The vast readership of these papers not only in their city of publication but across other regions of Scotland, shaped opinion on national and local matters and also provided a venue for public commentary. This makes them valuable for understanding Scottish-wide coverage of Jewish matters within and beyond Glasgow and Edinburgh.⁵⁰ Additionally, the Jewish press provides insight into the issues deemed important by the Jewish community. The most important and widely read paper at the time of the Great War and throughout the history of British Jewry was the *Jewish Chronicle*, established in 1841.⁵¹ Its space reserved for provincial news provided communities outside of London a venue for recording their activities. In general communities recorded what was important to them and avoided negative reports; in essence it was their opportunity to shape Jewish public opinion regarding themselves. Alternately, letters to the editor and editorial columns captured positive and negative perceptions of individual communities, and these provide a snapshot of the various wartime issues and tensions which arose within British Jewry that directly affected Scottish Jews.⁵²

Such a broad search of so many titles was possible through the use of microfilm and back-issues at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, as well as the Dundee Central Library. For this thesis both the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Jewish Chronicle* received the most thorough examination since they both provide some of the most frequent coverage of Scottish Jewry. Both papers were examined at the Mitchell Library using microfilm and back-issues for the years prior to the Great War, and a page by page search of the *Glasgow Herald* for the war years was conducted using the Google newspaper archive while the same period was searched in

⁴⁹ Hutchison, 'The History of the Press,' p. 63.

⁵⁰ Liam Connell has argued that the Scottishness of the Scottish press has hitherto been overstated since Scottish issues became more important after the Great War due to a number of post-war factors, particularly political issues. However, local matters were constantly covered throughout the war, and more importantly Catriona Macdonald demonstrates that the Scottish press clearly generated Scottish visions and perspectives of the war. Liam Connell, 'The Scottishness of the Scottish press: 1918-39,' in *Media, Culture and Society*, 25:2 (2003), p. 189; Macdonald, 'Race, Riot and Representations', pp. 151-154.

⁵¹ Griffiths, *The Encyclopedia of the British Press*, p. 339.

⁵² During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, multiple attempts were made to establish a Jewish press in Glasgow, mainly in Yiddish, but unfortunately almost every copy has been lost or remains hidden.

the *Jewish Chronicle* using a keyword search of the *Jewish Chronicle* online archive.⁵³ Page by page searches of the *Dundee People's Journal* and *Dundee Advertiser* were conducted using back-issues at the Dundee Central Library. For *The Scotsman* an online database was used, implementing keyword searches while all other Scottish papers from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, Stirling, Selkirk, Perth, Hamilton, Motherwell, and other smaller towns were similarly studied using the British Newspaper Archive online database.⁵⁴ When starting the research for this thesis, there was never an intention to use the Scottish press in any great depth, but the amount of anti-Jewish sentiment found and the insight into the tensions and interactions between Scots and Jews made the press an invaluable source and in many respects changed the dynamics of the original research rationale. This discovery was surprising because of the lack of attention it has received historiographically, yet as Panikos Panayi explains, the increase of such animosity and intolerance toward 'domestic outgroups' is inevitable during wartime.⁵⁵

The other source significant in revealing interaction between Scots and Jews during the war is the Military Service Tribunal records held at the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh. These records are important because they remain the only collection to survive in Scotland after the Ministry of Health ordered all others to be destroyed in 1921. The only similar collection to survive in the UK is the Middlesex Appeal Tribunal records.⁵⁶ From 1916 to 1918 over one hundred Edinburgh Jews sought exemption from conscription, and their Tribunal files include their pleas and the responses from tribunalists, composed of leading local figures.⁵⁷ This social interaction was unique to anything previously experienced by Scottish Jews and provides an understanding of the mindset of a number of Scottish Jews seeking military exemption at the time and the response from those in Scottish society. In understanding Scottish Jewish attitudes toward military service both positive and

⁵³ See <https://news.google.com/newspapers> for the *Glasgow Herald*, and see <http://www.thejc.com/> for the *Jewish Chronicle*.

⁵⁴ See <http://search.proquest.com/hnpscotsman> for *The Scotsman*, and see <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> for all other Scottish newspapers.

⁵⁵ Panikos Panayi, 'Dominant Societies and Minorities in Wartime', in Panikos Panayi (ed.), *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, American and Australia during the Two World Wars* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), pp. 18-23.

⁵⁶ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/conscription-appeals/>.

⁵⁷ James McDermott's work, *British Military Service Tribunals, 1916-18*, refers to the men and women who worked on the Military Tribunals as 'tribunalists,' and this thesis will use the same term.

negative, it is essential to understand the context prior to the Great War. The records held at the SJAC in Glasgow are therefore important to this research, including organisational minutebooks, community histories, and oral histories. The oral histories are useful tools but must be handled with care. As Lynn Abrams has warned such testimony must be observed carefully as they 'derive from subjectivity.'⁵⁸ Furthermore, those remembering the past are susceptible to mistakes, and careful analysis of the testimonies is given throughout.⁵⁹

All of the Jewish sources are necessary for understanding both participation and non-participation, particularly as they expose a divide within Scottish Jewry between integrated and immigrant Jews, the latter group dominated by Russian Jews who had no natural inclinations toward military service due in large part to negative experiences of military conscription in the Russian Imperial Armed Forces. Chapter One therefore examines the issues of inter-communal divisions as they pertain to views on military participation in a pre-Great War context as well as the acceptance of Jewish military volunteers by Scottish regiments. During the First World War Scottish Jewry experienced both internal strain and external tension with Scottish society with an intensity that was particular to the wartime conditions. This unstable condition, although much more intense than anything previously experienced by Scottish Jews, was not an anomaly and therefore can only be understood within the context of the brief history of Scottish Jewry prior to the outbreak of the Great War. To examine the primary touchstone of wartime tension, support for the war effort, this chapter will examine evidence of Scottish Jewish attitudes toward military participation, both positive and negative, during the pre-war years from 1898-1914. The work of the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association (GJVA) is invaluable since its establishment in 1898 represents Scottish Jewry's earliest engagement with militarism and thus provides this thesis with a starting point. The establishment of a Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade (JLB) in 1904 offers further understanding of attitudes toward militarism, but

⁵⁸ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 7.

⁵⁹ An example of errors found in oral testimonies come from the testimony of Wolf Koppel. In recalling his father's time in the military during the Great War, Wolf stated that Nachmanovich 'didn't see any service outside the country,' but service records for Nachmanovich Koppel clearly show that he did indeed serve overseas. Dundee Central Library (hereafter DCL) DOHP 017/A/1; The National Archives, Kew (hereafter TNA), WO363/K667 Nachmanovitch Koppel.

more importantly both the GJVA and the JLB expose the divide between the old and new segments of the community.

These themes are built upon in Chapter Two which will begin with an initial numerical examination of the Scottish Jewish community in order to establish a more accurate base for exploring military participation by Scottish Jews. Once established, this chapter will proceed to analyse the military experiences of Scottish Jews, particularly their acceptance within Scottish regiments, and will expand upon the soldier's experience through letters, oral testimonies, and military records. A deeper understanding of Scottish Jewish participation will again expose the divide between the integrated and immigrant sectors of the Jewish community. This divide plays an important role in understanding the participation rate, particularly after the implementation of conscription in 1916, as well as the later creation of both the Russian Labour Battalion and the Jewish Brigade. While this chapter will revise historiographical gaps and simplifications and provide deeper analysis of the complexities of Scottish Jewish participation in the Great War, more importantly it will provide the necessary background for understanding the theme of non-participation explored in Chapter Three as well the societal criticisms levelled at the Jewish community explored in Chapter Four.

This issue of non-participation examined throughout Chapter Three is important because it provides a contrast to those who did participate. The theme of non-participation also gives context for the Scottish attitudes toward the Jewish community throughout the war which will be examined in the following chapter. This analysis of non-participation is also important because it fills in a gap where the existing historiography, as has previously been observed, remains largely London-centric. Furthermore, the focus of British Jewry during the Great War has been on the division between Anglo-Jewry and immigrant Jews, or to rephrase, the established and integrated Jews versus recently arrived migrant Russian Jews. Although Russia was Britain's ally during the First World War, the Anglo-Jewish community was concerned about the perception of the immigrant Jewish community among the broader British community, since many did not volunteer or were not allowed to volunteer due to

their status as aliens.⁶⁰ These types of fears existed within Scottish Jewry before the war, observable particularly through the activities of the GJVA and JLB. The impact of both the Military Service Act in 1916 and the Anglo-Russian Military Convention in 1917 caused some in the Russian-Jewish community to actively seek ways of avoiding the military. While a number of Russian Jews were tied to various anti-war groups and leftist political wings, particularly in London's East End, resistance to military service was also motivated by the desire for protection of family and welfare more than it was by politics.⁶¹ These same motivations were evident in Jewish legal efforts for non-participation seen in the available records of the Military Appeal Tribunals, a system implemented after conscription in 1916. The majority of Scottish Jews who appealed did so in an effort to protect families and businesses, reasons common to the motivating factors of family and economic betterment in Jewish immigration discussed in the contextualisation of Chapter One. Outside of the Tribunals, Scottish Jews also attempted military service evasion to other countries and even desertion on levels consistent with those explored in Chapter One.

Chapter Four addresses the home front, beginning with a look at the patriotic and participatory efforts made by the Scottish Jewish community, especially from its leading members. These activities provide a context for both the praise and the criticism that Scottish Jewry received throughout the course of the war – not least by the Scottish press which played a key role in exposing tension between Jews and Scots. The rest of the chapter therefore investigates the difficulties and underlying prejudice that the Jewish community, as a minority and largely 'alien' population, faced within Scotland with an initial section covering anti-alien sentiment in Scotland prior to the war in order to provide context for the Jewish experience during the war. The overt anti-alienism within Scottish society placed a strain on relations with the resident Jewish population from the very beginning of the war, and this anti-alienism continued to rise after 1916 with the implementation of conscription. This chapter proceeds by noting the progression of wartime anti-alienism which was predominantly anti-German for much of the war but moved to an anti-Russian sentiment by the end war, effecting mainly Jews with a Russian heritage as well as the smaller number of those with a German heritage. Again, the evidence for the anti-Jewish attitudes in Scotland is

⁶⁰ Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority', pp. 61-63. Lloyd, 'Jews Under Fire'.

⁶¹ Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews*, p. 227; Levene, 'Going Against the Grain', pp. 82-83.

primarily found in the press, and this chapter further shows that anti-Jewish mindsets within Scottish society persisted throughout the entirety of the war, a fact which has hitherto been overlooked.

Chapter Five as a micro-history will examine how Jews and Scots responded to the ongoing discussion on Jewish participation and non-participation during the war in a city with a small Jewish population, in order to compare their experiences with that of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Jewish communities. As a small community Dundee Jews appear to have been somewhat detached from the war as a single unified group. Edinburgh and Glasgow Jews cannot be described as unified in their approval of the war, but they did have a number of prominent leaders who regularly displayed and encouraged a strict adherence for loyalty and patriotism. The contrasting size and lack of patriotic leadership in Russian dominated Dundee Jewry contributed to a general community passivity toward the war. This lack of enthusiasm is further understandable considering the antagonism in Dundee toward Germans, as a number of the older Jewish families had German ties, and the lack of eagerness toward military participation from the Russian contingent evident from their appearances before the tribunals.

Chapter Six finishes by observing the post-war issues facing Jews concerning religion and politics as they extended from wartime tensions between Jews and Scots. These tensions are evaluated as to their impact on Jewish attempts toward integration into Scottish society and the use of commemoration of Jewish participation toward this end. By examining the themes of participation and non-participation alongside the societal tensions present, this thesis will expose the struggle that the Great War presented for Scottish Jews on a scale that has yet to be observed by historians and the Jewish community alike. Furthermore, the Great War provided an internally divided Scottish Jewry searching for identity within British society the opportunity for self-advancement and growth. Scottish Jewry was indeed only a section of the Jewish community and faced issues and challenges during the war that were similar to those of the broader Jewish community found within the British Empire, especially the division between established and immigrant sectors as it pertained to military service,

but this study of Scottish Jewry will ultimately provide a more complete understanding of British Jewry and the Great War.⁶²

⁶² See Richard Mendelsohn, 'The Boer War, the Great War, and the Shaping of South African Jewish Loyalties', in Milton Shain and Richard Mendelsohn (eds.), *Memories, Realities and Dreams: Aspects of the South African Jewish Experience* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2000), pp. 50-59; Suzanne Rutland, *The Jews in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 22-52; Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), pp. 68-73; Jacques Langlais and David Rome, *Jews and French Quebecers: Two Hundred Years of Shared History* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), pp. 48-52; Joseph Kage, *With Faith and Thanksgiving: The Story of Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration and Immigrant Aid Effort in Canada, 1760-1960* (Montreal: Eagle Publishing, 1962), pp. 43-57; Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, pp. 145-163.

Chapter One: Scottish Jewry and the Military, c.1898-1914

Division over militarism – a term used throughout this thesis referencing both military participation or activity with military overtones – within the Jewish community in Scotland in the decades before the First World War was particularly complicated by the foreignness of Russian Jewish immigrants and their obscure attitudes toward military service. For the Russian Jewish immigrants, military participation and the theme of conscription were non-essential considering their desire for economic and familial betterment and considering that the Russian military stood as a symbol of the hardship and oppression experienced by so many Jews in that country. Conversely, the older sector of Scottish Jews saw military participation as a means toward better integration and in promoting common identity with their Scottish neighbours. In the years before the First World War attempts were made through the efforts and creation of various organisations to bridge this gap, and the GJVA alongside the JLB were two such examples. Strain over military participation between the integrated and immigrant sectors of Scottish Jewry prominently surfaced during the First World War and thus deserves preliminary examination in both the Russian and Scottish contexts before engaging in evaluations of the GJVA and the JLB.

The Russian Connection: Jews and the Military

‘With the exception of pogroms, no other issue in nineteenth-century Russian history has aroused as much bitterness among East European Jewish historians as has Jewish conscription.’¹ Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern’s thought aptly described the intense feelings over historic Jewish conscription in Russia and sets the stage for examining the relationship between Jews and military service in twentieth century Scotland. Like

¹ Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *Jews in the Russian Army, 1827-1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 2. Ire over conscription is particularly aimed at the forced service of cantonists, Jewish adolescents who were forced into the Russian army based on the desire of the Russian government to integrate Jewish youth and convert them to Christianity. Benjamin Nathans calculates that between 1827 and 1855 around 50,000 of the 70,000 Jewish recruits to the Russian army were cantonist, noting that under military life and through separation from their Jewish families and religion these cantonists ‘converted at significantly higher rates than the Jewish population as a whole.’ See Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 27.

Russia, other major European powers such as France and Germany had implemented conscription by the end of the nineteenth century, but Britain relied instead on its navy and comparatively small professional and volunteer army. This military development was not lost upon the British public, and conscription as a general topic received widespread debate across the country, particularly after the Second Boer War at the start of the twentieth century. The tensions and failures of the Second Boer War led to deliberation over ‘the supposed physical deterioration of the British male population’ and furthermore sparked greater debate on conscription.² The idea of conscription grew in popularity particularly under the National Service League (NSL). Established in 1902 and advocating conscription, the NSL grew rapidly in membership from around 2,000 in 1905 to 250,000 on the eve of the Great War.³ Even after the outbreak of the Great War, and despite the work of the NSL, the British government and people resisted the growing call for conscription until 1916 when the fighting forces were under intense pressure for more men. The debate over conscription resonated within British Jewry and in wider Scotland prior to the outbreak of the Second Boer War. A debate ‘Should this Country Adopt Conscription?’ was hosted by the Glasgow Jewish Literary and Social Society as early as December 1897.⁴ Broader details are lost, but a number of those who took part in this debate would in the following year help establish the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association (GJVA): an organisation created to attract Jewish military participation (discussed in greater detail below), and in February 1914, the Jewish Young Men’s Institute (JYMI) held a debate on ‘Conscription.’ No outcome of the debate is recorded in the *Jewish Chronicle*, but the JYMI was likely influenced by this discussion for only two weeks later a scheme was developed to recruit men for the Territorial Force. Indeed, a half guinea was donated to the JYMI by an anonymous donor for every recruit who joined to encourage recruitment.⁵ Outside of Scotland debate over conscription continued throughout British Jewry. In 1904 the Hammersmith Jewish Literary Society in London held a debate on ‘Conscription,’ and the following year the Leeds Judean Junior Circle held a debate ‘Should Conscription be Enforced in England’ while the Jewish Youths’ Literary and Debating Society debated

² Jay Winter, ‘Military Fitness and Civilian Health in Britain during the First World War’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15:2 (1980), p. 211.

³ Matthew Johnson, *Militarism and the British Left, 1902-1914* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 92-93.

⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 December 1897, p.30.

⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 February 1914, p.25; 27 February 1914, p.26.

on 'The Abolition of War.' Around the same time in Manchester the Ladies Zionist Association heard a lecture on 'Judaism: War and Peace,' while the junior Zionists debated over 'Conscription in a Jewish State.'⁶ The growing interest to debate conscription in a British context amongst the Jewish community was partially influenced by the Russo-Japanese War, fought between 1904 and 1905. The Jewish experience of conscription in Russia gave Jews living in Scotland and across Britain a different and more personal perspective than that possessed by their host society. At the beginning of 1905 the Reverend J. Abelson of the Bristol Synagogue gave a sermon which gave great sympathy to those Jews in Russia who chose conscription evasion rather than military service and stated:

Russia does not evoke the pity of civilization...What wonder that large numbers of our brethren there fly from their civic obligation of conscription, if it be true (as we have lately been told), that if a married Jew has left the country to serve in the war in the Far East, his wife fails to receive support from the government on the ground that, apart from her husband, she has no legal foothold whatsoever.⁷

This declaration by Rev. Abelson was essentially a response to the idea that Jews were military 'shirkers,' a belief developed in Britain during the late nineteenth century and perpetuated after the Boer War during the debates over an Aliens Bill starting in 1902.⁸ The proposed bill sought to place restrictions upon immigration to Britain, namely Russian Jews who represented the leading source of foreign migration, and gradually gathered favour until the bill was eventually enacted in late 1905. In Parliament connections, discussions, and debates surrounding the Alien Bill were made between conscription evasion and immigration amongst Russian Jews. In one instance Sir Charles Dilke came to the defence of 'Polish Jews' whom he stated were being denigrated by the British press as competition to the working man, but noted that they were also accused of 'coming to this country in increasing numbers in order to avoid conscription in the Russo-Japanese War.'⁹ At the same session, Charles Trevelyan sympathised with the Jewish community and echoed the thoughts of Rev. Abelson.

⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 October 1904, p.23; 31 March 1905, p.35; 26 April 1905, p.36.

⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1905, p.34.

⁸ Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 54; Sam Johnson, 'Within the Pale: British Intellectual Society and the Image of the Russian Jew, 1890-1907', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 20:3 (2007), p. 351. 'Shirker' was a popular term used to describe a man who was believed to be neglecting or 'shirking' his duty for his nation.

⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 May 1905, p.18.

There is an increase of immigration from Poland and Russia, mostly passing through this country, though some of it may be staying. What is the reason of it? It is perfectly well-known to those who have studied these questions. It is because of the war in Manchuria, and the calling up of the reservists in Russia. Now, there is one very special reason why the Jewish population is flying from the conscription in Russia. The family of the ordinary Russian soldier, in case of his death, gets a pension of 40 roubles, but a Jew's family gets nothing, and I think everyone in this House will agree it is very natural that the Jewish population should be flying from being called up as reservists, when they know well that in the event of death in Manchuria absolute destitution faces their families.¹⁰

Indeed, Trevelyan went on to argue that the 'the greater part are native Russians, not Jews,' who were fleeing and migrating across Europe and to Britain. Trevelyan and Dilke were not necessarily against an Aliens Bill, but rather advocated that the bill provided protection for religious and political refugees. Both men acknowledged that Jews were avoiding conscription and potential warfare in Russia and that the issue of conscription avoidance was one recognised by critics and supporters of the Jewish immigrant community in Britain before 1905. Historical debate over the extent of Jewish evasion from the Russian military focuses primarily on the reign of Tsar Nicholas I and his implementation of conscription for Jews which could place them in the army for up to twenty-five years.¹¹ The horrors of their experience in the Russian army and the surrounding efforts to integrate them into Russian society have therefore given popularity to the idea that 'countless Jews of military age made every effort to evade conscription, and emigration was the main route by which they succeeded.'¹²

In the Russian social setting prior to the Great War, anti-Semitism was distinctly marked by two long periods of pogroms from 1881-1884 and 1903-1906 and was often linked to economic fears, while anti-Semitism in the military was distinctly different. Jews were labelled as 'unmartial' in regard to their physical inferiority and 'unpatriotic' in their separate Jewish identity and resistance to military service. These perceptions led to fears of desertion and spying which caused military officials to seek Jewish

¹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 May 1905, p.19. The Board of Guardians in London later sent members of Parliament a letter of thanks for their efforts in considering the immigrant community during the Aliens Bill debate. The *Jewish Chronicle* later published response letters from Sir Dilke and Charles Trevelyan. *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 November 1905, p.15.

¹¹ Harold Pollins, 'The Jews', *History Today*, 35:7 (1985), p. 10.

¹² Harold Shukman, *War or Revolution: Russian Jews and Conscription in Britain 1917* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), p. 29.

exclusion from the army on multiple occasions during the early twentieth century.¹³ Furthermore, Jews faced increased animosity toward their service in the Russian army highlighted by a discussion between government officials in 1903 concerning the replacement of Jewish soldiers with a special tax which would have bought them out of military service.¹⁴ Support grew rapidly among several high ranking officers and members of the Russian government, including Tsar Nicholas II, for the removal of this 'harmful element' from the army. It is therefore unsurprising that Eric Lohr has noted similar questions of Jewish reliability which were later amplified on the Eastern Front during the Great War.¹⁵

The concept of Russian Jews as 'unmartial' was also perpetuated in Britain and other European countries. Indeed, the Jewish community itself engaged in such discussions, most notably in Max Nordau's ideology of international Jewish improvement which included the concept of *muskeljudentum*, or 'muscular Judaism.'¹⁶ This idea referred to a widespread notion of Jewish physical inferiority and passivity in the Russian context: something that recent historiography has attempted to correct. Regarding pogroms, Jewish victims have traditionally been perceived as bystanders and passive, when in fact there were numerous occasions where Jews were active and aggressive in the defence of their communities.¹⁷ Likewise from the military perspective, Jewish soldiers have possessed a lengthy history of service in the Russian military from pre-conscription times in the late eighteenth century to the late twentieth century during which time they received a number of accolades for military

¹³ Joshua Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905-1925* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003), pp. 116-118. John Klier sees the period of pogroms starting in 1881 as a result of an intensely violent period due to multiple factors rather than a specific result of one issue such as economy, religion or class. See John Klier, *Russians, Jews and the Pogroms of 1881-1882* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 68-70.

¹⁴ Semion Goldin, 'The "Jewish Question" in the Tsarist Army in the Early Twentieth Century', in Stephani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn (eds.), *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 71. This was in essence a reversion to late eighteenth century practices. See John Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), pp. 79-80.

¹⁵ Eric Lohr, 'The Russian Army and the Jews: Mass Deportation, Hostages, and Violence during World War I', *The Russian Review*, 60:3 (2001), p. 406.

¹⁶ Gavin Schaffer, 'Unmasking the "muscle Jew": the Jewish soldier in British war service, 1899-1945', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 46:3-4 (2012), pp. 380-381; Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 144-146.

¹⁷ John Klier, *Russians, Jews and the Pogroms*, pp. 59-60, 114-116; Shlomo Lambroza, 'The Pogroms of 1903-1906' in John Klier and Shlomo Lambroza (eds.), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 198-221.

valour.¹⁸ Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern's excellent comprehensive work, *Jews in the Russian Army*, addressed the hardships faced by Jewish soldiers but also demonstrated the progressive efforts made toward integration and acceptance conducted by both Russians and Jews.

In this spirit of revision, Natalie Wynn has recently challenged the correlation between conscription evasion and immigration of those from Tsarist Eastern Europe within the Irish-Jewish community. Wynn observed that Russian Jews were subject to the harshest conscription laws under Tsar Nicholas I whose reign ended in 1855. It was not until the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 and the resulting pogroms, when further hardships were visited upon Russian Jews, that mass immigration began to take hold. Wynn's survey of current members of the Jewish community regarding immigration narratives found that some were sceptical that the issue of conscription and even the pogroms were reasons for immigration. She concluded that the main reason for Russian-Jewish migration was economic betterment which was often combined with chain-migration, the following of relatives who had gone on before them.¹⁹ Wynn did not reject all conscription evasion narratives but perhaps overstated their questionability by overemphasising the comparative lack of immigration under Nicholas I. For the year 1881 in the Pale of Settlement, the area of western Russia where Jews were forced to live, the peasant population evaded the draft at a rate of 6 per cent and Jews at a rate of 34 per cent. Later during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, 'widespread' Jewish evasion from military service was acknowledged.²⁰ The failure of the Russian army at this time made life increasingly difficult for Jewish soldiers, and by 1912 statistics showed that 4.55 per cent of Orthodox Christians evaded conscription compared to 33.02 per cent of Jews.²¹ On the other hand Petrovsky-Shtern's analysis of Russian military records found that Jewish draft evasion

¹⁸ Oleksandr Nayman, 'Jews in the Russian Army', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 11:4 (1998), pp. 133-145.

¹⁹ Natalie Wynn, 'Irish-Jewish Constructs of Tsarist Eastern Europe', *Immigrants and Minorities* special edition (forthcoming 2016).

²⁰ Klier, *Russians, Jews and the Pogroms of 1881-1882*, p. 349; Robert Blobaum, *Rewolucja: Russian Poland, 1904-1907* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 47.

²¹ Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, p. 117. Sanborn clarifies that Orthodox evasion was likely higher than 4.55 per cent, but any additions would still do little to narrow the gap between Orthodox and Jews.

was often falsely or misleadingly recorded and concluded that in terms of overall population, Jews were actually overrepresented.²²

This therefore begs the question as to whether conscription evasion was an ‘arrival myth’ in Scotland, as Wynn ultimately decides that it was in Ireland, or is there reason to believe that the Scottish narrative is different? Given the lack of documentary archive material relating to this subject, the best starting point is the oral histories found at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre (SJAC) which highlight the strong oral tradition found in Jewish communities. Many of these interviews were conducted by Ben Braber from 1988-90, but a number of other additions, including a few memoirs, and more recently conducted interviews are slowly expanding the collection.²³ Since the collection continues to grow, not all oral testimonies have been examined, but a majority, the exact number being thirty-nine, are used here to help form an understanding of the extent to which the theme of conscription evasion played in the immigration narratives of Scottish Jews.²⁴

Six of these testimonies mentioned pogroms as motivation for general or familial immigration,²⁵ and others such as Jack Goldman and Louis Freeman described other push factors such as non-pogrom related mistreatment in Russia and even Germany.²⁶ Others simply provided dates and places where their families immigrated from with little explanation for the reasoning behind the move. Mentions of conscription or military avoidance were made in ten of the testimonies, and in six of these cases the father was referred to as the evader.²⁷ Two of these tales of avoidance are brief and vague. The first was made by Jack Miller who noted, ‘My own father came to this country when he was eighteen. And quite a number of them came to

²² Petrovsky-Shtern, *Jews in the Russian Army*, pp. 129-202.

²³ In *Caledonian Jews*, Nathan Abrams includes a brief family history, found at <http://www.buten.net/polyvensky/polyvensky.html>, which reports that the three sons of the Polyvensky family took different surnames to evade conscription with Lionel Polson eventually making his way to Ayr, Scotland. This seems to have been a family narrative passed down to much later generations and will not be used in this analysis.

²⁴ The lives and experiences of parents and grandparents dominate the discussions of many of these oral testimonies.

²⁵ Scottish Jewish Archive Centre (hereafter SJAC), OHP1 Monty Berkley; OHP1 Anne Berman; OHP1 Louis Cina; OHP1 Woolfe Egdoll; OHP2 Ezra Golombok; OHP5 Adele Woolfson.

²⁶ SJAC, OHP2 Louis Freeman; OHP2 Jack Goldman.

²⁷ SJAC, OHP1 Elimelech Berry; OHP1 Robert Epstein; OHP2 Moray Glasser; OHP2 Sadie Griffiths The following six refer to fathers and complete the ten referring to Russian military service. SJAC, OHP1 Bessie Bond; OHP1 Woolfe Egdoll; OHP2 Jerome Philip Jacobson; OHP3 Lilian Levi; OHP3 Misha Louvish; OHP3 Jack Miller.

escape military service...and they set up in all kinds of businesses, credit trading businesses.'²⁸ The second was by Lilian Levi who stated, 'My father came with his brothers to escape the Russian military service. They all arrived around the same time.'²⁹ Similarly, Bessie Bond suggested that her father's reasons for leaving the Ukraine to come to Glasgow 'was to escape being recruited into the army because he was a Jew.'³⁰ Interestingly, the memoirs of her sister, Sadie Griffiths, did not mention her father's motives for immigration. Griffiths did note that their mother's brother, who later settled in Glasgow, left Lithuania for South Africa 'in the dead of night to avoid conscription in the Czarist army.'³¹ This example highlights the viability of Glasgow as a permanent place of residence for many Jews, which is evident from the dramatic numerical growth of the Jewish community from 1880-1914.³²

A fourth testimony made similar claims stating that 'many of them came to avoid serving the Tsar's army,' but in this case added, 'My father had done his service so it didn't apply to him.'³³ This father apparently served during the Russo-Japanese War when he finished his time in the army, and it was the presence of family in Britain that attracted him to move his family from Russia. In contrast, a fifth testimony described a father's strong desire to avoid service at the time of the Russo-Japanese War:

...my father served also, he was conscripted into the Russian army, and when the Russo-Japanese War broke out, or was about to break out, and they started conscripting, like a lot of Jewish young men of the time, he wasn't particularly fond of serving in the Russian army, with the history of the persecution. And whenever they began to mobilize the reservists, many of them thought that was the time to get out and leave. He was one of the ones who decided that was the time to get out of Russia and come to this country. My father had had an older brother, who had already emigrated to Scotland and established himself quite successfully in a jewelry business in Glasgow...³⁴

The last two testimonies differed in how the fathers viewed military service, but the mention of chain-migration was clearly a recurrent theme in these oral histories.

²⁸ SJAC, OHP3 Dr. Jack E. Miller.

²⁹ SJAC, OHP3 Lilian Levi.

³⁰ SJAC, OHP1 Bessie Bond.

³¹ SJAC, OHP2 Sadie Griffiths.

³² Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations', p. 215.

³³ SJAC, OHP1 Woolfe Egdoll.

³⁴ SJAC, OHP2 Jerome Philip Jacobson.

Likewise, the theme of anti-militarism was also evidently evolving. Both fathers had family already in Britain, and for the first father this was the primary reason for immigration having already served his time in the military. For the other father, chain-migration was a motivational aid for conscription evasion. The last account regarding a father described the avoidance of military service:

He was drafted in the army and according to his tale he had some argument with an officer and some friends helped him to escape across the border and there he met my mother who was born on Bukovina and studied in Chernowitz.³⁵

Here, this narrative differed in that the son was actually retelling a 'tale' that his father told him. This was a more personal second-hand account that gave slightly more detail to the father's actions regarding avoidance of military service. Although the altercation with the officer was described vaguely, it was still a more specific explanation rather than a general thought that life was difficult for Jews in the Russian army.

The following interview offered a somewhat different perspective from the viewpoint of a young Moray Glasser whose father had a 'social worker' role within the wider Glasgow community:

My father was called upon when Jewish people from abroad were in one of the hospitals. Even on Sabbath he used to walk all the way up to Belvedere. At one point he was called again. A man had landed at Broomielaw, was taken off and he was in Belvedere. My father went to see him, it was a young man. He had left Russia, because he did not want to join the army, the conditions were bad, he had no parents and was going to America. After he got better he came to stay with us, but we had a small house. There were always people staying there.³⁶

Bernard Glasser worked tirelessly in organisations supporting the health and education of the Jewish community, and also served as secretary of the Jewish Naturalisation Society.³⁷ The young guest in the testimony stood out to Moray due to his unhappy situation, and although the migrant was clearly looking to better his condition, avoidance of military service was included amongst his reasons for leaving Russia. This account provides perspective because of its personal observations. The final two

³⁵ SJAC, OHP3 Misha Louvish.

³⁶ SJAC, OHP2 Moray Glasser.

³⁷ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 91, 103, 105.

accounts offer very personal recollections. Elimelech Berry, in rather flowery language, remembered enduring cold, hunger, and a forty hour journey by boat from Hamburg to Grimsby before finally arriving in Glasgow in January 1904. Berry declared that he left Russia after he deserted the army because of a lack of freedom and suffering persecution as a Jew.³⁸ Robert Epstein's memoir vividly recalled his family's experiences in Russia during the last decade of the nineteenth century and remembered that his two older brothers left for Britain, believing 'escape to a foreign country was the only salvation' from military service. They feared hatred from fellow Russian soldiers, and abhorred the thought of being forced to eat *treifa*.³⁹ Epstein also remembered hiding all valuables in the house during repeated searches by the police for his brothers since the fine for absent men was 300 rubles, an overwhelming amount for poor families.⁴⁰

By examining these oral testimonies, it is clear that military service evasion was a strong theme and a push factor for immigration amongst Scottish Jews although perhaps not a primary factor. Of the thirty-nine testimonies examined, ten referred to military service evasion, just over twenty-five per cent. Of these exactly half used generalised, vague, or uncertain language, and one of these five acknowledged a father's participation as opposed to desertion. The remaining five contained varying degrees of specificity and included one first-hand account of desertion as well as only one specifically religious explanation for evasion. So is it possible that men felt shame over conscription evasion and thus neglected to retell these actions? This is evident in the oral testimony of Louis Freeman and his Great War experience which will be analysed in the discussion of Great War military service avoidance in Chapter Three.

Although evasion played a relatively small role in the SJAC oral testimonies, there is other documentation that cites resistance to Russian military service. In 1913, a letter from the South Side United Hebrew Congregation in Glasgow begged Chief Rabbi Joseph Hertz to act on behalf of Barnett Miller who had been imprisoned in Glasgow for assaulting his wife. Because of his alien status, he was additionally sentenced to deportation, but his congregation pleaded that such action would have

³⁸ SJAC, OHP1 Elimelech Berry.

³⁹ *Treife* refers to food outlawed by Jewish religious practices.

⁴⁰ SJAC, OHP1 Robert Epstein.

‘very grave results’ because Miller had deserted the Russian Army.⁴¹ The Glasgow congregation did not base its plea solely on Miller’s status as a military deserter but that he was a first time offender with two children under the age of four with a third child on the way.

There was a clear recurrent theme relating to desertion or fear of conscription in Russian Jewish immigration narratives, and this became an issue once again for many Jewish men when seeking to avoid British military service during the First World War. Appearing before a Military Tribunal, a military court established to hear the appeals of conscripted men after the introduction of conscription in Britain with the passing of the Military Service Act in January 1916, Henry Berman of Willesden asked for exemption on grounds of work and hardship, and in appealing he stated that he served over three years ‘in the Russian army in the Province of Kowno, where, owing to bad treatment, [he] deserted and came to this Country.’⁴² Berman’s appeal showed no trace of anti-military principles in contrast to the appeal of Samuel Ritterband of Kilburn who declared he was a conscientious objector. Ritterband claimed that his father fled Russia over the issue of compulsory service and that he also ascribed to his father’s ‘anti-militarist ideas.’⁴³ Hyman Rosenberg of Edinburgh claimed conscientious objection to military service and received a supporting letter from a former employer which stated, ‘I know that he left Russia on account of his objection to military Service.’⁴⁴

Finally, two other sources discuss evasion from Russian military service. In Murdoch Rodgers’ collection of oral testimonies from Glasgow Jews, a Mr. Stone recalled that his parents left Lithuania because ‘Jews were liable for military service.’ He further expounded that ‘there was the difficulty with the dietary laws bein’ infringed and they wanted time for worshipping’, so they decided to get out.⁴⁵ In this case Mr. Stone identified Jewish religious motives for avoiding Russian military service, but in the testimony of Max Mendick, found in *Moving Worlds*, specifically Jewish

⁴¹ London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA), ACC/2805/04/02/044.

⁴² TNA, MH47/45/10 Henry Berman.

⁴³ TNA, MH47/41/82 Samuel Ritterband. A similar claim from a father and son was heard by the Glasgow Military Tribunal. See *The Scotsman*, 18 March 1916, p. 8.

⁴⁴ National Records of Scotland (henceforth NRS), HH30/33/159 Hyman Rosenberg.

⁴⁵ Murdoch Rodgers, ‘Glasgow Jewry’, in Billy Kay (ed.), *The Complete Odyssey* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), p. 227.

motivation was not as clear. Mendick stated that his father, who eventually settled in Edinburgh, left Russia in 1903 after 'rumours about a war with Japan and he was called up for manoeuvres.' Instead of recounting a Jewish aspect to this aversion to the military, Mendick described the difficulty that all Russian families endured during wartime and his father's desire to 'do better for himself,' specifically stating that he left Russia 'not because o' anti-Semitism, but because he couldnae make a livin' there.'⁴⁶ Mendick's testimony included two main themes found in the sources explored above. First, Wynn's dual motivating factors for immigration, economic betterment and chain-migration, were apparent in Mendick's father who desired a better life which led him first to Leeds where his brother resided. The idea of chain migration was noted in two earlier testimonies while the motivation of economic and personal betterment was evident in Glasser's testimony. The second theme is the Russo-Japanese War, a war which Mendick's father like many others was keen to avoid and thus evade military service.

The Russo-Japanese War, which lasted from 1904-1905, deserves more mention because of the dramatic effect upon Russian society. The war ended in massive failure for the Russian army, and before it was finished Russia witnessed major revolutionary activity during the Revolution of 1905: marked by the massacre of civilians by tsarist troops on Bloody Sunday, 22 January 1905. The social and military upheaval had dangerous implications for Jews who had already been subjected to pogroms since the year prior to the war. Jews were verbally vilified in newspapers, pamphlets, and other literature which accused international Jews of financially backing the interests of Russia's enemies, allegations which were not altogether untrue. The war also increased physical violence toward Jews, and in 1904 more than half of the forty-three pogroms against Jews were related to the war or conscription.⁴⁷

Rumours of Jewish draft evasion often provoked this violence, such as in Ekaterinoslav where among the 35,000 mobilised soldiers it was reported that 600 Jews were absent having been sent abroad by their relatives. Unhappy with this news and coupled with the rising costs of vodka, the reservists took out their anger on the

⁴⁶ Max Mendick, 'Scotland's been no bad to me', in Tim Edensor and Mij Kelly (eds.), *Moving Worlds* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p. 6.

⁴⁷ Lambroza, 'The Pogroms of 1903-1906', pp. 213-216.

Jewish population, killing six.⁴⁸ On other occasions reservists went about towns looting Jewish businesses and assaulting Jews and proclaiming variously, 'We have to serve for the yids,' and 'The Jews are fleeing to America, and we're off to shed our blood for them.' John Bushnell bluntly captured the atmosphere of the time, stating, 'Reserves were determined to get their hands on vodka and ready to attack Jews, in that order,' and ultimately concluded that 'Jews were a target, not a reason for riot; reserves were bent on riot with or without Jews at hand.'⁴⁹ Jews were not, however, always bystanders and were occasionally the aggressors as well, as one report claimed that 3,000 Jews attacked a military escort taking away sixteen Jewish reservists.⁵⁰

Aside from the Russo-Japanese War and pogroms, the military became an increasingly anti-Semitic institution during the early twentieth century due to the attitudes of senior military and government officials. It is unclear, however, if this negative attitude toward Jewish military service was shared among those at the lower levels of the military or if such attitudes among peers and immediate officers would have pushed Jews to avoid or even desert the military. While acknowledging Petrovsky-Shtern's findings of integrated and patriotic Jewish soldiers, the Russian military was not an inviting institution for Jews in the early twentieth century. This did not mean that conscription evasion was a primary motivator for emigration, a conclusion supported in the Scottish context by the oral testimonies, but it is at the very least a fairly enduring theme given that conscription was referred to in a quarter of the testimonies examined for this thesis.

Further insight is found in the fact that so few Jewish claims before Military Tribunals between 1916-1918 recalled the negative aspects of Russian military service. However, after Britain signed the Anglo-Russian Military Convention in July 1917, whereby Russian residents could be legally conscripted into the British military, there was widespread resistance amongst Russian Jews toward conscription. This will be examined in much greater detail in Chapters Three and Four. The tales of conscription

⁴⁸ Tsuchiya Yoshifuru, 'Unsuccessful National Unity: The Russian Home Front in 1904', in John W. Steinberg, *et al.* (eds.), *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero Volume II*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007) p. 340.

⁴⁹ John Bushnell, 'The Specter of Mutinous Reserves: How the War Produced the October Manifest', in John W. Steinberg, *et al.* (eds.), *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 337-340.

⁵⁰ Blobaum, *Rewolucja: Russian Poland*, p. 47.

evasion found in the Scottish sources, especially those that provided greater detail including first-hand accounts, should be taken seriously considering the military conditions in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Russia. The possibility exists that the Jewish community used the theme of conscription evasion as a way to standardise or even sensationalise the immigration narrative considering this was an open topic and a political issue throughout Europe at the time. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, it is even possible that the theme of anti-conscription led a group of Glasgow Jews to form the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association in response to this anti-militarist narrative. The GJVA attempted to use the military as a means toward Jewish assimilation in Scotland, a country with a historically well defined martial tradition. Indeed, military Scottishness found its roots idealised in the battlefield heroics of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Over the following centuries the feats of bravery and valour performed by Scottish soldiers in Scottish battalions on famous battlefields across the British Empire were romanticised and praised in the press and in the arts. This military Scottishness was furthered through royal honours and attentions and visibly galvanised through the distinctive kit of Scottish soldiers including kilts and bagpipes.⁵¹ Admiration for military participation was no small thing in Scottish society, and Highland Scots were compared alongside the ‘martial races’ of Sikhs and Ghurkhas as a ‘cut above’ other fighting men within the British Empire.⁵² Participation in Scottish regiments was therefore a potentially potent remedy for combating the persistent concept of Jews as ‘unmartial’.

The Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association and the Boer War

It is clear that the GJVA deserves a more thorough analysis than hitherto attempted. Two of the earliest known Scottish Jewish soldiers were from Glasgow, and both served in South Africa. Unfortunately, both their memories are preserved because of their untimely deaths in 1896. These were Henry Vincent, died in

⁵¹ For a sample of writings on Scottish military tradition see, Edward Spiers, Jeremy Crang, and Mathew Strickland (eds.), *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Edward Spiers, *The Scottish Soldier and Empire, 1854-1902* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); Tom Devine, ‘Soldiers of Empire, 1750-1914’, in John MacKenzie and Tom Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 176-195.

⁵² Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 140-144.

Matabeleland at age 22, and Louis Heilbron, died in the Transvaal at age 23, and their monuments can still be viewed today in the Garnethill Synagogue. Another Glasgow Jew, Edward Cohen, joined the military in 1895, signing for twelve years which saw him serve in India, Afghanistan, and eventually South Africa during the Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902. He joined the service under the surname of Downie in an apparent effort to hide his Jewishness, or perhaps more simply his alien ancestry, but he later took his proper surname of Cohen while serving once again in the First World War.⁵³ The growing interest in the military culminated in the first meeting of the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association on 24 January 1898 in the vestry room of the Garnethill Synagogue: it was deemed 'the first association of the kind ever formed in Scotland.' The group was only ten in size, but included influential figures from the Garnethill congregation such as the Reverend E. P. Phillips, Benjamin Strump, and Aaron (or Adolf) Schoenfeld who presided over the inaugural meeting. The stated purpose of the association was 'the furtherance of the volunteer movement amongst the Glasgow Jewish young men.'⁵⁴ At the time, there were only twelve Glaswegian Jews participating in the Volunteer Force. The notes of the inaugural meeting mostly followed the speech of the chairman, Adolf Schoenfeld, who spoke at length of the 'patriotism' of young men who joined the Volunteer Force. It was this 'patriotic spirit,' an embracement of Scottish martial tradition, that he wished to see instilled into the young men of the Jewish community which he believed, if successfully implemented, 'would have the effect of causing Jews to be looked upon in a different and broader light by our neighbours.' In closing, Schoenfeld guaranteed the full assistance of 'the executive of the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation,' otherwise known as the Garnethill Synagogue, and moved the resolution to form the new organisation.⁵⁵ The meeting then ended with the drafting of a constitution.

From this inaugural meeting it is clear that the GJVA originated from a desire to improve relations with the host community and wider Scottish society. But

⁵³ SJAC, *Serving Their Country* 1.

⁵⁴ SJAC, Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association (GJVA) Minutebook, 24 January 1898; 19 February 1898. Mention of the 'volunteer movement' referred to the Volunteer Force, a civilian militia established in 1859 amidst fears over a strengthened French military. From the outset members attended regular drills and could be mobilised 'in case of actual invasion, appearance of an enemy on the coast, or rebellion arising from either of these emergencies.' See James Grierson, *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force, 1859-1908* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1909), pp. 6-7.

⁵⁵ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 24 January 1898.

importantly, this was without doubt an organisation of the Jewish West End and the established Jewish community. At this time the Glasgow Jewish community had been in existence for only seventy-five years, and although the early Jewish community, composed largely of German Jewish businessmen, appears to have been quietly accepted, the recent influx of poorer Russian Jewish immigrants was a sincere source of concern as it was in other communities across Britain. The fear was that a growing numbers of immigrants would create a backlash within the host community.⁵⁶ The GJVA was, therefore, one way in which the West End Jewish and the Glasgow Jewish volunteers could demonstrate ‘their love for their native country.’⁵⁷ Those Jews living in the West End and affiliated with the Garnethill Synagogue clearly represented the older established section of Glasgow Jewry, evidenced by Schoenfeld’s use of the term ‘native country.’ Interestingly, the *Jewish Chronicle*’s report on the proceedings made a small adjustment to Schoenfeld’s wording, adding the phrase ‘or adopted country’ in an effort to include the immigrant sector.⁵⁸

Those living on the South Side, predominantly in the Gorbals, were mostly the more recently arrived Eastern European immigrants, and their attitudes to assimilationist tendencies which embraced military Scottishness were arguably much more muted. The West End domination of the GJVA was further solidified with the election of officers during the second meeting, and the names constituted a veritable who’s who among Glasgow Jewry. The Vice President, Michael Simons, certainly possessed a more famous name than the President, Bernard Wolffe. As a successful businessman and former Justice of the Peace in Glasgow, Simons was involved in practically every aspect of the Jewish community and was perhaps the most well known Glaswegian Jew of the time. Julius Frankenberg served as Honorary President of the GJVA and also served as President of the United Synagogue, the Burial Society and the Shechita Board. Arnold Schoenfeld acted as Honorary Vice President of the GJVA and also served Garnethill Synagogue as Honorary Treasurer, the Anglo-Jewish Association of Glasgow as President and was heavily involved in the early Zionist

⁵⁶ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 21.

⁵⁷ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook; 24 January 1898.

⁵⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1898, pp. 29-30.

movement.⁵⁹ The elected chaplain was E. P. Phillips, head minister of the Garnethill Synagogue.

The first two meetings of the GJVA were held in the Garnethill Synagogue, and the next two were held in the Gorbals at the Main Street Synagogue. The Gorbals was the natural place for recruiting efforts given that the majority of the community lived on the South Side.⁶⁰ The immediate effort for recruiting in the Gorbals also signalled the intense desire to promote military service and patriotism amongst the immigrant sector. During the first Gorbals meeting the President, Bernard Wolffe gave an impassioned plea for recruits stating that ‘we had shown ourselves clever in other things, such as Law and Music, so we would show ourselves patriotic and loyal in this the volunteer movement.’ During the second Gorbals meeting Michael Simons followed suit in embracing Scottish militarism by giving ‘expression to many sentiments of patriotism,’ and Schoenfeld promised that his sons would enlist while regretting that he himself could not.⁶¹

In addition to using patriotism as a motivational tool for recruitment, the organisation sought to entice recruits by including discussion on the process of naturalisation. The secretary, Daniel Abrahams, did not guarantee the recruits naturalisation as a result of military service, but did state that ‘it would tend to lessen the trouble of obtaining naturalisation, where a man could show he had done service as a Volunteer.’⁶² The *Jewish Chronicle* later promoted this idea by asking, ‘What better accompaniment to the act of naturalization could be devised than enrolment in a corps whose object is the defence of the country?’⁶³ In keeping with this theme, a Naturalization Society was established sometime in June 1898, and once again this was led by some of the GJVA officers with Simons serving as President alongside

⁵⁹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 21; Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 86, 87, 91; Kenefick, ‘Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations’, p. 219. The height of Simon’s prestige within Glasgow was acknowledged in when he was made Lieutenant of the County of the City of Glasgow and declared a Magistrate of the City, the highest public honour achieved at the time by any Scottish Jew.

⁶⁰ Harvey Kaplan’s analysis of the 1901 census estimates that somewhere around ten per cent of Glasgow Jews were Garnethill members meaning that the vast majority resided in the South Side. See Harvey Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 2006), p. 8.

⁶¹ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 20 February 1898; 28 February 1898.

⁶² *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1898, pp. 29-30.

⁶³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 March 1898, pp. 20-21.

Frankenburg and Schoenfeld acting as Vice Presidents.⁶⁴ Both Gorbals meetings concluded with a call for eligible young men to come forward as recruits, but nothing was recorded and in terms of recruitment those meetings were clearly a failure. The *Jewish Chronicle* reported that forty-five young men 'expressed their willingness to become volunteers' after the first meeting, however, minutes for the fifth meeting held on May 1st show that only thirty members were in attendance.⁶⁵ Based on the most ambitious numbers and counting the twelve Jewish Volunteers serving before the creation of the GJVA, it is possible there were around fifty-seven members of the GJVA in the months following its creation. Certainly some of these recruits would have been South Side men, the most compelling evidence being the work of Abraham Salberg who was lauded by the GJVA for recruiting nineteen men into his regiment, the 2nd Volunteer Battalion Highland Light Infantry (VBHLI). Salberg was born in Aberdeen to German Jewish parents and later moved to the Gorbals working as a tailor presser and waterproof maker. It is likely that not all of his recruits were Jewish since the GJVA minutes did not explicitly state thus, but his enthusiasm was greatly appreciated by the organisation, undoubtedly for his example within the South Side, as well as his battalion which promoted him to Corporal.⁶⁶ Recruitment, however, moved rather slowly, but the organisation was at least keen to maintain its numbers. During the year, Abraham Hillman was recorded to have left the Volunteers and was promptly admonished by letter from the secretary to 'make himself thoroughly efficient,' or in other words he was instructed to return to his duty.⁶⁷ At the end of the year the *Jewish Chronicle* estimated that in Glasgow, 'no less than 70 have donned the Queen's uniform.'⁶⁸ By the annual report of February 1899, the number stood at fifty-five showing an inability to grow or hold the highest membership numbers.

What then drew Glaswegian Jews to the Volunteers if so few chose to join? The flexibility of the Volunteer Force allowed the Jewish men to be weekend soldiers and to embrace the Scottish military tradition.⁶⁹ They were able to make positive

⁶⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 June 1898, p. 28.

⁶⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1898, p. 29-30; 4 March 1898, pp. 20-21; SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 1 May 1898.

⁶⁶ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 19 February 1899.

⁶⁷ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 30 October 1898.

⁶⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 December 1898, p. 18.

⁶⁹ Scotsmen clearly perpetuated the concept of military Scottishness through participation in the Volunteer Force with nearly 60,000 enrolled in 1901 for a proportion of 1:36 of the Scottish male

connections with the military leadership which were apparent during the Gorbals meetings, starting with Benjamin Strump's announcement from Colonel Young of the 2nd VBHLI who stated that 'he would be pleased to take into his regiment as many Jewish young men as he could get.' To reinforce his statement, he sent a Sergeant Stevenson to the second Gorbals meeting as a representative of the 2nd VBHLI. Colonel Young and other officers such as Colonel Mecham of the 26th Cameronians further supported the work by permitting Jewish soldiers under their command to attend, in uniform, functions organised by the GJVA. The association also sought to bring in Jewish patrons and honorary members from outside of the Glasgow community, the most notable addition being Major Matthew Nathan of the Royal Engineers, recipient of the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George and temporary governor of Sierra Leone.⁷⁰

The GJVA also provided a list of '9 or 10 regiments' in which recruits could participate, and Schoenfeld encouraged the men to join the 'various regiments throughout the city.'⁷¹ This signalled a concerted effort to spread out the Jewish Volunteers, and there was no evidence of the Glasgow organisation discussing a potential Jewish battalion. Nevertheless, as a precaution, the *Jewish Chronicle* warned against such an idea, referencing the ill-fated 11th Tower Hamlets, comprised of London Jews established in 1860 a year after the Volunteer Force was created. The concept of creating a purely Jewish battalion proved to be controversial within the Jewish community, but within the first four weeks of recruitment 200 men had joined. The success, however, like that of the GJVA, was short-lived, and by 1864 the 11th Tower Hamlets had dissolved due to various internal and structural problems.⁷² In referencing the failed Jewish battalion the *Jewish Chronicle* warned, 'Separatism of this kind can only retard the work of assimilation so much desired, and which we have always advocated.'⁷³ The warning was probably less aimed at the GJVA than at men such as Major Matthew Nathan and Colonel Albert Goldsmid who were spearheading

population. This was a drastically higher proportion compared to the male population of England and Wales where the proportion for enlistment in the Volunteer Force during the same year was 1:68. See Grierson, *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force*, p. 368.

⁷⁰ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 28 February 1898; (undated) November 1898; 27 November 1898; 8 October 1899.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Harold Pollins, '11th Tower Hamlets Volunteers: The First Jewish Unit in the British Army', *The Bulletin of the Military Historical Society*, 48:191 (1998), pp. 130-135.

⁷³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 March 1898, pp. 20-21.

the effort to raise a special Jewish regiment in India from the sizeable Jewish residential population.⁷⁴ Their efforts eventually came to nothing, but the push for a specialised Jewish military unit within the British system was by no means dead: efforts were made at the onset of the Boer War and again later during the First World War. The debate would eventually become reality during the Great War, and as we shall see in Chapter Two, this had an effect on a number of Scottish Jews.

It was some matter of pride for the GJVA that their effort was recognised across Britain. During the first annual report, the secretary proudly acknowledged receiving a drawing entitled 'Types of the British Army' from the London War Office as a sign of appreciation and further reported that the GJVA had received 'several complementary notices in the newspapers.'⁷⁵ The *Jewish Chronicle* lauded their efforts stating, 'We know of no means better calculated to foster a love for the land which has befriended us so thoroughly.' The writer then called upon Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds to act according to their numbers and expressed hope that the numbers already participating in London would soon double.⁷⁶ The creation of the GJVA caught the eye of one particular reader in Manchester who desired that the Jewish Working Men's Club there create a similar organization, but it would seem that the Manchester club was more interested in cricket matches than military drills when reading through reports of the *Jewish Chronicle*.⁷⁷ However, a Jewish Lads' Brigade was later established in Manchester in 1899, and its members were encouraged to join the Volunteers.⁷⁸ But despite Glasgow's well publicised and much lauded initiative, the other Jewish communities seemed to be slow to follow their example.

Within Glasgow, however, the GJVA continued to attract a fair amount of attention. It hosted special events such as dances and concerts in an effort to reach out to the broader community, and the first dance in December 1898 was a great success with between 160 and 200 in attendance. The following year a concert attracted 200, ending in a patriotic flourish with the singing of 'God Save the Queen.'⁷⁹ The GJVA also participated in the special *Chanukah* services, adding a church parade to

⁷⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 February 1898, p. 17.

⁷⁵ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, 19 February 1899.

⁷⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 March 1898, pp. 20-21.

⁷⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 March 1898, p. 11.

⁷⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 May 1899, p. 22.

⁷⁹ SJAC, GJVA File; *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 November 1899, p. 25.

the synagogue to heighten the excitement.⁸⁰ The first service in which the GJVA participated unsurprisingly took place at the Garnethill Synagogue in 1898, and it was so heavily attended by Jews and non-Jews alike, including 'a large number of officers of several local regiments,' that there was not enough room for everyone. All but ten of the Volunteers were in attendance, marching in to Mendelssohn's 'War March of the Priests,' and the service ended with the National Anthem.⁸¹

The following year a similar service was held with a 'fair' amount of Volunteer participation.⁸² The wording indicated a smaller turnout which was explained as a result of 'inclement weather,' but it is likely that this is a sign of the coming decline of the association. This diminishing attention was in contrast to the overall Scottish interest in the Volunteer Force which resulted in an increased enlistment from November 1899 to November 1900 of over 13,000 men, and military calls for Volunteers to join active overseas battalions were responded to particularly enthusiastically in Scotland in 1900 and 1901, seeing the addition of 12 special Scottish companies each comprised of roughly 116 men.⁸³

The use of the *Chanukah* service for militaristic promotion also highlighted the special role played by the Jewish religious leaders. One of the most influential leaders was the Reverend Francis Cohen of London, whose work in the army chaplaincy was invaluable for the cause of British Jewry.⁸⁴ His officiating of *Chanukah* services in London set an example for Glasgow, and his frequent updates concerning military matters in the *Jewish Chronicle* kept his efforts in the public eye. In Glasgow, Rev. E. P. Phillips gave his full support to the GJVA as the chaplain. He officiated and preached at the *Chanukah* services in 1898 and 1899, and he used the occasion to urge young Jews in attendance to join the Volunteers. Although an advocate of Jews in the military, Rev. Phillips made it clear on different occasions that peace was the goal. His *Chanukah* sermon in 1898 centred around Jeremiah 29:7 which states, 'And seek the

⁸⁰ The celebration of *Chanukah* was a natural venue for military participation since the holiday in part commemorates the successful Jewish revolt against the Seleucid Empire in the second century BC, led by the Jewish priest Mattathias and his sons, the most notable being Judah who was named Maccabee meaning 'the hammer.'

⁸¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 December 1898, p. 26.

⁸² *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 December 1899, p. 28.

⁸³ Grierson, *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force*, pp. 92-96; Spiers, *The Scottish Soldier and Empire*, p. 183.

⁸⁴ Sharman Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1995), pp. 2-3.

peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace, thereof shall ye have peace.⁸⁵ His sermon in 1899 fully reflected his support for those Jews involved in the Second Boer War by recalling Jewish military feats ‘both in ancient and modern times,’ and both he and the Reverend Fürst of Edinburgh showed their attention to the war by offering public declarations of thankfulness after the siege of Mafeking came to an end.⁸⁶

The Reverend Fürst also showed his support for the British military through his attendance at a dinner in 1898 alongside Lord Kitchener, the hero of the Battle of Omdurman, and also in his correspondence with Colonel Wauchope of the 2nd Black Watch concerning efforts toward religious accommodation for a Jewish soldier.⁸⁷ During the Second Boer War Wauchope became a Major-General but fell in service in 1899, and his death evoked genuine grief from Edinburgh’s Jewish community during a special memorial service held in January 1900 at the Graham Street Synagogue.⁸⁸ During the Second Boer War Jewish clergy across Britain frequently used their pulpits to preach a Jewish unity with the goals of the British Empire,⁸⁹ and while the Reverends Phillips and Fürst emulated this cause to an extent, their commentary and preaching captured in the *Jewish Chronicle* seemed less concerned with the physical participation of their congregations and more concerned with the promotion of British values and a swift return to peace.

Interestingly, the war in South Africa never received a mention in the GJVA minutebook, this despite a flurry of activity in October 1899 during the opening month of the war. There appears to have been no push from the GJVA for men to join the fight, and even during the *Chanukah* service of 1899 there was a call to give funds for the families of servicemen, but not a call for soldiers. In January 1900, the GJVA held a celebration in the Main Street Synagogue for Joseph Rubenstein of the 2nd VBHLI who was to be sent to South Africa, but otherwise the association seems to have worked little for participation in the Boer War. Six of Rubenstein’s Jewish friends volunteered alongside him, but only he had been selected.⁹⁰ On an even more proud note the

⁸⁵ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook, (undated) September 1898; *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 December 1898, p. 26.

⁸⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 December 1899, p. 28; 25 May 1900, p. 27.

⁸⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 December 1898, p. 27; 5 January 1900, p. 11.

⁸⁸ Gilfillan, ‘Two Worlds’; *Jewish Chronicle* 5 January 1900, p. 27.

⁸⁹ Shira Schnitzer, ‘No Conflict of Principle’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 3:3 (2004), p. 302.

⁹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 February 1900, p. 10.

Jewish Chronicle reported that Lieutenant Ellis Heilbron of Glasgow, also of the 2nd VBHLI, was chosen as one of six officers to be sent to the front.⁹¹

At the outset of the war, the *Jewish Chronicle* provided a list of sixty-one names of Jewish soldiers expected to be sent to South Africa. This was admittedly not a comprehensive list, but of the sixty-one names, two were from Scottish regiments: Private M. Joseph of the Royal Scots and Private Bergshon of the Royal Scots Fusiliers.⁹² Over the next few weeks and months the paper was flooded with reports of new Jewish soldier off to fight the Boer. One particularly interesting report involved Private I.S. Lewis of the 2nd Battalion Scottish Rifles of whom the writer stated, 'He had been six years in India, and had been called in from the Reserves. He is a fine fellow and a splendid specimen of muscular Judaism.'⁹³ More names continued to surface, and although some of the Jewish soldiers found in Scottish regiments were certainly English rather than Scottish, as was the case later during the Great War, the Scottish regiments were certainly represented with Jewish participants. By the end of 1900, the *Jewish Chronicle* compiled a list of forty-nine names of Jewish soldiers who had died in South Africa. Only one was from a Scottish regiment, a Private S. Mack of the Royal Scots Fusilier who died at Maritzburg.⁹⁴ The scattered number of Scottish Jewish participants was not surprising given their small numbers of active Volunteer members and the War Office's specific requirements (concerning marriage status – preferably single – age, health, efficiency, and character) for Volunteers who desired overseas activity which whittled down the number of eligible men to only the finest and fittest available.⁹⁵

As noted earlier, the old question of a Jewish regiment once again arose at the outset of the Boer War. One letter in December 1900 to the *Jewish Chronicle* called for a Jewish Corps to be raised and sent to the front with all costs paid for by the Jewish community throughout the United Kingdom.⁹⁶ A letter in response the following week bluntly stated that there was no need for the Jewish community to separate itself from the main body of the army and further emphasised that 'to the conservative English

⁹¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 January 1900, p. 10.

⁹² *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 October 1899, p. 10.

⁹³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 October 1899, p. 10.

⁹⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 December 1900, p. 13.

⁹⁵ Grierson, *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force*, p. 92.

⁹⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 January 1900, p. 8.

mind, with its jaunty contempt for all foreigners,' such action 'would only serve to increase the hatred of the anti-Semites.' An editorial responded in like manner stating, 'Jews are part and parcel of the nation, and must, therefore, remain part and parcel, indissoluble portions, of those various regiments which represent and embody the national strength.'⁹⁷ One Jewish soldier suggested greater attention to the Volunteer Force, reasoning that the war was once again depleting Britain's defence forces, and this gave British Jews a tremendous opportunity to fill in the gap for their country. In stark contrast, a letter in the same issue advocated the Peace Army. The writer protested against the 'War craze at present raging' and called for other Jews to join the organisation 'to cultivate the love of peace' and 'to oppose every form of conscription or compulsory military service.'⁹⁸ Such varying thought is representative of the diversity found throughout British Jewry, an idea that will continually appear through this exploration of the Scottish context. But it is clear even as early as 1900, at the time of the Boer War and long before the Great War broke out, there was a significant anti-war and anti-conscriptionist line developing within the Jewish community; rooted firmly in the South Side community.

From the reports and activities, the GJVA appeared to be moving steadily on, but the last entry in the minutebook of the GJVA was dated 29 October 1899, just days before the scheduled session break for the months of November and December. While the first year of existence contained much more activity having nine meetings recorded, the second year for the GJVA seemed to have been less hectic. Only four meetings were recorded for 1899 with three of them taking place in the month of October when the Boer War began. There were various sub-committee and unofficial meetings, but these were not recorded and little is known of their proceedings. The GJVA therefore simply disappears during the middle of the Second Boer War.

There were early yet vague signs that the organisation faced some sort of trouble. During the speech given at the first annual review in February 1899, the secretary stated, 'We have every reason to be proud of our achievements when we take into consideration the fact that this being our first year, we had a number of difficulties to overcome and a lot of prejudice to break down. All this has been got

⁹⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 February 1900, pp. 8, 15.

⁹⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 January 1900, p. 6.

over.⁹⁹ Was this prejudice within or without the Jewish community? Throughout the minutebook there was never any mention of prejudice or difficulties with the military, and in fact, military leadership and contacts were always talked about in positive ways. Although there was certainly prejudice toward Jews throughout British society in the years leading up to the Second Boer War, particularly regarding the health and desirability of migrant Jews, it is also quite likely that the prejudice referred to came from within the Jewish community, namely amongst the Gorbals Jews.¹⁰⁰ Evidence suggests that this prejudicial view might well have been an anti-militarist perspective based on the experiences of the recently arrived Jews from the Russian Empire.

The GJVA also competed with the rising number of Jewish organisations as the Jewish population continued to grow. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Zionist movement began to cause a stir in Scotland, and in 1890 and 1891 Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively opened official tents of *Chovevei Zion*, an early non-political Zionist movement with the aim of Jewish settlement in Palestine. Leading members of the GJVA such as Schoenfeld, Simons, Frankenburg, Wolffe, and Rev. Phillips took varying degrees of interest in Zionism at the time, and it is true that Zionism was another dividing line between West End and South Side Jews with greater attention given to the cause in the South Side.¹⁰¹ It is possibly significant that the final recorded meeting of the GJVA took place in the Zionist Club Rooms, the only time in fourteen meetings. In contrast to the relatively small numbers that joined the GJVA, the Glasgow *Chovevei Zion* boasted a membership of 128 in 1895 only four years after its foundation, an indication of where the interests of those on the South Side laid.¹⁰² Indeed, before 1914 a number of other Zionist branches continued to appear in Glasgow including *Dorshei Zion* which regularly attracted attendances of 1,000 people at its meetings by 1904.¹⁰³ Another organisation of significance, the Glasgow Jewish Young Men's Association, surfaced in January 1900, and this group would later be influential in recruiting Jewish young men for the Territorial Force, the military organisation that replaced the Volunteer Force in 1907, prior to the First World War.

⁹⁹ SJAC, GJVA Minutebook; 19 February 1899.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas Evans, 'Commerce, State, and Anti-Alienism: Balancing Britain's Interests in the Late-Victorian Period', in Eitan Bar-Yosef and Nadia Valman (eds.), *The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 80-97.

¹⁰¹ Kenefick, 'Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities', pp. 72-73.

¹⁰² SJAC, Pol. Z/O 1, Correspondence Book: Glasgow and Edinburgh Chovevei Zion Tents.

¹⁰³ Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations', pp. 221-222.

Its model was the Jewish Working Men's Club established in Manchester, the same club that ignored the call to form a Volunteer association.¹⁰⁴ It appears at this time that Manchester began to overtake Glasgow in militaristic efforts. Manchester started the war with a flurry of fundraising and military services and by the end of 1900 held its own special *Chanukah* service.¹⁰⁵ No military participation at the Garnethill *Chanukah* service was recorded for the same year.

The lack of increased membership and interest, the growing number of organisations, and perhaps even the strain of wartime led to the GJVA being wound up. The leading ministers in both Glasgow and Edinburgh never failed to support the British military, but during the Second Boer War there is no evidence that they actively encouraged young men to fight in an overseas war. Those of the Jewish community who volunteered and were accepted for service in South Africa were celebrated, but there was still no concerted attempt by the wider community to send away large numbers of young men which is evident by the lack of any such organised activity by the GJVA. Convincing the Jewish community that voluntary training for the defence of the home front was difficult enough, and active recruitment for overseas fighting was clearly a step too far for the young Scottish Jewish community with a rapidly rising immigrant sector. The military was not to be a completely forsaken institution as another organisation, the Jewish Lads' Brigade, was next established in Glasgow, instilling militaristic discipline in many Jewish youth and leaving a more lasting and visible legacy.

The Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade

While the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association faded into the background during the Second Boer War, a new organisation took shape which used military drills and discipline in an effort to direct the Jewish youth of Scotland. In its development the Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade was influenced by both Jewish and Christian youth groups and maintained a distinctive Scottishness during its formative years. As an institution that employed military discipline in order to uphold its structure, the

¹⁰⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 January 1900, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 December 1899, p. 28; 8 December 1899, p. 25; 28 December 1900, p. 32.

Scottish JLB owed thanks to the GJVA and its promotion of military service amongst the Jewish community. As a result, a strong local leadership with military training was formed, and in turn, that leadership provided a stability that was reproduced in few other branches of the national movement. Most importantly, the JLB presented military participation, particularly in Glasgow and specifically to young men, in such a way that was more acceptable to the array of ideals held by broader Scottish Jewry.

The most obvious influence on the work of the Scottish JLB was the national movement which was largely credited to Rev. Francis Cohen, the London minister responsible for the advancement of Judaism in the British military. Rev. Cohen was influenced by the work of the church youth groups including the Boys' Brigade, a Free Church of Scotland organization that sought to teach discipline, patriotism, and most of all Christian principles through the use of military drill. Rev. Cohen contacted the founder, Sir William Smith, with the proposal of incorporating a Jewish branch into the Boys' Brigade. The idea was rejected, but Sir William Smith offered his help in establishing a separate organization for Jewish lads.¹⁰⁶ As the idea developed, Colonel Albert Goldsmid, a vice president of the Church Lads' Brigade, an organization of the Church of England also based upon the work of the Boys' Brigade, emerged as the leading figure for Jewish youth work. Colonel Goldsmid was a lifelong military man, a later veteran of the Boer War, and a convert to Judaism as a young man, his earlier family having converted from Judaism to Christianity.¹⁰⁷ In 1895 Goldsmid used his position as vice president of the Maccabeans Society, an influential London 'Anglo-Jewish gentlemen's club,' to launch the Jewish Working Lads' Brigade, later dropping 'Working' from the title.¹⁰⁸ The initial title revealed that the primary target for this new organization was the young Jewish men of the lower classes.

Outside of London, the first city to create a JLB was Liverpool in 1898. The next year Manchester followed suit, and over the next few years a branch of the brigade was set up in eight other cities including Hull, Birmingham, and Leeds. Manchester quickly established itself as the leader of the provincial units and provided Glasgow with a prime example. Both Manchester and Glasgow were heavily populated

¹⁰⁶ Kadish. *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁷ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 41.

¹⁰⁸ Kadish. *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman*, pp. 11-12.

industrial centres within the United Kingdom, and while Glasgow boasted the higher population of the two cities, the Manchester Jewish community was roughly double the size of the community in Glasgow in 1899 when Manchester started its JLB.¹⁰⁹ There was no direct evidence that the Manchester community attempted to promote the work of the JLB in Glasgow, but the Reverend Laurence Mark Simmons, leader of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews who briefly served as Chaplain for the Manchester JLB before his untimely death, was occasionally a guest speaker in Glasgow.¹¹⁰

The people of Glasgow would have undoubtedly been aware of JLB activity through the pages of the Jewish press if nothing else, but Colonel Goldsmid may have been of some influence as well. Colonel Goldsmid's work with *Chovevei Zion* kept him in correspondence with the Glasgow organisation, and his death in 1904 revealed a deep appreciation held by the various Glasgow Zionist organisations.¹¹¹ Regarding his work with the JLB, in August 1902 he sent a letter to the Glasgow United Synagogue, expressing his desire to visit with the intent 'to assist in the formation of a Cadet Corps.'¹¹² It appears, however, that Goldsmid never made his visit nor was the Cadet Corps established, but this interest in Glasgow may have stemmed from an initial proposal in May of the same year at a general meeting of the Garnethill Synagogue.¹¹³ At this time, Garnethill had joined two other synagogues in the Gorbals to form the United Synagogue, an action which allowed Garnethill Synagogue to maintain supervision and an element of control over the religious proceedings in the Gorbals. The idea for a Glasgow JLB seems to have been abandoned after its discussion in the meeting of the United Synagogue, but it is worth noting that a JLB was finally established in Glasgow only a month after Goldsmid's death.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 December 1898, p. 26; 12 January 1900, p. 27. A visit to the Manchester Jewish Museum revealed no further links between Manchester and Glasgow outside of the occasional exchange of guest speakers found in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

¹¹¹ SJAC, Pol. Z/0 1, Correspondence Book: Glasgow and Edinburgh Chovevei Zion Tents; *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 April 1904, p. 26; 22 April 1904, p. 31; 29 April 1904, p. 28.

¹¹² SJAC, Glasgow United Synagogue Minutes, 6 August 1902.

¹¹³ SJAC, Glasgow Hebrew Congregation Minutes, 25 May 1902.

¹¹⁴ While Goldsmid's work with Zionism gained an appreciation from many Jews in Glasgow, his statements made in the *Jewish Chronicle* which promoted controls on alien immigration would certainly have irritated a good portion of the Gorbals Jews. See Paul Knepper, 'The Other Invisible Hand: Jews and Anarchists in London before the Great War', *Jewish History*, 20 (2008), p.309.

Aside from the national work of the JLB, the institution of more immediate and local impact was the Boys' Brigade. Sir William Smith, a Glasgow resident and an officer in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, formed the idea of the Boys' Brigade as a way to manage the unruly boys in his Sunday school class. One of the earliest boys' clubs, the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society established in the mid 1860s, provided Smith with an organizational outline, and his military background gave him the experience to instil in the boys the discipline that he believed was lacking. The Boys' Brigade began with an enrolment of fifty-nine boys in 1883, two years before the Jewish Lads' Brigade started in London, and national growth of the movement was rapid with 206 companies established in Scotland in the first five years, 1883-1888, ninety-seven of these companies created in Glasgow alone.¹¹⁵ Smith's contact with the Jewish community apparently revolved around the Strumps, a well known West End family. Benjamin, mentioned earlier as active in the GJVA, alongside his brother Nathan served in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, the same regiment as Sir William Smith.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Nathan Strump was a member of the Boys' Brigade in the 1890s.¹¹⁷

The close ties with the Boys' Brigade and independence from the national headquarters in London gave the Glasgow JLB a Scottish distinction from its establishment in May 1904. A report in the *Jewish Echo* later claimed that the Glasgow JLB was established because 'Jewish boys were becoming attached to the Boys' Brigade movement,' but it does not appear that there was any urgent desire to remove any ties to the Free Church of Scotland organisation.¹¹⁸ The first Commandant of the Glasgow JLB was Captain McClure of the Boys' Brigade, and Smith himself remained a supporter and friend of the Glasgow JLB during the early years of the company.¹¹⁹ Upon Smith's death the Glasgow Jewish community honoured him by sending an

¹¹⁵ John Springhall, *Sure and Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (London: Collins, 1983), pp. 40, 46-47.

¹¹⁶ Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman*, p. 28. Benjamin Strump was later recognized for his service in the Volunteer Force when he received the Long Service and Efficiency Medal in 1909. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 January 1909, p. 31.

¹¹⁷ Anglo-Jewish Archives, Hartley Library, Southampton University (hereafter AJA), MS244, PO/D (Glasgow), letter from Gerald Strump.

¹¹⁸ *Jewish Echo*, 1 June 1928.

¹¹⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 December 1904, p. 36; 22 July 1904, p. 29; Richard Kyle, 'Negotiating Youth Work: Moral Geographies of the Boys' Brigade in Scotland', (PhD, University of Glasgow, 2006).

official group of fifty JLB members to his funeral.¹²⁰ The new Jewish organisation was sometimes referred to as the Jewish Boys' Brigade, and they adopted the Boys' Brigade's simple uniform of cap, belt, and haversack. The Jewish uniforms differed only slightly from those of the Boys' Brigade yet notably by the inclusion of a 'J' on the cap as seen in Figure 1.1.¹²¹

Keeping costs low with the limited uniform would have been vital for the success of the Scottish JLB if they were to encourage membership amongst the Gorbals boys, an idea set forth by the founders of the Boys' Brigade and the national JLB movement. However, this similarity in uniform to the Boys' Brigade motivated the leaders of the Glasgow JLB to include the 'J' on the cap to distinguish the group as Jewish. Although the JLB was certainly distinctly Jewish, the national leadership avoided such overt Jewish identification because of the desire to use the organisation as a means for integrating the young men into British society and ideals. This was Colonel Goldsmid's aim, clear in his desire to 'iron out the Ghetto bend' in the boys and 'to instil into the rising generation all that is best in the English character.'¹²² The 'J' did not remain long on the Scottish uniform and likely disappeared as the West End became more involved.¹²³



Figure1.1 Aaron Woolfson in JLB uniform. Image courtesy of Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

The Scottishness of the Glasgow JLB was further solidified by its ties with the local Volunteer establishments, and in May of 1905, around 1,000 spectators crowded the 1st VBHLI Drill Hall near Garnethill to watch the first annual inspection of the Glasgow JLB.¹²⁴ The following year the inspection was held at the Drill Hall of the

¹²⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 May 1914, p. 23. Sir William Smith was to be the inspector at the annual inspection of the Glasgow JLB the same month that he died. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 May 1914, p. 24.

¹²¹ AJA, MS244, PO/D (Glasgow), letters from Harold Freeman and Bert Firestone.

¹²² *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 August 1901.

¹²³ Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman*, p. 28.

¹²⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 June 1905, p. 30.

Lanarkshire Rifles Volunteers.¹²⁵ The large group of spectators at the first review surely increased awareness of the Glasgow JLB and boosted the pride of the Jewish community. The same year the JLB once again attended the *Chanukah* service at Garnethill, following the example and traditions of the London and Manchester brigades. On this occasion, the HLI led the way into the synagogue with their pipe band while 120 members of the Jewish Lads' Brigade followed behind with their own bugle band.¹²⁶ This was certainly a unique display and mixture of British, Scottish, and Jewish patriotism and militarism.

A month after being established, the membership for the Glasgow JLB was reported to be 125.¹²⁷ This was indeed a large number and even more astounding considering the claim by the *Jewish Chronicle* that the brigade was mostly formed by leaders in the Gorbals.¹²⁸ This formation of the Glasgow brigade put it in stark contrast with the JLBs in the leading cities where the men who led or formed their branch of the JLB were military men such as Colonel Goldsmid of London, Captain E.K. Yates of Liverpool, Captain Dreschfield and later Colonel E.C.Q. Henriques in Manchester. Sergeant L. Cohen of the 1st VBHLI was the first Captain of the Glasgow JLB, but his status did not attain to that of the above mentioned men and he was no longer Captain by late 1905.¹²⁹ Many of those named as leaders of the brigade were Gorbals men, notably the Reverend Jacob Bogdansky of the Oxford Street Synagogue who was the first chaplain elected rather than Rev. E. P. Phillips of Garnethill. The most intriguing figure associated with the Glasgow Jewish Lads' Brigade was the founder, John Hershfield. Born in Courland, Russia, now modern day Latvia, Hershfield immigrated to the United Kingdom sometime around 1860. In 1887, he married Jane Rittenberg, herself an immigrant from Poland. Soon after the marriage, Hershfield moved his family outside of the Gorbals to the Kinning Park area. His early occupation was frame maker and later was listed as a house painter while his obituary stated that

¹²⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 June 1906, p. 43.

¹²⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 December 1905, p. 30.

¹²⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 June 1904, p. 28.

¹²⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 December 1904, p. 36.

¹²⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 December 1905, p. 34; 29 December 1905, p. 30. Cohen appears to have been replaced briefly by Percy Reis of the 2nd LREV, formerly the honorary treasurer of the GJVA, and at the end of the year Harry Ognall is named as Captain.

'he was associated for close upon fifty years with a firm of ship painters.'¹³⁰ He was active in the Jewish community being listed as one of the founding members of the Lord Rothschild Lodge, Grand Order of Israel, and 'a member of Garnethill Synagogue since the day it was formed.'¹³¹ Hershfield indeed continued to maintain his membership at Garnethill, and as an immigrant South Side Jew he represents a bridge between the two communities which paved the way for greater West End influence in the following years.¹³²

Enthusiasm for the Lads' Brigade was keen enough in Glasgow to send a group to Edinburgh to help form a brigade. The visit met with success, albeit somewhat delayed, when in November 1905 'it was resolved to form an Edinburgh Battalion of the Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade.'¹³³ By joining together and avoiding affiliation with London, Glasgow and Edinburgh distinguished themselves by consistently calling their movement the Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade from 1905-1907. With the cities combined, five companies in all were formed with Companies 1, 2, and 5 in Glasgow and Companies 3 and 4 in Edinburgh. Despite official formation late in the year, the Edinburgh brigade dutifully planned a *Chanukah* service for the boys. The JLB was just one of many youth organizations established by the Edinburgh Jewish community in the first twenty years of the twentieth century, but despite the early enthusiasm, the Edinburgh branch of the brigade eventually faded off the scene by 1908.¹³⁴ In contrast to Edinburgh, the Glasgow companies enjoyed their early success and took advantage of every opportunity for public displays. In 1907, the Glasgow boys had the opportunity to form part of a welcoming committee for a visit by the Prince and Princess of Wales.¹³⁵ Four years later the Glasgow JLB exhibited their patriotism while celebrating the coronation of King George V, commemorated in a picture which is shown here in Figure 1.2.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, January 4, 1924. Here, Hershfield's obituary states that he founded the Glasgow JLB in 1902.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² SJAC, Garnethill Member Registry, 1911.

¹³³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 November 1905, p. 40.

¹³⁴ Gilfillan, 'Two Worlds'.

¹³⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 May 1907, p. 27.

¹³⁶ SJAC, JLB File 0004.

The year 1907 signalled a shift in the leadership and direction of the Glasgow JLB as Rev. Phillips replaced Rev. Bogdansky as chaplain.¹³⁷ The following year brought more drastic changes as the Glasgow JLB officially joined the national movement after a visit from a member of the London Headquarters staff. The Glasgow JLB was restructured into the 40th and 41st Companies of the national movement with Benjamin Strump and Granville Heilbron appointed the Captains respectively.¹³⁸ The new structure and leadership confirmed West End control of the organisation, and while all of these changes were taking place, two Jewish sections of Baden-Powell's Scouts were opened under the leadership of Nathan Strump and Montague Harris.¹³⁹



Figure 1.1 Glasgow JLB group picture from 1911 commemorating the coronation of King George V. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

Scouting added a new complication for the JLB and was not immediately accepted. The new movement became instantly popular after General Robert Baden Powell held the first camp in 1907, and incidentally, Sir William Smith played a significant role in the origins of Scouting through his encouragement of Baden Powell.

¹³⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 July 1907, p. 33.

¹³⁸ AJA, MS244, GEN/84, Headquarters Minutebook; *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 February 1908, p. 27. The visit to Glasgow was originally planned for joining the celebration of the Boys' Brigade's semi-jubilee, and this provided the excuse for discussing affiliation of the Scottish JLB with the national movement.

¹³⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 November 1908, p. 28.

This connection might explain why the Jewish community in Glasgow was so quick to embrace Scouting. Early in 1909, the Manchester JLB created a section of Scouts, but only after they had received permission with specific instructions from London Headquarters.¹⁴⁰ However, Glasgow, in its continuing independent spirit, had taken up Scouting the year before without any apparent request for approval from London. Furthermore, both Leeds and Newcastle had created a company of Scouts by 1909 even though their efforts at a JLB had resulted in failure only two years earlier.¹⁴¹

The struggles of other cities and the expansion into Scouting highlight the success and independent spirit of those moving the Glasgow JLB forward. Not every JLB enjoyed the steadiness that Glasgow could boast of, as nearby Edinburgh proved. Even London struggled to find the funds and leadership needed for the growing numbers of companies. The geographical and cultural distance between London and Glasgow make a comparison difficult, but the struggles of the Provincial Companies provide a more natural perspective for analysing the success of the Glasgow JLB. Between 1898 and 1904, at least eight different cities enrolled a company in the JLB Provincials, but by January 1907 the companies in Bradford, Newcastle, Sheffield, Hull, and Leeds had all been crossed off of the roster. Liverpool, a Jewish community of comparable size with Glasgow, suffered from a lack of interest despite its prestigious status as the first Provincial Company. After four years of existence, Captain Yates complained to headquarters of the 'apathetic and neglectful' treatment of the JLB that was present amongst the Liverpool Jewish community and requested permission to address the issues in the press.¹⁴² Manchester, which started with 80 boys and rapidly climbed to over 200 members, reported to London in 1902 that they 'might be obliged to recommend to headquarters that the Battalion be reduced to a single company.'¹⁴³ Fortunately, the Manchester Company was able to turn in the right direction under the leadership of Captain Henriques and increased to six companies before the First World War.

¹⁴⁰ AJA, MS244, Gen/84, Headquarters Minutebook; Greater Manchester County Records Office (hereafter GMCRO), M130/2340 Officers Minutebook.

¹⁴¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, September 10, 1909; *Jewish Chronicle*, September 24, 1909.

¹⁴² AJA, MS244, Gen/80, Executive Committee Minutebook.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

Other communities were not so fortunate to have strong leadership. In Sheffield the Jewish community relied upon London headquarters to whip up enthusiasm for a new company, but a few months later reported that no progress was being made because of a lack of suitable officers. The company in Hull faced similar problems when requesting to start a company, the report to London headquarters suggesting that the officers in Hull were 'satisfactory but without military training.'¹⁴⁴ The need for suitable officers in Hull was so great that they resorted to nominating an M. Cecil Thomas, a non-Jew, to the position of 2nd Lieutenant.¹⁴⁵ This was not totally unprecedented since the Old Castle Street Company in London had received permission a few years previous to install Mr. E. Warden Dennis, 'a non-Jewish gentleman' as Captain.¹⁴⁶ A similar situation had even arisen shortly after Glasgow joined national organisation when consent was given to commission the Honorary Bandmaster McIntyre as a Lieutenant.¹⁴⁷ MacIntyre continued his position for over thirty years and was therefore the band director when in 1922 the Glasgow JLB started their very own pipe band for which they could boast to be the only Jewish pipe band in the world!

The Jewish community in Glasgow was considerably larger than those in Hull and Sheffield which would explain why Glasgow had few problems finding new officers when needed. There was frequent shuffling of officers in the years after affiliation with London, but each time Glasgow calmly and efficiently replaced the needed positions. This is perhaps the greatest legacy of the short-lived GJVA that so many Jewish men in Glasgow had the military training necessary to become officers and leaders in the JLB. Yet it was these very militaristic ties that caused complaints in a number of cities. The Leeds Company informed London of a 'local prejudice' and requested a visit from the Commandant, Colonel Goldsmid.¹⁴⁸ Sheffield's small numbers were blamed on 'want of funds and lack of local support,' and the report for Hull was much more specific stating, 'Great difficulty has been experienced in attracting recruits, owing to the fear amongst the foreign element that the lads are

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ AJA, MS244, Gen/81, Headquarters Minutebook.

¹⁴⁶ AJA, MS244, Gen/80. Executive Committee Minutebook.

¹⁴⁷ AJA, MS244, Gen/84, Headquarters Minutebook.

¹⁴⁸ AJA, MS244, Gen/80, Executive Committee Minutebook.

being trained to become soldiers.¹⁴⁹ The *Daily Telegraph* reported similar feelings toward JLB activity by stating, 'it savoured of a militarism rendered hateful by association with a Russian conscription.'¹⁵⁰

It is not hard to imagine the association of militarism with the JLB given the use of military drills, the leadership by military officers, and the use of military drill halls. The boys themselves were often encouraged to join a military organisation. In Liverpool the local members of the Volunteer Force were called upon to make subscriptions to the JLB, and at the opening meeting of the company it was expressed that the work of the JLB would hopefully 'instil in the boys, when old enough, an inclination to join the Volunteer and regular forces.'¹⁵¹ Similar sentiments were expressed at the inaugural dinner of the Manchester Company where it was 'hoped that the lads...when old enough would join the Volunteers.'¹⁵² More telling were the following views of the Chief Rabbi's concerning the JLB and Volunteers during a *Chanukah* service in 1903.

Too often boys were apt to be somewhat careless in their habits, and a little inclined to let things slide. But the military regulations under which the Brigade was carried on would impart to its members a love of order and discipline that would counteract that failing. Doubtless there were many of them who, when they reached the proper age, would enrol themselves in the ranks of the Volunteers, and be ready, should the occasion arise, to take their part in defence of their King and country, for although there were none to whom the idea of war was more repugnant than to Jews, yet, nevertheless, in defence of the realm every Jew would be prepared to take up arms, and jeopardize his life, as so many (including a goodly proportion of old Brigade boys and their officers), did in the late war in South Africa.¹⁵³

Not only was the Chief Rabbi's speech an endorsement of the Volunteers it also provided approval for Jewish participation in the military and the militaristic methods employed in the JLB. Early on, Colonel Goldsmid recognised the 'prevalent' objections to the JLB's promotion of military service while noting that the Brigade 'would not discourage any such enlistment, but that was not the object of the movement.'¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ AJA, MS244, AR 1, 1902-1903 Annual Report, p. 14-16

¹⁵⁰ AJA, MS244, GEN/128, Simon Bernstein, 'Ironing out the ghetto bend'.

¹⁵¹ AJA, MS244, Gen/78, Headquarters Staff Minutebook; *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 January 1898, p. 26.

¹⁵² *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 May 1899, p. 22.

¹⁵³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 December 1903, p. 31.

¹⁵⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 January 1898, p. 22.

Privately, Colonel F. L. Nathan at a later headquarters meeting referred to the JLB as a 'quasi military organization' while promoting its participation in the miniature rifle movement, and publicly, the *Jewish Chronicle* acknowledged this sentiment, stating,

Although the aims of the Jewish Lads' Brigade are not of a definitely military character, it must be remembered that the majority of the lads themselves unconsciously regard the Brigade as a sort of dignified 'playing at soldiers,' which in part it really is.¹⁵⁵

There should therefore be little surprise that a portion of the Jewish community were apprehensive when the press and high ranking members within and without the JLB were willing to acknowledge the militaristic tendencies. The military structure of the organisation existed as a means for improving the social conditions and behaviours of Jewish juveniles, but despite its secondary nature in the grand scheme of the JLB, militarism was still a prominent characteristic. In the case of the Leeds Company Louis Wigoder remembered that there was a pervasive aversion to the militaristic structure from top to bottom. As a former officer in the Dublin JLB, Wigoder's strict ways of teaching the Leeds boys were met with laughter, and a later camping trip ended poorly when 'a number of boys rebelled and refused to obey commands.' Wigoder simply observed that the boys 'could not understand the meaning of discipline or esprit de corps.' Before these experiences, however, there were more troubles within the community that led to the dissolving of Leeds Company which Wigoder here recounts,

Rabbi Abrahams told me that there had been a split, as the result of the annual public inspection which was to be displayed at a public hall. The officer in charge, who was a tailor, was to be stationed in front for the inspection, whilst the second officer was due to take his place at the rear. The second officer refused to stand at the rear, stating that the officer in command was a tailor, even in Russia, and that he was a professional gentleman, and he would not be subjected to such an insult!¹⁵⁶

The JLB leadership did draw a firm line in 1910 when the War Office in London offered special considerations for youth organizations that would allow them to take on the status of a Cadet Corps. The opportunity for guaranteed government facilities and funding was naturally tempting, but the JLB held out along with the Boys' Brigade

¹⁵⁵ AJA, MS244, Gen/81, Headquarters Minutebook; *Jewish Chronicle*

¹⁵⁶ AJA, MS244, PO/C (Dublin).

under the fear that 'such recognition would fundamentally alter the constitution of the Brigade and the objects of its founders.'¹⁵⁷ Four years later, the Great War would alter perspective, and the national JLB organisation eventually became the Jewish Cadet Company in 1915.¹⁵⁸

Conclusion

The years 1908-1914 saw Glasgow stand shoulder to shoulder with Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Dublin as the firm collection of the JLB Provincials. Glasgow exhibited its independent spirit by maintaining its separation from the London group for four years and proclaimed its Scottish identity through its name, the Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade.¹⁵⁹ Despite eventual affiliation with London and incorporation into the Provincial Companies, Glasgow was able to retain some sense of independence as evidenced by their quick acceptance of Scouting. The Glasgow JLB was not devoid of problems as occasional requests were made to London to relieve accrued debt,¹⁶⁰ but the Glasgow branch was able to avoid the major pitfalls such as a lack of proper leadership and community distrust that resulted in the failure of Leeds Company and others. Glasgow was not inherently immune from internal division given the natural division between West End and South Side. A large portion of credit for the success of the Glasgow JLB should therefore be given to John Hershfield and other South Side men who founded and built the work. Although a Garnethill member, Hershfield's status as an immigrant with no apparent military ties served as a reassurance to the immigrant community as did his continued influence as the Honorary Captain. Moreover, Sir William Smith's insistence from the start that the Boys' Brigade help start a distinctive Jewish youth group and not incorporate a Jewish branch into the Christian organisation certainly assured the Jewish community that the founder did not have conversionist motives for his involvement. The military discipline provided by the JLB was therefore presented to a suspicious immigrant community in a

¹⁵⁷ AJA, MS244, Gen/84, Headquarters Minutebook.

¹⁵⁸ GMCRO, M130/2345, 1919 Annual Report.

¹⁵⁹ Belfast also created its own JLB in 1902 and was calling itself the Irish Jewish Lads' Brigade, and it appears that the Belfast Company never affiliated itself with London. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 May 1902, p. 26; 30 May 1902, p. 26.

¹⁶⁰ AJA, MS244, Gen/84, Headquarters Minutebook.

non-threatening way. Ben Braber views the JLB as 'the next initiative' in Glasgow integrationist organisations following the dissolution of the GJVA,¹⁶¹ yet the interest and effort given to the JLB by South Side men from the start show that this organisation was originally more than an instrument of the West End even if their influence was obvious later on. The balance achieved through the Glasgow JLB was to be put to the test only ten years after its creation as the Great War dramatically affected the lives of each member of the Scottish Jewish community, regardless of their address or country of origin. It is not obvious what effect the JLB had on volunteering prior to the war, but it clearly influenced boys toward the military during the Great War. The activities and dress of the JLB mimicked national movements and served to move the boys toward integration, and the government control over the JLB as a member of the Cadet Corps during the Great War only furthered the integrationist cause. The next chapter in part will observe the role that the JLB and other Jewish organisations and individuals played in supplying soldiers during the Great War.

¹⁶¹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 161.

Chapter Two: Scottish Jews and Military Service in the Great War

During the First World War Scotland contributed nearly 700,000 men to the British war effort. The War Office officially estimated Scotland's war dead at 74,000, but today the Scottish National War Memorial commemorates nearly 150,000 Scottish dead from around the world.¹ Trevor Royle believes the number of Scottish war dead to lie somewhere in between, but regardless of the difficulty in identifying an accurate number the reality is that Scotland suffered horrible losses during the war.² Often lost amidst this discussion is the fact that various minority groups such as Irish, Italians, Russians, and even Jews contributed to these numbers. Within the broader historiography of British Jewry, Scottish Jewish soldiers have been overlooked and misrepresented statistically, and within Scottish Jewish historiography they have been largely generalised as willing participants. A closer examination of the numbers is therefore needed foremost in this chapter to provide a more thorough and accurate picture of the overall participation rate of Scottish Jews. This chapter will therefore investigate those Jews who belonged to Scotland by birth or residence and separate them out for analysis from those Jews who simply participated in Scottish regiments.

In exploring the varying Jewish attitudes toward war service it is important to understand how vital the Jewish response toward military service was during the Great War in light of British public opinion. In broad terms, a general British concept persisted by the late eighteenth century that immigrants lacked love and patriotism for their host society, and Jews specifically were viewed as 'shirkers' and conscription evaders.³ During and after the Second Boer War, Jews were portrayed as financiers and war profiteers and were condemned for their lack of patriotism to the extent that they were deemed incapable of such passion.⁴ Although there were certainly anti-

¹ Clive Lee, 'The Scottish Economy and the First World War', in Catriona M.M. Macdonald and E.W. McFarland (eds.), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 19; Edward Spiers, 'The Scottish Soldier at War', in Hugh Cecil and Peter Liddle (eds.), *Facing Armageddon* (London: Leo Cooper, 1996), p. 314.

² Trevor Royle, *The Flowers of the Forest* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007), pp. 283-285.

³ Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 54; Sam Johnson, 'Within the Pale: British Intellectual Society and the Image of the Russian Jew, 1890-1907', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 20:3 (2007), p. 351.

⁴ David Feldman, 'Jews and the British Empire c. 1900', *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007), pp. 75-77; Schaffer, 'Unmasking the "Muscle Jew"', pp. 378-379.

Jewish sentiments expressed in the Scottish press and literature during this time, specific frustrations over Jewish involvement or non-involvement in South Africa appears to have been relatively lacking, thanks in large part to an absence of wealthy Scottish Jews on the scale of those found in London and in South Africa. When the Great War started the traditional stereotype of Jews as shirkers persisted in the British press, particularly increasing during the years 1915-1916, and official British documents used the term 'shirker' in reference to the Jewish and British military eligible men fleeing to Ireland.⁵ This attitude was combined with anti-Jewish discrimination at recruiting stations where the *Jewish Chronicle* reported Jews were rejected or treated poorly at the beginning of the war as well as anti-Jewish prejudice among medical examiners, particularly in Leeds, during the latter half of the war.⁶ Observation of the Scottish press reveals a noticeable alarm amongst Scottish men and women often articulated in letters to the editor over a perceived lack of Jewish participation at the very start of the war through to the very end, and this theme of non-participation will be developed over Chapters Three and Four. This scepticism over Jewish participation, rooted in pre-war dialogue concerning Russian Jewish immigrants, was pervasive in British and more specifically Scottish society and thus made the voluntary response and general participation of Scottish Jews of vital importance.

Scottish Jews did volunteer in large numbers up until the introduction of conscription in 1916, but caution should be used in applying the term 'patriotic' to their motives for enlisting. The word patriotism itself as it related to British activity in the Great War has been greatly debated and described as vague. Indeed, David Monger argued that the term is both 'flexible' and 'diverse'.⁷ Niall Ferguson has certainly echoed these thoughts in his investigation of the multiple outside pressures on men which included propaganda found in newspapers and posters alongside passionate speeches accompanied with loud and rousing military music. Men faced expectations from employers, from their peers who were enlisting, and considerable

⁵ Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority', p. 66; Lloyd, 'Jews Under Fire'.

⁶ Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority', p. 65; Winter, 'Military Fitness and Civilian Health', pp. 232-236.

⁷ David Monger, *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), p. 3.

scrutiny from women who handed out white feathers to non-participants.⁸ As John Grigg summarised, 'There was no lack of moral blackmail,' and this was certainly true in the Scottish context as well.⁹ Catriona Pennell observed that Scottish responses to the war were largely positive during the opening months, even in the industrialised west where anti-war dissent was expected, yet Pennell used unemployment figures to explain why Lanark and Ayr provided 56.54% of Scottish voluntary recruits in September 1914 when those two counties represented only 36% of Scotland's male population.¹⁰ In Ireland the motivations were even more complex where before war broke out the island found itself divided over the issue of Home Rule to the point that civil war seemed imminent. Upon declaration of war, however, Irishmen on both sides of the Home Rule debate rushed to join the British forces for moral, political, and religious reasons. Others across Britain joined for financial reasons or even out of a sense of adventure.¹¹

Within the Jewish community, patriotism was clearly evident at times from the language and expressions of the integrated leadership and some of the soldiers, yet for the vast majority of the soldiers there is no source that indicates the motivating forces behind the seeming clamour to join the military. A general statement that voluntary soldiers were acting out of patriotic duty is therefore untenable, and likewise, those conscripted after January 1916 cannot be naturally described as unpatriotic since age and other factors may have precluded participation during the voluntary phase.¹² The terms 'participation' and 'non-participation' will therefore be predominantly used in this chapter and those following to describe the activities of Scottish Jews while the term 'patriotism' will be used only in those instances where sources indicate that it is clearly appropriate to do so.

⁸ Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 205-207.

⁹ John Grigg, 'Nobility and War: The Unselfish Commitment?', *Encounter*, March 1990, p. 24; Derek Young, 'Voluntary Recruitment in Scotland, 1914-1916' (PhD, University of Glasgow, 2006).

¹⁰ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 84-85, 147-149.

¹¹ Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 9-20; Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, pp. 206-207.

¹² Ilana Bet-El, *Conscripts: Forgotten Men of the Great War* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), pp. 16-19.

Great War Service Records and Scottish Jews

The small amount of writing that has been devoted to Scottish Jewish soldiers has relied heavily on Jewish sources, primarily the *Jewish Chronicle*. This chapter will not ignore the Jewish press but will also use other sources outside of the Jewish community such as military service records which have received no attention in Scottish Jewish historiography. These service records, housed at the National Archives in Kew, provide a unique insight into the experiences of soldiers during the First World War, but in the case of Jewish soldiers, and specifically Scottish Jewish soldiers, there are a number of difficulties in locating these records. The most general problem is the fact that a majority of the documents were destroyed by German bombs during the Second World War; earning them the title 'Burnt Documents' and leaving roughly 40% of the documents in various states of readability and completeness.¹³ A search through the remaining service records all too clearly shows that there are limits when searching for Jewish servicemen. Many files confirm a soldier's Jewishness by clearly stating his religion as 'Jew,' 'Jewish,' or 'Hebrew,' and in some cases Russian soldiers are referred to as 'Russian Jews.' Files may also include family history which might provide information such as marriage at a synagogue thereby identifying the subject as Jewish, and notes regarding a soldier's 'Jewish leave' can provide much needed and important evidence. For various reasons, however, not every file will provide open and obvious or even subtle clues to a soldier's Jewishness.¹⁴ Thus, when finding files for men such as Abraham Freedman of Edinburgh, or Barnett Wolfe of Glasgow, whose names and file information point to the possibility of them being Jewish, other information outside the file must be obtained to confirm their identity.

To further complicate matters, not all Jews were open about their background. Indeed, this was an issue noted by British Jews from around the turn of the century up through the First World War. For example in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Rev. Francis Cohen frequently wrote of the condition and participation of Jews in the British armed forces, and in one article he bemoaned the fact that 'the "crypto-Jews" very considerably exceed the declared Jews in number.' He also claimed that many Jews were 'not very strong in their Judaism' and had succumbed to pressure from the military to 'follow

¹³ http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/firstworldwar/service_records/sr_soldiers.htm

¹⁴ The definition of 'Jewishness' in this search for Jewish soldiers is more cultural than religious.

the big drum': an expression referring to the attendance of parades of and associating with the Church of England.¹⁵ Edward Cohen, noted in the previous chapter, is an excellent example of hidden Jewish identity. Cohen changed his surname to Downie while on service with the King's Own Scottish Borderers when serving between 1895-1907, but later used the surname Cohen after re-joining the army during the Great War.¹⁶

The current roll of honour for Scottish Jews shows a number of soldiers who adopted alternative surnames including a Daniel Rosenthal who went by the surname McLean. In Edinburgh, Charles Shapero went by the very Scottish surname of Campbell and William Kurtzman went by the name William Mack. Benjamin Kurtzman explained to a Military Tribunal that one of his brothers had been in the navy for seven years, but had changed his surname believing that he would not be allowed to join if they knew that he had Russian parents.¹⁷ In Glasgow David Nochamovich went by the name David Taylor, while Charles Isaacs took Jackson as his surname.¹⁸ In an article covering the war exploits of 'a young Glasgow Jew' named Sam Wolff, the *Glasgow Herald* noted that he had originally joined 'the 7th Camerons last January under the name of Sam Thomson.'¹⁹ Name changing continued to be an issue up to the Second World War as well, as evidenced by the example of Robert Spilg who changed his surname to Spence 'due to the war and in case the Nazis came over.' And because Spilg was 'a very sort of foreign name here.'²⁰ Name changing in the military was therefore not simply an English issue, but also a Scottish one as well.

In addition to the issue of changed names when searching for Jewish service records, occasionally files of Jewish soldiers will list a different religion. In the case of Joseph Freedman of Greenock, two different religions are listed. On his active service

¹⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 April 1898, p. 13. Rev. Cohen's definition of a 'crypto-Jew' refers more to Jews who suppressed or hid their Jewish identity in an effort to fit into military life rather than referring to those who completely rejected and forsook their Jewishness.

¹⁶ SJAC, Serving Their Country 1. A letter to Rev. Cohen from a Jewish soldier en route to South Africa described four other Jewish soldiers on the ship who claimed to be Church of England rather than Jewish, confirming the idea of "crypto-Jews." See *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 January 1900, p. 8.

¹⁷ NRS, HH30/21/1/2 Benjamin Manuel Kurtzman.

¹⁸ SJAC, WWI Roll of Honour.

¹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 4 November 1915, p. 7; 16 October 1915, p. 8; *Jewish Chronicle* 12 November 1915, p. 20. 'Camerons' refers to the Cameron Highlanders, a Scottish Regiment which recruited largely in Lanarkshire in the west of Scotland.

²⁰ SJAC, OHP4 Robert Spence.

form, Freedman is listed as 'Pres' for Presbyterian, but his conduct sheet states that he is Jewish.²¹ Indeed, Harold Pollins' work on Jewish soldiers confirms his Jewish identity.²² At least two other Scottish Jews have been listed as other religions in their military service records as seen in the case of David Walker Levy, listed as a Protestant, and Jack Riffkin, listed as Presbyterian.²³ Mark Gilfillan's research shows that Levy was actually an Edinburgh Jew who made an application before the Lothians and Peebles Military Appeal Tribunal after conscription was introduced in 1916.²⁴ Jack Riffkin's name appears on the memorial plaque in the South Portland Street Synagogue for fallen Glasgow Jews of the First World War, and his Jewish identity is further confirmed in the holdings of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre (SJAC).²⁵ It may be that Freedman, Levy, and Riffkin were trying to obscure their identity, but without further information we cannot know why and thus remains speculation. However, a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* might offer a partial explanation. Jerrold Annenberg recalled the difficulty of an Isaac Cohen in obtaining leave for a Jewish holiday because he was listed Church of England (C of E). As Military Secretary to Rev. Michael Adler, Annenberg sought to rectify the situation and received an explanation from Cohen. During recruitment Cohen had been asked by the Sergeant, 'Isaac Cohen, C of E I suppose?' for which Cohen believed he had been asked 'Civvy, I suppose?' The rest of Cohen's explanation is as follows,

The lad explained to me that before joining the Marines he had never heard of this abbreviation of 'Church of England,' and added, had the N.C.O. said 'Goy²⁶, I suppose?' his answer would have been an indignant denial.²⁷

Thus, a simple case of misunderstanding and some level of ignorance resulted in Cohen being mistakenly listed as C of E rather than Jewish.

Accidents, deliberate cover-ups, and name changes all make the task of tracking down the service records of Scottish Jews a challenge, but it is the case that

²¹ TNA, WO363/F920 Joseph Freedman.

²² Harold Pollins, 'Jewish Brothers (and other relations) Who Died on Service in the British and Commonwealth Forces in the First World War', *The Bulletin of the Military Historical Society*, 55: 218 (2004), p. 80. Pollins further notes that Joseph's brother, Mark, who also died in the war while serving in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, was also listed Presbyterian in his military records.

²³ TNA, WO363/L515 David Walker Levy; WO363/R1166 Jack Riffkin.

²⁴ NRS, HH30/5/1/12 Henry Walker Levy.

²⁵ SJAC, *Serving Their Country 2*.

²⁶ The term *goy* refers to a person who is not Jewish with the plural form being *goyim*.

²⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 March 1952, p. 19.

101 records have been positively identified as pertaining to Scottish Jews.²⁸ This collection of records contains men who have a birth or residential connection to a Scottish town or city, and does include men who only served in Scottish regiments. The list was compiled by searching for names found in four main sources: (1) memorials to Jewish soldiers in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, (2) Jewish appellants before the Lothians and Peebles Appeal Tribunals, (3) regimental and honour roll lists in the *British Jewry Book of Honour*, and finally (4) the Glasgow Russians lists located in the Mitchell Library Archives. Names of known Scottish Jews, such as those mentioned in the SJAC, or named in works on the Scottish Jewish community, or even listed in the *Jewish Chronicle*, were also searched. Given the difficulties in finding these names (as outlined above) it is certain that other records do exist, but this verifiable collection nevertheless provides a number of insights. The incompleteness of the records makes definitive conclusions from a statistical standpoint difficult, but rather than analysing the records in one specific section, they will be used throughout the chapter to explore aspects of the Scottish-Jewish soldiers' military life including attitudes to discipline, battalion placement, and combat activity. But before looking at specific soldier experiences, the size of the Scottish Jewish community needs to be discussed in relation to the participants.

Numbers and Analysis of Scottish Jewish Soldiers

Since Glasgow contained the highest number of Jews in Scotland, it is natural to begin the examination of Jewish military participation here. Ben Braber's study of the Jews in Glasgow would be a good starting point, but he only offers a cursory examination of Jews in the Great War. It is therefore Kenneth Collins who has provided the most insight into military participation in the final chapters of *Second City Jewry* which concentrate on the war years. The exact size of the Glasgow Jewish community during the war is difficult to determine, and Collins estimated a number of 12,000 for the year 1914.²⁹ In 1915 the *Jewish Chronicle* reported that the community

²⁸ Eighteen other records have been located that likely belong to Scottish Jews, but without outside confirmation they have been left out of this discussion.

²⁹ Kenneth Collins and Harvey Kaplan, *Jewish Glasgow: An Illustrated History* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, 2013), p. 35. There is further confusion over the community number in this book since

numbered 10,000, although for the following year the *Jewish Yearbook* estimated the number was around 8,000.³⁰ Harvey Kaplan's work with the 1911 census has revealed between 8,000-8,500 Jews living in Glasgow at that time, of which 6,516 lived in the Gorbals – the predominantly immigrant and poorer section of Jews in the South Side of the city. The older, integrated section of Glasgow Jewry resided in the West End of the city, where the Garnethill Synagogue was built, and according to Kaplan its congregational directory listed over 400 names in 1911.³¹ Clearly, there could have been significant change between 1911 and 1916, but Kaplan's thorough research and upper estimate of 8,500 is the more reliable. Kaplan's work also showed that the number of 6,516 Glasgow Jews living on the South Side, mainly in the Gorbals area of the city, represented around 76% of the city's total Jewish population, a fact which in itself strengthens the case for a deep anti-militarist attitude from the recently arrived immigrant Jewish community. Despite the differing numbers, Collins suggested that 1,200 Glasgow Jews served in the Great War, a number likely based upon the estimation found in the *British Jewry Book of Honour* that 50,000 Jews across the British Empire served during the war out of a total of 420,000.³² This led Collins to declare, 'It cannot be proved that there was a lower level of Jewish recruitment in Glasgow nor is there any reason why this should have been so.'³³ However, from the facts shown below, it is more likely that the number of overall participation was closer to 1,000 rather than 1,200 which would correspond with a participation rate of 41% of eligible Scotsmen.³⁴ While it is not the intention of this research to hunt for shirkers amidst Glasgow Jews, there is a need to reanalyze this wartime community more thoroughly. As was shown in the previous chapter and despite persistent efforts by various contemporary community leaders, Glasgow Jews were not unified by patriotic militaristic fervour. A more thorough understanding of total participation can be gained from a closer examination of the various communal records and reports on Glasgow Jewry.

page forty-one states, 'Glasgow's Jewish population...had grown to around 10,000 by the beginning of the War.'

³⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 September 1915, p. 18; Barry Kosmin, Stanley Waterman, and Nigel Grizzard, 'The Jewish dead in the Great War as an indicator for the location, size and social structure of Anglo-Jewry in 1914', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 5:2 (1986), pp. 181-192.

³¹ Kaplan, 'The Jews of the Gorbals in 1911'.

³² Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 190.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

³⁴ Lee, 'The Scottish Economy and the First World War', p. 19.

In *Second City Jewry* Collins included a Glasgow Jewry Roll of Honour containing 86 names which he regards to be the 'definitive' list. But again in his most recent work he estimated the number of Jewish war dead at 120.³⁵ It is clear that there are evident problems with such important statistical evidence. On 12 December 1920, a service was held at the Garnethill Synagogue to unveil a memorial tablet for those who had served and died in the Great War from the congregation.³⁶ Out of the total number of 97 names listed, 17 were commemorated as war dead revealing a fairly high death rate of 17 per cent.³⁷ However, the inclusion of three men, Lance Corporal Lazarus, Private Paltie and Private Felix or Racionzer, raises questions about Garnethill connections among those listed on the memorial. None of these three men were listed in the 1911 Garnethill registry book, and according to the *British Jewry Book of Honour*, these three men all had addresses in Queen's Park, an area south of the Gorbals with its own synagogue. In the case of Lazarus and Paltie, the *Jewish Chronicle* confirmed their affiliation with the Queen's Park Congregation.³⁸ Queen's Park, located south of the Gorbals, was one of the more salubrious areas of Glasgow where Gorbals Jews slowly began to move prior to the Great War.³⁹ A congregation was established there in 1906, and during the war it was acknowledged that 'several sons of our members' were serving in the military.⁴⁰

It is unclear why these Queen's Park men were included, but it can be assumed that they held some close connection to the Garnethill congregation. Even if they are removed from the total number listed on the Garnethill memorial, nearly a quarter of the total congregation were military participants – if Kaplan's estimates for 1911 were roughly maintained. The Garnethill Memorial further illustrates the social standing of the congregation by recording 26 officers in the total, a proportion of officers to rank and file of approximately 1:4. Barry Kosmin, Stanley Waterman, and Nigel Grizzard's research placed the proportion of officers to men near 1:8 for Jews across Britain prior to conscription and suggested that these numbers showed 'a larger proportion of

³⁵ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 190; Collins and Kaplan, *Jewish Glasgow*, p. 159.

³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 December 1920.

³⁷ 2nd Lieutenant Benjamin Cohen is memorialized since his burial was conducted by Rev. E.P. Phillips and he was buried in the Garnethill Hebrew Congregation Burial Ground. Since Cohen was from Canada, I have removed him from calculations in this section regarding the Garnethill Congregation.

³⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 July 1917, p. 10; 11 April 1919, p. 2.

³⁹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ SJAC, Rel. QP 0002, Financial Statement and Report, 2 May 1915 – 1 May 1916.

middle- and upper-class persons than for the general British population.⁴¹ After conscription in 1916 the proportion among British Jews changed dramatically to nearly 1:20,⁴² a figure that further serves to highlight the high proportion of officers to men from Garnethill. Therefore, the statistics for Garnethill show a significantly higher number of commissioned officers in comparison to the numbers in the Kosmin (et al) study.

The integrated position of West End Jews undoubtedly aided this high rate of participation and numbers of officers among Garnethill men, and while the West End did not possess the political, financial, and military tradition used so well during the war by prominent English Jewish families such as the Montefiores, Sassoons, and Rothschilds, a number of West End families used their influence and set an example throughout the war. The work of the Schonfeld family proved the most far reaching through their ties in both Glasgow and London. Aaron, also known as Adolph, had been the honorary vice president of the GJVA and served as president of the Glasgow branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association. At the outbreak of war three of Aaron's sons, Edwin, George, and Walter, were involved with the military.⁴³ Aaron's brother, William, moved from Glasgow to London in 1892 where he also worked with the Anglo-Jewish Association. Upon arrival in the capital, William enlisted in the London Scottish as a way of maintaining and identifying with his Scottish roots. At the outbreak of the First World War, William was made a Major in the 19th London Regiment. In addition, Major Schonfeld worked with the Jewish War Services Committee as a Secretary and was later made second in command of the 38th Royal Fusiliers (Jewish Battalion) during training in Cornwall.⁴⁴ Major Schonfeld's influence is likely what led to Edwin being commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the 2/19th London Regiment in 1914, especially given the regiment's later statement that 'it was as a result of his connection with Scotland that he was able to introduce many of the

⁴¹ Kosmin, Waterman, and Grizzard, 'The Jewish dead', p. 183. The proportion of 1:8 'was half the ratio for the British Forces.'

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 January 1914, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Michael Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour* (London: Caxton, 1922), p. 11; Jewish Military Museum (hereafter JMM), File 1006.

Scottish Officers who served with such distinction in both 1st and 2nd Battalions during the war.⁴⁵

Other Glasgow families such as the Strumps and Heilbrons prominently participated in the military prior to the war and maintained an interest, along with men such as Michael Simons and Rev. Phillips, in organisations such as the GJVA and the JLB. Their families also contributed a number of servicemen during the war including three men from the Strump family, Michael Simons' son, and Rev. Phillips' son who served as a Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. Both Ellis and Ian Heilbron served as the highest ranking officers, both Lieutenant Colonels, among Scottish Jews. Ian was awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) in 1918 and both brothers received special mention for their service in the *British Jewry Book of Honour*.⁴⁶

If the Garnethill Congregation contributed so generously to the war effort, how then did the rest of Glasgow Jewry fair? According to Kaplan's research, in 1911 the Jews of the Gorbals outnumbered those at Garnethill 16:1, a total that was significantly higher than in 1901 when the proportion was just less than 10:1.⁴⁷ If the 1911 proportion is multiplied by the total number of participants listed on the Garnethill Memorial, a total of 1,564 participants from the Gorbals would be estimated. Similar calculations would suggest that by the end of the war the number of war dead among the Gorbals participants would have been 261. These numbers, however, are clearly too high since Kaplan's 1911 census search found 1,503 Jewish Gorbals males between the ages of 15-44, and this cross-section of the population had decreased by 2 per cent when compared to the 1901 census. Many living in the Gorbals were foreign born, and Kaplan noted that of the total '49% (3,183) were born in the Russian Empire, including Poland.'⁴⁸ This fact further reduced the number of Gorbals men potentially willing to fight since many were uninterested in a war in which Britain allied itself with Russia. As an example, Max Mendick, a Lithuanian Jew who moved to Edinburgh shortly before the war, showed his reluctance toward service after conscription was introduced. When asked if he would fight for Russia, he

⁴⁵ JMM, File 1006.

⁴⁶ Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour*, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*, p. 8. Kaplan gives the total number of Jews in the Gorbals as 4,642 with an implied number of 600 for Garnethill.

⁴⁸ Kaplan, 'The Jews of the Gorbals in 1911'.

declined, recalling that the military 'didnae even know that the Jews hated Russia,' and replied to the officer, 'To tell you the truth I dinnae want to fight for any country, but if I have to fight I'll fight for Britain.'⁴⁹ Further evidenced of opposition was the establishment of a branch of the Foreign Jews' Protection Committee in Glasgow by 1917 which supported families and publicly protested the service of foreign Jews in the military.⁵⁰

Although Chapter Three solely focuses on issues of resistance to military service, we must take time here to consider the rate of resistance among Russian Jews in an attempt to understand the overall military participation rate. After the Anglo-Russian Military Convention was enacted in July 1917 whereby Russians in Britain were forced to choose between conscription in the British Army or return to Russia for military service, around 500 Russians in Glasgow and 1,000 Lithuanians in Lanarkshire registered to return to their home country.⁵¹ Although most of the Lanarkshire Russians were non-Jewish Lithuanians, many of the 500 in Glasgow would have been Jewish. It is unlikely that all 500 returned to Russia considering the high level of medical unfitness as well as high rates of absenteeism among Russian Jews.⁵² This aloofness toward military service by Russians across Britain after the Convention is further illustrated by the fact that out of 31,500 potentially military eligible Russian men, only 4,000 'voluntarily' joined the British Army, and of the 7,600 who applied for return to Russia, only 3,145 did return: the rest were either deemed unfit or failed to make the voyage.⁵³ Concerning the overall number of potentially eligible men, Sharman Kadish's warning must be noted that the British government showed 'a marked tendency to exaggerate the figures.'⁵⁴

Despite uncertainty over the numbers, they can still provide a useful base for examining the Glasgow Jewish community, and from them three observations can be

⁴⁹ Mendick, 'Scotland's Been No Bad To Me', p. 8.

⁵⁰ Lloyd, 'Jews Under Fire'.

⁵¹ Shukman, *War or Revolution*, p. 84.

⁵² Lloyd, 'Jews Under Fire', pp. 218-219; John Starling and Ivor Lee, *No Labour, No Battle* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), p. 289.

⁵³ Shukman, *War or Revolution*, pp. 82-83. See also Murdoch Rodgers, 'The Anglo-Russian military convention and the Lithuanian immigrant community in Lanarkshire, Scotland, 1914-20', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 1:1 (1982), p. 61. Rodgers differs slightly from Shukman on some numbers stating that 3,000 Russians joined the British Army while '4,300 eventually sailed' for Russia.

⁵⁴ Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews*, p. 51.

made. First, the figures suggest that only 127 from Glasgow opted for service in the British military, but there are no official records to confirm this number. Secondly, if 41% of applicants actually made the return trip to Russia, then the number of returnees from Glasgow would have been 200, leaving around 300 at the mercy of the British courts and Military Tribunals. Moray Glasser's number for those returned was a bit lower, estimating that 120 'members of the Jewish Bund...who had socialist ideas' returned to Russia in 1917.⁵⁵ Finally, if 24% of all eligible men applied for return to Russia, this would suggest that the eligible Russian population in Glasgow was just over 2,000. Most but not all Russians in Glasgow were Jews, and Kaplan's census work poses a problem for this number by suggesting that fewer than 750 Russian born men of military age resided in the Gorbals just prior to the war. Superintendent Ord's estimation of 500-600 military eligible Russian Jews on the South Side is even lower.⁵⁶ If the trend of growth from 1901-1911 is followed in the Gorbals, it is possible that this number had grown to around 1,000 by 1917.

When Glasgow was declared a prohibited city for aliens in 1916, the Jewish Representative Council set to work registering around 1,200 Russian Jews and had previously registered an additional 700 prior to the new law.⁵⁷ The 'Declaration of Nationality' forms provided by the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, as shown below in Figure 2.1, required relatively little information from the foreign Jew who was registering, but they did require the cooperation and signature from a local Justice of the Peace as well as members of the Representative Council. This registration of around 2,000 foreign Jews necessitated a great deal of interaction between Jewish leadership and local authorities, but it should also be noted that those registered included men of non-military age, women, and Jews of nationality other than Russian. This important work would suggest fewer than 2,000 Russian Jews of military age in Glasgow but perhaps more than 1,000. The *Glasgow Herald* further narrows the estimate in an article written shortly after the signing of the Anglo-Russian Military Convention in July reporting that there were '1,400 male Russians of military age, the majority of them being Jews.'⁵⁸ One month later the newspaper increased this

⁵⁵ SJAC, OHP2 Moray Glasser.

⁵⁶ *Daily Record*, 4 January 1918, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 181.

⁵⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 July 1917, p. 6.

number to 1,500.⁵⁹ This information would indicate that somewhere between 33% and 50% of eligible Russian males in Glasgow applied for return to Russia, a rate much higher than the nation-wide average. It is difficult to say why the rate was so high in Glasgow, but nationally, there were reports that Russian Jews were applying in large numbers in the hope of making deportation to Russia unmanageable given the limited availability of ships during the war. Others thought that they would never be sent or would not have to fight even if returned to Russia.⁶⁰ Considering the political activism in Glasgow of Russian Jews such as Peter Petroff and Charles Yachnies, the high rate of application for return can be seen as an extension of 'Red Clydeside': a theme that will be explored briefly in Chapter Six.

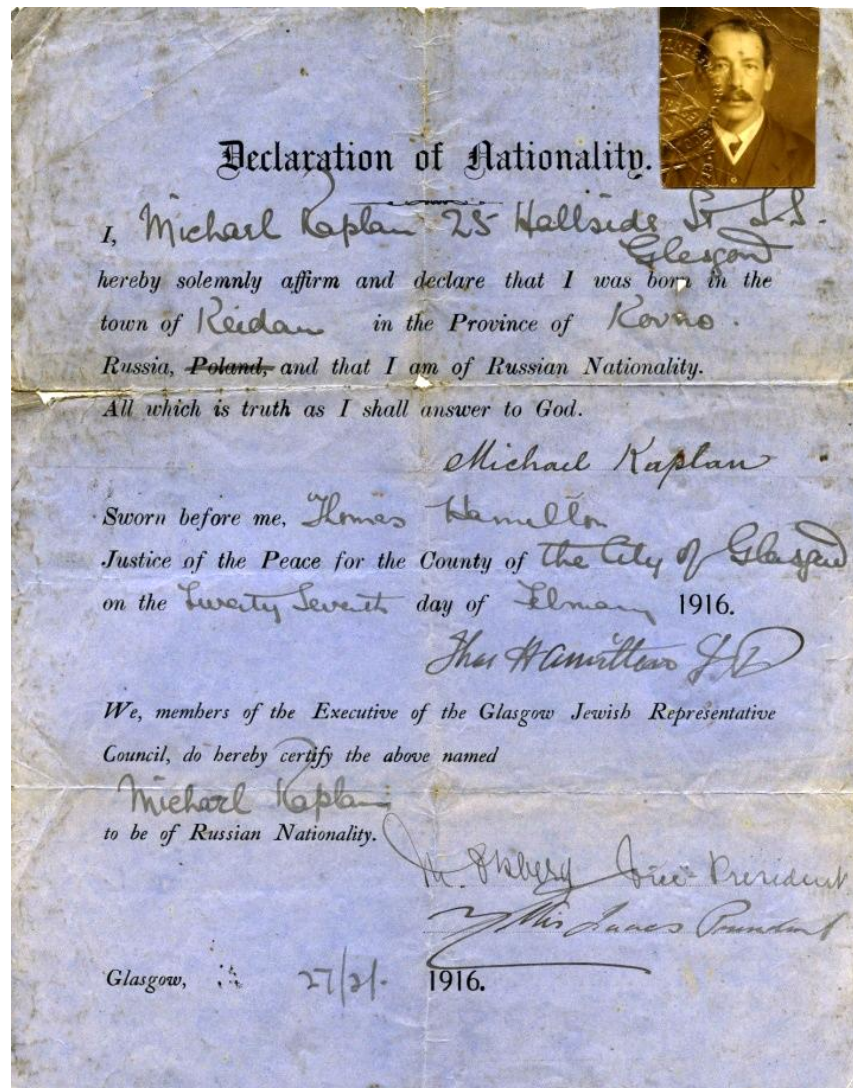


Figure 2.1 Declaration of Nationality for Michael Kaplan. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

⁵⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 31 August 1917, p. 9.

⁶⁰ Shukman, *War of Revolution*, p. 82.

Ultimately, the numbers discussed above show a reluctance on the part of Russian Jews in Glasgow to participate in the British military, and Collins confirmed this stating that conscription 'was proving extremely slow amongst alien Jews.'⁶¹ The resistance to conscription amongst Russian Jews was not necessarily an anomaly when compared to the rest of Scotland where the conscription rate was 14.6%, much lower than the rate of 22.1% found in England and Wales.⁶² In Glasgow specifically, apart from a small but steady anti-war movement, the general response to the war was overwhelmingly patriotic which was evident from the formation of three new army HLI (City of Glasgow) battalions by the second month of war and the recruitment of 30,000 men during the first ten weeks.⁶³ Yet apart from foreign Russian Jews there were possibly another 1,000 eligible Jewish men in the Gorbals, and the participation of these and other Glasgow Jews can be found through the work of various organisations and individuals. One South Side organisation that appears to have made an effort toward voluntarism was the Amalgamated Jewish Tailors' Union which made official recruitment efforts amongst its members after war was declared resulting in around forty volunteers.⁶⁴ There are no available numbers for the organisation, but a similar organisation held between 200 and 300 members in the 1890s.⁶⁵ The numbers could have perhaps been larger by the First World War since 39%, for a number nearing 1,000, of Gorbals Jews in the 1911 census stated their occupation to be in the tailoring trade.⁶⁶

The Jewish Lads' Brigade successfully prepared and disciplined its membership so that it naturally housed a number of eager recruits by the start of the war. Most importantly the leadership was keen to provide an example, and in November 1914 the *Jewish Chronicle* noted that three JLB officers, Lieutenant Arthur M. Cohen, Sergeant J. Shinwell, and Corporal H. Sarner, were on leave while serving in the military and later proudly acknowledged the promotion of Sydney Stern, a former sergeant in the JLB, to a 2nd Lieutenant in the 14th Royal Scots.⁶⁷ The top two eligible Glasgow JLB

⁶¹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 191.

⁶² Lee, 'The Scottish Economy and the First World War', p. 20.

⁶³ E. W. Macfarlane, 'A Coronach in Stone,' in Catriona Macdonald and E.W. McFarland (eds.), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 6.

⁶⁴ *Daily Record*, 6 September 1914, p. 3; *Jewish Chronicle* 11 September 1914, p. 14.

⁶⁵ Maitles, 'Jewish Trade Unionists in Glasgow', p. 57.

⁶⁶ Kaplan, 'The Jews of the Gorbals in 1911'.

⁶⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 November 1914, p. 16; 16 July, 1915, p. 18

officers also joined the military with Lieutenant Nathan Strump in the 39th Royal Fusiliers and 2nd Lieutenant Leon Levy in the 9th Scottish Rifles. Of the officers two, Sydney Stern and Leon Levy, lost their lives while in service. In 1915, the Glasgow JLB came under the authority of the War Office when the national movement officially joined the Cadet Corps, making the military affiliation undeniable.⁶⁸ Membership in the Cadet Corps brought the JLB into closer contact with fellow youth groups in the city, participating in marches and reviews, and even receiving an inspection from Field Marshal John French.⁶⁹ Near the end of 1916, it was estimated that ‘one hundred former members of the Cadet Company [were] serving with the colours,’ and it is likely that some of these former JLB men were also members of the Jewish Young Men’s Institute.⁷⁰

The Jewish Young Men’s Institute, which Collins has termed ‘the premier social grouping’ amongst Glasgow Jews before the war, catered to men ages 18 to 40, provided a place for ‘learning and amusement,’ and officially forbade gambling or alcohol on the premises. Furthermore, the chosen sites for the club in the city centre after its establishment in 1900 provided a convenient location between the Gorbals and Garnethill and thus catered to both groups, although it later moved to the south bank of the Clyde in 1911.⁷¹ Early in 1914 before the war, the Institute became a recruiting target for the Territorial Force when an anonymous ‘Jewish gentleman in Glasgow’ offered to donate a half-guinea to the Institute for each new recruit.⁷² After considering the proposal further in a committee meeting, the Institute scheduled a public meeting for March 15 to be presided over by Michael Simons.⁷³ Simons opened by praising the Institute for holding the meeting in the South Side, but added that ‘there ought to have been no necessity for such a meeting,’ indicating a dissatisfaction with the current participation in the military amongst Glasgow Jews. If that was a subtle scolding of the immigrant Jewish sector, Simons made his feelings abundantly clear when he stated that ‘every citizen of Great Britain enjoyed great privileges, and

⁶⁸ GMCRO, M130/2345, 1919 Annual Report; *Jewish Chronicle*, 3 December 1915, p. 20; 10 December 1915, p. 26.

⁶⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 December 1916, p. 20; 22 June 1917, p. 24; 14 September 1917, p. 34; *Glasgow Herald*, 16 April 1917, p. 9; 7 September 1917, p. 9; 8 February 1918, p. 4

⁷⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 September 1916, p. 16.

⁷¹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 114-115, 171-172. Collins notes that the organization was originally called the Jewish Young Men’s Association and underwent a number of name changes.

⁷² *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 February 1914, p. 26.

⁷³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 March 1914, p. 24.

on those who were citizens by adoption there was a stronger claim since they know what they had left and what they had obtained.⁷⁴

This apparent lack of voluntary participation in the military highlighted the earlier failed attempt of the GJVA to organise widespread participation among the immigrant sector of Glasgow Jews as noted in Chapter One. After Simons' introduction, the meeting continued with speeches from Colonel Shaughnessy of the Territorial Force and Major Ellis Heilbron, a veteran of the Boer War and prominent military figure in Jewish Glasgow, and when questioned, the speakers emphatically asserted that 'in no way would Jewish territorials be compelled to transgress any of the teachings of their faith.' The *Jewish Chronicle* later reported that as a result of the meetings 'a number of the Institute members had enlisted' and commended Glasgow's efforts which had 'borne fruit.'⁷⁵ After a year into the war the Institute reported that 25 of its members were serving in the military which included two men, Joe Diamond and Michael Sachs, who lost their lives. A year later the total number serving had doubled.⁷⁶ At the start of the war the Institute stated its membership to number 180, and it was not until January 1918 that 'a majority' of the members were serving as military men.⁷⁷ It would therefore appear that voluntarism within the Institute before conscription was around 15%, a number that would evidence support but not necessarily overwhelming enthusiasm for the war when compared to the Scottish volunteer rate amongst eligible men of just under 24% at the start of the war.⁷⁸

The Jewish Press also hinted at a moderate response during early recruitment through various reports including a September article of the *Jewish Chronicle*. The paper reported on the success of recruiting among the Jewish communities of Birmingham, Leeds, Sunderland, and Manchester, but Glasgow was praised not for its recruiting; rather for its work in giving to the Relief Fund.⁷⁹ Likewise, during the first month of the war the *Jewish World* praised Leeds, London, Liverpool, and Manchester for their number of recruits, and after failing to mention Glasgow again noted the city's

⁷⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 March 1914, p. 32-33.

⁷⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 May 1914, p. 24; 5 June 1914, p. 10.

⁷⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 November 1915; 17 November 1916.

⁷⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 August 1914; 4 January 1918.

⁷⁸ The War Office, *Statistics of the Military Efforts of the British Empire* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1922), p. 363.

⁷⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 September 1914, p. 5.

record of financial and material aid.⁸⁰ In similar fashion after the war, Rev. Adler excluded Glasgow in the following evaluation of Jewish recruitment:

The battalions and divisions recruited from the large centres of Jewish population in the United Kingdom, as London, Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds, naturally contained the largest number of Jewish representatives, but they were also to be found scattered by ones and twos in every kind of formation.⁸¹

The clearest praise for volunteers amongst Glasgow Jews came in December 1915 from the Reverend Lipson, Jewish Chaplain to the Forces, who when visiting Scotland sometime earlier 'was informed that the Glasgow Jewish population responded particularly well to the call of the colours.' This self-proclamation by the Glasgow Jews seems to be the main basis for Collins' belief that voluntarism in Glasgow was high. Indeed, Collins incorrectly if unintentionally stated on two occasions that 'the British Army remained a volunteer force for the first three years of the War.'⁸² Conscription was in fact implemented in March 1916 when the military tribunals were finally established, just over a year-and-a-half after the start of the war. As previously noted, alien Jews comprised around half the eligible Jewish men in the Gorbals and over one-third of the total eligible Jewish men in Glasgow, and their resistance to military service is clear. Furthermore, the collection of military service records uncovered in this thesis research shows that less than 22% of Glasgow Jewish soldiers enlisted prior to conscription in 1916, noted here in Figure 2.2. Since these records are only a partial account for all Glasgow Jewish soldiers, this statistic is not proof in itself of low voluntarism, but it does show that voluntary numbers were slightly lower than the 24% found in pre-war Scotland. This assessment of participation is in no way an effort to downplay the role of Glasgow Jewry in the war; rather it provides a better understanding of the complexity of a spatially and ideologically divided community. No matter what the rate of participation, the Glasgow Jewish community clearly suffered a significant number of losses during the Great War.

⁸⁰ *Jewish World*, 12 August 1914, p. 7; 19 August 1914, p. 12.

⁸¹ Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour*, p. 4.

⁸² Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 190-191.

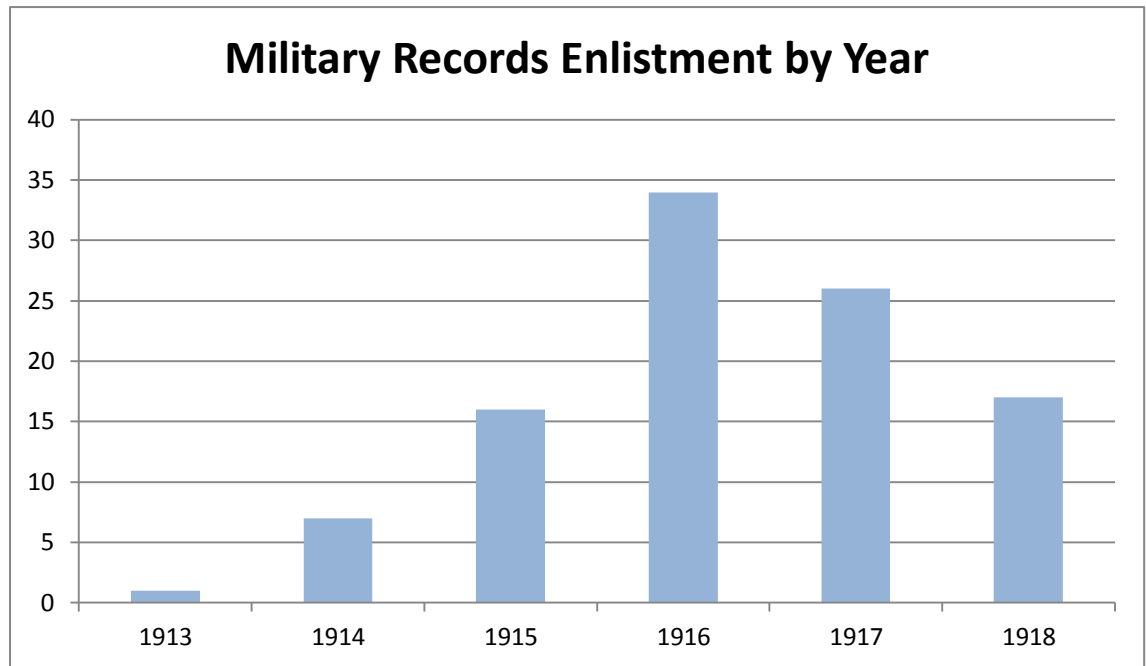


Figure 2.2 Table showing enlistment of Scottish Jews by year from the collection of 101 military service records.

The war memorial erected in January 1922 at South Portland Street Synagogue, one of the main Gorbals synagogues, and sponsored by the Glasgow Jewish Ex-Servicemen Association, showed just how dearly both West End and South Side Jews suffered in terms of life lost during the war. The memorial originally contained 70 names, and three names were later added. Sixteen of the names were also listed on the Garnethill Memorial, leaving 57 names not associated with Garnethill. Collins' Roll of Honour increased the total number to 86 by adding 13 names found in the *British Jewry Book of Honour* that have Glasgow addresses.⁸³ The most current Honour Roll compiled by the SJAC in Glasgow lists 126 names for all of Scotland, where it appears that possibly 100 names are Glasgow men. However, this list includes additional names such as John Saunders, who was born in Glasgow but had moved to London prior to the war, and also includes men such as Hatzkill Tchureczynsky, who was clearly a Gorbals man as well as a Russian volunteer prior to the Anglo-Russian Military Convention. As mentioned above, Collins most recently has estimated the Glasgow Jewish war dead to be around 120, but there is no explanation of the increase from the earlier Roll of 86 which was advised to be the 'definitive list.' Perhaps he has considered the SJAC list to be comprised only of Glasgow men or he has calculated a

⁸³ Two of these additional thirteen names are repeats, H. Felix and H. F. Racionzer is the same man as is J. Wainstein and I. Winstone. A third man, W. Kurtzman, is listed in the *British Jewry Book of Honour* with a Glasgow address, but this is a mistake since he should be listed from Edinburgh.

ten per cent death rate from his estimate of 1,200 participants.⁸⁴ This estimated increase allowed Collins to declare more Jewish war dead from Glasgow than any other British cities besides London and Manchester, and while this conclusion is not improbable, such a claim without a re-evaluation of numbers from cities such as Liverpool and Leeds cannot be taken as definitive. Such a task, however, lies outside the scope of this research. Finally, if the total number of war dead from Glasgow Jews is taken to be about 100, that would mean that 16 per cent were from Garnethill. While dealing with small numbers such as these can skew proportions, it should still be noted the congregation registered as about 5 per cent of the total Glasgow Jewish population just prior to the war which would again emphasises the high volunteer and participation rate among the Garnethill men. This was consistent with the sense of pride in loyalty and patriotism expressed by West End men such as Michael Simons and Adolf Schoenfeld noted in the previous chapter.

Aside from Glasgow, Edinburgh housed the next largest Jewish community with just under 2,000.⁸⁵ Like Glasgow, the city of Edinburgh enthusiastically responded to the call for soldiers and by the end of the first month of the war, 20,000 men had been processed by the Gallowgate recruiting station alone.⁸⁶ By January 1915, a fair estimate suggested that 40 Jewish recruits had also joined, and by October 1915 this number had risen to 96.⁸⁷ The *Jewish Chronicle* declared the participation 'an excellent record for a Jewish community of some 500 families,' and this significant number possibly represented around a quarter of the eligible male population of Edinburgh Jewry which would roughly match the Scottish voluntary rate at the beginning of the war.⁸⁸ Given that Edinburgh Jewry's societal relations compared favourably to the internal divisions in the years immediately preceding the Great War, the steady flow of voluntary participants was of little surprise.⁸⁹ When conscription was finally implemented, the community braced themselves for increasing military numbers, and the inevitable departure of men caused some communal organisations to cease or

⁸⁴ The official number of Scottish war dead was given as 74,000 after the 1921 Census in order to reflect the fact that Scots composed 10% of the United Kingdom's population. This could be Collins' methodology since he does not explain his number of 120. See Royle, *The Flowers of the Forest*, p. 284.

⁸⁵ *Jewish Yearbook 1915*, p. 95.

⁸⁶ Royle, *The Flowers of the Forest*, p. 31.

⁸⁷ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 7 January 1915, p. 4; 20 October 1915, p. 3;

⁸⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 October 1915, p. 18.

⁸⁹ Gilfillan, 'Two Worlds'.

limit activity.⁹⁰ At least 125 Jewish cases appeared before the Lothians and Peebles Military Appeal Tribunals, and a majority of these appellants were eventually taken into the military. After the war it was estimated that in total between 200 and 300 Edinburgh Jewish men participated, and considering that around 100 Jewish men had volunteered before conscription, the number 250 does indeed sound like a close estimate.⁹¹

Outside of Glasgow and Edinburgh, there were Jewish communities scattered across Scotland with much smaller numbers. Dundee, the largest of these smaller communities, numbered around 150 during the war. Chapter Five investigates this community in much more depth, and it identifies eleven individuals in the military that were affiliated in some way with Dundee.⁹² But it is possible that around twenty men served from Dundee. At least one soldier, Private Albert Freeman, came from the small Ayr community,⁹³ and in Inverness two men have been identified: one a conscript taken into the army after being granted temporary exemption in order to observe the Passover; and the other, a Dr. J.H. Dove commissioned into the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) after graduating from St. Andrews.⁹⁴ In Greenock, four Freedman brothers served in four different regiments; three of whom died during the war.⁹⁵ It should be noted that from the sample list of military records, only four are of men outside of Glasgow and Edinburgh, yet three of the four were volunteers. Other servicemen were likely drawn from other cities with established Jewish communities such as Dunfermline, Falkirk, and Aberdeen as well as from various other towns with small Jewish populations. An estimate of no more than 100 Jewish servicemen from Scottish locations outside of Glasgow and Edinburgh would be reasonable, bringing an overall estimate of Scottish Jewish servicemen during the First World War to 1,350. In light of Kaplan's census work an overall population of Jews in Scotland could be estimated at 13,000 during the Great War which would suggest the number of military eligible Jews to be around 3,250. An estimate of 1,350 Scottish Jewish soldiers would

⁹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 January 1916, p. 20; 24 March 1916, p. 28; 24 October 1919, p. 30; 5 December 1919, p. 34.

⁹¹ *Evening Telegraph*, 8 March 1920, p. 6; *The Scotsman*, 13 March 1922, p. 5.

⁹² Lewis Cohen is included in this number although he moved to Glasgow shortly before the war and is listed on the Glasgow memorials.

⁹³ SJAC, Ayr Community Book.

⁹⁴ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 25 March 1916, p. 3; 14 September 1917, p. 28.

⁹⁵ Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 132; Pollins, 'Jewish Brothers', p. 80.

represent a 41.5% enlistment rate in comparison to the overall Scottish rate of 41.4%.⁹⁶ This number could be even higher if Jewish soldiers of the Scottish diaspora are considered, although an estimation of their numbers would be difficult to make without a more thorough investigation.⁹⁷ Although the evidence of slow voluntary enlistment in Glasgow would suggest a higher rate of conscription amongst Scottish Jews, the overall number would effectively counter any argument that eligible Jewish men served at a rate lower than their Scottish neighbours. Scottish Jews then entered a number of British regiments, particularly those that were Scottish.

Regiments and Participation

As men across Great Britain flocked to join the military during the opening months of the war, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported on a number of occasions that Jewish men were being treated poorly or turned away from various recruiting posts, including an incident at a Hackney recruiting station where Jewish men were being turned away because of 'prejudice' and 'rough handling' from other recruits.⁹⁸ By late 1915 foreign Jews were still being turned away as ineligible, in some instances due to genuine confusion over eligibility rules, but the problem potentially discouraged some from even attending recruiting offices prompting the Jewish War Services Committee in London to take the matter before the War Office.⁹⁹ Although no Scottish cases of rejection were mentioned in the Jewish press, the *Daily Record* acknowledged the topic by noting the War Office's desire for 'Jewish young men to be enlisted to serve together,' and added extra encouragement with the statement that 'recruiting offices are being secured at which Jewish young men will be warmly welcomed.'¹⁰⁰ Indeed, military recruiters in Scotland did not seem to shy away from Jewish areas. In Glasgow a recruiting station was established in the Gorbals on Adelphi Street from the outset,

⁹⁶ Lee, 'The Scottish Economy', p. 20. Lee notes that the pre-war volunteer rate among eligible Scottish men was 26.9% but the conscription rate for Scotland was a relatively low 14.6% in comparison to 22.1% in England and Wales.

⁹⁷ This research has only uncovered a few names of diaspora Scottish Jews who served in the Great War, such as William Sprott Greenberg and Harry Phillips, both born in Glasgow and served with American forces, and Mark Freeman of Greenock who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. See www.ancestry.co.uk, 'U.S., WWI Jewish Servicemen Questionnaires, 1918-1921'; Pollins, 'Jewish Brothers', p. 80.

⁹⁸ Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority,' pp. 65-66; *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 October 1914, p. 17.

⁹⁹ Rothschild Archives, File 000/358, Minutebook.

¹⁰⁰ *Daily Record*, 11 December 1914, p. 3.

and a 1915 recruiting drive at Gorbals Cross pleaded with men to volunteer with the ominous warning that failure to do so could lead the country closer to conscription.¹⁰¹ In Edinburgh, the Jewish Representative Council joined the 5th Royal Scots in presenting a recruiting meeting highlighted by the attendance of Sergeant Issy Smith, the first of five British Jews to be awarded the Victoria Cross during the war.¹⁰²

The call to service brought an initial interest in home defence from a number of Scottish Jews which exposed a continued influence of the GJVA and its earlier promotion of home front service as tangible evidence of Jewish patriotism. In October 1914, the *Daily Record* along with the *Jewish Chronicle* briefly reported that the Glasgow Southern District Police Court swore in eighteen Jews as special constables.¹⁰³ The following year, Herman Sragowitz was awarded a certificate and money by Chief Constable, Superintendent John Ord for his involvement in the arrest of a suspicious person while guarding a railway bridge.¹⁰⁴ The work of the Jewish special constables seems to have been regarded by the Jewish community as contributory to the war effort in a quasi-military fashion given their inclusion in special memorial services as late as 1925.¹⁰⁵ Before the war, London police used Jews as informants and policemen as a way of keeping an eye on the Jewish community which was suspected of harbouring criminals and political extremists.¹⁰⁶ In Glasgow there did seem to be some level of cooperation between police and Jews as both Moray Glasser and Harry Crivan remembered their fathers doing interpretation work when immigrants ran into trouble.¹⁰⁷ The Glasgow police force undoubtedly welcomed such a large number of Jewish special constables perhaps as a means of keeping close observation on the large numbers of immigrants on the South Side. Like in London the Glasgow police may well

¹⁰¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 September 1914, p. 6; 10 November 1914, p. 9; 6 October 1915, p. 8.

¹⁰² *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 December 1915, p. 18; 17 December 1915, p. 8.

¹⁰³ *Daily Record*, 24 October 1914, p. 3; *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1914, p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 March 1915, p. 26; 26 March 1915, p. 29. Other mention of these Jewish special constables is difficult to find, although Bessie Bond remembers her uncle serving as a special constable and Cissie Eppel's family history does make note that Oscar Lubliner served four years as a special constable in Glasgow and provides pictures of an official document and of Oscar in his uniform. See SJAC, OHP1 Bessie Bond; Cissie Eppel, *A Journey into our Ancestry: Chronicles of the Rosenheim, Levy, Eppel Families*, (Vancouver: B. Linden, 1992), pp. 52, 72.

¹⁰⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 December 1920, p. 7; *The Scotsman*, 12 January 1925, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ David Englander, 'Policing the Ghetto: Jewish East London, 1880-1920', *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés*, 14:1 (2010), p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ SJAC, OHP1 Harry Crivan; OHP2 Moray Glasser.

have found Jewish help valuable, especially after the 1917 Russian Revolution, as a way of closely observing those suspected of political radicalism.

The Glasgow Citizen Training Force, an alternative military group for those ineligible for the Territorials or Regulars, was also promoted as another quasi-military option of national service. A Mr. M. Olsberg in a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* in October 1914 claimed that as a member of the force, he had received a positive response from a member of the Central Committee regarding the idea of establishing a Jewish unit of the force.¹⁰⁸ A formal request for a Jewish unit was put forth, 'but on account of the number of men applying it was agreed to refer the applicants to the War Office.'¹⁰⁹ Similar efforts were made in Edinburgh where the Jewish Young Men's Club held a meeting in September 'for the purpose of forming a company of one hundred men to drill for Home Defence.'¹¹⁰ Despite the GJVA's short-lived existence, its ideals were very much in evidence in relation to the increased interest in home defence, and furthermore, those who did volunteer for regular military service reflected the former organisation's desire to ensure the spread of Jewish servicemen throughout the various regiments as outlined in Chapter One.

As men volunteered during the opening year, Symon Stungo of Edinburgh declared that the favourite regiments chosen by Jewish recruits in Scotland were 'the Scots Guards, the Scottish Rifles, the Cameron Highlanders, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, the Seaforth Highlanders, the Highland Light Infantry, and the Royal Scots.'¹¹¹ The *British Jewry Book of Honour* supported the claim in its lists which showed 181 Jewish men who served in the Highland Light Infantry, 151 in the Royal Scots, 90 in the Royal Scots Fusiliers, 84 in the Scottish Rifles, 69 in the Seaforth Highlanders, and 51 in the Cameron Highlanders. However, the book only recorded 21 in the Scots Guards but showed that other Scottish regiments contained a number of Jewish men including 90 in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; 50 in the King's Own Scottish Borderers; 44 in the Gordon Highlanders, and 38 in the Black Watch. These numbers provided a solid

¹⁰⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1914, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ *The Scotsman*, 10 September 1914, p. 8; *Glasgow Herald*, 10 September 1914, p. 8. Unfortunately, the exact number of men is not given.

¹¹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 September 1914, p. 14.

¹¹¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 October 1915, p. 18.

base, shown here in Figure 2.3, but they were not entirely accurate.¹¹² Furthermore, as noted earlier, these numbers did not represent only Scottish Jews since other British Jews joined Scottish regiments as well. The numbers did show that three of the most popular regiments, the Highland Light Infantry, the Royal Scots, and the Royal Scots Fusiliers, contained around half of the Jewish numbers serving in Scottish regiments. This was understandable given that the Highland Light Infantry's recruiting ground contained Glasgow, the Royal Scots recruited in the Edinburgh, and the Royal Scots Fusiliers in Ayrshire near Glasgow. The higher numbers in the Scottish Rifles and Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders also reflected the recruiting efforts of these two regiments in the areas surrounding Glasgow.

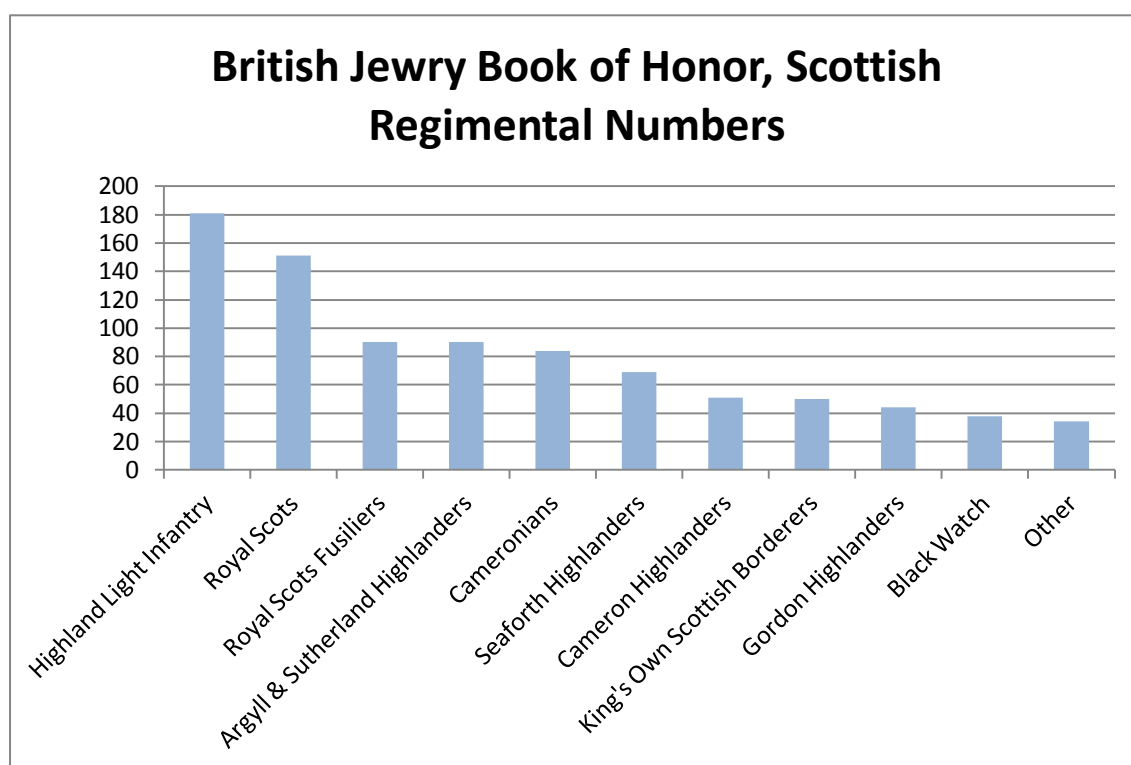


Figure 2.3 Table showing Jewish men in Scottish regiments according to the British Jewry Book of Honor.

Jews were therefore well represented within a number of Scottish regiments, and the war memorials examined previously in calculating total participation were again valuable in showing the popularity of the various regiments. The deaths recorded on Glasgow's South Portland Street memorial confirmed the popularity of the Scottish Regiments. Of the 73 names, sixteen were listed Highland Light Infantry; thirteen between both the Royal Scots Fusiliers and the Royal Scots; and six with the

¹¹² Harold Pollins, 'Jews in the British Army in the First World War', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 37:2 (1995), pp. 100-111.

Scottish Rifles. These four regiments accounted for nearly half of the deaths listed.¹¹³ The rest of the numbers are scattered across a number of regiments. The Garnethill memorial, which named both the dead and surviving, showed a greater diversity in participation, at least among the integrated section of Glasgow Jewry, than was apparent from an analysis of the South Portland Street memorial or the *British Jewry Book of Honour*. The Garnethill memorial showed that both the Highland Light Infantry and the Royal Fusiliers, a London regiment, each contained nine men, and interest in artillery service was equally high with nine men serving in either the Royal Field Artillery or the Royal Garrison Artillery. Other regiments with high interest were the Army Service Corps with seven participants, while the Royal Army Medical Corps and the Royal Air Force both received six servicemen,¹¹⁴ and the Royal Scots and Royal Engineers both received five.

Of the 97 total names on the Garnethill memorial, only 22 were listed in Scottish regiments, and of the 26 officers listed, only three held commissions in a Scottish regiment. The assessment of regimental participation can always be complicated by the fact that men were often transferred to different regiments for a myriad of reasons, nevertheless, the Garnethill men certainly continued to follow the philosophy of the earlier Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association that Jewish soldiers should participate in a wide number of regiments rather than congregate in any specific one. And the higher social status of the Garnethill men surely enhanced their military opportunities.

The collection of military service records also presents another major angle of participation, shown here in Figure 2.4. By observing the first regiment listed in each record, the highest number belonged to the Labour Corps with twenty-seven. The regiment with the second highest amount was the Royal Scots with eleven, while the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, Royal Scots Fusiliers, Army Service Corps, and artillery regiments each had eight in the sample. Again, the more popular Scottish regiments were well represented, yet more than one-fourth of the sample were

¹¹³ Confusion over the difference between Royal Scots and Royal Scots Fusiliers must be the reason that 13 names are labelled RSF and none labelled RS. I. Freedman, I. Jacobs, L. Jukoff, H. Lazarus, and H. Paltie are all listed in Royal Scots battalions in the *British Jewry Book of Honour* but labelled RSF on the memorial. In addition Lewis Hillman's service records show that he was serving in the Royal Scots at the time of his death, but he is listed on the memorial as Black Watch.

¹¹⁴ As mentioned above, 2nd Lieutenant Benjamin Cohen of the RAF was Canadian and not from Glasgow.

enlisted into the Labour Corps. All but five of these men in the Labour Corps were from Glasgow, and fourteen were in the 9th Labour Battalion. Both the 8th and 9th Labour Battalions were raised by the War Office in 1918 specifically for Russian recruits, with the men of the 9th Labour Battalion being drawn from the Scotland as well as the north and west of England and Wales. Of the 345 men sent to France in the 1021st Company of the 9th Battalion, John Starling and Ivor Lee observed that most were ‘primarily Jews from Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow,’ and also noted that the condition of the men across the 9th Battalion was rather poor since ‘over two-thirds of the men were only fit for the lowest category of work.’¹¹⁵ Some such as Louis Gordon and Morris Winetrobe requested the Russian Labour Battalion, but not all called up to the battalion were willing participants as the records for Zelik Kallin and Harry Winetrobe attested. Both failed to respond to their call-up papers but were later found, fined £2 for failing to report, and then sent on to join the battalion.¹¹⁶

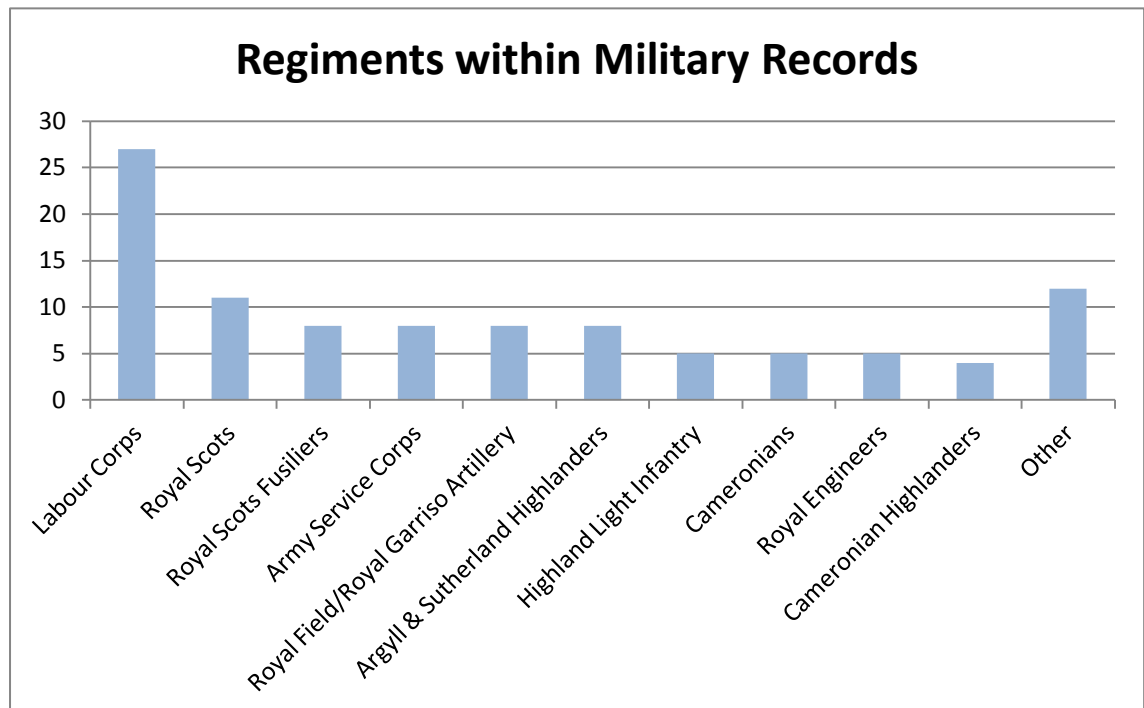


Figure 2.4 Table showing Jewish men enlisted in various regiments according to the collection of 101 military service records.

Another option for the Russian Jews was the Jewish Battalion. The Jewish Battalion consisted of the 38th, 39th, and 40th Royal Fusiliers, a London regiment, with the majority of the men in 38th Battalion coming from Britain; while the 39th was

¹¹⁵ Starling and Lee, *No Labour, No Battle*, pp. 289-291

¹¹⁶ TNA, WO363/G893 Louis Gordon; WO363/W2431 Morris Winetrobe; WO363/K3 Zelik Kallin; WO363/W2431 Harry Winetrobe.

comprised of Jewish recruits from North America, and the 40th Battalion consisted of local recruits from Palestine. The idea of a strictly Jewish battalion had been put forth at the beginning of the war, but both the War Office and a number of prominent British Jews had rejected the notion. Even the *Daily Record* expressed its doubts over a special Jewish battalion stating, 'Laudable as this ambition is, there are obvious drawbacks to its fulfilment, one of which is the encouragement it might give to anti-Semitism in certain parts of London.'¹¹⁷ In 1915 the idea did take hold when both the Zionist Mule Corps and the Jewish Labour Corps were formed from Jewish volunteers in Egypt. Both briefly served in Gallipoli and were disbanded after the disastrous campaign.¹¹⁸ In 1917 the approval of a Jewish Battalion was finally given thanks to a number of factors including the persistence of leading figures such as Vladimir Jabotinsky and Chaim Weizmann, the signing of the Anglo-Russian Military Convention, and the processes leading to the Balfour Declaration which officially stated British sympathy for a Jewish homeland.

The controversy which followed the idea of a Jewish Battalion did not fade after its creation and made its way into the Scottish press. A report in the *Aberdeen Journal* welcomed the formation, declaring, 'The great war [sic] has been marked by many dramatic episodes, but surely none could be more thrilling, none more epoch-making, than the capture of Jerusalem by Jewish troops in the service of Great Britain.'¹¹⁹ Later, the *Glasgow Herald* simply reported on, without additional commentary, Jewish protests in London 'against the formation of Jewish units of the British army.'¹²⁰ But the *Edinburgh Evening News* added its own observations in the following article.

After all the preparations, concessions, and appointments made in floating the new Jewish regiment, it would appear that a large proportion of the eligible aliens affected by the recent Act are by no means keen to enter the Jewish fighting ranks. The privilege of fighting for the Holy Land is not being taken too kindly, and in addition, they appear to have two viewpoints about killing enemy Jews. To do so

¹¹⁷ *Daily Record*, 8 December 1914, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ Shlomit Keren and Michael Keren, 'The Jewish Legions in the First World War as a Locus of Identity Formation', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6:1 (2007), pp. 70-71; Martin Sugarman, 'The Jewish Labour Corps: A Vanished and Rediscovered Unit of the First World War', *The Bulletin of the Military Historical Society*, 54:216 (2004), p. 205.

¹¹⁹ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 10 August 1917, p. 2.

¹²⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 August 1917, p. 8.

under a distinctly Jewish flag, they hold, would be fratricide, but to carry out the killing under the name of the Allies they do not mind so much. Choice of regiment, inasmuch as having the refusal of joining the purely Jewish ranks, they desire, and but for the fact that the rush from the fighting ranks of Judaism might undermine the best laid schemes of the gentlemen of the War Office, that august department might quite well comply with a modest request. At present we have Jews in kilts, in the cavalry, and artillery regiments, and even in the Flying Corps. There they seem to prosper and generally get on well with their purely British comrades.¹²¹

The article highlighted Jewish opposition despite the efforts to raise the regiment, and ended with an observation of Jewish participation across a number of regiments, emphasising the desirability of Jewish integration within the military system. Shlomit and Michael Keren, in examining the participants in the Jewish Battalion, have observed that the men 'were mostly Russian-born Jews from the East End of London and the great industrial centres of Leeds, Manchester and Glasgow who objected to the establishment of Jewish units to the very day of their mobilization.'¹²² Despite the reluctance and philosophical differences, the military records showed that a number of Glasgow Russian Jews requested the newly formed Jewish Battalion. Archibald Balkin, Charles Klar, Samuel Marks, Barnett Pogalevitz, and Isaac Zellman all requested the Jewish Battalion but were placed in the 9th Labour Battalion instead.¹²³ Within the collection only Samuel Nathan's request for the 38th Royal Fusiliers was granted. Harry Pass was granted a transfer to the 38th Royal Fusiliers upon request, but Theodore Heilbron's request was denied, being sent instead to the 30th Middlesex Battalion, a unit reserved for naturalised enemy aliens or men with enemy alien parents.¹²⁴ Only Charles Goldstone rejected outright the option of the Jewish Battalion, instead requesting 'any Scottish regiment.' The difficulties in entrance to the battalion were highlighted by the letter of an Edinburgh resident to the *Jewish Chronicle* complaining that two Jewish soldiers whom he had met were denied transfers to the Jewish Battalion despite their willingness and effort, and Vladimir Jabotinsky's memoir

¹²¹ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 29 August 1917, p. 2.

¹²² Shlomit Keren and Michael Keren, 'Chaplain with a Star of David: Reverend Leib Isaac Falk and the Jewish Legions', *Israel Affairs*, 14:2 (2008), p. 190.

¹²³ Archibald Balkin requested either the Jewish Battalion or the Royal Guards Artillery, Jacob Josephs requested the 'Jewish Labour Battalion' and was placed in 9th Labour, and Barnett Pogalevitz requested the 13th Royal Fusiliers (Jewish Battalion), meaning the 38th Royal Fusiliers.

¹²⁴ Starling and Lee, *No Labour No Battle*, p. 44. In addition to Theodore Hielbron, Maurice Barbeck was mistakenly sent to the 31st Middlesex Battalion as a Rumanian but was then transferred to the Royal Scots Fusiliers with whom he was killed in August 1918. See TNA, WO363/B1958 Maurice Barbeck.

blamed Jewish chaplains for campaigning against the battalion and thus keeping transfer requests low.¹²⁵

The confusion over the desirability of a Jewish Battalion was not confined strictly to those Jews of Russian decent. The issue of Zionism was inextricably tied to the battalion since Jews would be fighting together in Palestine. Prior to the war, zeal for Zionism was clearly more visible in the Gorbals than in the West End, and furthermore Zionism was openly opposed by prominent West End families including the Simons and Heilbrons.¹²⁶ Only months before the war at a recruitment meeting for the Territorial Force held by the Glasgow Jewish Young Men's Institute, Ellis Heilbron promoted military service among Zionists with this qualifying appeal:

It was and should be...a man's first duty to serve the State, and on the Jew there was a double obligation. Those who were working for the ideal of a home in Palestine – and it was a fine ideal – must realize that surrounded as the Holy Land was with fighting peoples, only a nation with some military skill could be secure there.¹²⁷

Heilbron further assured his audience that Territorial service was completely compatible with Jewish religious practices. It was under these ideals of Zionism, Jewish duty, and protection of religious practices that later made the Jewish Battalion appealing to some, yet the very structure of the battalion ran contrary to the philosophy which had consistently been emanated from Garnethill since the time of the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association. In addition, Collins explained that it was not until the Balfour Declaration that 'organised opposition to political Zionism' took place, yet this did not prevent a number of Garnethill men from joining the Jewish Battalion.¹²⁸ Again, despite the small numbers dealt with in the Garnethill memorial, it is worth noting that five officers and non-commissioned officers listed as well as three other soldiers for a total of eight who were enrolled in either the 38th, 39th, or 40th Royal Fusiliers. The lone casualty amongst the group was Lieutenant Bernard Wolffe, the former president of the GJVA.¹²⁹ Wolffe served as Assistant Adjutant to Colonel Patterson, whom the Colonel praised as an 'exceptionally gifted Jewish officer, hard-

¹²⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 March 1918, p. 14; Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The Story of the Jewish Legion* (New York: Ackerman, 1945), p. 101.

¹²⁶ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 129; Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 123.

¹²⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 March 1914, pp. 32-33.

¹²⁸ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 10.

¹²⁹ *Daily Record*, 26 July 1918, p. 3.

working, painstaking, conscientious, and all out in every way to make the Jewish Battalion a success.¹³⁰ Despite the surrounding controversy, it is clear that a number of Scottish Jews, both immigrant and integrated, were attracted to the Jewish Battalion for a mixture of reasons, whether for idealistic or for practical, cultural reasons.¹³¹

The sources regarding regimental participation clearly showed that Scottish Jews spread themselves across a number of regiments. While local Scottish regiments were plainly favoured, the men were attracted in significant numbers to units such as the RAMC, RAF, artillery, Labour, and the Jewish Battalion. Conscription also had a major impact on regimental placement as men could be placed where greatest needs were, and a great number of Jews were placed in the Labour Battalions particularly after the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention. Again here, the divide between integrated and immigrant Scottish Jewry is magnified as well as in the appeal of the Jewish Battalion to those Jews who continued to look on military service as undesirable. Ultimately, the influence of Garnethill from the start of the war was clearly evident in the avoidance of clustering, a philosophy that was clearly communicated back during the days of the GJVA.

Aspects of Jewish Military Service

Moving from general issues of participation, this section will deal with issues of service on a more individual level in order to understand Scottish Jewish experiences within the British military, particularly Scottish regiments. By understanding Jewish soldier's attitudes toward service as well as acceptance or non-acceptance by their fellow soldiers, the groundwork can be laid for understanding Jewish non-participation and interaction with Scottish society throughout the war which will be examined in Chapters Three and Four. The early stages of the war gave Scottish Jews the

¹³⁰ John Patterson, *With the Judeans in the Palestine Campaign* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 33.

¹³¹ The Beit Hagdudim (Jewish Legion Museum) in Israel holds short biographies and pictures of Scottish participants in the Jewish Battalion including Charles Black, Alexander Berger, N. Walport, Isadore Most, and Ephraim Myer Naftalin. Jabotinsky mentions Harry First as an ardent Zionist and promoter of the Battalion, and both Jabotinsky and Colonel Patterson praise Lieutenant Lipsey for his work recruiting among Palestinian Jews. See Jabotinsky, *The Story of the Jewish Legion*, pp. 64, 75-76, 114; SJAC, OHP3 Misha Louvish; Patterson, *With the Judeans*, p. 60.

opportunity to voice their patriotic spirit, especially through the pages of the *Jewish Chronicle*. In Edinburgh four nephews of Sergeant Major Maurice Nathan, a prominent London Jew, were acknowledged for their service, and Mrs. Shinwell of Glasgow boasted that she had two sons serving in addition to twelve of her nephews.¹³² One of her son's letters home was published in the paper which proudly stated that he and his brothers had 'joined in a good cause to do their duty as men and Britishers, to assist in crushing a tyrant and his assistants.' Corporal Shinwell further boasted, 'I never missed a fight since I arrived here, and have done my bit in laying out Germans whenever there was a chance.'¹³³

Private Bennie Eppel expressed a similar eagerness for combat in his letters home, writing to his brother while in France, 'There are a lot of Yiddishe boys here getting home for Pesach but I do not want to go home till Roshashonah after I've seen some scrapping.' Eppel's spirits remained undimmed after his first encounter with the trenches in another letter, stating, 'We are back at XXXXX after being a short period up the line but I hope we will get back very soon.'¹³⁴ On the other hand, early participation was not necessarily a sign of patriotic zeal as explained by Robert Spilg (Spence) who remembered that he and his two brothers, one of whom was killed in France, joined the Territorials prior to the war because 'they took you away for a fortnight, training in camp.'¹³⁵

From the earliest stages of the war, Jewish soldiers in Scottish regiments gained respect from military and civilian spheres. One Black Watch soldier invalided home in September 1914 was quick to defend his comrades when questioned about Jewish participation, stating, 'We had three with us, and bonnier lads and braver I don't wish to see. They fought just splendid.'¹³⁶ Another resounding endorsement came from the Senior Recruiting Officer for Scotland, Major Robertson, in this statement reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*:

¹³² *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 November 1914, p. 12; 20 November 1914, p. 20.

¹³³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 4 December 1914, p. 13.

¹³⁴ Cissie Eppel, *Somewhere in France: Letters Home, Benjamin Eppel's 1914-1918 War* (Vancouver, 2010), pp. 14, 20. 'Yiddishe boys' refers to Jewish boys, Pesach is the Jewish celebration of Passover commemorating the exodus from Egypt, and Roshashana is the Jewish New Year.

¹³⁵ SJAC, OHP4 Robert Spence.

¹³⁶ *The Scotsman*, 4 September 1914, p. 6.

...though he was a Highlander and a strictly orthodox Presbyterian he could never understand the invidious distinction sometimes made in civil life between Jew and non-Jew. He had met Jews in various parts of the world and among those who had impressed him most by their loyalty were the foreign-born Jews who had appeared before him for enlistment but whom he had very recently been compelled to refuse. He expressed the hope that the Jews who had always fought for liberty would come into their own at last at the end of the war.¹³⁷

The *Jewish Chronicle* also published a number of condolence letters from officers of fallen Scottish Jews, and naturally, these were all positive and praised the Jewish soldiers. The praises were not solely relegated to the Jewish press though. The *Post Sunday Special* printed group pictures of Scottish Jewish soldiers, the first showing nearly 50 men on leave for Passover, 'strongly represented' by Glasgow Jews with the pointed observation that 'these lads are all volunteers.'¹³⁸ A second picture of about 30 Edinburgh soldiers celebrating Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, received the headline 'Jewish Soldiers in Scots Regiments.'¹³⁹ The same paper also included pictures of individuals such as Corporal George Spilg who was celebrated for being awarded the Military Medal and bar and acknowledged to be 'of Jewish parentage.'¹⁴⁰

Perhaps most thrilling for Scottish Jews was the story of Glasgow boy Sam Wolff of the 7th Cameron Highlanders, reported in the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, who single-handedly captured thirty German soldiers during the battle of Loos. The *Post Sunday Special* gave Private Wolff nearly a half page to write his own story of his exploits before and during the war.¹⁴¹ The *Daily Record* included a short biography and picture of Sergeant Black of the Highland Light Infantry after his death in France, noting his participation in the Indian Expeditionary Force for ten years prior to the war and recognising his active participation in Glasgow's Jewish Young Men's Institute.¹⁴² The same paper carried an article entitled 'Jewish Heroes at the Front' which praised the participation 'by the Hebrew community wherever the Union Jack flies.' In addition the article included pictures of two Scottish Jews and highlighted their service, praising Lieutenant Marcus Turiansky for his work with the RAMC in France and commending Private Manuel Rosenberg of the Black Watch, a reservist

¹³⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 December 1915, p. 8.

¹³⁸ *Post Sunday Special*, 4 June 1916, p. 4.

¹³⁹ *Post Sunday Special*, 1 October 1916, p. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Post Sunday Special*, 29 December 1918, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ *Post Sunday Special*, 7 November 1915, p. 3.

¹⁴² *Daily Record*, 27 August 1915, p. 3.

prior to the war, who suffered 'five bullet wounds...having gallantly done his bit.'¹⁴³

These and other acknowledgments of the work done by Scottish Jews were important considering the negative attitudes displayed by Scottish society toward the Jewish community which were pervasive throughout the war and which will be examined in depth in the following chapter.

Indeed, a number of others were wounded or killed alongside their fellow Scots, including Bennie Eppel who made a long recovery from a shattered arm.¹⁴⁴ Henry Vinestock of the Royal Scots was wounded and required nineteen surgeries to save and use his leg.¹⁴⁵ Harry Dishkin of the Highland Light Infantry received gunshot wounds to the face, neck, and shoulder and was later a prisoner of war.¹⁴⁶ Private Ben Freedman of the Black Watch was wounded twice and later gassed. He survived, but as noted earlier his three brothers were killed. The disruption to Jewish families was apparent from the Glasgow and Edinburgh memorials which also include names of brothers such as Private Joseph and Lieutenant Julius Diamond, awarded the Military Cross, whose family also suffered the death of their mother in 1915.¹⁴⁷

Other families such as the Hallsides in Glasgow suffered losses on the home front and the battlefield. In 1915 Annie Hallside suffered the death of her thirty-eight-year-old husband Joseph, a leading figure of South Side Jewry and first president of the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, leaving her and their six children to seek help from the Glasgow Poor Relief.¹⁴⁸ One son, Harry, already serving in the Cameron Highlanders was later killed in action. Deaths on both fronts had a lasting effect on family members as explained by Leslie Naftalin who, despite being a young boy during

¹⁴³ *Daily Record*, 9 September 1915, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Eppel, *Somewhere in France*, pp. 48, 57.

¹⁴⁵ SJAC, *Serving Their Country* 2.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, WO363/D536 Harry Dishkin. The military records sample reveals three others, Samuel (Simon) Harris, Nathaniel Pelikansky, and Harry Phillips were also prisoners of war, and the *Jewish Chronicle* reported Seaman S.G. Bloom (Glasgow) of the RNVR as a POW. See WO363/H413 Samuel Harris; WO363/P782 Nathaniel Pelikansky; WO363/P953 Harry Phillips; *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 November 1914, p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 July 1915, p. 18. For more regarding other brothers see Pollins, 'Jewish Brothers', pp. 80-87.

¹⁴⁸ Mitchell Library, Glasgow City Archives (hereafter MLGCA), D-HEW 17/780, No. 174916. The Poor Relief records show that Joseph was also the Treasurer of the Jewish Burial Society, and upon his death it was discovered that '£14-7-2 was amissing from funds', explaining why Annie would be appealing to this body rather than the Jewish Board of Guardians.

the war years, keenly remembered the deaths of two grandfathers, the severe wounding of an older brother, and the loss of two cousins in the military.¹⁴⁹

Aside from the physical realm, families of soldiers dealt with the psychological ramifications of warfare. While on service Harry Grows was diagnosed with shell-shock and Joseph Freedman with neurasthenia, a medical term often used in conjunction with shell-shock. Anne Berman remembered an uncle suffering from shell-shock after the war as 'quite bad, he used to take fits – took years to get rid of it.'¹⁵⁰ The lists of losses and hardships could continue on, but it was sufficiently apparent that the Jewish community understood its struggles and sacrifices which were also recognised by the Scottish press and other soldiers. Perhaps the greatest testament of sympathy came from the pen of 'A Soldier-Journalist' in an article entitled 'Jew Soldiers' in the *Daily Record*. The author, 'as an unprejudiced Christian,' praised Jews of all classes across Britain for joining at the first call and continued his glowing words with the following:

It was generally agreed...that the Jew had proved a valiant and reliant fighter. All religionists testified to these qualities, and soldiers who know could add that the Jew in khaki has proved, almost without exception, exceedingly amenable to discipline, painstaking, eager to learn and improve and to acquire all that is necessary to set him up soundly and properly in the soldier's business. As an officer he has given the word of command in a way that all respected, and as a private he has shown time and again that he was prepared to dare and do everything demanded of him.¹⁵¹

The acceptance of Scottish Jews as soldiers did not completely exempt Jews from derogatory remarks. The Highland Light Infantry, which saw more Jewish soldiers than any other Scottish regiment, shared a little joke in the 'Echoes and Rumours' segment of its regimental paper which described conscripts from Whitechapel as 'largely composed of the "Sheeny" element.' A supposed command was given to 'put them all into kilts,' and thus soon 'make Highlanders of them.'¹⁵² In keeping with the tone of the paper the story was meant to be light-hearted and entertaining, although demeaning, and there was no effort to downplay the work of Jewish men as soldiers. As participants in Scottish regiments, Jewish men were treated somewhat as a novelty,

¹⁴⁹ SJAC, OHP4 Leslie Naftalin.

¹⁵⁰ TNA, WO363/F920 Joseph Freedman; WO364/1458 Harry Grows; SJAC, OHP1 Anne Berman.

¹⁵¹ *Daily Record*, 9 August 1917, p. 2.

¹⁵² *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle*, 18:1 (1918), p. 5.

particularly within the Jewish community. As a member of the London Scottish before the war, William Schonfeld remembered being treated with suspicion by a Jewish family in Dover when he arrived at their house wearing a kilt.¹⁵³ Although not a participant in a Scottish regiment, Jack White's standing as a Scot by birth brought forth amused admiration from a local politician during a ceremony honouring the Jewish soldier's acceptance of the Victoria Cross.¹⁵⁴

The senior Jewish chaplain, Rev. Michael Adler, ever keen to observe and promote Jewish participation, often highlighted the service of Scottish Jews. He proudly recalled one Russian Jew from Glasgow, pointedly observing his status as a volunteer, who charged into battle shouting 'Scotland forever.'¹⁵⁵ Participation at religious services was also duly noted, including a service where the Law was read by 'a smart looking kilted soldier from Glasgow, wearing the uniform of the Seaforth Highlanders.'¹⁵⁶ Indeed, religious observance was of particular importance in the writings and memories of Scottish Jews. Bennie Eppel's letters home constantly reassured his family of his religious observance both in private and in public services, including a service conducted by Rev. Adler; and Private Henes' letter home from South Africa recounted leave along with thirty other Jewish soldiers for the observance of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.¹⁵⁷ Sam Wolfson of the Royal Scots Fusiliers remembered that Jewish religious practices in the trenches were respected among the Scottish soldiers, noting that they would quietly observe his rituals and prayers. Wolfson maintained a kosher diet and used his trench experience to drive his religious commitment.¹⁵⁸ In contrast, however, this excerpt from Robert Spilg's testimony revealed the drastic effect that military life had on his religious observance:

My parents were very orthodox...I went to the army in 1914 and I remember after being in the army about a couple of weeks we did a route march for 28 miles. And we came back, I was in Dunfermline at the time, there was a canteen and they flung a bit of meat on the floor and we all made a dive to get a bit of meat and I had a bit in my hand

¹⁵³ JMM, File 1006.

¹⁵⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 April 1919, p. 14.

¹⁵⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 March 1919, p. 18.

¹⁵⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 September 1915, p. 6; *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 November 1914, p.26.

¹⁵⁷ Eppel, *Somewhere in France*, pp. 8-10, 13-15, 18, 32-34, 43, 46; *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 December 1914, p. 19.

¹⁵⁸ Renee Laufer, 'Tales from the First World War', emailed copy from Jonathan Laufer. Foods deemed kosher are those permitted by Jewish law.

and it was the first time I ever had non-Jewish food. And I daren't eat it. So it was a sunny day and I had a bite and it tasted beautiful because I was starving. And the sun still shone, and I ate another bite, and the sun still shone and I ate another bite and nothing happened, there was no thunder and lightning. And I have been eating it ever since.¹⁵⁹

Although this experience exposed Private Spilg as an outsider, his struggle appeared to have been more internal as opposed to affecting his relationships with fellow soldiers, and his recollection was free from any reference of resentment. Similarly, the oral testimony of a Mr. Stone simply recalled that 'you just had to take what you got, bacon and all.' In contrast, however, Stone's testimony described a mealtime incident when a frustrated non-Jewish soldier exclaimed, 'You bloody Jews make sure you get the best.' The incident ended after another Jewish soldier 'really clobbered this chap.'¹⁶⁰

Alyson Pendlebury has observed more subtle ways in which Jewish soldiers were considered as outsiders, including the frustration felt by some British soldiers over the extra leave granted for Jewish holidays.¹⁶¹ The discipline records of seven Scottish Jews noted that they overstayed their Jewish leave, but all seven were in the 9th Labour Battalion and thus would have been subject to any resentment from fellow Russian rather than Scottish or British soldiers.¹⁶² This is not to say that Scottish soldiers never resented additional leave granted to Jews, but as noted above, there were those like Bennie Eppel who expressed reluctance to taking this leave in favour of fighting. The records did reveal a number of soldiers who made repeated infractions. Samuel Silverman faced discipline for two absences, insolence, and disobeying orders. Isaac Zellman received fifty-six days of Field Punishment #2 for being absent without leave, and Philip Rubenstein was sentenced to a total of thirty-five days Field Punishment #1 for insubordination and failure to comply with an order.¹⁶³ Three arrests were made in Glasgow: Nathaniel Ancill for bigamy, David Kaplan for being absent from a military tattoo, and Harry Cohen who for five months had officially been

¹⁵⁹ SJAC, OHP4 Robert Spence.

¹⁶⁰ Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', p. 232.

¹⁶¹ Pendlebury, *Portraying "the Jew" in First World War Britain*, p. 69.

¹⁶² TNA, WO363/893 Louis Gordon; WO363/W2431 Harry Winetrobe; WO363/W2431 Morris Winetrobe; WO363/P406 Barnett Pogalevitz; WO363/B1362 Archibald Balkin; WO363/K3 Zelik Kallin; WO363/J882 Jacob Josephs. All seven of these men were noted absent on 18 September 1918 following what would have been leave granted for the observation of Yom Kippur.

¹⁶³ TNA, WO363/S456 Samuel Silverman; WO363/Z3 Isaac Zellman; WO363/R1496 Philip Rubenstein. Field Punishment #1 (FP#1) involved being shackled in irons to a fixed object, and Field Punishment #2 (FP#2) required being shackled without attachment to a fixed object.

declared a deserter.¹⁶⁴ Besides Harry Cohen, there were six other Scottish Jews declared deserters, a subject which alongside other forms of Jewish non-participation will be examined more closely in the following chapter. In contrast, a number of positive character assessments were written in the men's records. On Harry Pass' report were written the words 'honest and hardworking' while Israel Rosen's was noted as 'intelligent and reliable' despite other reports noting him being disciplined for multiple absences, negligent driving, and neglect of duty.¹⁶⁵

Conclusion

From the observation made throughout the chapter, it might be easy to stereotype Garnethill Jews as patriotic and highly involved in the war with the opposite attributed to South Side Jews. Nathan Strump, Michael Simons, and Philip Phillips, all members of prominent West End families, did not immediately volunteer for service at the outset of war but rather joined later on.¹⁶⁶ Nathaniel Miller further broke the stereotype of Garnethill men since he was a Russian and conscripted near the end of the war.¹⁶⁷ On the South Side, Abraham Salberg attested in 1915, listing himself as having four years previous military training in the local VBHLI, and Murray Marks, a tailor's machinist living in Govan Street, attested in 1915 and died in action less than a year later.¹⁶⁸ Solomon Goodson, a Gorbals boy living in Main Street, lied on his attestation form in 1914 in an effort to get overseas service, and in Dundee Nachmonovitch Koppel, a Russian subject, volunteered and showed a keen interest in military service.¹⁶⁹ It is of course impossible to understand all motivating factors for each of these men, but generalisations between South Side and West End or regarding Russian aliens can be taken only so far.

¹⁶⁴ TNA, WO363/A427 Nathaniel Ancill; WO363/K9 David Kaplan; WO363/C924 Harry Cohen.

¹⁶⁵ TNA, WO363/P1445 Harry Pass; WO363/R1576 Israel Rosen.

¹⁶⁶ TNA, WO363/S901 Michael Simons; WO363/P1088 Philip Phillips.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, WO363/M1788 Nathaniel Miller.

¹⁶⁸ TNA, WO363/S468 Abraham Salberg; WO363/M939 Murray Marks.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, WO363/G610 Solomon Goodson; WO363/K667 Nachmonovitch Koppel.



Figure 2.5 Gathering of Jewish soldiers outside the South Portland Street Synagogue. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

In light of the popular narrative regarding Jewish hardship in the Russian army, and even in the German army, it is not surprising that the experience of Scottish Jewish soldiers has been mostly portrayed as positive. The inclusion of Scottish Jews in the Russian Labour Corps or the Jewish Battalion later in the war provided an environment of sameness that likely shielded them from overt anti-Semitism on a soldier to soldier basis. However, Scottish Jews who found themselves in Labour Battalions may have been aware of resentment in line with Starling and Lee's observation that many soldiers viewed those in Labour companies 'at best, as having an easy life, and at worst, as shirkers.'¹⁷⁰ Those in the 9th Labour Battalion may have been particularly aware of this given the popular perception of Russian Jews as shirkers. Even the men of the Jewish Battalion were not exempt from the anti-Semitic attitudes of officers as Martin Watts was careful to point out.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, Edward Woodfin found that relations between soldiers of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force and local civilians revealed existing anti-Semitism, but the addition of the Jewish Legion 'added yet another dimension to the racial and religious conflict in the region.'¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Starling and Lee, *No Labour No Battle*, p. 79.

¹⁷¹ Martin Watts, *The Jewish Legion and the First World War* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 126-137.

¹⁷² Edward Woodfin, *Camp and Combat on the Sinai and Palestine Front* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) pp. 108-109, 121-122.

The letters of Bennie Eppel along with other memoirs and testimonies did not recall tensions within the military system, aside from the statement of Mr. Stone, and compared to the anti-Semitic feelings expressed within Scottish society, which will be observed in Chapter Four, there is simply no clear evidence of any major issues experienced by Scottish Jewish soldiers. Scottish Jews and those Jews in Scottish regiments seemed to revel in the Scottish identity that came with military service. Men such as Jock Sandys, a Glasgow born Jew living in London and whose name betrayed a Scottish connection, showed his desire to identify with his Scottish roots by requesting and receiving a transfer to the Cameron Highlanders.¹⁷³ The uniform was also an important part of identity, as pictures appearing in both the Jewish and Scottish presses showed a number of Jewish soldiers proudly adorned in kilts, Glengarry caps, Tam o' Shaners, and other Scottish kit particular to their regiments. This was clearly displayed in the picture, shown in Figure 2.5 above, taken in 1916 by the Glasgow community which celebrated the participation of so many Jewish soldiers, many of whom were distinctly wearing the dress of Scottish regiments. Details such as the men wearing sporrans on their kilts or carrying swagger sticks showed an extra measure of cost and care taken with the uniform, and the general bearing of the men was striking to Tom Smyth, former archivist of the Black Watch Museum, and Fraser Brown who stated, 'We both want to stress the extent that all this indicates experienced, well integrated men who look comfortable in their uniform and in their identity as Scottish soldiers.'¹⁷⁴ From pictures to writings, it Scottish Jews have and continue to value the Scottish military identity found during the First World War. This participation and acceptance was important considering Jewish non-participation and accusations of shirking that persisted throughout the war, and particularly after conscription was introduced in 1916.

¹⁷³ TNA, WO363/S1439 Jock Sandys.

¹⁷⁴ Correspondence with Fraser Brown with thoughts from Tom Smyth.

Chapter Three: Resistance to Military Service

The year 1916 proved to be a pivotal point of the war for the Jewish community in Britain with the introduction of the Military Service Act on 27 January. For the first time in modern British history this meant that single men aged from eighteen to forty-one could be legally compelled and conscripted into the British military, and this was quickly extended in May with a second Military Service Act that applied conscription to married men.¹ The implementation of conscription in 1916 put pressure on those Jewish men who had failed to volunteer, but the signing of the Anglo-Russian Military Convention the following year delivered a second blow to the Russian sector of the community. Like a number of their Scottish neighbours, Jewish men across Scotland resisted conscription in various ways, primarily through the legal avenue of the Military Service Tribunals. This chapter will first analyse the Jewish cases brought before these Tribunals and examine the cases of conscientious objection separately because of their nature and complexity. The final section will discuss the more extreme methods of resistance such as conscription evasion and desertion which created significant division within the British Jewish community.

This division within British Jewry is important in understanding the issue of non-participation, and illegal resistance to military service represented only one aspect of non-participation. There were others within the community who attempted to legally avoid military service through the Military Service Tribunals. This makes the documents associated with those legal proceedings of great value. But to date very little work in a Jewish context has been done with those documents. The main reason is that few survive due to a decision by the Ministry of Health in 1921 to destroy almost all Tribunal papers from the First World War. This included all three levels of Tribunal starting with Local Tribunals, the Appeal Tribunals, and finally Central Tribunals, and only two sets of Appeal Tribunal documents received official government exemption from destruction. For England only the Middlesex Appeal Tribunal records still exist and these are housed at the National Archives at Kew, and

¹ William Kenefick, 'War Resisters and Anti-Conscription' in Catriona Macdonald and E.W. McFarland (eds.), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 69.

for Scotland the Lothians and Peebles records are all that remain and these are deposited in the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh.²

A consequence from the lack of extant evidence is that the Scottish Tribunals have been largely ignored, aside from the recent work by Durham Burt which specifically analysed the cases of conscientious objection in Scotland including those based on religious grounds in which he identified only one Jewish case.³ However, of the fifty Jewish cases studied in this research, there were clearly two appeals that were made on specifically Jewish religious grounds. The work of Mark Gilfillan has identified in total 125 Jewish cases amongst the Lothians and Peebles papers.⁴ Given the geographical remit of the Lothians and Peebles Appeal Tribunal, many of the records referred to men from the wider Edinburgh area, and likewise the 125 Jewish cases identified followed a similar pattern. The Edinburgh Jewish community totalled roughly 2,000 at the time of the First World War. To identify 125 from this relatively small community was therefore quite significant and should give pause to any thoughts that the Edinburgh Jewish community as a whole was fully supportive of the war effort.

Although the extended list of Jewish cases in the Lothians and Peebles Appeal Tribunals is currently unavailable for this research, personal investigation has revealed fifty-four Jewish cases in addition to a collection of thirty-five provided by Gilfillan. For the sake of clarity, this chapter will analyse fifty of these cases in order to understand the methods and reasoning behind the appeals. In addition comparisons will be made to a small collection of eleven Jewish cases identified among the Middlesex Appeal Tribunal documents.⁵ Although there are assuredly many more Jewish appeals within the Middlesex papers, these eleven have been chosen from a survey of the documents

² <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/conscription-appeals/>. A few other documents have survived from various areas scattered across Britain.

³ Durham Burt, 'Aspects of Scottish Conscientious Objection during World War One', (BA, University of Dundee, 2007). James McDermott's work provides the most comprehensive overview of Tribunal issues and proceedings, yet he was unable to include any discussion of the Lothians and Peebles documents because of their unavailability during his research stage. See James McDermott, *British Military Service Tribunals, 1916-18: 'A very much abused body of men'* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 4.

⁴ Gilfillan, 'Two Worlds'. Email from Mark Gilfillan, 18 February 2013. Although Gilfillan's thesis discusses only thirty-five Jewish cases, his forthcoming book on the Edinburgh Jewish community will cover the topic in greater detail.

⁵ By all accounts, no other work has been done to find and analyse Jewish records within the Middlesex Tribunal documents.

since they specifically mention the appellant's Jewishness. Since the records of the Lanarkshire Military Tribunals no longer exist, this chapter will rely on newspaper reports in order to understand the court processes of Jewish cases in Glasgow as well as other parts of Scotland. By approaching the Jewish cases before the Military Tribunals in a broad and comparative way, this chapter will expand upon Gilfillan's work on the Edinburgh community and will provide greater understanding of the Special Russian Tribunals in Glasgow which Kenneth Collins has only briefly discussed.⁶

The Tribunal Process and Scottish-Jewish Appeals

The process of contesting compulsory service during the years 1916-1918 was potentially lengthy as there were three bodies to which a man could state his case. The first body was the Local Tribunal. Thus, for a man living in Leith who received notice of being called into service, he could present his case before the Local Tribunal in Leith. If he did not receive a decision to his satisfaction, he could then present his case to the Lothians and Peebles Appeal Tribunal. If the Appeal Tribunal did not rule to the man's liking, his final option was an application to the Central Tribunal for a hearing. Throughout the process, the appellant could receive temporary exemption any number of times depending on his circumstances and the leniency of the Tribunal to which he was pleading his case, thereby making it possible for a man to avoid military service for a significant amount of time without being granted absolute exemption. It should be understood that the only Local Tribunal papers that exist are found in the files of those who appeared before the Lothians and Peebles Appeal Tribunal. Although we know that 125 Jews appeared before this Appeal Tribunal, it is impossible to know how many more Edinburgh Jews appeared before their Local Tribunals seeking temporary or permanent exemption, how many were accepted or denied, or indeed the number of those who chose not to make an appeal. Despite this lack of detailed information, there is still much to be learned from the Jewish appeal cases.

Officially, there were seven different grounds on which an application could be made for exemption when standing before the initial phase of the Local Tribunal:

⁶ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 191-192.

- (a) On the ground that it is expedient in the national interests that the man should, instead of being employed in military service, be engaged in other work in which he is habitually engaged; or
- (b) On the ground that it is expedient in the national interests that the man should, instead of being employed in military service, be engaged in other work in which he wishes to be engaged; or
- (c) If he is being educated or trained for any work, on the ground that it is expedient in the national interests that, instead of being employed in military service, he should continue to be so educated or trained; or
- (d) On the ground that serious hardship would ensue, if the man were called up for Army service, owing to his exceptional financial or business obligations or domestic position; or
- (e) On the ground of ill-health or infirmity; or
- (f) On the ground of a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service.
- (g) On the ground that the principle and usual occupation of the man is one of those included in the list of occupations certified by Government Departments for exemption. The official list of the certified occupations may be consulted at the offices of the Local Tribunal or of the recruiting officer.⁷

The issue of work was certainly the broadest category involved, as noted in Figure 3.1 below, since five of the seven grounds for appeal, (a), (b), (c), (d), and (g), dealt in some way with the man doing work or training for work that was ‘in the national interest’ or ‘certified by Government Departments for exemption.’ Few of the Jewish cases were claimed primarily on grounds of work in the national interest, but in the case of David Holliday, who worked as a warehouse manager for a sugar factory, his employer, Mr. Salomon Sklovsky, asked for absolute exemption for David on the basis that his sugar was ‘supplied through the British Government’ and because sugar was a ‘domestic need’ and thus a ‘national necessity.’ The employer’s plea was disregarded as too was Holliday’s later appeal to the Central Tribunal.⁸

In a broader sense, work was clearly the most important factor in the appeals process since forty of the fifty cases either officially made their plea on a work related issue or made reference to a work difficulty in their argumentation. Since no other research has been done to analyse types of appeals within the Lothians and Peebles records apart from conscientious objection, it is unknown if Jews appealed on work grounds to a greater extent than other appellants. James McDermott’s book *British*

⁷ NRS, HH30/, taken from the R-41 form for application to the Local Tribunal.

⁸ NRS, HH30/1/4/8 David Holliday. His employer makes mention that Holiday’s mother is a widow and that his brother is already serving in France.

Military Service Tribunals represents the most extensive examination of the Tribunals to date, and while making no specific calculations, the book did suggest that work was a main cause for appealing. Within the Jewish work appeals, the work of family businesses appears to have been of extreme importance. Thirteen appeals had ties to work that related to a family business in one way or another. In one of these appeals, Abraham Hyams, asked for exemption for his son Joseph because he was a vitally important worker. The family ran a furrier business which was quite extensive with two shops in Edinburgh, one in Aberdeen, and another in Dundee which had been closed at the time of application 'owing to the war.'⁹ Abraham Hyams argued that Joseph's knowledge and skill were vital to the work and that the business was of national importance 'because of the considerable amount of money contributed by it in local and national taxation.' In other words, the money the government received from his business was more important than service his son might do in the military. In case this did not sound sufficiently patriotic, Abraham was careful to show that he employed sixteen workers of whom eleven were women and five were men. Of the five men, he claimed that only three were fit for service and that these three were attested, including Joseph.¹⁰ In an extra bit of plea bargaining, Abraham offered up one of his other attested workers stating, 'Although he also is indispensable to the efficient conduct of my business, I shall make no claim for him if my son gets exemption.'¹¹

Abraham's application for Joseph's exemption was well thought and organised, and the appeal used as many angles as possible. The family story was used to explain serious hardship should Joseph be called up as his presence was essential to the smooth running of the business. The Hyams family numbered twelve in all, and six were directly employed in the business. Abraham had been building up the business for 'over forty years...often working eighteen hours per day.' He directly related the stress of his past labours to his current health problems, and had the foresight to obtain confirmation of his statements from his doctor, his banker, and an additional

⁹ NRS, HH30/5/4/17 Emanuel Hyams.

¹⁰ In 1915 Lord Derby implemented attestation, known as the Derby Scheme, whereby men would sign a paper stating that they were willing to take up military service should the government need their service.

¹¹ NRS, HH30/2/4/49 Joseph Hyams.

document was obtained from the Grand Order of Israel Friendly Society.¹² Despite all this, Abraham's efforts were in vain as Joseph was called up to service. But the family's story did not end there for another son, Emanuel, who was manager of the Aberdeen branch, was also to appear before the Appeal Tribunal. Abraham was successful in obtaining temporary exemption for him, but Emanuel was eventually required to join the military. Emanuel's case also revealed that Abraham's son-in-law, who occasionally helped with the family business, had been called up as well leaving behind his wife and child in the care of Hyams family.¹³

In a similar case, George Spark Sr. applied for the exemption of his two sons, George and James, who worked in his business. The business must have been extensive since it was claimed that 30-40 people were dependent on the work that George did. Nevertheless, the father requested that if one son could be exempted, it should be James. George, who had attested, was called up despite being a married father of one, and James received temporary exemption. In similar fashion to the Hyams family, James was eventually called up as well. Despite asking for exemption for George and James, the family was keen to note the attention to duty within their business since eleven members of the business were already involved with the military, including two other sons of George Senior.¹⁴ More could be said about other families, such as the Lucas family, whose sons appeared before the Tribunals only to be denied.¹⁵ Conscription was clearly disruptive to Jewish family businesses, and furthermore these appeals revealed the importance of family throughout the records with thirty-eight of the fifty cases making some reference to needs of the family.

Within the appeals relating to family and work, the most common claim for exemption was serious hardship that would result if the appellant was called-up because their families depended upon their financial support. In the case of Jack Weinschel, his mother and younger brother were dependent on him, owing to the fact that the father had left the family. In his application for a hearing in front of the Central Tribunal, Weinschel stated that he was 'quite willing to do [his] bit' if his father were to return and take responsibility for the family. Nevertheless, his appeal ended

¹² Ibid.

¹³ NRS, HH30/5/4/17 Emanuel Hyams.

¹⁴ NRS, HH30/4/9/31 George Spark; HH30/9/8/37 James Brown Spark.

¹⁵ NRS, HH30/2/6/32 Jacob Lucas; HH30/13/3/38 Alexander Lucas.

in failure.¹⁶ Another appeal by Louis Cohen centred on the financial and medical welfare of his father, an 84-year-old unnaturalised Polish immigrant with no pension and an invalid who suffered from paralysis and seizures.¹⁷ His appeal failed and his father died a year later while Cohen was training with the Royal Garrison Artillery.¹⁸ Four families had widowed mothers that were dependent in some manner on the appellants, and a number of other cases mentioned mothers that were dependent on the financial and medical care provided by the appellant.¹⁹ Joseph Freedman had debts of over £15, a pregnant wife, and two children under the age of three, and feared that the military Separation Allowance would be unable to match his current income which came to roughly 50 shillings a week. Despite these difficulties, he too was denied exemption.²⁰ In accordance with these types of requests, exactly half of the sample cases included an appeal based on personal or familial health.

Unfortunately, the disruption to individual families and their businesses had implications for religion within the Jewish community, particularly for those who provided the community with kosher food prepared according to Jewish religious guidelines. At the outset of conscription in March 1916, Annie Pass asked for and successfully obtained temporary exemption for her son George who operated the family butchery business.²¹ By 1917 George had been taken into the military causing his brother Harry to minimise his own drapery business in order to keep the family butcher shop going. However, Harry too was summoned to military service after initially having his case dismissed before the Local Tribunal. In this case Harry enlisted the help of the local clergy to write letters to the Appeal Tribunal on his behalf. Rabbi Rabinowitz and the Reverend Levinson of Edinburgh wrote a joint letter advocating the exemption of Harry Pass ‘on religious grounds,’ explaining the importance of the Pass family business as a supplier of meat to the local community ‘in accordance with Jewish law.’ Rev. E. P. Phillips of Glasgow also wrote a lengthier letter in his capacity as ‘officiating clergyman to Jewish troops in Scotland,’ in support of Harry Pass. But in March 1917 the Tribunal ruled that Harry be called into military service since there

¹⁶ NRS, HH30/2/4/43 Jack Weinschel.

¹⁷ NRS, HH30/2/6/34 Louis Cohen.

¹⁸ TNA, WO363/C926 Louis Judah Cohen.

¹⁹ NRS, HH30/1/4/8 David Holliday; HH30/2/5/47 George Pass; HH30/2/6/49 David Hyman; HH30/3/5/13 Harry Joel Eprile; HH30/12/2/28 David Louis Eprile.

²⁰ NRS, HH30/4/8/25 Joseph Freedman.

²¹ NRS, HH30/2/5/47 George Pass.

were three other Jewish butchers operating in Edinburgh.²² The Tribunal followed a similar line of reasoning earlier in March 1916 against Harry Brown, another Jewish butcher whose family business supported his physically impaired and illiterate father along with his mother and six sisters. Despite further arguing for the importance of his shop as the largest of three Jewish shops in Edinburgh, the Tribunal decided that Brown's business was 'not one which [was] necessary to the community.'²³ Within the Middlesex cases, at least one man named Lewis Solomon made a similar appeal based on his work to 'supply Jews with poultry.' In his case he was given total exemption, but this was granted not for work reasons but rather for medical reasons.²⁴

The Tribunal rulings affected families who were either forced to shut down their businesses or look outside of the family for workers resulting in a loss of income within the family circle. The families that provided kosher food to the Jewish community complained that Jewish workers were essential for their businesses, and such workers were clearly much more difficult to find during the war. Although there is no evidence that the Tribunals specifically targeted these Jewish businesses, which were indeed important to the local Jewish community, they clearly did not have much sympathy for appeals made on that basis and were not swayed even by the support of leading Jewish community or religious figures. There was some leniency shown in offering temporary exemption in some of the cases, and at least one Jewish butcher in Glasgow received conditional exemption given that he had run the business for fourteen years and that he supported a father and brother who were unable to work, although having another brother serving in the military likely helped his cause.²⁵ In the Middlesex Tribunals there was a simplicity in attitude toward Jewish appellants which was expressed in the case of Harry Joseph, who appealed for exemption because of his wife who was in ill health and had recently given birth and because his elderly and infirm parents also relied on him 'absolutely for everything.' In refusing the appeal the Tribunal stated that 'the Appellant's aged parents should be in receipt of the Old Age pensions, and will probably receive assistance from one or another of the many Jewish

²² NRS, HH30/15/2/13/6 Harry Pass.

²³ NRS, HH30/2/6/42, HH30/33/75 Harry Brown.

²⁴ TNA, MH47/53/17 Lewis Solomon.

²⁵ *Daily Record*, 11 October 1917, p. 4.

charities.²⁶ This somewhat dismissive decision did at least reveal an understanding of the social work done within the Jewish community.

The appeal of Jacob Woolfe represented one of the more complicated interactions between the Tribunals and a specifically Jewish case. Woolfe, a Jewish baker, whose job also required following strict religious guidelines in providing bread for the Jewish community, was given temporary exemption. Similar to Harry Pass, he received a letter of support from Rev. Fürst, but he too was eventually ordered into the military.²⁷ The refusal of Woolfe's appeal was not without precedent as an earlier case in Glasgow of a Jewish baker appealing for his son was also rejected, a situation similar to the family butcher business in Harry Brown's case.²⁸ Medically graded C2, which meant he was not eligible for overseas duty and available for only the most basic of military tasks, it seemed rather harsh of the Tribunals to force Woolfe from his employment. However, he was employed by an Austrian woman, and given the ill feelings throughout the war toward German and Austrian subjects, combined with local frustrations with Jewish bakers for continued failure to adhere to wartime regulatory laws on food rationing and pricing (discussed in depth in the following chapter covering societal attitudes toward the Jewish community), it was unsurprising that the Tribunal treated him rather unsympathetically.

Woolfe's status as a Russian national was also a further complicating factor. Legally, Russian men were exempt from conscription in Britain until the signing of the Anglo-Russian Military Convention in July 1917, and as a result a number of Russian Jews became eligible for military service. After this, special Russian Tribunals were set up in London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, and Glasgow, cities with large Russian populations.²⁹ Edinburgh received no such special Tribunal, and amongst the collection of fifty Lothians and Peebles cases only Jacob Woolfe and three others completed the R. 148 tribunal form reserved for Russian nationals.³⁰ Their Russian identity was acknowledged by the Tribunals, but the case papers do not indicate that the ultimate decisions to deny the men's appeals were based upon their nationality.

²⁶ TNA, MH47/19/6 Harry Joseph.

²⁷ NRS, HH30/23/1/209/3 Harry Pass.

²⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 5 May 1916, p. 8.

²⁹ TNA, NATS1/917.

³⁰ NRS, HH30/20/4/13 Abraham Lurie; HH30/21/1/2 Benjamin Kurtzman; HH30/21/1/5 Hyman Rosenberg.

The Middlesex Tribunal, however, openly expressed its thoughts on one naturalised Russian Jew, Henry Berman, who had formerly deserted the Russian army, stating that 'the time has come for him to do something for the Country of his adoption.'³¹ In Glasgow where 136 Russian tribunal appellants, many of them Jewish, were quickly identified, similar sentiments to those of the Middlesex Tribunal were expressed.³² In examining the first case 'of a considerable number of young Russian Jews', the chairman of the Lanarkshire Appeal Tribunal, Sheriff Mackenzie, asked his fellow tribunalists, 'Well, are you going to exempt aliens and send our own men to the Army?'³³ The precedent for this position had been set earlier by another Tribunal in Glasgow in 1916 which attempted to conscript a young Russian Jew into the military, one year before the 1917 Convention had been signed.³⁴

This attitude in Glasgow led to the dismissal of the majority of Russian appeals, but the unfavourable rulings also imply Jewish compliance. Due to the influence of the Jewish War Services Committee in London, Jewish representatives were placed in all Special Russian Tribunals, and upon the suggestion of the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, both Ellis Isaacs, president of the South Portland Street Synagogue, and Michael Simons, the most prominent Garnethill member of the time, were invited by Sheriff Mackenzie to join Glasgow's Local Russian Tribunal. After Simons was transferred to the Appeal Tribunal, Benjamin Strump took his place so that two Jewish men sat on the Local Tribunal as stipulated.³⁵ Although there was some resistance to the specific inclusion of Jews as tribunalists from a military representative and the Russian Consul, overall these men were welcomed and even recognised since Ellis Isaacs was awarded the MBE after the war for his efforts with the Tribunal.³⁶ By participating in this way, bridges were built and maintained with the leadership in Glasgow. Simultaneously, the Jewish establishment could ensure that their co-religionists were not only heard but also, more importantly, that they were participating militarily.

³¹ TNA, MH47/45/10 Henry Berman.

³² MLGCA, D-TC 19 (ADDL) (BOX 3). By February 1918, the number of Russian cases in Glasgow had grown to 293.

³³ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 2 November 1917, p. 4.

³⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1916, p. 6.

³⁵ MLGCA, D-TC 19 (ADDL) (BOX 3).

³⁶ Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour*, p. 165.

This element of control over Jewish participation was important for the reputation of the entire Jewish community. Press reports covering Russian tribunal cases rarely cast the Jewish community in a positive light and commented on the 'considerable number' of appellants and bemoaned the 'considerable amount of time' that these cases consumed.³⁷ The press also drew attention to absentees and to the confusion caused in the Tribunals by both naturalised and unnaturalised Russian Jews through their efforts to use their dual identities to their advantage in avoiding conscription.³⁸ This was particularly true at the beginning of 1918 when a number of Russians attempted to circumvent the Tribunals by taking legal action over conscription in the civil courts. In Edinburgh one attempt was summarily dismissed, but in Glasgow where larger numbers of Russians resided the effort was more forceful.³⁹ In Glasgow two main cases were brought forth, the pursuers in the first case being Solomon Pinsky and Hyman Pearl and the pursuers in the second being Alexander Abraham Balkin and Michael Cohen, all Russian Jews.⁴⁰ The primary argument in both cases was that the 1859 Anglo-Russian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation protected Russian citizens in Britain from conscription, and vice versa.⁴¹ Moreover, this treaty had not been annulled by the 1917 Convention which failed to specifically acknowledge the 1859 Treaty in the first instance. And furthermore the 1917 Convention was no longer binding in any case since Russia's withdrawal from the war with signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. All four of the pursuers joined in a similar legal case along with an additional twelve Russians, almost all of them Glasgow Jews including one Edinburgh Jew, but none of the cases concluded with a favourable decision for the Russians, the lone success being the cancellation of Alexander Balkin's military summons.⁴² If success for Scottish Jews was limited in seeking exemption, then alien Russian Jews clearly faced a more difficult task given the prevailing attitudes toward them in the courts and Tribunals. However, there was one other group of appellants which included a number of Jews that the Tribunals showed

³⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 November 1917, p. 9; *Daily Record*, 2 November 1917, p. 4; 7 May 1918, p. 4.

³⁸ *Daily Record*, 21 February 1917, p. 4; 14 July 1917, p. 4;

³⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 22 January 1918, p. 7; 27 April 1918, p. 3; 16 May 1918, p. 6; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 25 January 1918, p. 2; *Daily Record*, 4 January 1918, p. 4; 22 January 1918, p. 4.

⁴⁰ NRS, CS46/1918/6/19; CS46/1918/8/42.

⁴¹ The 1859 Anglo-Russian Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was signed as a guarantee of 'reciprocal freedom of commerce and navigation' and also provided mutual protection from 'manufacturer and trademark fraud.' See Vincent Barnett, 'M. Kh. Reutern and Tariff Reform in Russia', *Oeconomia: History, Methodology, Philosophy*, 4:1 (2014), pp. 25-27.

⁴² TNA, HO45/10822/318095.

even greater disdain for during the appeals procedure and that was the conscientious objectors.

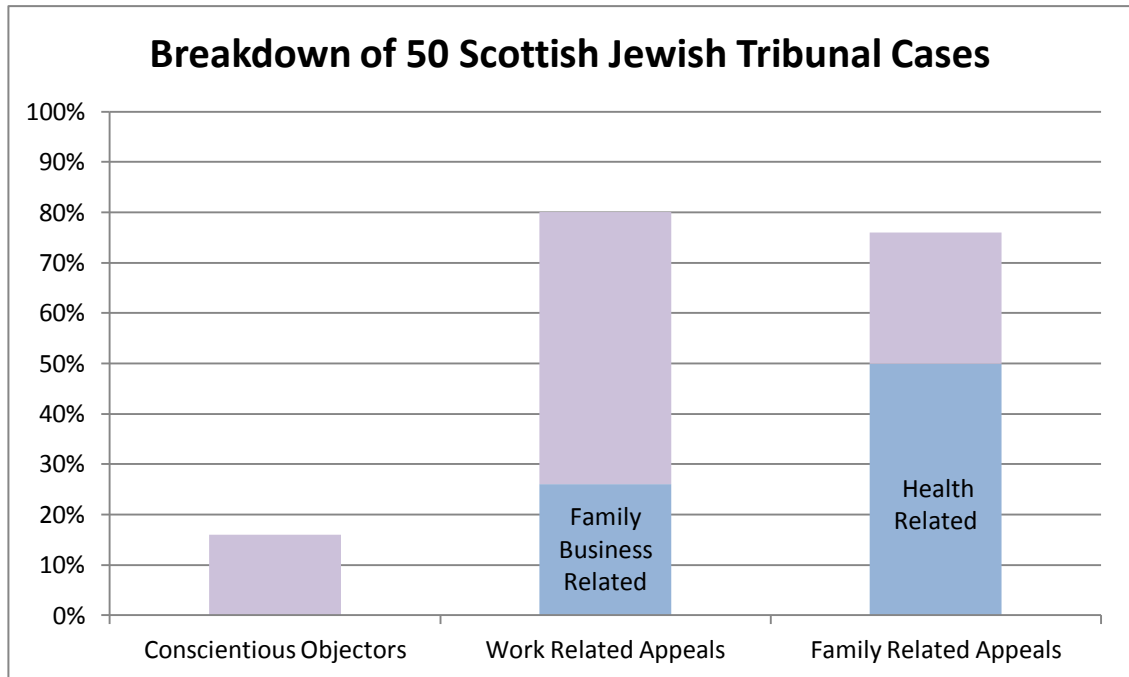


Figure 3.1 Table showing types of appeals within the collection of 50 Scottish Jewish Appeal Tribunal cases.

Scottish Jews and Conscientious Objection

The Scottish Tribunals earned a reputation for being more severe toward conscientious objectors, and in Edinburgh Sheriff Maconochie was particularly noted for his ‘personally offensive’ manner toward appellants.⁴³ Absolute exemptions, which protected successful appellants from any military service, were rarely given to conscientious objectors, and the Scottish Tribunals in Montrose and Glasgow were both criticised for their interpretation of the Military Service Act which led them to refuse absolute exemption based on conscience.⁴⁴ The decision to refuse absolute exemption was not unanimous within the Glasgow Tribunal, and Councillor James Welsh and Bailie James Stewart both voiced their ‘dissent’ concerning their colleagues’ decisions.⁴⁵ Bailie Stewart went so far as to criticise his fellow tribunalists after an appellant was interrupted exclaiming, ‘They won’t allow you to quote the Bible; how

⁴³ William Marwick, ‘Conscientious Objection in Scotland in the First World War’, *Scottish Journal of Science*, 1:3 (1972), p. 158.

⁴⁴ *The Tribunal*, 30 March 1916, p. 3; *Glasgow Herald*, 20 March 1916, p. 4.

⁴⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 March 1916, p. 8; 21 March 1916, p. 9.

do you expect them to allow you to quote Carlyle.’ The following day, Bailie Stewart wrote a letter of resignation from the Tribunal which was accepted, and others threatened to follow suit.⁴⁶ Government documents were later circulated explaining that absolute exemption could be given to conscientious objectors, but this did not eliminate the frustration in Glasgow felt toward conscientious objectors who toward the end of the war were still viewed as ‘a good deal of trouble.’⁴⁷

Within the Lothians and Peebles appeal cases, conscientious objectors formed a small minority of the 6,249 cases with only 243 claims. Around half of the cases were ultimately refused any form of exemption, and most other cases were granted either non-combat work or exempted conditionally or temporarily.⁴⁸ Within the collection of 50 Jewish cases, eight men made conscientious claims, although it is unlikely that there were many others within this community. Two Jewish cases of conscientious objection were made on religious grounds and involved two brothers, Harry Ezekiel and Jacob Naphthali Wedeclefsky. Harry Ezekiel was called before the Local Tribunal in July 1916. He appealed not only on grounds of conscientious objection, but also on grounds of serious hardship due to his mother recently passing and the admission of another brother to an asylum after a nervous breakdown. He also claimed medical exemption for ‘defective eyesight; disordered nerves; very weak condition.’ Conscientious objection was nonetheless maintained as the primary reason for his claim, and his two main points were that Orthodox Jews must always observe the Sabbath and must also observe food rituals. Since it was impossible to observe the Sabbath and food rituals while in the army, he therefore could not serve. To prove that his views were genuine, a letter was sent to the court from Rabbi Rabinowitz on Harry’s behalf which confirmed that the Wedeclefsky family had ‘always been most sincere and Orthodox adherents of our religion.’ Despite the evidence provided, the Local Tribunal rejected his claim for absolute exemption. A second appeal was launched in August based on his new position as a teacher. He had been deemed unfit for general service, and, according to the Board of Education, should remain in his position. Interestingly, he

⁴⁶ MLGCA, ‘Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow,’ November 1915-April 1916, p. 1150; *Glasgow Herald*, 23 March 1916, p. 6.

⁴⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 29 January 1918, p. 8.

⁴⁸ Burt, ‘Aspects of Scottish Conscientious Objection’.

had abandoned the claim of conscientious objection, but he again fared no better and his application was dismissed the same month.⁴⁹

Before Harry's attempts with the tribunals, his brother Jacob appeared before the Local Tribunal in June 1916. Jacob's appeal was practically the mirror image of his brother's, minus the appeal on medical grounds, largely basing his grounds for conscientious objection in the observance of the Sabbath and observance of dietary laws. Jacob's file did not include a letter from Rabbi Rabinowitz, but he did write a letter to the Local Tribunal explaining his family's history as Orthodox Jews in which he made sure to declare: 'Our beliefs are not sudden or temporary or due to the war.'⁵⁰ Jacob's case before the Appeal Tribunal caught the attention of *The Scotsman*, reporting that Sheriff Maconochie challenged his orthodox views:

The Sheriff stated that a superior Tribunal had decided that, as it was impossible to make arrangements so that there should be no Sunday fighting or Sunday work such an appeal should be dismissed. The applicant said it was not a question of Sunday fighting. It was a question of whether a Jew should break the Sabbath or not. The Sheriff – The whole Jewish nation must have broken the Sabbath thousands of times before the siege of Jerusalem.⁵¹

The sheriff clearly showed little sympathy with Jacob throughout the proceedings, as the full article shows, and even more telling was his lack of understanding of Jewish law. Jacob had no qualms about Sunday fighting because Sunday was not the Sabbath for those of the Jewish faith! Even the *Glasgow Herald's* headline covering the case contained this misconception stating, 'Jew and Fighting on Sunday.'⁵² This simple misunderstanding of the Jewish Sabbath aptly summarises the lack of knowledge amongst the tribunalists concerning Jewish rituals and observances which were also evident in the appeals of kosher butchers and bakers.

Despite the obvious ignorance of the tribunalists, the religious claims of the Wedeclefsky brothers were given much greater consideration than those who objected on moral or political grounds. Harry Ockrent appealed on the basis that he believed in the 'sacredness of human life' and refused to take part in a war that would

⁴⁹ NRS, HH30/6/6/23 Harry Ezekiel Wedeclefsky.

⁵⁰ NRS, HH30/5/4/18 Jacob Napthali Wedeclefsky.

⁵¹ *The Scotsman*, 15 July 1916, p. 9.

⁵² *Glasgow Herald*, 15 July 1916, p. 9.

cause him to commit murder. Although he doggedly stated that he would uphold his convictions 'irrespective of whatever penalty will be imposed upon me,' his appeal was ultimately rejected, and he complained bitterly that the tribunal 'made practically no effort to recognise that [he had] a conscientious objection to taking part in war.'⁵³ Councillor Harrison, presiding over the Local Tribunal hearing the case of Harry Ockrent, was disgusted by the plea replying that 'it is about the worst case that has come before us.' *The Scotsman* article covering the case also found the need to comment that Harry was 'the son of a Russian Jew.'⁵⁴ The same article covered the case of Abel Freeman who refused to be a part of the 'military machine' and appealed with a mixture of moral and spiritual ideas, first stating that 'I cannot assume the responsibility of taking the life of any man,' and then adding, 'the life that has come to him from the source of all life.' *The Scotsman* painted a distinct picture of Freeman describing him as having reading interests in Zola, Tolstoy, and Maxim Gorkys and being the child of Jewish parents. Since the paper described an earlier appellant as a socialist, they were clearly trying to equate the same with Freeman, and the *Glasgow Herald* also reported that both Ockrent and Freeman claimed to be members of the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF).⁵⁵ Like Ockrent, Freeman complained of his treatment before the tribunal claiming that his case took only 'one and a half minutes,' and that he had received no questioning regarding his beliefs. In both cases an appeal to be heard by the Central Tribunal was rejected.⁵⁶

Of the remaining four cases of conscientious objection, the appeal of Simon Harris was the least clearly defined. He never made a written statement, and he had also attested. Harris may have been simply looking for as many avenues out of military service as he could think of, especially since he later volunteered to 'work in a munitions factory or work of any national interest apart from military service.'⁵⁷ More will be discussed later on about the war and its effects on the life of Mr. Harris. Louis Grant Gordon's case was very similar to those of Harry Ockrent and Abel Freeman by

⁵³ NRS, HH30/2/1/31 Harry Ockrent.

⁵⁴ *The Scotsman*, 14 March 1916, p. 6.

⁵⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 March 1916, p. 10. The NCF was the largest anti-conscription organisation in Britain during the war and its members were conscientious objectors, the majority of whom were connected with the Independent Labour Party (ILP) which consistently adhered to an anti-war policy throughout the war. See William Kenefick, *Red Scotland!: The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c. 1872-1932* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 132-154.

⁵⁶ NRS, HH30/2/2/36 Abel Bernard Freeman.

⁵⁷ NRS, HH30/3/1/19 Simon Harris.

his firm stance for absolute exemption on the grounds that he believed in the 'preservation [sic] of human life not its destruction [sic].' Despite being granted non-combatant service, he pressed his case for total exemption and he too was denied an audience with the Central Tribunal.⁵⁸ The seventh case was of Lewis Rifkind, a fourth-year medical student who believed military service to be against his 'moral and religious convictions.' He did not go into specifics of what this meant, nor did he identify his religious beliefs to be specifically Jewish. His requests for total exemption and appearance before the Central Tribunal met with the same fate as the others.⁵⁹

The final and most extreme case was that of Hyman Rosenberg. As a Russian subject, Rosenberg was able to avoid military service until conscripted under the 1917 Anglo-Russian Military Convention. When Rosenberg went before the Local Tribunal, he claimed that he had come to Britain 'not to make money but because I was against militarism.' A letter from his former employer in Leeds confirmed his claim and added, 'I always found him a very hard working man, no shirker.' In emphasis on his moral objection Rosenberg stated that he did not belong to any religion. Rosenberg was granted non-combatant status, but he refused this just as Freeman and Ockrent had before him. In his appeal he stated:

I am a conscientious objector to war and therefore appeal on moral grounds. My conscientious objection has been recognized by the Local Tribunal and I have been given a non-combatant certificate. This I cannot accept. How can I help others to do what I cannot do myself.⁶⁰

As further evidence of his commitment to pacifism, Rosenberg refused medical examination. For his refusal to obey military orders, he was tried and sentenced to two years imprisonment. At least some of his time was spent at Wormwood Scrubs, one of the more notorious destinations for conscientious objectors during the war.⁶¹ Rosenberg's unswerving dedication to his conscientious objection represented the most extreme case amongst Jewish appellants in Edinburgh, but a similar refusal to obey military orders by Charles Yachnies, a Russian Jew from the Gorbals, eventually

⁵⁸ NRS, HH30/2/5/13 Louis Grant Gordon. The underlined words were Mr. Gordon's own emphasis in the document.

⁵⁹ NRS, HH30/2/2/35 Lewis Rifkind.

⁶⁰ NRS, HH30/33/159 Hyman Rosenberg.

⁶¹ TNA, WO363/R1695 Hyman Rosenberg.

cost him his life as he died after five months of imprisonment.⁶² At least one other Russian Jew from Glasgow, Harry Paserinsky, endured imprisonment for his conscientious objection.⁶³

For Jewish appellants before Scottish Tribunals, the ultimate outcome was little different regardless for those appealing based on conscience and those appealing for any other reason. In some cases temporary exemption or non-combatant status was granted, but never absolute exemption. Such a ruling was rare within the Scottish Tribunals and thus does not imply a targeting of the Jewish community. Rejection of Jewish conscientious objectors also fits the general pattern of the Scottish Tribunals in that religious reasons were given more sympathy than moral or political.⁶⁴ The religious objection of the Wedeclefsky brothers received extended consideration whereas those who objected on the grounds of the sacredness of life received the least amount of tolerance. The press associated them with socialists, and those on the Local and Appeal Tribunals gave very little time to consider each case. In the cases of Ockrent, Freeman, Rifkind, and Gordon, the section reserved on the appeal paper for the Tribunal's explanation of decision remained either blank or lacked any form of detailed explanation. This did not occur on any other Jewish appeal papers, including those of the Wedeclefsky brothers who appealed on Orthodox Jewish grounds, which indicates two possibilities. Either the Appeal Tribunal wrote their decision on separate paper which is no longer included in the file or the Tribunal simply did not find the case worthy of enough time to write down a decision and rebuttal. The latter explanation can be supported by the complaint of those objectors who claimed they were given less than ample time to state their case. The Tribunals were willing to at least grant non-combatant status to the most ardent conscientious objectors, as they did for Louis Grant Gordon, Harry Wedeclefsky, and Hyman Rosenberg, but refused to give in to demands of absolute exemption. Despite a more thorough investigation of Jewish religious conscientious objectors, the Scottish Tribunals still showed an ignorance of the cultural and religious difference that such cases presented.

The Middlesex Tribunal cases showed a similar attention to three cases of religious objection. Abram Nathan's claim was the least convincing, declaring that as a

⁶² Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 160.

⁶³ MLGCA, D-HEW 17/807/187780, Mary Steel Passerinsky.

⁶⁴ Burt, 'Aspects of Scottish Conscientious Objection'.

Jew he could only take life in self-defence and that as an only son he had the duty to continue his family line which he had yet to fulfil. The Chiswick Local Tribunal, although arguing for Jewish military participation by using the example of the Maccabees, granted temporary exemption and non-combatant status, but Nathan was subsequently medically rejected. The Tribunal, however, commented that they did 'not regard the obligation (even if it existed) of procreating a son as a conscientious objection.'⁶⁵ The Local Tribunal in Willesden was much less sympathetic with Samuel Ritterband who declared that the war was contrary to his Jewish religion and that he had held conscientious objection to war since the age of eight. This he evidenced by refusing to join the JLB as a boy and by refusing to tailor army clothing. The Tribunal 'unhesitatingly refused' the claim and responded with the following list of reasons.

- (a) The Heads of the Jewish faith in Great Britain held different views.
- (b) that great numbers of his co-religionists are already serving.
- (c) that England has always stood pre-eminent in the fair treatment and protection of members of his faith and
- (d) that special corps have been formed in the army for men of his religion.⁶⁶

Ritterband's appeal was quickly dismissed as well, but a third case, that of Frank Baker, received much more consideration. The same Willesden Local Tribunal heard Baker's case and raised similar objections, but as a theological student Baker was granted non-combatant status. This was due to the acknowledgment of his position and beliefs by his teacher, Rabbi Lazarus, as well as the Chief Rabbi and the Jewish Board of Deputies. Although he received favourable support, Baker's bid for absolute exemption was rejected.⁶⁷ Just like the Lothians and Peebles Tribunals rejected the well documented religious objections of the Wedeclefsky brothers, the Middlesex Tribunals were resolute in refusing absolute exemption in these cases, citing the activity of the Jewish community as a whole and the declarations of the Chief Rabbi himself.

Conscientious Objection and British Jewry

Within the Jewish community the Chief Rabbi, Joseph Hertz, was one of the most influential figures by his endorsement of the British war effort, but he also

⁶⁵ TNA, MH47/47/5 Abram Nathaniel Nathan.

⁶⁶ TNA, MH47/41/82 Samuel Ritterband.

⁶⁷ TNA, MH47/68/22 Frank Baker.

represented the highest authority for those who sought religious exemption. In Scotland it would appear that the only Jewish appellants to seek the Chief Rabbi's help were the Wedeclefsky brothers. In an attempt to combat the decisions of the Tribunals, Jacob Wedeclefsky turned to the Chief Rabbi for assistance in a letter written 1 September 1916:

I desire to ask you whether a strictly Orthodox Jew who has always maintained the Jewish religious observances, especially the observance of the Sabbath, and that at great costs, should disregard the observance of the Sabbath and the Jewish Dietary Laws and serve in the army, when special provision has been made by Parliament for exemption in such cases dealing with conscience or religion.⁶⁸

The wording of this short letter was very similar to the longer letter written to the Local Tribunal. But for his efforts Jacob received little comfort in the reply given by the Chief Rabbi:

No one ever should disregard the precepts of his religion especially in times of war. There are, however, circumstances which render fulfilment of these observances impossible, and in such case even a most orthodox Jew may be pardoned for relaxing his religious obligation to a certain extent.⁶⁹

Undeterred, Jacob sent the Chief Rabbi one more letter in a last attempt to free not himself but rather his brother from military service:

I have received your letter and I now wish to state the case fully. My brother, who is a graduate with First Class Honours of Edinburgh University, has always been strictly orthodox, and at great cost and sacrifice, even at the University, has maintained the Jewish religious observances, especially the observance of the Sabbath. He has been placed in a labour unit where it is impossible for him to break the Sabbath or eat *Trifa* food.⁷⁰ Could you please arrange that he be exempted from military service, especially as he has not been passed for general service, and as his work as a teacher would be of at least equal national importance. We have been notified at the Edinburgh Sheriff's Court that such cases rest with you.⁷¹

⁶⁸ LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/040, 1 September 1916.

⁶⁹ Ibid, undated reply from Chief Rabbi.

⁷⁰ Jacob Wedeclefsky was surely trying to say here that his brother Harry would be required to break the Sabbath and eat Trifa food in a labour battalion that had no accommodation for those of the Jewish faith.

⁷¹ LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/04, 7 September 1916.

The letter was marked as replied, but unfortunately the Chief Rabbi's response is not to be found in the file. Given the Chief Rabbi's dealings with other conscientious objectors, it is likely that Jacob received a reply that would have been unsatisfactory for his brother Harry. A glimpse of the Chief Rabbi's stance regarding exemption seekers can be found in a *Scotsman* article of 9 October 1916, entitled 'Jews and the War: The Chief Rabbi and Laggards':

The Chief Rabbi, the Rev. I. H. Hertz, preaching at the Great Synagogue, Aldgate, E.C., said that tens of thousands of Jews had listened to the call of the nation, gladly offering their lives for right and for the honour of the Jewish name. The number of those who had done their duty as citizens and as Jews in this country was 25,000. Now, however, a new danger was threatening those of the Jewish community; two or three thousand men wished to be exempted amid the hundreds of thousands who constituted the citizenship of the allied nations. Remembering the injustices with which the world always judged them, he felt, said the Chief Rabbi, that the sacrifice of these hundreds of thousands in Russia, the 25,000 in England would count as nought, because some two or three thousand of their race were laggards.⁷²

Even though the Chief Rabbi was not directly referring to conscientious objectors, they certainly fell into the category of exemption seekers. *The Scotsman* was possibly embellishing the wording used by the Chief Rabbi, nevertheless, he was clearly showing his disapproval of Jewish exemption seekers. The Chief Rabbi was not completely unsympathetic with the conditions of conscientious objectors, corresponding frequently with family and friends of interned objectors. In one case the Chief Rabbi reacted quickly to a wife's plea that her husband was being force fed with the Day of Atonement soon approaching, a day which requires strict fasting.⁷³ More commonly, the Chief Rabbi was petitioned to help conscientious objectors obtain leave from their internment camps during religious festivals. In one case, the Chief Rabbi's response was most sympathetic with 'reiterated regrets' that the Home Office had refused leave for Jewish conscientious objectors despite being 'repeatedly urged' by the Chief Rabbi's office.⁷⁴ As compensation, the interned conscientious objectors

⁷² *The Scotsman*, 9 October 1916, p. 9. Given that the number of exemption seekers in Edinburgh was 125 and that Edinburgh's Jewish population trailed at least ten other British cities at the time, it is possible that the number of Jewish exemption seekers was above this estimate of 2,000 to 3,000.

⁷³ LMA, ACC/2805/04/04/003, 24 September 1917. The Chief Rabbi received a reply that arrangements had already been made for Mr. Ribeiro to observe the fast, 25 September 1917. For more on the dietary arrangements for imprisoned Jews during the war, see ACC/2805/04/04/008 and ACC/2805/04/04/009.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, undated letter to A. Epstein, Home Office Work Centre, Wakefield.

were allowed to hold services in camp, and in the case of the Princetown camp a minister was sent from nearby Plymouth to officiate services.⁷⁵ The following year, however, the Chief Rabbi responded to a request for leave by stating that despite 'much trouble' the previous year in sending a minister for High Festivals, he had been informed that 'not only were the services most inadequately attended, but that the conduct of the worshippers was extremely indecorous.' The Chief Rabbi therefore refused to help obtain anything more than the services held in the camp.⁷⁶ After the war was over the Chief Rabbi felt more freedom to work on behalf of interned Jewish COs, and in 1919 he was able to obtain leave for them during Passover.⁷⁷

The Chief Rabbi had to walk a thin line during wartime. As the figurehead for the British-Jewish community, he felt it his patriotic duty to promote military service among the Jewish population, but in the matter of the conscientious objectors, he still found himself obligated to tend to their needs as fellow Jews. Nevertheless, others within the higher ranks of British Judaism did not share the same spirit of moderation. In a letter to Major Lionel de Rothschild, likely written by Rev. Michael Adler, head Jewish Chaplain for the British Army, the case of two conscientious objectors was lamented:

These two young fellows announced their refusal to serve, and that they would fight it in the Courts, bringing, if necessary, their father, who is an old Rabbi to declare that it is forbidden for a strictly orthodox Jew to fight. I have all along refused to help them in their evasion of the Law, or in any way to recognize the validity of their monstrous claim, so libellous to our faith, that it is not permissible for a Jew loyally and patriotically to do his duty. A deputation of their father's congregation is waiting on me to-night in order to induce me to relent, but the case is a test case, which could [in] the future be used against us by Anti-Semites with fatal effect, and the example of these young men would find many imitators.⁷⁸

Although no reply from Major Rothschild was available, it was quite likely that his sympathies did not lie with conscientious objectors given his military involvement and his connection with the Jewish War Services Committee (JWSC).

⁷⁵ Ibid, 14 September 1917 letter to Rev. Raffalovitch of Liverpool.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 18 March 1918 letter to Mr. Nathan Bannister.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 6 April 1919. The Chief Rabbi was also petitioned after the war was over on behalf of 150 COs in the Civil Service who were still interned. The letter, 30 July 1919, was marked, 'CR regrets he cannot do anything with matter.'

⁷⁸ LMA, ACC/2805/04/04/006, 1 October 1916.

Another member of the JWSC, however, provided a scathing report on Jewish COs. When Jewish COs in the Princetown camp petitioned the JWSC in 1919 for assistance in gaining leave, Edmund Sebag-Montefiore wrote the following to Rev. Adler:

I am afraid these conscientious objectors are not very observant Jews, and, even when Ministers have gone there, I think I am right in stating that there has been the greatest difficulty in getting a congregation. I think this is a matter for the Chief Rabbi to represent to the Home Office if he feels inclined to, but it is not a matter for the Jewish War Services Committee. Major Lionel Rothschild agrees with me...I preferred to let others deal with this class of man, with whom I am entirely out of sympathy.⁷⁹

This letter was written four months after the Armistice, but clearly there were those within the upper levels of the Jewish community who retained a deep feeling of animosity toward objectors. Aside from being deemed unpatriotic, hazardous to the Jewish community, and a separate 'class' of men not to be regarded, the most determined Jewish conscientious objectors were labelled as criminals. In a letter from the Board of Deputies of British Jews to the Chief Rabbi, an explanation was given that 'the conscientious objectors in question are actually offenders of the Law having been subject to Court-martials.'⁸⁰ Obviously, this was in reference to the most extreme objectors who refused military service, whether combatant or non-combatant service, to the extent that they were willing to be imprisoned for their beliefs. At first glance, it would seem that the major bodies of Anglo-Jewry were decidedly opposed to their conscientious co-religionists, but as in the case of Frank Baker examined above, religious authorities were willing to lend support and verification without being 'personally in agreement with the Appellant's views.'⁸¹ During the Appeal Tribunal process Baker received even more support by a letter from the Board of Deputies which advised the Director General of Recruiting that 'Baker appears to be a bona fide conscientious objector.' Furthermore, the letter explained that the Chief Rabbi was satisfied to classify Baker as a 'genuine theological student' after corresponding with Rabbi Lazarus. Baker's support from the Chief Rabbi and the Board of Deputies was therefore directly linked to his relationship with Rabbi Lazarus, a man who would have

⁷⁹ LMA, ACC/2805/04/04/003, 21 March 1919.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 13 September 1917.

⁸¹ TNA, MH 47/68/22 Frank Baker.

had frequent and direct contact with the Chief Rabbi and the Board of Deputies due to his position in the Beth Din, the ruling body of Jewish ministers in Britain. This was not simply about Baker being a Jewish minister; this case was about his connections, something that was lacking for the Wedeclefsky brothers who resorted to direct communication with the Chief Rabbi without any apparent personal relationship to him.⁸²

Scottish Jews lacked the type of connections that Baker possessed, and throughout the 50 Lothians and Peebles cases they consistently relied on their immediate families or own statements for support. In some cases Jewish businessmen sought to retain important workers, such as Salomon Sklovsky's appeal for David Holliday, but the majority of these business appeals represented family businesses.⁸³ There were a few who sought help from the wider community, such as Joseph Hyams who received a certificate from the Grand Order of Israel Friendly Society, and Abraham Lurie who obtained a supporting letter from a Jewish Justice of the Peace, Simon Stungo.⁸⁴ Both Harry Pass and Harry Wedeclefsky received extensive support and verification from leading religious members of Scottish Jewry, but only in Wedeclefsky's case was this support connected to conscientious objection.⁸⁵ Support for conscientious objectors did not necessarily equal tacit approval as evidenced by Charles Mabon, a prominent member of the Garnethill Congregation. In a letter to the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, Mabon, despite declaring his patriotism as 'subject to no doubt or misconception in the eyes of other people,' felt compelled to address the Chief Rabbi's statements which had denied the validity of Jewish conscientious objection. In championing individual Jewish beliefs, Mabon wrote:

His [Chief Rabbi] answer...amounts to a flat denial of any Jewish conscience at all. Now, conscience is essentially individual; it is only a rhetorical device, and to avoid circumlocution, that we ever speak of a collective conscience. Within Judaism, when it is really lived, and not merely talked about (if it is even that), there are so many personal modes and applications of tradition, altogether distinct from the outer

⁸² It should also be noted that Jacob Wedeclefsky's letters both addressed the Chief Rabbi as 'Dr. Hertz. Dear Sir,' without recognizing him as the Chief Rabbi or even Very Rev. as most did in their correspondence with Dr. Hertz. This might be a small matter, but it could indicate tension over the matter of conscientious objection between the two parties.

⁸³ NRS, HH30/1/4/8 David Holliday.

⁸⁴ NRS, HH30/2/4/49 Joseph Hyams; HH30/20/4/13 Abraham Lurie.

⁸⁵ NRS, HH30/15/2/13 Harry Pass; HH30/6/6/23 Harry Wedeclefsky.

shell of congregational service, that no one, and least of all a Chief Rabbi, should throw cold water upon them.⁸⁶

Mabon's letter showed a complexity of thought in that he supported his co-religionist's right to hold views contrary to his own, and this was exactly the same attitude displayed by Rabbi Lazarus toward Frank Baker. Despite this it is doubtful that any sort of overt support for conscientious objectors came from the Jewish West End of Glasgow although the topic was discussed. In March 1916, the Garnethill Union Society held a debate on 'Can a Jew rightly claim to be a conscientious objector?'⁸⁷ Considering the wording of the debate title, the negative was likely held by many of those in attendance despite no outcome being listed. There are other clues, however, that might shed light on this debate. The Garnethill Union Society was open only to young people whose parents were members of the Garnethill Synagogue, a very patriotic congregation as has already been noted.⁸⁸ During another meeting the society invited Corporal Lever, invalided home to Glasgow, to give a talk concerning the head Jewish Chaplain in which he 'spoke of the esteem and affection in which Mr. Adler is held by the large community of our Jewish Tommies.'⁸⁹ Further confirmation of the society's patriotism was revealed by their president and assistant minister at Garnethill, the Reverend Louis Morris, who joined the army as a chaplain and eventually rose to the rank of Captain.⁹⁰

The issue of conscientious objection produced a dramatic scene within the British Jewish community. It was a conflict of ideology between two sides where one desperately desired their Judaism to conform to British culture while the other desperately clung to the tenants of their faith or beliefs regardless of societal pressures within and without their cultural sphere. In Edinburgh, Elias Fürst complained that the Jewish 'shirkers' who appeared before the Tribunals had 'brought a certain measure of odium on the entire Jewish community,'⁹¹ but it cannot be said that the Jewish community as a whole condemned a co-religionist for claiming conscientious objection to military service as evidenced by the support given even by local ministers. It was the extremists who refused at any cost any military activity who drew the most intense

⁸⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 March 1916, p. 21.

⁸⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 March 1916, p. 28.

⁸⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 April 1915, p. 24.

⁸⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 November 1915, p. 26.

⁹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 October 1916, p. 23.

⁹¹ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 5 May 1916, p. 4.

ire of the Jewish community, especially the elite, mostly because they perceived that these men were casting a negative light upon the Jewish community as a whole. The Tribunal documents and proceedings prove their importance because they exposed a divide within the Scottish Jewish community in which a portion were unenthusiastic for the war cause contrary to the patriotism and participation observed in the previous chapter. Yet there were others who took more drastic measures outside of the legal system and fled Scotland in an attempt avoid any form of military service.

Ireland and America: Refuge from Military Service?

For those willing to take the risk, both Ireland and America symbolised enticing havens where escape from war was possible. Ireland represented the more convenient choice since conscription was only finally imposed from April 1918, and it was only a short ferry trip away.⁹² But this anomaly and the problems it represented were quickly brought to the attention of the nation and the press from 1916. As early as March 1916 one story captured the attention of the public after the arrest of eighteen young Leeds Jews in Belfast. Among the many Scottish newspapers to cover this story, *The Scotsman* speculated that 'it is a fact, however, that Belfast has become the centre of attraction for hundreds of young English Jews, public-houses and restaurants being daily crowded with them.'⁹³ The following year the *National News* claimed that the 'war-shy tourists' leaving for Ireland, particularly from London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, were primarily 'young Jews.'⁹⁴ In Scotland ports in Glasgow, Ardrossan, and Stranraer provided a number of points where travel between Scotland and Ireland was possible, and reports were made that Russian Jews used these shipping lanes for the leisure of observing horse racing in Ayr after which they would return back to the safety of Ireland.⁹⁵ Early in 1918 the Scottish Office notified the Home Office that Russian Jews in Glasgow were rumoured to be planning journeys

⁹² Adrian Gregory, "'You Might as Well Recruit Germans': British Public Opinion and the Decision to Conscript the Irish in 1918', in Adrian Gregory and Senia Pašeta, *Ireland and the Great War: A War to Unite Us All?* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 126-128.

⁹³ *The Scotsman*, 30 March 1916 and 15 April 1918.

⁹⁴ *National News*, 11 November 1917. Jews fleeing to Ireland was apparently important enough to catch the attention of the Chief Rabbi as he left a clipping of this article in his WWI correspondence file LMA, ACC2805/04/04/009.

⁹⁵ Lloyd, 'Jews Under Fire.'

after having their exemption denied before the Tribunals. As a result of the alert being raised, a few Russians, some Jewish, were apprehended in February at Stranraer. Some of the aliens received fines of £20 and a heavier fine of £50 was given to Samuel Cohen, alias M'Allister, of Glasgow for his part in aiding the evaders.⁹⁶

Despite the attention in the press, specific instances of Scottish Jewish attempts to escape to Ireland are difficult to find. One family history claimed that Louis Price fled to Ireland when on leave because he feared his position as a signaller in the army would eventually get him killed. It would seem he successfully avoided further service after his desertion.⁹⁷ Harry Brown's story of desertion was a little more complete thanks to the preservation of various documents. In early 1916, Brown received his call to the service which he resisted through all three levels of tribunals. His appeals were refused at each turn, and he was consequently passed into the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.⁹⁸ Like Price, Brown disappeared after being granted leave and was declared a deserter 4 June 1917. Interestingly, his papers showed that he rejoined over a year later, and after a Court-Martial was sentenced to two years hard labour.⁹⁹ It would be difficult to know exactly where Brown disappeared to, and a number of places within the British Isles would have been possible. Considering his family's desire to keep him from military service as evidenced by his tribunal papers, they may also have aided his escape since such protection was not unprecedented amongst Jewish families.¹⁰⁰

Other Scottish Jewish soldiers attempted desertion such as Harry Cohen who was missing for five months before his arrest in Glasgow, and Max Gold, who deserted for nearly a year before he was found, was court martialled and given six months detention.¹⁰¹ Maurice (or Morris) Linderman deserted after convalescing from a gas attack and remained free for a year-and-a-half before he was found and sentenced to only twenty-eight days detention.¹⁰² Others such as Harry Green, Abe Shapiro, and

⁹⁶ TNA, HO45/10822/318095. See also *Glasgow Herald*, 2 October 1917, p. 3; 9 February 1918, p. 3; 11 February 1918, p. 6.

⁹⁷ SJAC, *Serving Their Country* 2.

⁹⁸ NRS, HH30/2/6/42, HH30/33/75 Harry Brown.

⁹⁹ TNA, WO 363/B893 Harry Brown.

¹⁰⁰ Levene, 'Going Against the Grain', pp. 79-82.

¹⁰¹ TNA, WO363/C924 Harry Cohen; WO363/G847 Max Gold.

¹⁰² TNA, WO363/L552 Maurice Linderman.

Moss Hoppenstein deserted but have no sentencing or finalisation in their files.¹⁰³ At least one, Joseph Hyams, appears to have deserted in Ireland in April 1918 while on active duty in the military.¹⁰⁴ For a small number of Scottish Jews who were either evading conscription or deserting, Ireland was a viable place of refuge.

A less obvious destination for those avoiding the military was America. In 1916 the Home Office was warned that Russian Jews were potentially using Scandinavia as a safe haven or a jumping-off point for a journey to America.¹⁰⁵ There were, however, only a few specific examples of Scottish Jews reaching America during the war thanks to the oral testimonies housed at the SJAC. Only three of the testimonies mentioned America as a destination around the time of the Great War, and in the interview with Moray Glasser, three men were specifically named from the Glasgow community:

Harry (Couts) changed his name when he went to America, really to avoid military service. A lot of the boys did not want to join the army. Louis Freeman was one, Sam Wober was another. This was before the Compulsory Military Service Act was passed in 1916. They also took the Russians for the Labour Corps. Not many left for America.¹⁰⁶

Here, it was emphasised that these men left prior to conscription being implemented in Britain, meaning these men were not evading conscription but were rather fleeing from the threat of war. It is also stated that many Jewish young men were not eager to fight in addition to these three men. Although there may be no way of quantifying how many 'a lot' was, it is nonetheless significant that Glasser was familiar with men who were opposed to war. It is unclear how closely Glasser related himself to these men, but earlier in the interview he mentioned that he 'identified' with Ramsey Macdonald and the pacifist ideals of the Independent Labour Party (ILP). Furthermore, he claimed to be 'the first secretary of the Clyde Defence League for the release of John Maclean.' Glasser would have been seventeen years old when conscription was introduced in 1916, and although he would have been eligible for service toward the end of the war, it would appear from the interview that he

¹⁰³ TNA, WO363/G996 Harry Green; WO363/S623 Abe Shapiro; Frank, 'An Outside Wherever I Am?'

¹⁰⁴ TNA, WO363/H2528 Joseph Hyams.

¹⁰⁵ TNA, HO 45/10819/318095.

¹⁰⁶ SJAC, OHP2 Moray Glasser.

successfully avoided the military. Unfortunately, he did not include any information about personal struggles in this matter.¹⁰⁷

Moray Glasser's statements were confirmed in a separate interview with Louis Freeman, one of the men named as a migrant to America. During his interview, Freeman initially stated that his musical interests took him to America and that the war prevented his return. Ben Braber who conducted the interview later asked him to expound on the reasons for leaving for America to which he twice replied that it was a 'difficult question to answer.' Indeed, after being asked directly if he left to avoid military service, he admitted that it was not a topic he wished to discuss. In ending the discussion of his time in America, Freeman did admit that there were 'quite a number' from Glasgow who went to America because 'they didn't want to join the army.'¹⁰⁸ Freeman's hesitancy to answer questions regarding military evasion revealed that he felt, even seventy years after, a stigma and perhaps even shame attached to his actions during the First World War. His final statement strongly suggested an attempt at self-vindication by declaring he was not alone in his actions.

The third interview with Dr. Leslie Naftalin was more ambiguous but showed an intriguing contrast. Dr. Naftalin was not even two years old at the outbreak of war, but he had four older brothers who were eligible for military service. The oldest two were military participants, one being wounded. Dr. Naftalin claimed that his third brother entered the American merchant navy and stayed in America because his father 'was a bit worried he'd have a succession of sons in the army.'¹⁰⁹ The fourth brother was old enough to join, but he chose to pursue his academic career instead. The motives behind sons three and four avoiding military service might be difficult to determine these years later, but what was clear to Dr. Naftalin was the concern that his father had for the health of his sons, perhaps brought into focus by the injury to the second son during active military service. If Dr. Naftalin's father did steer sons three and four away from military service, this narrative would show that families who contributed members to military service were not always fully committed to the patriotic cause, or at least that commitment could be shaken.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ SJAC, OHP2 Louis Freeman.

¹⁰⁹ SJAC, OHP4 Leslie Naftalin.

A fourth and separate oral interview conducted by a local history initiative in Dundee also revealed escape to America within a Jewish family. Wolf Koppel remembered that his step-brother was ‘smuggled’ to America because he ‘didn’t want to join the army.’ It is not clear at what point during the war that this action took place, but Koppel remembered his mother receiving letters from this step-brother about seeing family members in America. Unfortunately, it is not explained if family members on either side of the Atlantic Ocean assisted in this man’s journey to America.¹¹⁰ The actions of these men fleeing to America did result in resentment within the Jewish community. Private Bennie Eppel of Edinburgh, a Private in the Royal Scots, wrote frequently to his family during his tours in Egypt and France. In one letter he responded to the news that friends of his had moved to America writing:

I don’t think much of Phillip Price and Bennie Oppenheim going to America, may they never get a job, as for Bennie he’s of no use in the Little Sisters far less out here.¹¹¹

This letter was dated 29 April 1916, which could indicate that the two men named were leaving for America in order to escape the recent implementation of conscription. Eppel certainly felt little sympathy for these men, and his reaction to the news may shed more light on Louis Freeman’s tentativeness in explaining his stay in America during the war. Men like Eppel, who was later invalided home, may have expressed their displeasure over the evaders’ actions during the war once men like Freeman returned. Considering these stories of evasion, it is interesting that there is stronger evidence for flight to America among Scottish Jews than there is for flight to Ireland based on the testimonies of Glasser and Freeman. Indeed, it does seem odd that Glasser, who purported to know and associate with war resisters, did not report on anyone escaping to Ireland. This could have simply been an oversight in the course of the interview or there could be other reasons that Glasser may not have wanted to discuss such an issue. It is unclear the role that families played in assisting these journeys, but in the cases of Dr. Naftalin’s brother and Wolf Koppel’s step-brother there may have been some connection. It must also be noted that those fleeing to America were not all conscription evaders since men like Freeman were leaving Britain at the beginning of the war. In contrast, the narrative regarding Scottish Jewish flight

¹¹⁰ DCL, DOHP 017/A/2.

¹¹¹ Eppel, *Somewhere in France*, p. 17.

to Ireland suggests that the nearby island was ideal for those who sought to avoid conscription or for those who were already in the military and wanted to avoid further service.

Conclusion

Although there were undoubtedly a large number of patriotic Jews in Scotland, it would be wrong to ignore the evident pattern of military evasion among Scottish Jews during the early twentieth century. While the issues of absenteeism, desertion, and evasion certainly existed in the cases of using Ireland or America for refuge, they were by no means the prevalent course of action taken by Scottish Jews. Considering the limited opportunities and the danger inherent in fleeing the country or even within the United Kingdom, it is not surprising that the more popular recourse was appealing through the Tribunal system. This relative lack of evasion is consistent with the findings of Chapter One which observed that Russian Jews immigrated at times to avoid military service, but that they also left for economic or familial reasons. This same motivation was found in the Jewish Tribunal cases where work and family were unmistakably the two dominating arguments used in appeals. In the Scottish setting, this also confirmed the conclusion that politics did not serve as a primary argument amongst English Jewish appellants.¹¹² Furthermore, the issues of work and family overshadowed applications based on religious arguments. Aside from the cases of religious conscientious objection and appeals for kosher businesses, at least four Jewish congregations, two in Glasgow, one in Inverness, and one in Falkirk, sought the Chief Rabbi's aid in exempting their ministers.¹¹³ The Chief Rabbi received a number of similar letters from across Britain dealing with matters of religion as it concerned conscription exemption, making it appear that religion played a major role in Tribunal appeals, but an analysis of the Lothians and Peebles Tribunal documents revealed that religion was not a major part of the appeals process for these Scottish Jews.

Finally, all of the Jewish appeals for exemption did not simply mean that the families of the appellants had no desire to serve in the military. Fourteen of the fifty

¹¹² Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews*, p. 227; Levene, 'Going Against the Grain', p. 82-83.

¹¹³ LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/111; ACC/2805/04/02/044.

Lothians and Peebles cases stated that they had at least one brother serving already. David Louis Eprile stated that all three of his brothers were serving and had done so from the outset of the war, and that two of his wife's brothers were volunteers as well.¹¹⁴ Additionally, Hyman Levinson and Jacob Meyer Baker referenced brothers who were attested but yet to be taken into the military, and eighteen out of the fifty appellants examined were attested themselves. Nine of these eighteen attested men had their cases brought before the Tribunals by their employers, and seven of these nine employers were a parent of the appellant. It is hard to draw any solid conclusions of what families of appellants felt about military service, but the numbers of attested men and volunteers in their families show that there was some willingness to join the military even when the number of appeals was high among the Jewish community in Edinburgh. Participation and non-participation amongst Scottish Jewry therefore fell much in line with Scottish standards in that the rates of voluntary service were comparable between Jews and Scots, and while Jews were treated with ignorance they were treated no worse than their fellow Scottish appellants before the Tribunals. Despite the similarities between Jews and their Scottish neighbours as well as the restraint evident from tribunalists, Jews were repeatedly accused by Scottish society and the press of shirking as well as treated as outsiders.

¹¹⁴ NRS, HH30/12/2/28 David Louis Eprile.

Chapter Four: Home Front Relations

Chapters Two and Three have divided the Scottish Jewish community into those who participated in the war and those who resisted. On a deeper level the Jewish community dealt with a number of complications including the presence of their foreign brethren, both German and Russian. In wartime Britain Jews who were German or perceived as German were treated as the enemy; while Russian Jews were often referred to as outsiders who enjoyed the benefits of living in Britain yet failed to embrace the culture and duties expected of its residents. The issue of Jews as a foreign other caused tension within the Scottish Jewish community as well as with the larger Jewish community. These internal tensions were caused by the need to portray the Jewish community as patriotic and integrated into Scottish society. As a result the Scottish Jewish community found itself walking a tightrope between loyalty to Britain and commitment to their fellow Jews. Although the issue of conscription from 1916 provided a clear division for developing an understanding of the home front, British Jews continued to be scrutinised since unnaturalised resident Jews, particularly those from Russia, remained exempt from compulsory military service until 1917. An exploration of these issues and others will show that anti-Jewish sentiment, advanced by tumultuous wartime fervour, was far more prevalent in Scotland than has previously been exposed by historiography or Jewish memory.

Jewish Patriotism and Participation on the Home Front

If sending forth soldiers to the front was vital for the integration of Scottish Jews, their activity on the home front within their own communities was just as important in demonstrating their patriotism to their Scottish neighbours. Prior to the war, Michael Simons (1842-1925) had emerged as the leading Jewish figure in Glasgow society. A successful fruit broker, Simons was the first Jew elected to the Glasgow Town Council in 1883, became a Bailie in 1887, and later served as chairman of the council of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts.¹ His efforts for the city of

¹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp. 108, 111, 131.

Glasgow were well regarded by Scot and Jew alike, and his support for the military was evident even before the war. He had previously been the Vice President of the Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association, and after that organization dissipated he maintained an interest in the Territorial Force through his connections with the Jewish Young Men's Institute. Shortly after war was declared, Simons was one of many prominent members to appear on the platform at a recruiting meeting in St. Andrew's Hall in Glasgow.² He also took a specific Jewish interest in military matters, presiding over a special entertainment in 1917 which saw over 150 Jewish servicemen parade from the South Portland Street Synagogue to St. Andrew's Hall.³ In Edinburgh Elias Fürst, son of Rev. Jacob Fürst, used his position as chairman of Heart of Midlothian Football Club to encourage young men to join the 16th Royal Scots, famously known as 'McCrae's Battalion' or 'Hearts Battalion,' composed of 'players, ticket-holders and general followers' of the club.⁴ Fürst took a leading role in recruitment, holding meetings and admonishing footballers for not doing their duty to country.⁵ Elias' brother, Isaac, a lawyer and Justice of the Peace, was heavily involved in Jewish and Scottish affairs in Edinburgh, and as chairman of the Edinburgh Jewish Representative Council Isaac was responsible for entertaining and honouring Sergeant Issy Smith, a Jewish soldier awarded the Victoria Cross, during his time assisting a recruitment drive in Edinburgh in 1915.⁶

As leading Jewish communal figures in their respective cities, Simons and Fürst were highly visible within Scottish society, yet there were plenty of other Jews who worked hard to show their support for the war effort. Fundraising provided an opportunity for anyone to participate, and in Glasgow around 200 Jewish women assisted by members of the Jewish Lads' Brigade quickly collected nearly £450 on a single day for the Prince of Wales' Relief Fund in October 1914.⁷ Unfortunately, it was later learned that the government excluded non-naturalised residents from benefiting from the fund, so the Jewish community turned their fund raising efforts in other

² *Glasgow Herald*, 10 December 1914, p. 11.

³ *Glasgow Herald*, 25 September 1917, p. 3.

⁴ Jack Alexander, *McCrae's Battalion: The Story of the 16th Royal Scots* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2003), p. 81.

⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 November 1914, p. 4; 2 December 1914, p. 8.

⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 December 1915, p. 8; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 December 1915, p. 3.

⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 October 1914, p. 14; 23 October 1914, p. 8.

directions.⁸ Various funds for the relief of Jews of varying nationalities including Belgian, Serbian, Polish, and Russian Jews became popular, and in Greenock relief money was gathered on the special occasions of a Barmitzvah and a B'rith.⁹ Within the privacy of the Jewish community these funds were raised in great sums throughout Scotland, but funds organised by Christian societies created tension between the two religious communities – a problem that will be explored in greater detail below. Flag days which raised money for Jewish causes also opened the Jewish community to criticism. In Aberdeen a successful flag day brought in around £450 for Russian and Polish Jews.¹⁰ Initially, this effort was praised by the local press, but was later criticised by a member of the Gordon Highlanders imprisoned in Germany. He wrote regarding the lack of action by the Lord Provost of Aberdeen for his and his fellow soldiers' plight, noting:

As apparently no public action is to be taken locally, although Aberdeen can subscribe on a Flag Day £600 for Jews in Palestine, I hope that people who are proud of their Regiment, the Gordon Highlanders, and who do not wish them to be starved in Germany will send their subscriptions to the Secretary, Gordon Highlanders' Prisoners' Association.¹¹

In Edinburgh Jewish participation in flag days drew marked criticism from the *Evening News* which reported on an upcoming fundraiser for Polish Jews:

As on a former occasion, we may also expect to see quite a number of Jewish young ladies doing all in their power to make the day a success. Their action, doubtless the result of that clannishness characteristic of the Jewish race, is commendable, yet objectionably selfish. As far as observation will convey, their appearance as flag sellers is limited to those occasions upon which their own race are the recipients. Such practical interest in other appeals they do not show. The time of the Jewish young lady on a Saturday is not given over to the calls of business, and a few hours spent on behalf of other causes would meet with the approval of the public generally. In these days of shrinking receipts the introduction of the Jewish element might benefit the finances.¹²

The article clearly played on Jewish stereotypes of isolation and wealth, and a swift reply was placed in the same paper the next day by Claude Isaac Michaelson, a leading

⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 November 1914, p. 25.

⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 August 1915, p. 21; 2 June 1916, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 11 October 1915, p. 6.

¹¹ *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 22 June 1917, p. 4.

¹² *Edinburgh Evening News*, 23 July 1915, p. 4.

figure in the Edinburgh Jewish community. He declare that the article was ‘not only...a pure fable, but, unlike Aesop’s, it points no moral but rather want of one.’ In defence of the local Jewish women Michaelson stated that his own daughters had participated in fundraising on eleven different Saturdays and that others had given up various evenings of work for fundraising, some staying out late on Saturday evenings ‘hours after many had given up.’¹³

Jewish work among the wounded and hospitals brought less criticism from wider society and the press. During the initial months of the war, Jacob Lucas visited a lone wounded Jewish soldier at Craighleith Military Hospital in Edinburgh after reading the *Jewish Chronicle*.¹⁴ Other war hospitals in Scotland benefitted from the generosity of Maurice (or Morris) Bloch, a successful distiller, who donated a large quantity of liquor.¹⁵ If tending to wounded Jewish soldiers was rather casual at the beginning of the war, Scottish Jews became more committed and thorough as the Jewish wounded from across Britain continued to be sent to hospitals in their cities. Garnethill Synagogue and the Jewish women of Glasgow seemed to be particularly attentive to the needs of their convalescing co-religionists. In 1915 Rev. Phillips, the Reverend Levine and Bernard Plotzker were recognised for their efforts on the soldiers’ behalf,¹⁶ and toward the end of the year the ladies of Garnethill Synagogue organised together to work with the Red Cross and to raise funds.¹⁷ During an early charity event the ladies raised £75 of which the greater portion was sent to Bellahouston Military Hospital ‘for a bed to be named after the Glasgow Jewish girls.’¹⁸ The women were rewarded for their work with a special pass that allowed two visitors admittance up to three times a week,¹⁹ and later the Glasgow Jewish Literary and Social Society also successfully raised funds for a bed to be named in their honour for the Scottish Women’s Hospitals for Foreign Service.²⁰ The most complex system of visitation was established later into the war by the women of the Lady Rothschild Lodge who formed the Jewish Ladies’ Hospital Visiting Society, overseen by Rev. Phillips. They attempted

¹³ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 24 July 1915, p. 5.

¹⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 November 1914, p. 13; 4 December 1914, p. 16.

¹⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 February 1915, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 October 1915, p. 20; 26 November 1915, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 December 1915, p. 24; 31 December 1915, p. 18.

¹⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 February 1916, p. 12.

¹⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 March 1916, p. 28.

²⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1916, p. 25; 17 March 1916, p. 28; 12 May 1916, p. 20.

to coordinate with the thirty-five war hospitals around Glasgow, and near the end of the war they had visited over 230 sick and wounded Jewish servicemen, providing them with much needed supplies and contacting family members.²¹ Their sister society in Edinburgh paid similar attentions, hosting a celebration for the wounded Jewish soldiers of Edinburgh after British forces captured Jerusalem late in 1917.²² Other actions were taken by the Glasgow Jewish Young Men's Institute which provided a concert for the wounded soldiers of Oakbank Hospital, while a number of wounded Jewish soldiers were treated to tea at the home of a Mr. B. Jacobs.²³

This hospital work was not an overnight patriotic development. In 1899 the Glasgow Jewish Hospital Fund and Sick Visiting Association was begun, and from then other organisations and activities were developed to provide medical and financial help to Jewish poor in the city.²⁴ The wartime work was built upon the foundations previously laid, but it was work regarded as worthy and patriotic amongst the public. In Scotland Elsie Inglis elevated the work of women in frontline hospitals by founding the Scottish Women's Hospitals, and after her death in November 1917 she was recognised as one of the greatest Scottish heroes of the war.²⁵ By 1917 over 45,000 British women were involved in nursing, most of them from the middle and upper classes which is consistent with the interest and participation shown by the Jewish women of Garnethill.²⁶

In addition to medical volunteers, there were a number of Jewish medical professionals at work across Scotland. Scottish universities had attracted around twenty Jewish graduates in medicine prior to the war, although only four Jewish doctors were practising in Glasgow at this time.²⁷ In 1915, Dr. Solomon Bridge was tending to soldiers at the Springburn Military Hospital, and a year later both Dr. Bridge and Dr. Saul Harris were serving in the military – unable to serve the health needs of

²¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 September 1917, p. 17; 21 June 1918, p. 16.

²² *Glasgow Herald*, 17 December 1917, p. 8; *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 December 1917, p. 13.

²³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 April 1917, p. 14; 7 September 1917, p. 17.

²⁴ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 102-103, 158-160.

²⁵ Royle, *The Flowers of the Forest*, pp. 221-227.

²⁶ Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge* (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 133.

²⁷ Kenneth Collins, *Be Well! Jewish Immigrant Health and Welfare in Glasgow, 1860-1914* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), pp. 148-149. Collins does not include Dr. Solomon Bridge as one of the four Jewish doctors in Glasgow before the war, but he did serve as Jewish Dispensary for a brief period during the war.

Glasgow Jews at home.²⁸ This left Dr. Isaac Lipetz as the primary Jewish health practitioner in Glasgow, dealing with around 500 consultations and visits annually.²⁹ The Jewish community was not alone in its strain on doctors as one Glasgow doctor complained that 'too many general practitioners made a rush for the front, and left behind them big practices that their neighbours have had great difficulty in attending to.' This resulted in him being 'responsible for the treatment of about 9,000 people, and undertaking double the usual number of maternity cases.'³⁰ The increased need of health professionals for military hospitals did provide increased opportunities of Jewish doctors, however. In Glasgow Joseph Michaelson was House Surgeon at Springburn Military Hospital, later taking in the same role at the Glasgow Infirmary, and by the end of the war he was serving abroad as a Lieutenant in the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC).³¹ Dr. J.H. Dove of Inverness also served as a Senior Resident Surgeon in an English military hospital and was commissioned as a temporary Captain in the RAMC by the end of the war.³² Edinburgh saw an influx of Jewish doctors, first with Sid Rosebery, who transferred from working in military wards in the south, and later with the appointment of Lieutenant Sandelson, RAMC, of Newcastle, as Senior Resident Medical Officer and Clinical Tutor to the Edinburgh Royal Maternity Hospital.³³

Outside of the local hospitals the Jewish community provided care for the soldiers with regular parades and entertainments. In Edinburgh the Edinburgh Ladies' Lodge put on yearly entertainments for those men home on leave for the Holy Days. Occasionally there were non-Jewish soldiers present, and it was proudly reported that 'men from practically every Scottish unit' were represented.³⁴ By the last year of the war, the sixty men present included 'American sailors, marines, and soldiers, Canadians, Zionist members of the Royal Fusiliers, and representatives of Scottish Highland and Lowland regiments, as well as English units.'³⁵ In Glasgow an

²⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 June 1915, p. 23; 2 June 1916, p. 20.

²⁹ Collins, *Be Well!*, p. 170.

³⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 August 1915, p. 4. This doctor's statement was in response to a letter to the editor which claimed that Glasgow doctors had failed to answer the call to military service abroad.

³¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 January 1917, p. 18; 23 March 1917, p. 26; 6 September 1918, p. XI.

³² *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 September 1917, p. 28.

³³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 January 1917, p. 21; 6 April 1917, p. 17.

³⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 31 December 1915, p. 19; 13 October 1916, p. 16; *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 10 October 1916, p. 6.

³⁵ *The Scotsman*, 9 September 1918, p. 4.

entertainment organised by the Young Men's Institute in 1916 made a grand impression on the Scottish and broader Jewish community.³⁶ Of the 250 men present around 150 were in uniform, representing 'mostly Scottish' regiments, and their parade from the South Portland Street Synagogue to the Windsor Hotel was headed by the Govan Police Pipe Band. Rev. Phillips addressed the men and emphasised to them that 'wherever they were and whatever they did they were to remember that they were Jews,' while Michael Simons stressed that 'they were fighting, not as Jews, but as Britons.' The men were also addressed by prominent men of Glasgow including the Town Clerk, Sir John Lindsay, Colonel Shaughnessy, ex-Bailie Campbell, and Councillor Armour.³⁷ The Lord Provost, Sir Thomas Dunlop, was unable to attend but sent a message expressing his admiration for the meeting and the soldiers.³⁸

Individuals and organizations offered a great deal of support for the war, but the most ardent support came from the leading clerics. Rev. Fürst of the Graham Street Synagogue in Edinburgh during the years prior to the war had encouraged his sons to become Scottish as an act of 'good manners toward a generous host,'³⁹ and the war gave him opportunity to further promote this ideal among the Jewish community. While the 16th Battalion of the Royal Scots was being formed, Rev. Fürst sent a letter of support to headquarters which stated, 'The supreme law of loyalty demands sacrifice and self-abnegation on the part of every man fit for service' – a sentiment which certainly included able-bodied Jews in Edinburgh.⁴⁰ Rev. Levinson, a fellow-minister, later echoed this thought in stating that 'the Allies' cause was the Jewish cause, and the triumph of that cause would result in the freeing of mankind from the tyranny of militarism.'⁴¹ Rev. Fürst's paper 'Jewish Patriotism' was delivered to the Edinburgh Jewish Literary Society, and after the death of Lord Kitchener Rev. Fürst's patriotic ideals led him to likening the military icon's service to country to that of Moses' commitment to God and the Israelites.⁴² Along with promoting military service, Rev. Fürst tended to the local Jewish servicemen during special *Chanukah* services as well

³⁶ An entertainment the following year received similar participation and attention. See *Glasgow Herald*, 25 September 1917, p. 3; *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 October 1917, p. 17.

³⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 5 October 1916, p. 9; *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 October 1916, pp. 22-23; 13 October 1916, p. 17.

³⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 October 1916, p. 8.

³⁹ Alexander, *McCrae's Battalion*, p. 60.

⁴⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 3 December 1914, p. 9.

⁴¹ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 10 September 1918, p. 4.

⁴² *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 November 1915, p. 27; 16 June 1916, p. 18.

as occasionally presiding over the regular military services.⁴³ Rev. Fürst did temper his patriotism during a sermon in which he urged the congregation to ‘offer our earnest prayers to God for a speedy restoration of peace.’⁴⁴

Rev. Fürst’s health, which failed him only days before the armistice, limited his activities during the war, leaving Rev. E.P. Phillips of the Garnethill Synagogue of Glasgow as the most active Jewish minister in Scotland. As Collins noted, Rev. Phillips’ position at Garnethill led many, including the Chief Rabbi, to consider him the ‘spiritual head of Glasgow Jewry.’⁴⁵ Prior to the war, Rev. Phillips had taken keen interest in Jewish military participation prior to the Great War, most notably in holding military *Chanukah* services at Garnethill since 1898. He was also the Chaplain of the GJVA during its brief existence and had served as Chaplain to the JLB since 1907, an important position which he continued to hold during the war as the organization was a training ground for future soldiers.⁴⁶ Unsurprisingly, Rev. Phillips was appointed as one of six representatives in the provinces to Rev. Michael Adler, head Jewish Chaplain to the Forces, in early September 1914.⁴⁷ In essence, Rev. Phillips was responsible for all Jewish servicemen in Scottish regiments as Scottish Command was directed to supply him with the names of all known ‘soldiers of the Jewish persuasion.’⁴⁸ Indeed, Rev. Phillips was later referred to as ‘Chaplain to the Jewish Forces in Scotland’ confirming his responsibility for the whole of Scotland.⁴⁹ In this capacity Rev. Phillips directed regular military services for the Jewish servicemen in Glasgow,⁵⁰ and after making preparations in Edinburgh during a visit, he directed the military services with the assistance of Lieutenant A.W.E. Sandelson who later assumed responsibility in Edinburgh.⁵¹ In addition to organizing these services in the two largest Scottish cities, Rev. Phillips was warmly welcomed in his attempts to start military services in Dunfermline and even travelled as far north as Montrose to officiate for the Jewish

⁴³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 December 1914, p. 29; 16 March 1917, p. 20; 27 July 1917, p. 14; 15 September 1918, p. 18.

⁴⁴ *The Scotsman*, 9 August 1915, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 June 1915, p. 26.

⁴⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 September 1914, p. 13; Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour*, p. 13.

⁴⁸ *The Scotsman*, 16 September 1914, p. 9; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 16 September 1914, p. 3.

⁴⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 September 1916, p. 31; *Southern Reporter*, 20 January 1916, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 March 1917, p. 16; 25 May 1917, p. 19; 8 June 1917, p. 16; 15 June 1917, p. 16; 22 June 1917, p. 12; 29 June 1917, p. 18.

⁵¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 April 1916, p. 22; 9 March 1917, p. 20; 23 March 1917, p. 16; 15 June 1917, p. 16; 22 June 1917, p. 12; 29 June 1917, p. 18.

servicemen there.⁵² Other regular services were held in Greenock and St. Andrews which were likely influenced by Rev. Phillips as well.⁵³

Rev. Phillips' preaching was resoundingly patriotic. During a special intercessory service only months after the start of war, he proclaimed the 'supreme righteousness of Britain's cause.'⁵⁴ That same year he used the historical context of the *Chanukah* service to promote solidarity with the allies, likening Belgium's resistance to German invasion to that of the ancient Israelites who fought to keep their land from 'covetous enemies.'⁵⁵ Services of a more sombre nature required the attention of Rev. Phillips as well. In March 1918, he directed the funeral of Lieutenant Sydney Stern of the Royal Flying Corps (RFC) who died in a flying accident in Oxford.⁵⁶ Two months later, another air accident claimed the life of 2nd Lieutenant Benjamin Cohen, Royal Air Force (RAF), in Montrose where Rev. Phillips travelled to arrange for the officer's burial in Glasgow.⁵⁷

The needs of wounded soldiers also required the reverend's time, and as early as October 1914, wounded Jewish servicemen were arriving at Glasgow hospitals.⁵⁸ Sadly, one Scottish Jewish serviceman, Private Lewis Cohen, succumbed to his wounds while in hospital in Glasgow and was interred in the Garnethill Burial Ground.⁵⁹ Rev. Phillips was likely involved with his funeral as well. Although Rev. Phillips had been commended by the members of Garnethill Synagogue, not all were impressed with his work. In May 1918, Gunner Harris wrote to the Chief Rabbi from Dykebar War Hospital in Paisley complaining that he and his three co-religionists felt 'cut off' and 'virtually prisoners.' Harris was particularly upset by the lack of visits made by Rev. Phillips, 'three times in the last four months,' despite 'coming from Glasgow a distance

⁵² *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 May 1916, p. 16; 23 March 1917, p. 14.

⁵³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 June 1917, p. 12; 27 July 1917, p. 14; 10 August 1917, p. 14; 7 September 1917, p. 15; 26 October 1917, p. 19; 15 June 1917, p. 16; 29 June 1917, p. 18; 17 August 1917, p. 10; 31 August 1917, p. 13; 19 October 1917, p. 17.

⁵⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 October 1914, p. 14.

⁵⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 December 1914, p. 28. In part, *Chanukah* celebrates the successful revolt of Judea in 165 BC against the rule of the Seleucid Empire.

⁵⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 March 1918, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 24 May 1918, p. 6; *Dundee Courier*, 9 May 1918, p. 3; 13 May 1918, p. 2; *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9 May 1918, p. 5.

⁵⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 October 1914, p. 15. It is not always evident where wounded Jewish servicemen were from, but a number were certainly English Jews convalescing in Scottish hospitals.

⁵⁹ *Dundee Courier*, 13 May 1916, p. 4. The three graves of Lieutenant Stern, 2nd Lieutenant Cohen, and Private Cohen at Garnethill Jewish Cemetery are all recognized by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

of eight miles.’ He also claimed that Rev. Phillips had ignored letters from himself and another patient regarding Passover arrangements, and that Rev. Phillips’ promise of a visit to his house had gone unfulfilled. In essence, Harris felt that Rev. Phillips had done little to relieve the wounded men’s physical and spiritual needs, and appealed to the Chief Rabbi for ‘a man [sic] to help us in our difficulties to fight for our religious rights and justice.’⁶⁰ For Rev. Phillips and other Jewish clergymen, the task of hospital visitation clearly put a strain on time and finances, and the Jewish War Services Committee was able to aid the work of men such as Rev. Phillips in small measure periodically.⁶¹ Harris’ view of Rev. Phillips was in considerable contrast to the image that has been preserved of a man who worked tirelessly for the good of Jewish soldiers in Scotland and revealed tensions at home between front line and home front within a Jewish context.

Rev. Phillips and Rev. Fürst were the most outspoken supporters of the war, and as such they followed the tradition of wartime British Jewish preachers.⁶² These men essentially represented the older integrated Jewish community and therefore received a greater amount of attention from the Jewish and Scottish press. The press made no direct praises of these Scottish Jewish preachers but did consistently report on their favourable attitudes toward the British cause and rarely cast them in a negative light. The preachers’ appeal was to all Jews within their large communities, a sentiment that was echoed by the Reverend Frankenthall in Aberdeen who called upon ‘British born, naturalised, or foreign Jews’ to ‘do their duty.’⁶³ Nevertheless, Rev. Frankenthall focused on his community’s ability to contribute financially rather than militarily given their small numbers, a theme common to the smaller communities outside of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The call for all Jews of every background did not go unheeded by the largely immigrant section of Glasgow Jewry on the South Side as evidenced by South Portland Street Synagogue hosting the major entertainments for servicemen. These entertainments were not entirely free of West End influence since men such as Rev. Phillips and Michael Simons were prominently involved. Even when the smaller Oxford Street Synagogue held a memorial service later in the war, Rev.

⁶⁰ LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/044.

⁶¹ Rothschild Archives, File 000/358, disbursement notes.

⁶² Marc Saperstien, ‘British Jewish Preachers in Time of War (1800-1918)’, *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 4:3 (2005), p. 255.

⁶³ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 19 August 1914, p. 3.

Phillips was one of the preachers.⁶⁴ In Edinburgh, Elias Fürst was keen to communicate that most Jewish young men were involved in the military though 90% of his community claimed Russian origin, whether naturalised, unnaturalised, or British-born.⁶⁵ The Jewish establishment in Scotland worked tirelessly to portray their community as patriotic and promote loyalty internally, yet, as will be observed in the following section, the successes proclaimed by the Jewish press and even by sections of the Scottish press were often countered by prejudice and opposition by the public and in the Scottish press that to date have received little attention from historians.

Anti-alien Sentiment in Pre-war Scotland

In order to understand the anti-alien issue in the Scottish context during the First World War, particularly anti-German and anti-Russian sentiment and how they pertain to the Jewish population, it is necessary to observe the issue prior to the war. Traditionally, Britain has been remembered by the Jewish community as a safe-haven for immigrants, and while on many occasions this sentiment has been true, such a broad generalization would be misleading. As far back as 1290, Jewish people living in England were expelled by decree of King Edward I, and it was not until 1656, during the reign of Oliver Cromwell, that Jews were permitted to once again take residence in Britain. In 1793 an Aliens Act was passed which created an Aliens Office and required aliens who entered a British port to register themselves. Further modifications to this act were passed in 1816, 1826 and 1836.⁶⁶ It was not until the 1905 Aliens Act that restrictive measures were placed upon the arrival of aliens to Britain, the primary target being Russian Jews who had been migrating westward in large numbers since 1881. Glover observed that during this time the term 'alien' was 'a popular synonym for East European Jews, and everyone was aware of this deadly chain of racialising equivalences.'⁶⁷ Political ideologies, diseases, and competition for jobs were just some of the ways in which Jews and other immigrant groups were viewed as threatening by

⁶⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 May 1917, p. 25.

⁶⁵ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 5 May 1916, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Roger Kershaw and Mark Pearsall, *Immigrants and Aliens: A Guide to Sources on UK immigration and Citizenship* (Richmond: Public Record Office, 2000), p. 9.

⁶⁷ David Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora in Fin-de-Siècle England: A Cultural History of the 1905 Aliens Act* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 4.

the British public. These issues were frequently discussed in the press and popular literature of the time and occasionally led to violent rhetoric and activity as it did against Jews in London, Leeds, and Salford in 1903, in Limerick in 1904, and in South Wales in 1911.⁶⁸

In Scotland there was no violence to speak of, but as an ethnic group with a distinct religious connection, Jews were outsiders from their earliest residency in a predominantly Christian (Presbyterian) society. In Aberdeen, the practice of *shechita*, the Jewish method of slaughtering animals in accordance to religious guidelines, was brought under scrutiny in 1893 after protestations by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, but the charges brought forth were eventually dismissed.⁶⁹ William Kenefick's analysis of oral testimonies revealed that Glasgow Jews generally lived in harmony with their Catholic and Protestant neighbours, but the Jewish community did feel threatened by the missions work of various Christian organizations, the most important being the Church of Scotland Jewish Evangelic Mission located in the Gorbals.⁷⁰ The events of the First World War would again make Christian missions to the Jews a major issue – which will be examined further below.

Throughout the nineteenth century in Scotland, the small Jewish community remained relatively undisturbed until the lead-up to the 1905 Aliens Act. From 1902-1903 a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was sent to gather facts on the subject nationwide. Two of Glasgow's leading Jewish businessmen, Julius Pinto and Jacob Kramrisch, were called upon to give evidence before the Commission regarding the Jewish community. Both men, naturally, spoke favourably of the living conditions, education, and employment of the Jewish segment of Glasgow; yet the issue was prominent enough to prompt a debate session in the Glasgow Jewish Literary Society in which Bertie Heilbron moved for the limitation of immigration.⁷¹ Julius Pinto spoke for the opposing view which received the 'overwhelming majority' of votes.⁷² In

⁶⁸ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 70-71; Dermot Keogh and Andrew McCarthy, *Limerick Boycott 1904: Anti-Semitism in Ireland* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2005), pp. 37-56; Geoffrey Alderman, *Controversy and Crisis: Studies in the History of the Jews in Modern Britain* (Boston: Academic Press, 2008), pp. 76-82.

⁶⁹ Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 22.

⁷⁰ Kenefick, 'The Jews and Irish in Modern Scotland', pp. 196-197; Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 72-73, 103-104; Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 22.

⁷¹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 109-112.

⁷² *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 February 1903, p. 29.

London, the Jewish Board of Guardians sent over 50,000 Jews in Britain back to continental Europe from 1881 to 1914, a policy of repatriation of Eastern European Jews that was more 'consistent' and 'systematic' among Anglo-Jewry than from any other Western Jewish community.⁷³ The intent was to curb anti-alien policies in Britain and was not due specifically to anti-Semitism but rather the fear of potential anti-Semitism. Since records prior to the First World War have not been recovered for the Board of Guardians in Glasgow, it is impossible to know the extent of repatriation from the city. However, an article in the *Jewish Chronicle* recounted the annual meeting of the Board in 1905 which stated that:

Several cases were repatriated to Russia and other countries on the Continent, but this had only been done when the applicants themselves desired it and the Boards were of the opinion that such procedure was absolutely necessary.⁷⁴

Kenneth Collins appeared to use this report to conclude that 'possibly only a family or two or perhaps just a few individuals' were repatriated, emphasizing that 'this was only done as a last resort and with the full consent of those concerned.'⁷⁵ Henry Maitles, however, viewed this activity as further evidence of a class divide within Glasgow Jewry and, like Hochberg, criticised the notion that immigrants who made the long, dangerous journey to find betterment for themselves would have voluntarily returned to their former difficulties.⁷⁶

In relation to Scottish society, Nicholas Evans found a system of 'racial labelling' amongst the Glasgow shipping companies in the pre-war years, specifically aimed at Jewish transmigrants.⁷⁷ Those Jews who did stay in Scotland faced difficulty in finding adequate work the same as their fellow immigrants across Britain, and Maitles insisted that 'the cosy suggested relationship between Jewish workers and employers is in fact a myth.' The stereotypes regarding Jewish workers, both good and bad, existed in Glasgow as they did in other British cities where Jews were 'at one and the same time,

⁷³ Severin Hochberg, 'The Repatriation of Eastern European Jews from Great Britain: 1881-1914', *Jewish Social Studies*, 50:1 (1988), p. 49.

⁷⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 December 1905, p. 36.

⁷⁵ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 69-71.

⁷⁶ Henry Maitles, 'Attitudes to Jewish Immigration in the West of Scotland to 1905', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 15:1 (1995), pp. 54-56; Hochberg, 'Repatriation of Eastern European Jews', pp. 50-53. Later in the 1930s when Jews were seeking refuge from Nazi Germany, Ben Braber notes that the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council feared a rise in anti-Jewish feeling and sought to send these refugees on to Palestine rather than house them in Glasgow. See Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp. 127-128.

⁷⁷ Evans, 'Commerce, State, and Anti-Alienism', pp. 87-90.

scabs and militants, lazy and work too hard.’⁷⁸ Around the time of the Aliens Bill Commission in 1903, frustration over Jewish workers resulted in the printing of a pamphlet entitled *Undesirable Aliens* circulated in Glasgow complaining of fraudulent business practices by Rumanian Jews.⁷⁹ The issue in Glasgow was significant enough to catch the attention of Israel Zangwill, a British Jewish writer and Zionist, who warned the government of growing anti-Semitism in his letter to *The Times* claiming ‘Jew-baiting in Wales, Jew-boycotting in Ireland, and anti-Semitic pamphleteering in Scotland.’⁸⁰

The processes leading up to the 1905 Aliens Bill drew out negative attitudes toward Jews, and overt anti-Jewish feelings became widely evident in 1909. Just before Christmas in 1908, Marion Gilchrist was brutally murdered in her Glasgow home, the prime suspect being Oscar Slater whose reputation as a pimp and a thug were particularly scrutinised. More importantly, Braber notes that he was identified early on as a German Jew. Witnesses identified him by his ‘Jewish’ features, the press emphasised his foreignness, and one of the investigators claimed that such a crime could only have been perpetrated by a foreigner from Eastern Europe or the United States.⁸¹ Despite contrary evidence, Slater was convicted of murder and sentenced to death, a sentence later commuted to life imprisonment.

The Slater case exposed mixed views within Scottish society and the Jewish community. Although popular opinion may have been against Slater regarding his character and foreignness as described above, the conviction and sentence evoked a campaign from the public in which a petition calling for commutation of Slater’s death sentence was signed by 20,000 people.⁸² Some newspapers were not quite so sympathetic, the *Perthshire Advertiser* least so. When Slater’s case received a review in 1914, an article in the paper headlined ‘Semitic Scandal’ accused Jews ‘in high places outside and inside Parliament’ of frightening government authorities. The article finished by accusing ‘moneyed Jews’ of dominating government and the press.⁸³ A few months later the paper again took aim at ‘the Jews with their vast resources’ in an

⁷⁸ Maitles, ‘Jewish Trade Unionists in Glasgow’, pp. 52, 67.

⁷⁹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 109.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, 13 May 1905, p. 15; Glover, *Literature, Immigration and Diaspora*, p. 120.

⁸¹ Braber, ‘The Trial of Oscar Slater’, pp. 270-272.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁸³ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 22 April 1914, p. 4.

article titled 'Jews Still at Work,' and disparaged 'the nefarious efforts of the Jews to let loose the murderer, Oscar Slater.'⁸⁴

The Jewish community remained largely silent, except for Rev. E. P. Phillips who counselled Slater and campaigned for the petition. For his involvement the Garnethill congregation warned Rev. Phillips that he was working in a 'personal capacity,' and that his efforts were not representative of the synagogue.⁸⁵ In 1927, Slater was released from prison, but the Glasgow Jewish community continued to maintain its distance and silence. This stance, Braber explained, highlighted the insecurities that the Jewish community felt within Scottish society.⁸⁶ The fact that Glasgow Jews remained uneasy about associating with a German Jew of questionable character showed that pre-war fears about the standing of the Jewish community within the broader Scottish community remained despite the overt patriotism displayed during the war.⁸⁷

The British declaration of war in 1914 quickly focused the existing anti-alien sentiment fully onto the resident German contingent. Various historians such as David Cesarani, Stella Yarrow and David Saunders have examined the plight of various alien groups in Britain during the war,⁸⁸ and Panikos Panayi has provided the most comprehensive examination of German aliens. In his work *The Enemy in Our Midst*, Panayi explored the connections between pre-war anti-alienism and wartime anti-German sentiment and explained that the lines between anti-Semitism and anti-Germanism were often blurred particularly in the press, an observation corroborated by Catriona Pennell.⁸⁹ Additionally, Panayi likened the sharp decline in Britain's

⁸⁴ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 4 July 1914, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 167.

⁸⁶ Braber, 'The Trial of Oscar Slater', pp. 278-279.

⁸⁷ Other Glasgow Jews convicted of related crimes prior to the First World War included Lewis Klink, sentenced to penal servitude for life for the murder of Leah Goldberg, and Alexander Green, sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour for prostituting a young girl. *Dundee Courier*, 6 September 1905, p. 4; 7 September 1905, p. 7; *Motherwell Times*, 2 June 1911, p. 6.

⁸⁸ David Cesarani, 'An Alien Concept? The Continuity of Anti-Alienism in British Society before 1940' in David Cesarani and Tony Kushner (eds.), *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), pp. 25-35; Stella Yarrow, 'The Impact of Hostility on Germans in Britain', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 8:1-2 (1989), pp. 97-112; David Saunders, 'Aliens in Britain and the Empire during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:1 (1985), pp. 5-27.

⁸⁹ Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War* (New York: Berg, 1991), pp. 7-8, 181; Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, pp. 108-110.

German community throughout the war years to ethnic cleansing.⁹⁰ Panayi and Nicoletta Gullace have both investigated the anti-German rioting that took place in Britain during the war with Gullace looking specifically at those that occurred after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915.⁹¹ Both Panayi and Gullace focused primarily on rioting in English communities leaving Catriona Macdonald as the only historian to seriously explore Scottish anti-German rioting. But like Gullace, Macdonald focuses on those riots occurring after the *Lusitania* tragedy.⁹² The Scottish context of anti-German sentiment has been further expanded in articles by Stefan Manz who examined internment and ‘Germanophobia’ in the Scottish press.⁹³ Although there was a German-Jewish contingent in Scotland, neither Manz nor Macdonald have provided a Jewish context in their examinations of anti-Germanism in Scotland, leaving Ben Braber as the only historian to explore the Jewish context – although this is limited in scope to Glasgow in regards to Scottish Germans during the war.⁹⁴ This chapter will thus expand upon the issues addressed by Macdonald, Manz, and Braber while providing a Jewish context to anti-German sentiment in Scotland during the First World War.

Scottish Wartime Minorities

Before examining the anti-alien issues that directly affected Scotland’s Jewish community, a brief examination of other minority groups is necessary to understand the Jewish position within the broader minority community. Although Jews were the largest immigrant group in Scotland to come from outside of the United Kingdom, the English and Irish migrated in much higher numbers. At the turn of the century there were 205,000 Irish-born immigrants living in Scotland, most of whom were Catholic in

⁹⁰ Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1880* (Harlow, England: Person Longman, 2010), p. 214.

⁹¹ Nicoletta Gullace, ‘Friends, Aliens and Enemies: Fictive Communities and the Lusitania Riots of 1915’, *Journal of Social History*, 39:2 (2005), pp. 345-367.

⁹² Macdonald, ‘Race, Riot and Representations of War’, pp. 145-172.

⁹³ Stefan Manz, ‘“Our sworn, subtle, savage, implacable and perfidious foe”: Germanophobia and Spy-fever in Scotland, 1914-1918’, *Irish-German Studies*, 1 (2001/2002), pp. 28-37; Stefan Manz, ‘Civilian Internment in Scotland during the First World War’, in Richard Dove (ed.), *Totally Un-English?: Britain’s Internment of “Enemy Aliens” in Two World Wars*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 83-97.

⁹⁴ Braber, ‘Within Our Gates’, pp. 87-105.

contrast to Protestant Scots.⁹⁵ Many of the Irish settled in Glasgow with a number residing in the Gorbals alongside the Jewish population, and despite living in close-quarters William Kenefick has argued that Irish and Jews lived together relatively peacefully thanks to church leadership.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, Irish numbers and religious differences marked them as an outsider group. Tom Devine stated that support from the Catholic leadership in Scotland and the large numbers of Irish volunteers removed 'any doubts about the loyalty of the Irish in Scotland to the British state,' yet the Scottish press frequently cast a negative light on Irish issues throughout the war.⁹⁷ The absence of conscription in Ireland compounded by the Easter Uprising in April 1916 provided opportunities to question Irish loyalty, and those Irish residing in Scotland were accused of fleeing back to Ireland in an attempt to escape military service. Even prior to conscription, the Irish were accused of attempting to avoid registration under the National Registration Act, and in Greenock large crowds made 'hostile demonstrations' against Irish travellers resulting in the arrest of one demonstrator.⁹⁸ A few months later in November 1915 the *Glasgow Herald* ran an article under the headline 'Irish Emigrants: Afraid of Compulsory Service' reporting that 'between 300 and 400' Irish immigrants, the majority being 'young, able-bodied men, quite obviously of military age' boarded a Clyde steamer heading for America.⁹⁹ The same day it was reported that six Irishmen who intended to board the same steamer were arrested in Glasgow for failure to comply with the Aliens Registration Act. After conscription was enacted the *Glasgow Herald* continued to report on 'hundreds' of eligible Irishmen boarding cross-channel steamers from the Clyde and attempted to moderate its tone on the issue by stating that 'reports are no doubt some-what exaggerated.'¹⁰⁰

Once Irishmen started appearing before military tribunals, the press focused its attention on specific individuals. One conscientious objector at the beginning of 1916 stated that he failed to 'see what I as an Irishman have got to do with this war,' to which a tribunal member replied, 'He's a man who is prepared to fight for Ireland and

⁹⁵ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 487.

⁹⁶ Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations', p. 229.

⁹⁷ Devine, *The Scottish Nation*, p. 496.

⁹⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 August 1915, p. 9; 16 August 1915, p. 8.

⁹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 November 1915, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 March 1916, p. 8; 3 March 1916, p. 8.

live off Scotland.’¹⁰¹ And as we have seen previously, Russian Jews encountered similar sentiments from tribunalists as well. During a trial report in July 1916 two Irishmen admitted to leaving London in hopes of reaching Dublin in order to avoid service.¹⁰² On multiple occasions Irishmen were arrested in Ireland and returned to Scotland as absentees, and although Jews were identified as evaders to Ireland on multiple occasions the Irish received greater attention in the press.¹⁰³ Irish irritation over this unwanted attention reached boiling point in August 1915 when the *Glasgow Observer*, Glasgow’s main Catholic newspaper, accused ‘well-to-do-Scots and even Jews’ as the primary culprits fleeing to Ireland.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, one Irishman’s application to return to Ireland after three weeks of work in Glasgow was met with considerable irritation by Sheriff Fyfe who responded, ‘We are awfully tired of Irishmen who come over here and accept work and then want to go back again,’ and finished by bluntly saying, ‘See that you stay in Ireland this time.’¹⁰⁵ Complaints that Irishmen were filling the vacant job positions on the Clyde left by Scottish servicemen even made their way down to Parliament, and similar objections were made against Jews throughout the war.¹⁰⁶ Toward the end of the war, the focus again shifted to Irish radicalism with reports of various arrests being made for smuggling explosives from the Clyde into Ireland.¹⁰⁷ Despite being traditional and thereby easy targets for criticism during the war, Martin Mitchell emphasised that the twenty years following the Great War represents ‘the most intense and sustained period of popular hostility to the Catholic Irish community in Scotland over the past 200 years.’¹⁰⁸

In addition to the Irish the Italians were another predominantly Catholic minority, but in comparison to the Jewish community they were considerably smaller. In the 1871 Census only 268 Italians were counted in all of Scotland, but by 1911 the Italian community numbered just over 4,500 in Scotland with an increase being

¹⁰¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 22 March 1916, p. 8.

¹⁰² *Glasgow Herald*, 24 July 1916, p. 5.

¹⁰³ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 August 1916, p. 3; 19 August 1916, p. 7; 6 June 1917, p. 11; 8 June 1917, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Elaine McFarland, ‘Our Country’s Heroes’: Irish Catholics in Scotland and the Great War’, in Martin Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), pp. 134-135.

¹⁰⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 July 1917, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Gregory, ‘British Public Opinion’, p. 125.

¹⁰⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 4 December 1917, p. 5; 20 March 1918, p. 8; 15 July 1918, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ Martin Mitchell, ‘Irish Catholics in the West of Scotland in the Nineteenth Century: Despised by Scottish workers and controlled by the Church?’, in Martin Mitchell (ed.), *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), p. 18.

registered in 1913.¹⁰⁹ Like the Jewish community, Italians experienced a significant growth in Scotland through the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Italian religious difference was compounded by their propensity for opening ice cream shops on Sundays, a trade that was seen as immoral by a conservative Protestant society since it provided a place for young people of both sexes to mingle. Ice cream shops were frequently connected to illegal gaming and the following report was common before and throughout the war.

An Italian ice-cream merchant name Peter Valario was convicted on evidence at Queen's Park Police Court, Glasgow...of having...kept a lottery and allowed two persons to exercise their chance at the machine. Bailie Smith imposed a fine of 2 guineas, with the option of 14 days' imprisonment.¹¹⁰

The war did little to alleviate criticism of ice cream traders as one reader wrote to the *Edinburgh Evening News* of the 'ever-increasing evil of gambling in ice cream shops' and suggested that in such 'days of stress' the shops should 'be closed for the duration of the war, if not altogether.'¹¹¹ Italian neutrality at the beginning of the war did little to relieve suspicion of the small Italian community in Scotland, and reports such as that against Philip Fionda would have done little to allay any mistrust. Fionda was identified as 'an Italian' and sentenced to two months imprisonment for 'statements made likely to prejudice recruiting' by making complimentary statements regarding the Germany military.¹¹² In May 1915, Italy declared war on Germany, and it was estimated that there were 1,000 men in Scotland eligible to be called up to the Italian army, 500 of which were thought to reside in Glasgow.¹¹³ By June, 159 Italian men were to march to St. Enoch Station in Glasgow to leave for service.¹¹⁴ In Dundee a group of thirty Italian draftees marched through the city under the Italian flag as they made their way to the train station and were met with 'cheer after cheer...as they passed through the densely lined streets.'¹¹⁵ Despite the military alliance, the *Glasgow Herald* in particular continued to single out Italians in criminal reports such as Luigi

¹⁰⁹ Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, p. 30; Wendy Ugolini, *Experiencing War as the 'Enemy Other': Italian Scottish Experience in World War II* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 28.

¹¹⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 18 December 1914, p. 4.

¹¹¹ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 27 March 1916, p. 4.

¹¹² *Glasgow Herald*, 17 August 1915, p. 3.

¹¹³ *Daily Record*, 31 May 1915, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 June 1915, p. 10.

¹¹⁵ *Dundee Advertiser*, 15 June 1915, p. 9.

Antoniani who was imprisoned for selling stolen goods with the suggestion that he should face deportation as an 'undesirable alien.'¹¹⁶

Before the war both Italians and Irish had established communities, and established tensions, in Scotland. But a third minority group, the Belgians, came to Britain purely a result of the war, and throughout the war around 250,000 refugees arrived in the country.¹¹⁷ By the end of the war the Glasgow Corporation Belgian Committee had registered around 20,000 Belgian refugees, the largest number outside of England, and had raised over £200,000 without government aid.¹¹⁸ The Jewish community across Scotland joined in the effort as well, raising funds and arranging accommodation for Jewish Belgians.¹¹⁹ Glaswegians were not all entirely sympathetic with the plight of the Belgians in their midst, and some who provided accommodation 'became tired of their guests and handed them back to the Committee.'¹²⁰ Complaints began to surface that Belgians were having 'too much done for them' and that they were taking jobs away from residents.¹²¹ Concern that Belgians of military age were taking refuge and jobs in Glasgow provoked a response from the Glasgow Corporation Belgian Committee that such men had been 'invariably refused,' but the subject must have continued to be an issue as four Belgian policemen were later sent to Glasgow to aid the Belgian population and search for deserters.¹²² A sense of the Belgians' otherness was further emphasised early on with the confirmation that 'the refugees almost without exception are of the Catholic faith.'¹²³

The moral concerns that were raised in Scotland over the Irish and Italian communities continued throughout the war while the Irish posed an additional military threat. As for the Belgians, their appearance as a steady stream during the first years of the war eventually made them a financial burden. In comparison to their Italian, Irish, and Belgian counterparts Scottish Jews received far less negative attention in the

¹¹⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 19 May 1916, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Tony Kushner, 'Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 18:1 (1999), p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Jacqueline Jenkinson, 'Official responses to Belgian refugees in Britain 1914-1918, with special reference to Scotland's c.20,000 refugees', unpublished paper presented at Anglo-American conference of historians, 2014.

¹¹⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1914 p. 26; 6 November 1914, p. 22; 13 November 1914 p. 22; 18 December 1914, p. 28; 16 April 1915, p. 28; 23 April 1915, p. 4; 17 September 1915, p. 26.

¹²⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 6 January 1915, p. 10.

¹²¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 February 1915, p. 5; 4 March 1915, p. 4.

¹²² *Glasgow Herald*, 14 January 1915, p. 4; 5 March 1915, p. 4; 15 February 1916, p. 5.

¹²³ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 October 1914, p. 9.

press during the war, a situation perhaps aided by the sympathy throughout the war for those Jews on the continent who were being displaced and abused. Nevertheless, Scottish Jews were not entirely free from scrutiny, and the wartime anti-German and anti-Russian feelings expressed in the press posed a threat to the Jewish sense of security and integration.¹²⁴

Anti-German Sentiment in Scottish Society and the Jewish Situation

When war broke out, anti-German sentiment was prominently found in the press across Britain, and Scotland was no exception. 'Spy-fever' in Dundee for example aroused suspicions that the city's water supply was being targeted, and investigations were made into claims of spies signalling in Fife.¹²⁵ Rumours circulated of a secret German airfield in the Scottish Highlands, and in Glasgow the presence of foreigners resulted in the arrest of an innocent Belgian suspected of being a German spy on at least one occasion.¹²⁶ Fears approached reality with reports such as that of seventeen year old John Rettinger, a German, attempting to enlist in Glasgow as a British citizen.¹²⁷ The case of Carl Hans Lody, aka Charles Inglis, received far more attention as he was accused of posing as an American tourist in Edinburgh at the start of the war. Lody was arrested, sentenced, and shot as a spy in November 1914, causing the *Scotsman* to declare that 'Germans who have lived in the United States who are able to pose as Americans are the most dangerous of all spies.'¹²⁸ Attention to spying continued in the press throughout the war, and at times a Jewish element was added. In the *Post Sunday Special* a special correspondent, who had experience in Germany prior to the war, detailed his discovery of a spy school to which he was alerted simply by 'the presence of a few Jews.'¹²⁹ The Russian Revolution evoked a new aspect to this

¹²⁴ More could be said of other minority groups such as the Catholic Lithuanians who numbered around 6,000 in Lanarkshire just prior to the war. The Lithuanians were predominantly employed in the coal mining industry and received a great deal of criticism and scrutiny before and during the war for reasons not wholly different from that faced by the Irish, Italians, and Belgians. See Kenneth Lunn, 'Reactions to Lithuanian and Polish Immigrants in the Lanarkshire Coalfield, 1880-1914', in Kenneth Lunn (ed.), *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1980), pp. 308-342; Murdoch Rodgers, 'The Anglo-Russian Military Convention,' pp. 60-88.

¹²⁵ *Evening Telegraph*, 18 September 1914, p. 3; *Glasgow Herald*, 21 November 1914, p. 8.

¹²⁶ Manz, 'Germanophobia and Spy-fever', pp. 30-31; *Glasgow Herald*, 22 June 1915, p. 11.

¹²⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 September 1914, p. 9.

¹²⁸ *The Scotsman*, 12 November 1914, p. 7.

¹²⁹ *Post Sunday Special*, 7 January 1917, p. 7.

topic in which German-Jews or ‘the international Jew type’ were accused of leading the revolution.¹³⁰ Lenin himself was accused of being a German-Jewish spy whose real name was supposedly Goldberg.¹³¹

At the very outset of the war, the anti-German craze had a serious affect on one Scottish Jew. On Saturday, 15 August 1914, a crowd, reported to be around 3,000 by Police Sergeant Calder, converged upon Simon Harris’ fishmongery business in Leven, destroying the shop and effectively running Harris out of town.¹³² The *Dundee Courier* reported the riot under the headline ‘German Jew Derides British Navy,’ and the article showed an eagerness to print the dramatic, reporting a crowd ‘between four and five thousand’ and accusing Harris of ‘displaying a German flag in his shop window.’¹³³ The *Glasgow Herald* reported similarly declaring Harris a German Jew, while the *Evening Telegraph and Post* reported Harris as ‘an alien.’¹³⁴ The *Dundee Advertiser* took a more restrained view of the incident, explaining that a ‘tipsy man’ entered Harris’ shop ‘twitting him with using alleged Pro-German expressions.’ While escorting the man out of the shop, people outside took exception to Harris’ actions and the resulting crowd turned into a mob.¹³⁵ In the 19 August edition of the *Dundee Courier*, *Dundee Advertiser*, and *Glasgow Herald*, a statement from Harris’ lawyer appeared stating:

I have been consulted by Mr. Simon Harris, fish merchant, Leven, with reference to the paragraph in your issue of 17th inst. dealing with a disturbance at Leven on Saturday last. Mr. Harris is a natural-born British subject, and not, as you state, a German. His sympathies are fully with Britain in the present crisis, and it is untrue that he made any derogatory remarks about the British or that he displayed the German flag in his shop window. Mr. Harris is a Jew, but the ignorant assumption that every Jew is necessarily a German, and hence made the object of hatred as an enemy of this country, is appalling. It should be borne in mind that Jews of all classes have, in common with their fellow citizens, manifested their unswerving loyalty to this country in every conceivable direction in the righteous cause for which it has drawn the sword. The conduct of those responsible for the outrage on my client is

¹³⁰ *Post Sunday Special*, 23 December 1917, p. 6; *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 14 September 1917, p. 2.

¹³¹ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 9 May 1917, p. 3.

¹³² NRS, SC20/5/425 (A60/1914), Simon Harris V AC Dewar, Town Clerk Leven.

¹³³ *Dundee Courier*, 17 August 1914, p. 2.

¹³⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 August 1914, p. 5; *Evening Telegraph*, 17 August 1914, p. 2.

¹³⁵ *Dundee Advertiser*, 17 August 1914, p. 2.

reprehensible, and I am certain that this feeling is fully shared by every right-thinking British citizen.¹³⁶

The same letter appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening News*, to which the paper responded regarding its coverage, 'We regret that a paragraph copied from another paper should have been so misleading, and we beg to tender our apologies to Mr. Harris.'¹³⁷ As his lawyer noted, Harris was not of German descent but was in fact 'a natural-born British subject of Russian origin.'¹³⁸ The crowd, or certain people, in Leven knowing Harris was Jewish, assumed that he had German sympathies or was himself a German. Such blending of identities during the first month of the war proved to be dangerous, and for the false statements made against him, Harris took out lawsuits against the owners of both the *Dundee Courier* and the *Glasgow Herald*. Neither lawsuit provided Harris with the money that he sought, although he was entitled to recover his legal fees.¹³⁹

As for those who were involved in the riots, seven men were charged, although charges were dropped against one man who was on active service. The ringleaders, William Duncan and Vallantine Conroy, were given one month's hard labour, and the others were fined £5. The argument from their solicitor was insightful, stating that the men did not act out of 'inherent criminal or wicked feeling.' Concerning Harris' alleged German feelings and connections, the men 'felt their patriotism touched when told they were told that such a man was living in their midst.' The Deputy-Fiscal further noted, 'The war had not long broken out, and he was afraid at Leven at that time people's nerves were more or less on edge.'¹⁴⁰ After a similar scene involving damage to the shop of a German butcher in Perth, a *Glasgow Herald* headline read 'A Perth Dealer's Patriotism.'¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ *Dundee Courier*, 19 August 1914, p. 2; *Dundee Advertiser*, 19 August 1914, p. 8; *Glasgow Herald*, 19 August 1914, p. 9.

¹³⁷ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 18 August 1914, p. 2.

¹³⁸ NRS, SC253/477, Simon Harris V D.C. Thompson & Co. Ltd.: Damages.

¹³⁹ NRS, SC253/477, Simon Harris V D.C. Thompson & Co. Ltd.: Damages; NAS, SC253/478, Simon Harris V George Outram & Co., Ltd.: Damages.

¹⁴⁰ *Evening Telegraph*, 6 October 1914, p. 3. It is worth noting that the incident took place on a Saturday evening under the primary instigation of, William Duncan, who was 'worse for drink.' During the trial against the rioters, Sheriff Armour Hannay observed that 'the disturbance took place at 10 o'clock at night, when the public-houses were closing, when there was no light.' Other riots that took place in England have also been linked with weekend drinking. See Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 224; Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, p. 110.

¹⁴¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 22 July 1916, p. 5.

The debacle in Leven can partially be explained due to Harris' separation from a larger community of fellow Jews. The closest communities would have been Dundee to the north, over 20 miles away, and Edinburgh to the south, over 30 miles away. It is likely his foreign background and lack of connections to the community that prejudiced the people of Leven during the unfortunate events of 17 August 1914. Furthermore, in investigating Scottish riots in 1915 after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Macdonald noted that riots did not occur in the larger cities but rather in small towns with a miniscule German population.¹⁴² In this way, Harris' isolation as an 'outsider' in a smaller Scottish community fit the pattern. The same applies to Charles Klar of Edinburgh who was assaulted in the small town of Denny when a stranger approached him, called him a German, and struck Klar 'a savage blow on the jaw.' Klar, in reality a Russian subject, retaliated, and at his court appearance later he was dismissed with a warning from the Magistrate that he was 'not allowed to take the law into his own hands and inflict punishment himself.'¹⁴³ The actions against Harris and Klar represent the only two recorded cases of physical violence against Scottish Jews during the war, yet they revealed the vulnerability that Scottish Jews experienced away from the larger communities and exposed the inherent dangers of confusion between Jew and German at the time.

In Harris' case, his character and reputation may have also worked against him. In a lawsuit against the town of Leven, Harris claimed the damage to his shop to be worth £60. After cross-examination it was found that the total damage came to less than £10, and in conclusion the judge stated that 'the pursuer's claim is unreliable and grossly exaggerated.'¹⁴⁴ Harris' character was again called into question during his appeal trial after being conscripted where in order to avoid military service, he claimed conscientious objection but added that he was 'quite willing to undertake work in a munitions factory or work of any national interest apart from military service.'¹⁴⁵ The Tribunals often critical of contentious objectors, and those who participated or were willing to participate in munitions work to avoid fighting were frequently scorned as hypocrites. Additionally, Harris had voluntarily attested for military service prior to

¹⁴² Macdonald, 'Race, Riot and Representations', pp. 155-158.

¹⁴³ *Falkirk Herald*, 20 September 1916, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ NAS, SC20/5/425 (A60/1914), Simon Harris V AC Dewar, Town Clerk Leven.

¹⁴⁵ NAS, HH30/3/1/19, Simon Harris.

conscription, making his claim for an exemption on conscientious grounds invalid according to the Military Service Act.¹⁴⁶ It would be unfair to judge what happened to Harris in Leven based on how others viewed his character later, but his possible character flaws could help explain why the people of Leven reacted in such a manner toward a man whom they clearly considered an alien within the community despite his status as a British-born national.

Although there was plenty of concern in Scotland about a foreign German threat, as the Harris case shows, an intense focus was placed on resident Germans, both naturalised and unnaturalised. The actions of the British government reinforced this concern when on 5 August 1914, one day after declaring war on Germany, the Aliens Restriction Act was passed which limited the activities of any resident enemy aliens. At the outbreak of war there were fewer than one-thousand Germans and Austrians residing in Glasgow, just slightly larger than the Edinburgh community, but compared to the rest of Britain, Scotland was home to a much smaller number of Germans.¹⁴⁷ The first arrests of Glasgow Germans took place a month after the start of the war, and unnaturalised Germans of military age or those perceived to be a threat to society were interned after their arrest. By late October the *Glasgow Herald* reported that 250 German males of military age had been interned with an additional 100 Austrian and Hungarian males to be interned soon.¹⁴⁸ In Edinburgh 140 Germans were interned by mid-September, and an additional 70 were interned from Leith by the following month.¹⁴⁹ Those Germans living in Edinburgh and across the east coast of Scotland were additionally penalised as the areas were prohibited to enemy aliens thus compelling them to either leave or obtain special permission to stay. The result was a temporary increase in the German population of Glasgow.¹⁵⁰ Those who had not been interned were later required to fill out an exemption form, and by July 1915 of the 2,000 Germans, Austrians and Turks who filed for exemption in Scotland around 1,200 were from Glasgow, illustrating the growth of the enemy alien population in the

¹⁴⁶ NAS, HH31/28/15, First World War: Recruiting and Local Tribunals, R36.

¹⁴⁷ Stefan Manz, 'Migranten und Internierte: Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864-1918', (PhD, University of Durham, 2001); Braber, 'Within Our Gates', p. 90.

¹⁴⁸ Braber, 'Within Our Gates', p. 92; *Glasgow Herald*, 23 October 1914, p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ *The Scotsman*, 14 September 1914, p. 11; 23 October 1914, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ *The Scotsman*, 28 October 1914, p. 9.

city.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the *Glasgow Herald* reported, 'A large proportion of the applicants are German Jews residing in Glasgow,'¹⁵² and a separate report claimed that at least 40 Austrian males of military age residing in Glasgow were Jewish.¹⁵³ Based on the reports of the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, around 10% of the Austrians and Germans in Glasgow were Jewish.¹⁵⁴

Glasgow Jews declined to publicly distance themselves from the German community, but that did not mean that there was an absence of tension. The atmosphere was difficult on some families who had German relations, and Bessie Bond recalled her own family's particular struggle with her uncle's German wife, stating, 'Everybody was hating the Germans and we were in a dilemma; we didn't like our German auntie, but we certainly didn't hate her.'¹⁵⁵ In Edinburgh, Elias Fürst felt compelled to downplay the Jewish connection in his interview with the *Edinburgh Evening News*:

There are...between 500 and 600 Jewish families in Edinburgh. Of these...90 per cent are of Russian extraction. They are therefore 'friendly' aliens. Nine per cent more are British, born and bred. One per cent represent the 'enemy alien.'¹⁵⁶ The heads of a few families were Austrians, they have been interned. Only one family of the whole lot was of German origin. Of two brothers here one had been in this country for 40 years, but had not become naturalised. He is now in Glasgow. The other brother became naturalised many years ago, and was for some time a piper in one of the Highland regiments.¹⁵⁷

Despite obvious resentment, Scottish Jews were clearly affected by internment.¹⁵⁸ In Edinburgh the Jewish Board of Guardians moved quickly to support those Jews who were affected by internment, and a Young Ladies' Aid Society was set up for support in November.¹⁵⁹ Most important was the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council (GJRC), newly formed at the beginning of 1914 as a

¹⁵¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 July 1915, p. 13.

¹⁵² *Glasgow Herald*, 25 June 1915, p. 12.

¹⁵³ *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 15 May 1915, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 July 1915, p. 18; 20 August 1915, p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ SJAC, OHP1 Bessie Bond.

¹⁵⁶ Based on the records of the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council in 1915, the percentage of Germans within the Edinburgh Jewish community would indeed have been less than one per cent. The number could have been higher at the start of the war, but the status of Edinburgh as a restricted city from the outset may have reduced the number and potentially raised the number in Glasgow.

¹⁵⁷ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 5 May 1916, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Regarding the experience of the internees, one oral testimony recalls that an interned cousin 'had the time of his life there. He learned to play cards there.' See SJAC, OHP3 Lilian Leighton.

¹⁵⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 November 1914, p. 22.

representative body for all Glasgow Jewish organisations.¹⁶⁰ The GJRC had early success in negotiating the release of individual German Jews who had been arrested as Prisoners of War but complained that the men had been rearrested 'with the recent renewed activity on the part of the authorities.'¹⁶¹ Since this issue occurred nationwide, the Glasgow Council discussed joining 'other large Jewish centres' in appealing the problem to the Home Office. This idea garnered little sympathy from the other Jewish communities, likely because of fear that a large, united Jewish effort to free enemy aliens would have been viewed by the press and society as unpatriotic. David Cesarani noted that the London Board of Guardians 'did intervene selectively' such as in cases of interned rabbis, but states that on the whole 'Anglo-Jewish leadership showed little direct concern' for internees and their families.¹⁶² Glasgow was therefore left to tend to the situation on their own.¹⁶³

The leading advocate for the German Jewish internees was Alex Easterman, secretary of the GJRC. On 22 January 1915, the *Jewish Chronicle* printed a lengthy report by Easterman concerning his and the Council's efforts in releasing Jewish prisoners held at Wakefield. Other communities had been successful in freeing imprisoned Jews by negotiating with the Chief Constable, but the Chief Constable for Glasgow needed permission from above before he could take any action. Correspondence was therefore made with the Secretary for Scotland, T. McKinnon Wood, who proved particularly unhelpful and refused to meet with Easterman and his colleagues.¹⁶⁴ The Under-Secretary for Scotland, Sir James Dodd, showed himself to be more sympathetic during a meeting in London, and by February 1915 the release of prisoners had begun.¹⁶⁵ In May 1915, a large group of fifty-two Jewish prisoners were released, but a further thirty-five from Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen were still being held.¹⁶⁶ Two months later, the matter was resolved fully after Easterman and a few GJRC delegates met with the Judicial Advisory Committee in Edinburgh where it was agreed to grant exemption 'to all the cases *en bloc* submitted and vouched for by

¹⁶⁰ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 169-170. A Jewish Representative Council was set up in Edinburgh the following year with the similar aim of representing all Jewish organizations in Edinburgh. See *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 June 1915, p. 17.

¹⁶¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 November 1914, p. 25.

¹⁶² Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority', p. 64.

¹⁶³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 December 1914, p. 27.

¹⁶⁴ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 180-181; *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1915, p. 24.

¹⁶⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 26 February 1915, p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 May 1915, pp. 6, 14.

the Jewish Representative Council.’ This meant that the freedom of over 140 Scottish Jews had been secured while two men remained imprisoned after refusing the assistance of the Council. The results were enough to evoke a glowing response from one of the leading community figures, Michael Simons, who declared the work of the GJRC ‘the greatest achievement in his long experience of Glasgow Jewry.’¹⁶⁷ This was impressive considering Simons’ extensive work in Glasgow and considering his relationship with the Council was likely strained having not been elected President during its formation despite his standing in the community.¹⁶⁸

The efforts of the GJRC did not go unnoticed by those at the *Jewish Chronicle*, and the Council’s work was repeatedly praised early on. The newspaper patronizingly declared, ‘Clearly, the Board of Deputies in London has every reason to be proud of its little brother “up North.”’¹⁶⁹ After the resounding success in July, the *Jewish Chronicle* was much more open in its praise of the GJRC, printing an editorial entitled, ‘Well Done, Glasgow!’ Of greater importance to the editor was the work of public relations that the Glasgow Council had done in securing the sympathy of Lord Dewar and the Advisory Committee who had offered further assistance to the Council should the need arise. The work of the GJRC was therefore exemplary compared to its Jewish peers since it was suggested that ‘another Advisory Committee further south...would have welcomed the collaboration of a representative Jewish body.’¹⁷⁰

Despite the newspaper’s glowing words, Ben Braber expressed doubt that the activity of the Council was as fervent or important as was expressed by themselves or in the Jewish press. Instead, Braber believed that the emphasis should be placed on the difficulties faced by the Council and the fact that the Jewish community cared enough to advocate for German Jews whereas ‘the non-Jewish Germans lacked a similar organization to offer them assistance.’¹⁷¹ Braber’s doubt over the importance of the Glasgow Council may have been based on the known protestations made by the

¹⁶⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 July 1915, p. 18.

¹⁶⁸ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 January 1915, p. 8; 19 March 1915, p. 14.

¹⁷⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 23 July 1915, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Braber, ‘Within Our Gates’, pp. 99-100. There were no German relief committees, but the Society of Friends did start branches in Glasgow and Edinburgh of the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress. See Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 266. In addition, Yarrow discusses assistance offered by the British and German governments which was often inadequate. See Yarrow, ‘The Impact of Hostility on Germans in Britain’, pp. 100-101.

Edinburgh Jewish community, but Braber never mentioned the Edinburgh connection in his research. Kenneth Collins did briefly mention the Edinburgh Jewish Representative Council and their efforts on behalf of their resident German Jews, but he insisted that 'there is no evidence of a rift between the Edinburgh and Glasgow Representative Councils.'¹⁷² Perhaps no 'rift' occurred between the two bodies, but there was clearly tension that was revealed in the *Jewish Chronicle*. Until the full release of Jewish prisoners in July 1915, Easterman and the Glasgow Council had received all of the attention from the Jewish press which evidently aggravated the Edinburgh community. Early the following month, Isaac Fürst wrote a lengthy letter to the *Jewish Chronicle* in which he complained that the newspaper's praise of Glasgow 'do a great injustice to the Edinburgh Jewish Representative Council.' Fürst declared that the issues concerning enemy aliens such as registration and internment had directly resulted in the establishment of the Edinburgh Council, and he furthermore claimed the Glasgow reports to be 'erroneous' based on the facts that the Edinburgh Council had managed the Edinburgh cases and that he himself had procured a successful meeting with the Judicial Advisory Committee prior to the Glasgow meeting. Each Edinburgh case had been exempted from internment or deportation except for one woman who had been on holiday in Edinburgh with her family at the outbreak of the war. This specific case was Fürst's proof of the Edinburgh Council's work since Glasgow had no knowledge of it, and Fürst accused the Glasgow Council's report of suggesting that they 'alone' had dealt with the enemy alien issue in Scotland. The editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* responded simply, if somewhat sarcastically, 'We can only add, "Well done Edinburgh!"'¹⁷³

Isaac Fürst's letter caught the eye of the Glasgow Council, and two weeks later Alex Easterman provided a curt reply clarifying that the Glasgow Council had virtually organised the participation of the Edinburgh Council.¹⁷⁴ Easterman's letter did acknowledge Edinburgh participation in the proceedings, a point which Fürst declared in a final letter was the sole purpose of raising the subject in the first place.¹⁷⁵ The issue between the two bodies apparently came to rest at that point, and as Collins

¹⁷² Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 181.

¹⁷³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 August 1915, p. 16.

¹⁷⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 August 1915, p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 17 September 1915, p. 28.

pointed out the two Councils held a joint meeting concerning alien issues in February 1917 the following year.¹⁷⁶ This particular tension may have faded, but the *Jewish Chronicle* continued to keep the issue of German Jews in focus. In an October article entitled 'Meeting the Internment Question', the newspaper praised the Jewish Friendly Societies across Britain for their work in the matter in contrast to the Board of Deputies who 'resolved that the question was not Jewish.' Again, the Glasgow Council was singled out by the newspaper as having done 'even better than the Friendly Societies in England,' and praise was given to the community for their collective effort.¹⁷⁷ The most tangible gratitude came from the Glasgow German Jews themselves who presented Alex Easterman with a gift of a desk and chair for his work on their behalf.¹⁷⁸ This local recognition gave credit to the Glasgow Council's work and the recognition that they received in the Jewish press.

The work of the Representative Councils revealed a tension within the Scottish Jewish community which directly related to wartime circumstances, and although Collins pointed to collaboration between the Edinburgh and Glasgow Representative Councils in 1916 over new aliens laws as evidence of the lack of a rift between the two organisations, their continued work together revealed an understanding that there would be no assistance in these matters from communities in the south. Any resentment felt by Edinburgh toward Glasgow took a back seat when internment and displacement threatened the cohesion of Scottish Jews. Furthermore, their work exposed an underlying tension with the broader Scottish community. While the Councils were willing to share their reports and views in the Jewish press, there was no mention of their efforts in the Scottish press. Any mention of this activity in the local press, which was filled with anti-German rhetoric throughout the war, would have been difficult to explain. Indeed, the *Jewish Chronicle's* use of the word 'befriending' in regards to aid to Jewish enemy aliens made it sound as if the Glasgow Council was taking a risk. The Scottish Jewish community was therefore walking a thin line between patriotism and loyalty to their fellow Jews.

¹⁷⁶ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 181; *Jewish Chronicle*, 25 February 1916, p. 13.

¹⁷⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 October 1915, p. 21. The article stated that the Grand Order of Israel helped over 3,000 Jewish enemy aliens while the Achei Brith helped around 1,200.

¹⁷⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 January 1916, p. 19; 21 January 1916, p. 8.

The tension within the Jewish community over internment and German issues was exacerbated by the heightened anti-German sentiment in May 1915 after the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Violent riots broke out across Britain, especially in larger cities such as London, Manchester and Liverpool. In Scotland, as Catriona Macdonald has explored, rioting mainly occurred in smaller towns such as Dumfries, Greenock, Annan, Perth, and Alloa.¹⁷⁹ This did not mean that cities such as Glasgow and Edinburgh were entirely free of unrest. In Glasgow the Royal Restaurant refused to serve Germans, naturalised or otherwise, and the shop window of an interned German hairdresser was broken, the *Glasgow Herald* reporting that the deed was done by an unknown 'passer-by' and that 'no anti-German demonstration took place.'¹⁸⁰ The following month the same paper, clearly keen on again downplaying any violence, reported a 'slight anti-German disturbance' due to an 'erroneous rumour' where a German shop in the East End run by 'Scottish women' had a window 'smashed...and its contents partially destroyed.'¹⁸¹ Later in the month four people were convicted of stealing underclothing from a shop during an anti-German demonstration which started after an accusation that the shop owner was aiding German spies.¹⁸² Another confrontation later in the year between two co-workers, the one man suspecting the other of being German, ended with that revelation that the suspected man was actually a Russian Pole. The migrant worker was assaulted during the incident, but despite being convicted the co-worker was released and 'admonished.'¹⁸³ Riots threatened to break out in Edinburgh in May 1915 as crowds gathered near German businesses, but it appears that police preparations deterred any attempted demonstrations.¹⁸⁴ During the early months of the war, the Edinburgh police had been successful in limiting the damage to a naturalised German's butcher shop to 'several cracked panes of glass,' holding off a crowd of 1,000 people and making one arrest.¹⁸⁵ In nearby Leith, where a number of Edinburgh's Jewish population resided, a crowd gathered outside two different pork

¹⁷⁹ Macdonald, 'Race, Riot and Representations', p. 145.

¹⁸⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 May 1915, p. 8.

¹⁸¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 4 June 1915, p. 5.

¹⁸² *Glasgow Herald*, 16 June 1915, p. 5.

¹⁸³ *Glasgow Herald*, 7 October 1915, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ *Dundee Advertiser*, 17 May 1915, p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ *The Scotsman*, 26 October 1914, p. 11.

butcher's shops 'in anticipation of an anti-German demonstration' but eventually dispersed without causing any damage.¹⁸⁶

The events of May 1915 provoked a response from those Germans resident throughout Scotland. In Dundee various German businessmen, at least one of them being of German Jewish descent, wrote to the papers condemning the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other German activities. Both Otto Schulze and Richard Winkler of Edinburgh wrote to express loyalty having married British wives, and Winkler also added that his two sons were already British soldiers.¹⁸⁷ In Glasgow a number of naturalised Germans visited the Lord Provost to present their 'unqualified condemnation...of the barbarous methods of warfare adopted in Germany.'¹⁸⁸ The official letter of protest handed to the Lord Provost contained the signature of Adolph Schonfeld, one of Garnethill's most prominent members, an ardent Zionist, and long-time leader of Glasgow's Anglo-Jewish Association.¹⁸⁹ The confirmation of loyalty from the German population produced a stream of negativity from the Scottish population. During the meeting in Glasgow in which the naturalised German's letter was read a question was asked, 'Is it not the case that the naturalised Germans are our own worst enemies in the country?'¹⁹⁰ One correspondent to the *Glasgow Herald*, citing the behaviour of Germans in Russian territory, warned that Germans "proved themselves to be Judases. Are they less likely to be anything better in Britain?"¹⁹¹ The anti-German feeling was strong enough in Glasgow to influence one British subject to move his German father back to Germany after the sinking of the *Lusitania*.¹⁹² The anti-Germanism in Scotland was indeed strong in 1915 and continued to build throughout the following year, but concerning the Jewish community, the implementation of conscription in 1916 would slowly take the pressure off of German Jews and would focus the ire of society upon Russian Jews instead.

¹⁸⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 May 1915, p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1915, p. 9.

¹⁸⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 May 1915, p. 8; MLGCA, 'Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow', April 1915-November 1915, p. 1496.

¹⁸⁹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 117.

¹⁹⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 May 1915, p. 8.

¹⁹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 August 1915, p. 5.

¹⁹² *Glasgow Herald*, 5 April 1916, p. 9.

1916 and the Rise of Anti-alien Sentiment

Anti-Germanism and the resulting internment during the years 1914-1915 formed the greatest challenges to Scottish Jews in their efforts to either fly below the radar or use the war to express their patriotism. The year 1916 brought no respite from anti-German feelings, and societal frustrations and fears regarding conscription and the losses of war only exacerbated angst against local immigrant or minority communities. A fresh 'wave' of anti-German sentiment hit Scotland in April 1916, and the two fold cause of this, according to Stefan Manz came about as the result of the zeppelin raids on the East Coast of Scotland and the untimely death of Lord Kitchener. Lord Kitchener's death aboard the *HMS Hampshire*, sunk by a German mine, particularly increased fears of espionage.¹⁹³ Bailie Henry Macnoughton of Glasgow stated as 'fact' that the tragedy had happened because 'there is information being given to our enemies by uninterned aliens in our midst.'¹⁹⁴ Calls for stricter internment, especially of naturalised Germans, increased, and those frustrated by a perceived lack of government urgency proposed extreme measures such as those expressed by 'Patria' in the *Glasgow Herald*:

If the government cannot be induced to take measures for the removal of the enemy aliens still at large in Great Britain it will be a comparatively easy matter for Glasgow to give the rest of the country a lead. If the voice of the people of Glasgow expresses a desire for it the city can purge herself by refusing to supply (1) water, (2) gas, (3) electricity, (4) tramway facilities to enemy aliens or to those who house or harbour them after a date to be announced by the municipal authorities. A list of those to be proscribed, with their addresses, would be prepared, printed, and posted throughout the city.¹⁹⁵

Not all shared these views as readers urged greater discussion rather than the 'panicky imaginings' that were rampant and warned that indiscriminate internment and deportation would cause the population to 'be sorry within a few years of the end of the war.'¹⁹⁶ Former Lord Provost Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson voiced his support for the resident Germans, but his business and family ties to Germany along with his anti-war stance came into question. As Braber noted, Stevenson was a prime example

¹⁹³ Manz, 'Germanophobia and Spy-fever', p. 34.

¹⁹⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 June 1916, p. 3.

¹⁹⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 June 1916, p. 5.

¹⁹⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1916, p. 4; 3 June 1916, p. 5.

of the difficulties faced by those supporting Germans in Glasgow.¹⁹⁷ However, feeling against the government's alien policy was great enough in Glasgow that public meetings were held to protest the presence of enemy aliens. One such meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall on 13 June 1916, a meeting which filled the entire hall with over 5,000 people including a large crowd of similar size outside.¹⁹⁸ The increased awareness of aliens residing in the city, reported to be around 10,000 'of all nationalities,' was a contributing factor to the intense feelings of 1916 and caused the focus of the alien issue to turn to jobs.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, the oral testimony of a Mr. Stone in claimed that his boss sacked him in 1916 saying, 'I don't want a German Jew.'²⁰⁰ In early April a petition was signed by over 1,000 businessmen of Glasgow asking the Lord Provost to hold a meeting to discuss the removal of enemy aliens working in the city. With the petition rejected, the businessmen held their own meeting in the Merchant's Hall which ended with the resolution to see 'every German and pro-German...interned.'²⁰¹ At the same time rumours circulated that a German held 'a position of some importance in the local office of the Ministry of Munitions,' reflecting national fears over the recent Shell Scandal of 1915.²⁰² The Shell Scandal was created by the inability of British manufacturers to provide quality or adequate amounts of artillery shells needed during prolonged trench warfare, and the situation was only remedied by the promotion of David Lloyd George as the Minister of Munitions.²⁰³ Teaching positions were under heightened scrutiny too given the high profile of teachers such as James Maxton and John Maclean, leading socialist and anti-war activists both imprisoned during the war. German teachers, both naturalised and unnaturalised were targeted immediately at the outset of war, and in September 1914 the University College in Dundee terminated the employment of the lecturer in German, Dr. Wilhelm Stede, who was also arrested as an unnaturalised German alien.²⁰⁴ Similar effort were made across Scotland in the following years and in 1916 an attempt was made to remove those teaching at the North Kelvinside School and

¹⁹⁷ Braber, 'Within Our Gates', p. 98.

¹⁹⁸ Manz, 'Germanophobia and Spy-fever', p. 34.

¹⁹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 16 March 1916, p. 4.

²⁰⁰ Rodgers, 'Glasgow Jewry', p. 232.

²⁰¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 7 April 1916, p. 6; 11 April 1916, p.6; 17 May 1916, p. 8.

²⁰² *Glasgow Herald*, 12 April 1916, p. 4.

²⁰³ Gerard De Groot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 81-85.

²⁰⁴ Kenneth Baxter, 'Dundee Anti-German Case', unpublished article.

Boys' High School in Glasgow as well as at Falkirk High School.²⁰⁵ In March 1916 a significant amount of public attention was aimed at Ludwig Becker, Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow. After repeated complaints escalating with a letter from William George Black, a leading Glaswegian later made C.B.E. for his activities during the war, the *Glasgow Herald* relented and, careful to explain its previous restraint, published the following editorial.²⁰⁶

We do not suggest for one moment for one moment that Professor Becker is an active enemy agent, and we emphasise this by way of preface to the assertion that it is a fact that notwithstanding all the precautions which have been taken meteorological information of the greatest value is reaching the Germans from Great Britain. We repeat our belief that the leakage is not at Glasgow Observatory. Nevertheless the presence of a German at that Observatory is against public sentiment if it is not against the interests of the State, and we express the conviction of the citizens of Glasgow when we say that they will not consider that the Government has done its duty until those measures which have been used against so many of his fellow-countrymen are used as impartially against Professor Becker.²⁰⁷

Numerous letters came in supporting the stance of the paper, pressing for the removal of Professor Becker from the observatory.²⁰⁸ The mounting pressure made an impact, and by the end of the month the professor was given a leave of absence, lasting the remainder of the war, after a special meeting of the University Court.²⁰⁹ Despite this propaganda victory, the rhetoric regarding enemy aliens continued to escalate in the pages of the *Glasgow Herald* as letters passed between T. McKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland, and Sir Samuel Chisholm, former Lord Provost of Glasgow. The first letter from Wood acknowledged Chisholm's chairmanship of the aforementioned meeting of businessmen protesting the presence of aliens in Glasgow and assured Chisholm and the readers that all necessary steps had been taken by the government. In reply, Chisholm returned to the issue of Professor Becker in an attempt to show a lack of initiative from the government, claiming that such inaction

²⁰⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 26 May 1916, p. 6; 9 June 1916, p. 6; 10 June 1916, p. 3.

²⁰⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 21 March 1916, p. 3.

²⁰⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 March 1916, p. 4.

²⁰⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 24 March 1916, p. 4; 27 March 1916, p. 5; 28 March 1916, p. 7; 29 March 1916, p. 5.

²⁰⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 30 March 1916, p. 4.

increased the lack of confidence in the government held by the citizens of Glasgow, and called for the internment of all naturalised enemy aliens.²¹⁰

Chisholm was again involved in the larger anti-alien meeting in June at St. Andrew's Hall mentioned above, and the resulting creation of the Anti-Alien Committee under the leadership of Chisholm and other leading Glaswegians demonstrated that the issue had finally become important enough in Glasgow to move from the columns of the newspapers to the meeting hall. After the June meeting, the committee worked to send a deputation to both the Prime Minister and the Secretary for Scotland, but a year later they complained that their attempts to lobby the government had not been 'fairly met,' further protesting that their 'constitutional manner' had been ignored when 'consideration...would at once have been given to a less law-abiding propaganda.'²¹¹ This commitment to peaceful methods amongst the Glasgow anti-alien leadership was, according to Braber, the reason why the city experienced little violence compared to rioting which occurred in smaller Scottish towns.²¹² The efforts of the committee, however, were downplayed in a *Glasgow Herald* editorial entitled 'A Recent Failure' which claimed the Anti-Alien Committee 'at no time has caused more than a ripple on the surface of the national life' – a sentiment which provoked a strong response from Chisholm.²¹³

The anti-German movement failed to disappear in Glasgow as William Le Queux, the highly popular spy-novelist, stoked the fires of anti-German sentiment in a series of articles written exclusively for the *Post Sunday Special*. Between October and December, he made many assertions including the claim that there was 'without a doubt...a marvellous network of German espionage over the Glasgow district, a system unequalled in the world.'²¹⁴ Le Queux questioned the freedom of three hundred enemy alien males in the Glasgow area and repeatedly called for the internment of all Germans, both alien and naturalised. His sensationalist writing included claims of anthrax tainted shaving brushes sent by German Americans as well as a plot to

²¹⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 23 May 1916, p. 6; 25 May 1916, p. 6; 27 May 1916, p. 6; 29 May 1916, p. 6; 30 May 1916, p. 4; 31 May 1916, p. 6; 3 June 1916, p. 6; 5 June 1916, p. 6.

²¹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 July 1916, p. 5; 26 July 1916, p. 5; 28 June 1917, p. 6.

²¹² Braber, 'Within Our Gates', p. 96.

²¹³ *Glasgow Herald*, 29 June 1917, p. 5.

²¹⁴ *Post Sunday Special*, 29 October 1916, pp. 6-7; 5 November 1916, pp. 6-7; 12 November 1916, pp. 6-7; 19 November 1916, pp. 6-7; 26 November 1916, pp. 6-7; 3 December 1916, p. 6; 10 December 1916, p. 6; 17 December 1916, p. 6.

'introduce bubonic plague into England by means of infected rats brought in upon neutral ships.'²¹⁵ During his investigations in Glasgow Le Queux did not target the Jewish community, but a few veiled references did occur through his the series of articles. In describing German information gathering tactics, Le Queux stated that 'beneath the cloak of money lending...Shylock, under some plausible pretext, squeezes out of his miserable victim not money, but the exact information he desires.' Here, the Jewish allusion was most overt, and Le Queux continued the stereotyping by commenting that 'money and the fair sex are the two baits by which Germany built up her marvellous spy system in Great Britain.'²¹⁶ In broaching the topic of prostitution and even people trafficking, Le Queux again seemed to allude to the Jewish community who prior to the war, particularly in London, were commonly linked with the 'white slave trade.'²¹⁷

Throughout his articles Le Queux echoed a popular claim that Germans were snapping up the jobs of the British men who were sent off to war, and on one occasion he did appear to refer to the Jewish community by stating that he found in Glasgow 'certain aliens busy making cheap cigarettes for the front.'²¹⁸ Le Queux also recounted a story of 'an alien pedlar ostensibly hawking his cheap watches and gaudy trinkets,' who, when provoked by a potential customer, 'completely lost his temper, and there fell from his lips a stream of what can only be described as the most revolting and lurid German oaths.'²¹⁹ In both cases, the Jewish community was heavily represented in the occupations described. Before the war around 18% of Gorbals Jewish workers were employed in the tobacco industry, and 16% worked as travelling salesmen, or 'pedlars.' Only the tailoring trade employed more Gorbals Jews. Just prior to the war, the number of Gorbals Jews involved in the tobacco industry was reduced dramatically, making travelling salesmen the second most popular occupation.²²⁰ The tone, background, and the interchangeable uses of German and Jew make it highly likely that the reference to 'certain aliens' making cigarettes highlighted Jewish involvement,

²¹⁵ *Post Sunday Special*, 29 October 1916, p. 7.

²¹⁶ *Post Sunday Special*, 5 November 1916, p. 7.

²¹⁷ Paul Knepper, "'Jewish Trafficking' and London Jews in the Age of Migration', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6:3 (2007), pp. 242-248.

²¹⁸ *Post Sunday Special*, 29 October 1916, p. 7.

²¹⁹ *Post Sunday Special*, 26 November 1916, p. 6.

²²⁰ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 61-62; Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*, pp. 12-13; Kaplan, 'The Jews of the Gorbals in 1911', pp. 20-21.

and the cursing jewellery salesman could have easily been a Yiddish speaking Jew. Yet, throughout his articles, Le Queux never openly condemned the Jewish community or accused them of harbouring Germans or Austrians despite their clear efforts to protect their co-religionists with such ties. This was largely in keeping with how the Scottish press treated the Jewish community throughout the war, rarely attacking them directly or as a whole, but on various occasions criticising groups or certain individuals.

Le Queux's comments would have been enough to make Scottish Jews uncomfortable, particularly those in Glasgow, but his writing did have a more immediate impact on the German community. Le Queux's articles often made generalisations about German activity in Scotland, but he did investigate a handful of individuals including Karl Burgdorff, principal of M'Lay's Commercial College in Glasgow. Le Queux bemoaned the fact that this German was supplying typists to the Admiralty and other government departments. Walter Heinrich was also singled out for running a gramophone shop under the non-German name of Hendrie and Company, while undercutting the sales of Scottish dealers. Le Queux also advised action against Heinrich Meins who ran a hotel in Glasgow. Others were identified as German threats in Scotland, but Le Queux claimed success for his work against these three Germans in particular. In late December 1916, the new Secretary for Scotland, Robert Munro, ordered the internment of Burgdorff.²²¹ Later, Heinrich's gramophone business was closed down, and Meins' hotel was declared off limits to all British soldiers.²²² Le Queux may have had rather limited 'success' from his investigations in Scotland, but the amount of space, nearly ten-and-a-half full pages in nine consecutive issues of the *Sunday Post Special*, cannot be overlooked. Today, and even at the time, Le Queux is and was considered a scaremonger and someone to be ignored, yet his celebrity status as a popular writer gave him an audience across Britain.²²³ The willingness of the *Post Sunday Special* to give Le Queux an extended voice in its pages further evidenced the severity which anti-German sentiment had taken hold in Scotland.

²²¹ Hansard, HC 19 December 1916, vol. 88, cc1328-9W; *Dundee Courier*, 21 December 1916, pp. 2, 6; *Sunday Post Special*, 24 December 1916, p. 5.

²²² *Post Sunday Special*, 8 April 1917, p. 3; 22 July 1917, p. 5.

²²³ Petra Rau, *English Modernism, National Identity and the Germans, 1890-1950* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), p. 68.

Stefan Manz has provided the greatest insight into Scottish anti-German sentiment, arguing that ‘Scottish society was caught by an irrational anti-German hysteria.’ He tied this hysteria to Glasgow in light of the well attended meetings, numerous letters to the editor, popularity of anti-German literature, and the petition signed in June 1916 by around 30,000 citizens.²²⁴ However, Manz did not observe the journalistic efforts of Le Queux, and therefore the novelist’s contribution to the furtherance of anti-German hysteria in Scotland has been overlooked until now. Manz rightly recognised that anti-German sentiment was found throughout Scottish society, not just in Glasgow. Edinburgh, which had expelled a large number of aliens early in the war when it was proclaimed a restricted city, continued to support anti-alien sentiment. Some of this feeling was evidently imported from Glasgow as the chief speaker of a meeting in May 1916 to protest the lack of internment was a Glaswegian.²²⁵ This anti-German sentiment trickled down to such non-political groups as the Edinburgh Botanical Society which voted to print the names of all members and ‘expunge from the list’ all names of enemy aliens.²²⁶ More importantly, the British Empire Union, begun in 1915 as the Anti-German Union and according to Panikos Panayi was ‘the most important specifically anti-German organisation of the war years,’ found sympathy in Edinburgh, attracting large crowds to meetings and holding a membership of 550 by the end of the war – a larger number than that found in Glasgow.²²⁷

As previously discussed, those who possessed German surnames faced a myriad of problems throughout the war. The King himself, whose own German connections were criticised, was compelled to change the royal name from Saxe-Coburg-Gotha to Windsor in 1917.²²⁸ The law was not so permissive for those common people with unfortunate surnames as enemy aliens were warned at the beginning of the war that those who changed their names without proper permission would be subject to prosecution, a warning which was repeated throughout the war.²²⁹ Jewish subjects in Scotland, and indeed those across Britain, therefore found

²²⁴ Manz, ‘Germanophobia and Spy-fever’, p. 37.

²²⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 26 May 1916, p. 6.

²²⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 October 1916, p. 8.

²²⁷ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 202, 206; *Glasgow Herald* 31 July 1916, p. 5; 13 July 1918, p. 5.

²²⁸ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 187.

²²⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 October 1914, p. 8; 27 July 1918, p. 4.

themselves vulnerable due to their German sounding surnames. In Ireland Leonard Abrahamson's father suffered anti-Semitic threats and insults by citizens who 'laboured under the impression that all Jews are German.' The effective banishment of German-born Otto Jaffe, twice mayor of Belfast with a son in the British army, to London during the war caused Dermot Keogh to theorise that 'if the Jaffes found suspicions about their loyalty intolerable' then other Jewish centres in Ireland 'may have found those early war years very uncomfortable if not, on occasions, menacing.'²³⁰ The *Jewish Chronicle* made similar complaints during the opening month of the war regarding the conflation between German and Jew:

Since the beginning of the War – several instances had come to our knowledge of Jews being placed to much inconvenience and annoyance by the absurd assumption, very generally held be it noted, that being Jews they were necessarily Germans, and hence were suspected.²³¹

In the midst of the riots following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the *Aberdeen Journal* sympathised: 'It is to be feared that some of the Russians, particularly Russian Jews, have suffered rather badly from the unreasoning mob, because of the similarity of their names to German names.'²³² The *Glasgow Herald* reported that Abraham Rosenthal, Scottish-born but residing in London, had adopted his wife's surname of Montefiore and had received a visit from the police after information was given that he was a German, a notion that he vigorously denied.²³³ In Aberdeen two Glasgow Jews were brought before Sheriff Laing for using false names, Elias Rutenburg going by Ellis Ross and Louis Arnstein making a similar change. When asked why they changed their names, both men responded that their proper names sounded 'funny' and provoked questions. Questions over Rutenburg's parents, Russians but married in Germany, caused a little discomfort, and Rutenburg added, 'It's not the first time I have been called a German Jew on account of my name.' When asked if his employer was German, Rutenburg responded, 'No; he is a Christian,' provoking laughter in the court, betraying a rather light-hearted feeling in the court over the matter although both men were fined £2 and sent immediately back to Glasgow.²³⁴ The issue of name

²³⁰ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 68-69.

²³¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 August 1914, p. 6.

²³² *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 19 May 1915, p. 4.

²³³ *Glasgow Herald*, 8 July 1915, p. 10; *Daily Record*, 8 July 1915, p. 3.

²³⁴ *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 26 January 1917, p. 4. The article does not state the alternate name used by Arnstein.

changing was no laughing matter for others. One Scotsman wrote to the *Daily Mail* complaining that Germans were taking Scottish names, and Samuel Chisholm during his anti-German rants claimed that Germans were taking over Scottish businesses to hide their true names.²³⁵

Anti-German sentiment throughout the war derided German business practices, often throwing Jewish elements into the mix. Headlines in February 1916 appeared such as 'Two Jews Severely Fined,' reporting that two Edinburgh men of the South Side Cabinetmaking Works had been each fined £25 for transferring stamps from old insurance cards to new; while another article under 'Unjust Scales' reported on Bernard Cohen, coal and general dealer of Glasgow, and how he was fined 30 shillings for possessing scales in weight of 1½ pounds against his customers.²³⁶ In a report at the end of 1916 sympathising with the French plight during the Franco-Prussian war of the previous century, the *Dundee Courier* explained to readers that 'German Jews followed their armies with carts, and purchased from officers and soldiers furniture, clocks, linen, dresses, and even pots and pans stolen from French houses.'²³⁷ Many German businessmen in Scotland, particularly those working in the jute trade, were of Jewish decent, and this connection was often raised as was seen in the following report on the German businessman Hugo Stinnes by a Glasgow businessman:

I spoke to Hugo Stinnes several times in Glasgow...There is nothing distinguished-looking about Hugo Stinnes. He is of a Jewish type, and would pass in Argyle Street, Glasgow, as a man connected with the jewellery business. Of medium height and stocky build, Stinnes has dark, piercing eyes, and wears a black, pointed beard which rather accentuates the suggestion that he comes of a Hebrew strain.²³⁸

In August 1917 the involvement of a Dundee native in an illegal diamond trade between Belgium and Britain revealed notes written in both German and Yiddish, tying German brutality in Belgium with unscrupulous Jewish business practices at home.²³⁹ After the Russian Revolution, the *Evening Telegraph* reported that Germans were

²³⁵ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 53; *The Evening News* (Glasgow Edition), 8 June 1916 in Stefan Manz, 'Germanophobia and Spy-fever', p. 36; *Glasgow Herald*, 5 June 1916, p. 6.

²³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 12 February 1916, p. 9; 16 February 1916, p. 4.

²³⁷ *Dundee Courier*, 28 December 1916, p. 2.

²³⁸ *Post Sunday Special*, 11 March 1917, p. 5.

²³⁹ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 10 August 1917, p. 2; *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1917, p. 6.

effectively using Russian artillery against the allies thanks in part to acquisitioning Russian horses ‘which were sold to them in hundreds by Jews during the armistice.’²⁴⁰ Closer to home and two months before war’s end, the *Glasgow Herald* ran an article with the headline ‘A German Jew’s Pedigree,’ reporting a £700 fine for Henry Samuels in a London court for ‘procuring seven companies to make inaccurate returns in regard to his nationality and origins.’²⁴¹ Unsurprisingly, Scottish Jews found themselves facing trouble when such reports were run by the local press. Late in the war in January 1918 the North British Station Hotel in Edinburgh refused further accommodation to Henry Rothfield, who was described as a German Jew. Rothfield’s case will be examined further in Chapter Five, but the continued conflation between German and Jew, when Rothfield was of Russian decent, clearly demonstrated the growing prejudice of large swathes of Scottish society throughout the war.

The tailoring trade attracted a number of Jewish workers in Scotland which brought them under scrutiny prior to the war for their involvement in sweated labour.²⁴² The *Hamilton Advertiser* disparagingly observed that Jews ‘have now almost a monopoly of the trade in some parts of Glasgow.’²⁴³ The stereotypes continued during the war in the columns of the *Edinburgh Evening News*, reporting that ‘the tailoring trade is notorious for the influence of the Jews’ and that Edinburgh masters were neglecting their workers in favour of cheap foreign labour. The report also mentioned that London masters eager to hold on to cheap Jewish labour were protesting the conscription of these workers because ‘the Jew is perfectly hopeless as a soldier. He has no courage, and would throw down his arms at the first opportunity.’²⁴⁴ In a separate article, the same paper accused the ‘industrious Jew’ of taking advantage of the military officer obliged to pay for his kit.²⁴⁵ The pre-war dual stereotypes of Jewish military worthlessness and monetary infatuation were fully accepted with little challenge late into the war.

Jewish bakers also found themselves at odds with society when stricter rationing rules came into place during the war. At the end of 1917 a delegation of

²⁴⁰ *Evening Telegraph*, 10 June 1918, p. 1.

²⁴¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 19 September 1918, p. 6.

²⁴² Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 57-60; Kenefick, ‘Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations’, pp. 217-218.

²⁴³ *Hamilton Advertiser*, 15 April 1916, p. 5.

²⁴⁴ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 26 July 1917, p. 2.

²⁴⁵ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 December 1917, p. 2.

Glasgow Jewish bakers, encouraged by their permission to sell rye and black bread at higher prices, attempted to gain permission from the Food Control Committee to sell their white bread at a higher price based on the extra work and ingredients required under Jewish standards.²⁴⁶ Their request was rejected, but a number of Jewish bakers continued to sell their bread at higher prices leading to fines ranging from £1 to £100 as frustrations increased over continued violations.²⁴⁷ The Glasgow Advisory Committee went so far as to take action against a Jewish baker in Motherwell, and a complaint was made that ‘a system of spies’ among Jewish bakers made it ‘difficult for the Inspectors to secure evidence.’²⁴⁸

Wartime competition for business brought out the worst anti-Jewish sentiments. In Motherwell an auctioneer used the wood shortage to promote second-hand furniture while simultaneously taking a somewhat confused shot at his competition with this advertisement in the *Motherwell Times*:

Jews are to-day repeating what they did to the Egyptians – spoiling the Gentiles with New Furniture made up out of useless discarded wood from wagon works and boxes well slaggered over, which in short time will crack up...Those who don't buy second-hand Furnishings now will, in a short time, be at the mercy of the Jews.²⁴⁹

Similar sentiments by a Glasgow dealer made at the start of the war brought about a tense confrontation, as seen in this report from *The Scotsman* under the headline ‘Indignant Glasgow Jews’:

Some excitement was caused yesterday in the Jewish quarter on the South Side of Glasgow by the issue of ‘a challenge’ in the window of a dealer in second-hand goods. It is alleged that the dealer received a postcard with the message: - ‘Our people are more patriotic and more intelligent than what you think we are. You are an anti-Semite, and not fit to live in this country.’ To the postcard the dealer replied with a large poster, on which was written: - ‘The Kaiser is a —— fraud, but he is no worse than the German Jew who palms off rotten rubbish to you at

²⁴⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 October 1917, p. 16; *The Scotsman*, 9 October 1917, p. 6; *Glasgow Herald*, 9 October 1917, p. 6.

²⁴⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 November 1917, p. 16; *Glasgow Herald*, 31 October 1917, p. 8; 2 November 1917, p. 7; *Evening Telegraph*, 21 March 1918, p. 3; 2 April 1918, p. 5; 23 May 1918, p. 1; *The Scotsman* 31 October 1917, p. 10; 2 November 1917, p. 6; 22 March 1918, p. 3.

²⁴⁸ *Motherwell Times*, 19 April 1918, p. 2; *The Scotsman*, 3 April 1918, p. 6.

²⁴⁹ *Motherwell Times*, 7 June 1918, p. 8. The same salesman, Hugh Ferguson or ‘Hughie,’ made similar derogatory statements in the same paper in a series of promotional advertisements in 1913 claiming that Jews had ‘practically captured the Scottish cabinet-making trade, and driven Scottish cabinet-makers abroad.’ See *Motherwell Times*, 28 February 1913, p. 8.

big prices. Will the German Jew who sent me this card call and see me personally? He won't see much when I am finished with him.' The poster was embellished with a caricature of a Jew, and was signed by the dealer, who proclaimed himself 'a real British subject.' The poster created great indignation in the quarter, and soon a large crowd gathered round the door of the shop. So threatening was their attitude that it was found necessary to send a detachment of police from the Southern Division. The constables quickly dispersed the crowd, but several were left on guard to prevent mischief.²⁵⁰

Although it could be easy to portray South Side Jews as aloof from the war, the letter from the Jewish man emphatically expressed a patriotic spirit and the reaction of the crowd revealed the seriousness with which the Jewish community took the threatening words of the shopkeeper. The shopkeeper's blurring of German and Jew and use of a Jewish caricature exposed an eager acceptance of Jewish stereotypes. Proclaiming the letter writer to be a 'German Jew' at the outset of the war in an area that was highly populated by Russian Jews was therefore the most venomous and damaging language that could have been used at the time. This attitude continued later as a reader of the *Glasgow Evening News* commented that 'many of our leading politicians are but the pawns of wealthy German Jews.'²⁵¹ The most public attack condemning German Jews occurred during the anti-German meeting in the St. Andrew's Halls in June 1916 where it was reported that one speaker exclaimed: 'The German Jew in this country was the lowest type of Hun.' The comment brought forth a protest in the *Glasgow Herald* from a 'Jewish ex-Soldier' who responded thus:

I do not wish to argue on the Germans' qualifications as to the title of 'Hun,' but I would like to know why such animosity is shown against the unoffending Jew, and also how the speaker could make such an unfounded statement. Perhaps the speaker was not aware of this fact, that not a single Jew, as yet, has been apprehended in this country on an espionage charge, and that a more peaceful sect (whether British, French, Russian, or German) of the community cannot be found. Not only that, but no one can say that the Jews of the countries of our Allies have not done their duty to the land of their adoption. Surely such sentiments by a public speaker on a public platform is as uncalled for as it is undeserving.²⁵²

The fear expounded by 'Jewish ex-Soldier' was that a transformation of the Jewish community into Germans would not only label them as disloyal but would

²⁵⁰ *The Scotsman*, 31 August 1914, p. 7.

²⁵¹ *Glasgow Evening News*, 8 June 1916, in Manz, 'Germanophobia and Spy-fever', p. 36.

²⁵² *Glasgow Herald*, 16 June 1916, p. 5.

inevitably lead to accusations of spying. During this heightened time of anti-Germanism in Glasgow, a speech by Dr. Moses Gaster of London at the Glasgow Jewish National Institute 'challenged anyone to show that a single British Jew had been found spying in this country, or had committed any act of treason or anything which would justify even suspicion.'²⁵³ In May 1916 a month earlier in Edinburgh, the confusion between German and Jew led Elias Fürst to complain that 'there is...an unfortunate impression on the part of considerable sections of the public that Jew and German are interchangeable terms.'²⁵⁴ The link between German and Jew was clearly perceived as a threat to Scottish Jewish identity as loyal British subjects throughout the war.

Russian Jews

At the beginning of the war the Jewish community came under scrutiny for its supposed German ties. That this concept had not completely disappeared during the post-war period is evident from a letter written to the *Dundee Courier* which stated:

Enemy Jew-inspired pro-Germanism in high places is Britain's most dangerous illness today, together with Socialist Communism, subsidised and largely controlled from the same source.²⁵⁵

It is the latter connection, of Jews with politically left Russians, that became the greater issue after the Russian Revolution of 1917, and as David Cesarani has noted the 'separate terms Russian, Bolshevik and Jew became interchangeable.'²⁵⁶ Suspicion of Russian Jews, however, had been established in Scottish minds well before the Russian Revolution. In crime reports Jews were often connected to gambling, and the arrest of 40 men in 1915, stated to be 'the biggest raid of the kind the Edinburgh police have ever made,' was reported to consist 'principally of the Jewish and bookmaking fraternity.'²⁵⁷ A later Glasgow raid in Hospital Street during the first month of 1916 saw the arrest of over ten men, 'the majority of them Jews.'²⁵⁸ The incident was significant enough to be reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*, a paper which, although not

²⁵³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 June 1916, p. 19.

²⁵⁴ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 5 May 1916, p. 4.

²⁵⁵ *Dundee Courier*, 22 May 1923, p. 3.

²⁵⁶ David Cesarani, *Reporting Anti-Semitism: The Jewish Chronicle 1879-1979* (Southampton: University of Southampton, 1993), p. 20.

²⁵⁷ *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 5 October 1915, p. 4.

²⁵⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 January 1916, pp. 19-20; *Glasgow Herald*, 11 January 1916, p. 8.

shy in calling-out co-religionists on specifically Jewish matters, at the time generally shied away from reporting events that negatively portrayed the Jewish community in the eyes of British society.²⁵⁹ Another raid in the South Side, this time in Oxford Street, around the same time resulted in a number of arrests which included Reuben Berger, Louis Cohen, Max Goldberg, Samuel Freeman, and Max and Joseph Winestone. The *Glasgow Herald* did not specifically identify the men as Jewish, but the readers would certainly have picked up on the multiple foreign names in the lists.²⁶⁰ The obsession over the criminality of foreigners, exemplified by the pre-war trial of Oscar Slater, thus continued throughout the war. The criminal reports continued in May 1916 after another gaming house raid in Hospital Street resulted in a £10 fine for Abraham Callendar, and it was further reported that the thirteen men found on the premises were 'nearly all foreigners.'²⁶¹ The same year other legal issues surfaced included the trial of David Torrance, Michael Kaplan, Isaac Verner, and Levi Abrahams who were accused of stealing and resetting 'large quantities of materials and articles of clothing,' and Samuel Dalnekoff was admonished for trafficking liquor at a Jewish gathering.²⁶² The fact that a majority of these legal infractions took place in the South Side, where the larger Jewish immigrant population resided, firmly linked Russian Jews to crime.

In 1914 The Defence of the Realm Act combined with the Aliens Restriction Act placed additional restrictions on all foreigners during the war. As Tony Kushner and Katharine Knox have noted, the Aliens Restriction Act allowed the British government 'the right to restrict the entry of aliens; required them "to reside and remain within certain places"; imposed registration provisions; enabled deportation of aliens; and, revealing the absolute control on alien freedom that could now be exercised by the British state, allowed for measures "for any other matters which appear necessary or expedient with a view to the safety of the realm."'²⁶³ Those who transgressed the new laws were subject to varying fines or imprisonment. The wartime rules were a burden

²⁵⁹ Cesarani does note that the paper later started a column in 1924 'devoted to law cases and crime news' which highlighted 'Jewish criminality' in an attempt to 'make law-abiding Jews aware of the problem and shame the guilty ones.' See Cesarani, *Reporting Anti-Semitism*, p. 22.

²⁶⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 19 January 1916, p. 8.

²⁶¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 3 May 1916, p. 4. The issue of Jewish gambling is a theme acknowledged in the oral testimonies as well. See SJAC, OHP1 Anne Berman; OHP2 Alex Frutin; OHP3 Lilian Levi; OHP4 Robert Spence.

²⁶² *Glasgow Herald*, 9 August 1916, p. 5; 18 March 1916, p. 4. Torrence received four months' imprisonment, Verner three months, Abrahams received a £10 fine, and Kaplan was discharged.

²⁶³ Tony Kushner and Katharine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide* (London: Frank Cass, 1999), p. 44.

on many Russian Jews whose work or wartime circumstances required travel, and an article in the *Glasgow Herald* sympathetically reported, 'When the regulations were set up prohibiting travelling outside a limited area, a great many found their business cut from under their feet, and suffered serious loss.'²⁶⁴ Language barriers were a source of misunderstanding and frustration, and their foreignness, despite their status as 'friendly aliens,' brought them under suspicion. The *Glasgow Herald* often reported court proceedings and fines for Russians or Russian Poles, but Jewishness was not always highlighted. Samuel Schneider, however, was identified as a Russian Jew from Glasgow when in court for failing to provide accurate information while staying in Aberdeen. During the hearing the Fiscal complained that foreigners often failed to understand their duty, noting that Schneider could only write in Yiddish. He was subsequently fined 30 shillings.²⁶⁵ The status of Edinburgh as a restricted city kept Isaac Fürst busy defending various Russian Jews who fell afoul of the wartime laws, including Hyman and Jack Eskovich who were fined 5 shillings and 10 shillings respectively for not registering while travelling between Edinburgh and Glasgow.²⁶⁶ Months later Fürst accused the police of being 'excessively severe' in their treatment of a Russian Jew who had lived most of his life in Britain and had made attempts to follow regulations with the result that the man was released and the charges dropped.²⁶⁷ In 1916 Glasgow was also made a restricted city,²⁶⁸ and identification became vital for all foreign Jews within the city as can be seen here in Figure 4.1. Even movement of home within the city required notification, and the important developments prompted the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council to work with the police and other organisations in registering those Jewish aliens resident in the city. The work resulted in the registration of over 1,200 Russian Jews, and again this emphasised the importance that the Council held for Glasgow Jews considering the amount of unwanted attention received by aliens Jews throughout the war.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 December 1915, p. 3.

²⁶⁵ *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 26 June 1915, p. 4; *Glasgow Herald*, 28 June 1915, p.11.

²⁶⁶ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 13 April 1915, p. 2; *Glasgow Herald*, 13 April 1915, p. 4; 14 April 1915, p. 5.

²⁶⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 January 1916; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 31 December 1915, p. 5; *Glasgow Herald*, 1 January 1916, p. 9.

²⁶⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 11 February 1916, p. 4; 14 February 1916, p. 6.

²⁶⁹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 181. The GJRC helped register an additional 700 Glaswegian Jews only months before the declaration, making a total of nearly 2,000 registrations for foreign Glasgow Jews.

The introduction of conscription brought additional scrutiny from both the press and society toward the Jewish community. The military tribunals in Edinburgh revealed that ‘several Russian Jews’ were not paying income tax prompting the court to alert the proper authorities.²⁷⁰ Inevitably, accusations of military service evasion were broached, and the *Edinburgh Evening News* decried the ‘clannish manner’ of foreign Jews in ‘resisting being drawn into the British Army.’ The report drew heavy criticism from Elias Fürst who called the article ignorant and questioned the responsibility of such reporting, but a lengthy defence in return admitted Jewish patriotism while claiming that ‘the records of the tribunals...prove that the ancient race can put up a specially good fight for private business as against national interest.’²⁷¹ More questions over Jewish participation appeared in the *Dundee*

CITY OF GLASGOW POLICE. 18/5304

Certificate of Registration of an Alien Friend.

Jane Pittenberg of Hershfield of 719 Shields Road Glasgow age 54 has been registered at the Aliens Registration Department, Police Headquarters, St. Andrew's Square, Glasgow.

Signature of Alien *Cannot write*
(If the Alien is unable to write, his left thumb print should be taken on this form.)

Nationality *Russian*
Date *2-MAR-1916* 19

Left Thumb print (if taken)

You are required, by the provisions of the Aliens Restriction Order, to report to the Aliens Registration Department, Police Headquarters, St. Andrew's Square, Glasgow :-

- (1) If you are about to change your residence; or
- (2) If any circumstances arise affecting in any manner the accuracy of the particulars previously furnished by you for the purpose of registration. This must be done within forty-eight hours of the circumstances occurring.

This certificate should be carried by the Alien for production when required; if it is lost, notice should immediately be given to the Police.

Figure 4.1 Certificate of Registration for Jane Hershfield. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

²⁷⁰ *Evening Telegraph*, 25 October 1917, p. 2.

²⁷¹ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 23 August 1916, p. 3; 25 August 1916, pp. 3-4.

appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening News*:

When there is such an outcry for more recruits for the Army and Territorials, what about the Jewish section of our community? It seems hard that our own men with dependents and families must give up all for King and country, although partly, also, for our own homes. The Jewish section proceed with their business, and their homes are still intact. This seems a bit incongruous, when they are under the shelter of the British flag and enjoy all its privileges, yet they do nothing.²⁷²

The letter clearly separated the Jewish community as a whole as the alien other, contained within British society yet not a part of it. Although the term Russian Jew is not used here, the use of the word 'shelter' certainly projected that idea. The editor responded to the letter stating that several letters regarding the Jews had been received but declared that 'ample testimony, however, has been given that the Jews are doing their duty.'²⁷³

Similar complaints resurfaced later in the war from readers such as 'A Soldier's Wife' who complained that both Italians and Jews remained at home while the women were required to give up both sons and husbands. The editor responded by noting that all Russian Jews had been called up in Edinburgh, but many had been medically rejected.²⁷⁴ Another letter from 'Indignant Mother' protested the government's consideration of conscripting boys as young as 17 by accusing Russian Jews of using medical exemption as an excuse; an example, she claimed, which would be followed by other aliens.²⁷⁵ The Edinburgh paper, which on various occasions praised the participation of the Jewish community, gave voice to its leaders, and sympathised with the wartime plight of Jews in Russia and Germany, also blatantly accused Edinburgh Jews of shirking and emphasised their otherness.

In contrast to the *Edinburgh Evening News*, the *Glasgow Herald* generally made supportive statements when directly observing its resident Jewish community. However, a lengthy article by A. Wyatt Tilby in the 14 October 1916 edition of the *Glasgow Herald*, under the ominous heading 'The Polish Jew,' subtly questioned the Britishness of Glasgow Jews and was outright derogatory in its assessment of Russian Jews. Because of the excessively virulent anti-Jewishness within the article which

²⁷² *Edinburgh Evening News*, 7 September 1914, p. 3

²⁷³ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 9 September 1914, p. 4.

²⁷⁴ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 28 November 1917, p. 4.

²⁷⁵ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 29 December 1917, p. 3.

contrasted with the overall tone of the paper, sufficient examination of the article must be made over the following three paragraphs. Tilby was an English journalist, author, and regular contributor to the *Glasgow Herald*, and in this instance his prejudice toward Russian Jews came through unfiltered.²⁷⁶ The article, reminiscent of the ‘fact-finding expeditions’ that took place during the lead-up to the 1905 Aliens Act,²⁷⁷ recalled a train journey ‘from Cracow to Lemberg several years ago’ upon which the author met a single Polish Jew. The article therefore established itself as fact from the beginning, yet the remainder of the article blatantly fell back on basic Jewish stereotypes. This Polish Jew was wealthy, travelled third class, and ‘likely’ held the mortgages of those in first class ‘awaiting his opportunity to foreclose and ruin them.’ It was not just the rich that he held in his hands, however, as the peasant and his ‘little farm’ were also in danger from this money-lender. Despite his sinister goals, this ‘merciless’ Polish Jew was described as outwardly ‘humble’ in appearance and openly religious – observations meant to expose his hypocrisy. His deplorable business practices were highlighted by his foreignness in language, dress, religion, and food in comparison with his ‘Christian neighbours’ despite having lived among them ‘for hundreds of years.’ It was this dichotomy between Jew and Christian that particularly troubled Tilby since the two never meet ‘save as debtor and creditor, and of the two the Christian is always the debtor and the Jew the creditor.’ This Polish Jew was thus presented as a ‘parasite’ who drained his debtor yet was unwilling to ‘finance a new industry; he prefers a decaying estate.’ It was therefore the Jews’ fault that ‘thousands of peasants have emigrated to America,’ and because of his grasping ways Tilby implied that was no fault of the Polish people if a Jew is found ‘dead by the roadside, with a peasant’s knife through his chest.’ Poor business acumen was therefore the reason that ‘the bulk’ of Polish Jews were poor, a paradox considering the writer’s best efforts to construct Polish Jews as secretly wealthy. Tilby brushed aside this apparent contradiction by stating that most Poles were poor, thereby suggesting that Jews are relatively rich in comparison.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Awyatttilby.com.

²⁷⁷ Glover, *Literature, Immigration, and Diaspora*, p. 125.

²⁷⁸ On a Scottish note of context, Braber suggests a lack of an anti-Jewish element in the 1915 Glasgow rent strikes since few Jews there made their livelihood from letting property. See Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 90.

The most striking element of the article was the comparison between Polish Jews and German Jews. As has been observed, German Jews were a particular target in the Scottish press during the war, yet Tilby's article attempted to warn of the greater danger from Polish Jews. In relationship to their host nations, German Jews had become assimilated 'superficially' whereas Polish Jews had all resisted. Polish Jews had only become 'emancipated' in larger cities such as Vienna where Tilby stated they were 'loud, vulgar, and oversmart.' In business both emancipated and German Jews who 'have learnt how to finance enterprises without killing them,' held their Polish brothers in contempt, yet both sides were similar as they were 'ready to grind the faces of the poor – and the rich, too, if they get the opportunity.' Ultimately, German Jews were 'ashamed' of their Polish counterparts for their poverty and 'mildly contemptuous' of their religious orthodoxy. Polish Jews were so low in Tilby's eyes that even German Jews, who received little British sympathy, were seen as slightly better.

The article clearly presented the 'Jewish Question' as a problem that related directly to the readers, in language that was implied rather than explicit. In the opening sentence, the Polish Jew was referred to as 'that singular problem which three Empires have failed to solve.' Germany and Russia were mentioned throughout the article, but the third empire, implied to be Britain, was never named. If the Jewish question was a British 'problem,' then this article was a direct warning for the readers. From the first sentence, the writer depicted these Jews as alien in every way, and in conclusion, Zionism was viewed as problematic because Jews needed Christians to 'live on,' recalling the earlier image of a parasite. It is this reason, Tilby stated in closing, that 'the Polish Jew will still remain an insolvable problem after the war. He will not assimilate, and he will not emigrate; he remains a perpetual stranger in the land.' Glaswegian readers would have needed no specific mention of their city to understand that they were being instructed to ponder the future of the thousands of immigrant Jews living in their midst on the South Side.²⁷⁹

Much time has been spent examining the Tilby article, but it is important because it represented possibly the worst anti-Jewish piece in the Scottish press during the war given its length, nearly one-and-a-half columns, and its language. Tilby's

²⁷⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 October 1916, p. 9.

article was all the more jarring in that no other work in the *Glasgow Herald* throughout the war vilified foreign Jews to any similar extent. Similar sentiments, however, were put forth elsewhere as a correspondent of *The Scotsman* portrayed Russian Jews as cowardly during the siege of Lemberg at the beginning of the war. He wrote, 'The poor-class Jews one pictures lurking away in cellars, scared and apprehensive – for the long, sad history of the Israelite makes him nervous and ever expectant of calamity.'²⁸⁰

Thus, throughout the duration of the war, the loyalty and desirability of Russian Jews in Scotland was scrutinised, and the onset of Russian Revolution added a new dimension to this scrutiny. Some members of the Jewish community visibly supported the Revolution, and the Queen's Park Literary Society celebrated 'the recent developments in Russia' with an evening of entertainment.²⁸¹ Two months later, a full crowd at St. Andrew's Halls in Glasgow heard a number of political and local leaders extol the virtues of the Russian Revolution, and the *Glasgow Herald* reported that one speaker, speaking 'partly in Yiddish,' praised the 'ideal of international Socialism.'²⁸² In June the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council sponsored a meeting which filled the Palace Theatre, and the *Glasgow Herald* headline read 'Glasgow Jews and Russian Revolution'.²⁸³ Again a number of local leading figures were involved alongside 'delegates from every Jewish organisation,' including an appearance from Garnethill leaders David Heilbron and Michael Simons.²⁸⁴ These West End men were not necessarily arguing support for revolution, but rather as was always the case with the Glasgow Jews, they meant to earnestly discuss and debate the matter.

It does not appear that support and debate for the Russian Revolution was so openly discussed within the Edinburgh Jewish community. The clear Russian connection had been publicised, as noted earlier, by Elias Fürst who claimed that 90% of Edinburgh Jews were of Russian descent, in an early attempt to 'de-Germanise' the Jewish community in the eyes of Edinburgh society. The links with Russia were therefore public and undeniable, and the pendulum of public perception once again swung toward viewing Russians as the greatest alien threat. The political implications

²⁸⁰ *The Scotsman*, 5 September 1914, p. 6.

²⁸¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 March 1917, p. 20.

²⁸² *Glasgow Herald*, 14 May 1917, p. 8.

²⁸³ *Glasgow Herald*, 4 June 1917, p. 5.

²⁸⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 June 1917, pp. 23-24.

tied to the suspicion of Russians and Jews had worked their way into place prior to the war. William Kenefick noted that a number of the Russian Jews migrating into Glasgow in the 1880s and 1890s aided and developed the growth of Jewish unions in trades such as tailoring and cigarette making, and within these unions they openly discussed the subject of revolutionary socialism.²⁸⁵ Along similar lines, Henry Maitles' assessment of Jewish trade unions revealed a high level of militancy that reflected the activity found amongst the unions and workers on the Clyde.²⁸⁶ One similar organisation was the Workers' Circle which was established in the Gorbals in 1912 and was a venue for leftist discussion and debate among its Jewish members.²⁸⁷ Although activity in the Workers' Circle increased following the Russian Revolution,²⁸⁸ their numbers were reduced to only twenty-eight after the Anglo-Russian Convention sent many members either back to Russia or into the British army. The events during and after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 had a dramatic effect upon similar organisations in London, which Kadish observed removed 'the radical cream of the Ghetto.'²⁸⁹

Conclusion

The experiences of Scottish Jews on the home front were rather mixed. Prominent members from the Jewish communities in both Glasgow and Edinburgh took every opportunity to express their patriotism and to encourage their fellow Jews to do the same. Fundraising, newly created charitable organisations, and the need to provide for soldier care gave Jewish women increased responsibilities within the community, and as Linda Fleming explained, wartime demands for men created many job opportunities in Scotland for Jewish women.²⁹⁰ Jewish actions were often reported and defended in the press, and the communities' efforts were recognised by prominent Scots such as Dundas White, MP, who presented a paper in 1915 entitled 'The Jewish People in the War.' The paper, presented before the Glasgow University Jewish Society, praised the Jewish community for its wartime participation, supported

²⁸⁵ Kenefick, *Red Clydeside!*, p. 80.

²⁸⁶ Maitles, 'Jewish trade unionists in Glasgow', p. 67

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁸⁸ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 97.

²⁸⁹ Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews*, p. 209.

²⁹⁰ Linda Fleming, 'Jewish Women in Glasgow c1880-1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience', (PhD, University of Glasgow, 2005).

Zionist ideals, and called upon Jewish people to participate in ‘the great work of reconstruction after the war.’²⁹¹ The press often sympathised with the treatment of Polish and Russian Jews at the hands of both the invading Germans and the host Russians. Naturally, Germany was also condemned for the treatment of its Jewish soldiers and for the blame-shifting heaped upon its Jewish citizens, particularly toward the end of the war.

On the other hand the Scottish press occasionally succumbed to negative Jewish stereotypes, and Scottish Jews were repeatedly questioned in the press over their participation, patriotism, and loyalty. These questions were sometimes aimed at those Jews who sent correspondence in order to defend their community, but most often they were aimed at a specific community as a whole. The smaller Edinburgh Jewish community suffered a greater amount of animosity. However, this negativity was often a generalised observation of Jews, echoing press reports covering Jewish issues in other areas of the country. Fears that Russian Jews were successfully avoiding military service were confirmed by reports of Jews fleeing to Ireland, but these fears were also augmented by reports from around Britain. The most prominent reports included rhetoric coming from London accusing the city’s sizeable Russian Jewish population of slacking as well as the reports of the 18 Leeds Jews being arrested in Belfast as military absentees. Reports on London Jews were particularly nasty as one correspondent of the *Edinburgh Evening News* when reporting on the zeppelin raids declared, ‘You will see amongst the Jews fear and selfishness carried to the limit.’²⁹² These were some of the major issues which Cesarani noted during the last two years of the war caused the *Jewish Chronicle* to ‘anxiously monitored the growing anti-Jewish comment in the press and in Parliament.’²⁹³

Scepticism over Jewish participation was also expressed in cities that housed smaller Jewish populations such as Aberdeen and Dundee, and this attitude was apparent in locations such as Motherwell which lacked a Jewish community.²⁹⁴ When approached by the Foreign Jews’ Protection Committee in 1917, the Motherwell

²⁹¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 26 October 1915, p. 10.

²⁹² *Edinburgh Evening News*, 3 October 1917, p. 2.

²⁹³ Cesarani, *Reporting Anti-Semitism*, p. 19.

²⁹⁴ While there is evidence that some Jews may have lived in Motherwell, Harvey Kaplan confirms that no official Jewish community has ever resided in Motherwell.

Trades Council expressed a lack of sympathy and refused to offer support to the Jewish organisation's efforts to resist military service and deportation for fear of aiding the foreigners in taking businesses from their own who were compelled to serve in the military.²⁹⁵ The following year, a short letter in the *Motherwell Times* compared the fear of Irish workers replacing local steelworkers and engineers with the reports from London of the 'alien Jew, Russian and Pole, ready and willing to step into the business shoes of called-up Britishers.'²⁹⁶

The repeated peaks in anti-German sentiment continually kept the Jewish community on guard, and the year 1916 was particularly challenging as heightened anti-Germanism, following the death of Lord Kitchener and zeppelin raids on the east coast of Scotland, coincided with conscription. The Jewish cases exposed in the press during the resulting military tribunals increased anxiety over Jewish shirking which had existed since the beginning of the war. The level of anti-Jewish sentiment found in the Scottish press during the First World War which hitherto remained largely hidden, and the amount of anti-Jewish feeling exposed in this chapter provides compelling evidence to support Stefan Manz's questioning of the perception of a tolerant Scottish society in his analysis of Scottish 'Germanophobia' during the Great War. Scottish Jews were at the disadvantage whether they were regarded as German or Russian, depending on the negative stereotype that fit the feelings of the time, and Alyson Pendlebury's work confirmed that this was the case across Britain during the war.²⁹⁷ Yet intolerance toward Scottish Jews was relegated primarily to the pages of the press while only two incidents of violence, against Simon Harris and Charles Klar, were specifically aimed at Jewish victims. In contrast Scottish Jews never witnessed anti-Jewish rioting, unlike Leeds and London in 1917, despite claims in the *Jewish Chronicle* that similar feelings existed in Glasgow.²⁹⁸ Anti-German rioting posed a greater problem for English Jews in the south when compared to the sporadic rioting across Scotland. In the broader context of rioting outside of the Great War period, Scottish Jews experienced a more stable atmosphere. In 1904 the Jews of Limerick, Ireland, endured a boycott instigated by the clergyman Father Creagh,²⁹⁹ and in south Wales,

²⁹⁵ *Motherwell Times*, 30 March 1917, p. 6.

²⁹⁶ *Motherwell Times*, 5 July 1918, p. 5.

²⁹⁷ Pendlebury, *Portraying 'the Jew' in First World War Britain*, pp. 151-153.

²⁹⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 22 June 1917, p. 8.

²⁹⁹ Keogh and McCarthy, *Limerick Boycott 1904*, p. 37.

physical assaults on Jews in 1902 and 1903 and later anti-Jewish riots in 1911.³⁰⁰ Of more immediate consequence, the 1919 race riots which took place in Glasgow were absent of attacks on the Jewish community, although Jacqueline Jenkinson does note that some related anti-Semitic rhetoric revealed a 'pervasiveness of anti-alien sentiment in British society at this time.'³⁰¹

The role of the various Jewish organisations, especially the Jewish Representative Councils in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, should therefore not be overlooked when observing the relative stability that Scottish Jews enjoyed during the war. Their efforts did not come without some cost as the strain of war and public relations ultimately produced internal Jewish communal tensions. The work to protect German Jews from internment and repatriation created real tension between Edinburgh and Glasgow, and for the same reason the broader Jewish community generally avoided the issue. These Scottish organisations worked quietly and successfully to protect their alien co-religionists, both German and Russian, from harmful wartime laws while simultaneously proclaiming Jewish loyalty to Britain at any and every opportunity. Considering the range of anti-Jewish sentiment put forth in the Scottish press, such activity was not free of risk. Despite significant efforts and evident wartime participation Jews were repeatedly singled out as an outside group, and as such they attracted and experienced a degree of criticism and distain. They were not completely accepted as British as was the case prior to the war. A British citizen with a British heritage who avowed his patriotism and acted upon the claim was considered patriotic, but society could condemn the Jewish community for any deviation by a group or individual. Balancing a Jewish identity within Scottish society was thus a real and visible struggle during the First World War.

³⁰⁰ Cesarani, *Reporting Anti-Semitism*, p. 11-15; Alderman, *Controversy and Crisis*, pp. 76-82.

³⁰¹ Jacqueline Jenkinson, 'The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4:2 (1985), pp. 43-67; Jacqueline Jenkinson, *Black 1919* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), p. 44.

Chapter Five: Dundee Jewry and the War: A Micro-History

On 9 May 1915, Second Lieutenant Philip David Weinberg fell at Aubers Ridge while carrying the colours and leading his men toward the German line. Second Lieutenant Weinberg was the first officer of the 4th Black Watch (Dundee's Own) to die in battle during the Great War. On 30 March 1919, Private Nachmanovich Koppel began his journey from Boulogne to Kinross to be demobilised after having served three months overseas as part of the 1022nd Labour Corps. Both of these men were connected to the small Jewish community of Dundee, although Lieutenant Weinberg did not identify as Jewish, and they both represented two sides of this community: Weinberg of German descent and Koppel a recent Russian immigrant. In Glasgow and Edinburgh men such as these were lionised by the Jewish community and were recognised locally, while at the same time Jewish non-participation was decried and anti-Jewish stereotypes perpetuated.

Jute, Germans, and Jews

Until Nathan Abrams' recent book, *Caledonian Jews*, the Dundee Jewish community has been largely overlooked in Scottish Jewish historiography. This is of little surprise given the small size of the Dundee Jewish population, numbering only 142 at the outbreak of the First World War.¹ Dundee's Jewish community began as German Jews were lured to the city by the lucrative jute trade around the mid nineteenth century.² These German Jews took varying degrees of interest in the Jewish community. Isaac Julius Weinberg, one of the most prominent German-Jewish jute merchants and grandfather of Philip David, contributed to the Synagogue Building Fund.³ However, many of the German-Jewish businessmen integrated quickly into mainstream Dundee society. Some, such as Victor Fraenkl who attended Dundee Parish Church, converted to Christianity in an effort to integrate, as did Leopold Zoller who participated in Dundee's German Church. Abrams stated that this conversion can

¹ Abrams, Nathan. *Caledonian Jews*, p. 77.

² Aronsfeld, C.C. 'German Jews in Dundee' in *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 November 1953, p. 15.

³ Abrams. *Caledonian Jews*, p. 67.

be 'partially explained by the tolerant atmosphere towards Jews in Scotland in general at that time.'⁴

The German Jews did not conform to society religious norms simply as a way of discreetly blending in with the local culture as witnessed by their genuine interest in the city of Dundee. Both Victor Fraenkl and Rudolph Polack became Justices of the Peace.⁵ Rudolph Polack took a particular interest in the young people of Dundee, becoming a Governor of University College, overseeing the Polack Travelling Scholarship, and becoming a director of the Dundee Orphan Institute.⁶ Mrs. Polack was no stranger to society either, involving herself in the Dundee Women's Hospital and Nursing Home along with Grace Weinberg, daughter-in-law of Julius Isaac, who was also a Vice-President of the Ladies' Committee for the Dundee Industrial Schools Society.⁷ Perhaps most notable was Isaac Julius Weinberg whose efforts saw him become a Governor of University College, President of the Chamber of Commerce, a collector and donor of art for the city, a promoter of music, and a key supporter of day nurseries for the working women of Dundee.⁸

The mark that the Germans and German Jews left on Dundee society were fairly evident, but the newer small stream of Russian Jewish immigrants did not attain such distinction as their German co-religionists. As a general rule the Russian Jews were less secularised than their German predecessors and quickly took over the identity of the Jewish community in Dundee. Such was their influence that by 1892 the fifty Jewish families in Dundee were reported to be mostly from Russia or Poland.⁹ In contrast to the Edinburgh and Glasgow communities, Dundee Jews lacked an older, established German leadership to advocate integration since they had assimilated,

⁴ SJAC, Dundee File, COM.DUN 0001/0002, letter from Michael Bolik to Harvey Kaplan; Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 66-67. In the discussion of Dundee Jews and the First World War, it is worth noting that Leopold Zoller was recalled from Dundee to fight in the Franco-Prussian War. He reportedly earned an Iron Cross, but his name does not appear on any lists for this award from the Franco-Prussian War.

⁵ SJAC, Dundee File, COM.DUN 0001/0002, letter from Michael Bolik to Harvey Kaplan; *The Dundee Directory 1914-1915* (Dundee: James P. Mathew, 1914), p. 62.

⁶ *The Dundee Directory 1914-1915*, pp. 92, 100, 107. *The Dundee Directory* defined The Polack Travelling Scholarship as 'for the advancement of Commercial Education, and particularly the study of modern foreign language abroad. Value, about £80 per annum.'

⁷ *The Dundee Directory 1914-1915*, pp. 106-107.

⁸ Janice Murray and David Stockdale, *The Miles Tae Dundee* (Dundee: Dundee Art Galleries & Museums, 1990), p. 24; DCL, 'The Dundee Yearbook 1912-14', D9161, p. 55.

⁹ Katharyne Newland, 'Immigrant Minorities in Dundee 1850-1914: The Irish and the Jews' (BA, University of Dundee, 1989).

leaving the incoming immigrants to assume greater leadership within the community. Russian Jews continued to trickle into Dundee in small numbers and at least one Dundonian remembered these immigrants as 'shy and aloof...but as they got to understand us they were gradually assimilated, or at least tolerated.'¹⁰ The local press occasionally commented on Jewish activity in the city and in one instance printed an article which briefly explained the celebration of the Passover 'courtesy of a Dundee gentleman of Jewish faith.'¹¹ Attention given by the local press to the various pogroms in Russia aimed at its Jewish population and the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews provided Dundonians with a sympathetic view of international Jewry which may have shaped their view of the tiny Jewish population in their midst. From all appearances, these new immigrants incorporated themselves into Dundee society with little undue attention apart from a brief episode of protest in 1893 concerning Glaswegian Jews bringing their tailoring trade to Dundee.¹²

By the start of the First World War, the German Jewish element had successfully integrated into Dundee society. Indeed, Germans in general were quite accepted in Dundee as evidenced by the visit in May 1914 of the *SMS Augsburg*, a German cruiser. The German sailors were entertained for ten days by the people of Dundee and enjoyed excursions into Perthshire and Fife. In return, the citizens of Dundee were invited aboard the *Augsburg* for a day of enjoyment which was noted with satisfaction by the local press:

From eleven o'clock in the morning until seven p.m. there was a constant procession to the Eastern Wharf, young and old taking advantage of the Commander's invitation to board his ship, despite the drenching showers of the day. Every lass loves a sailor, irrespective of his nationality, and the Dundee girls were well to the fore in the invasion of the *Augsburg*. And much merriment was caused thereby, as somehow or other they had selected Fritz's teatime for their call. The girls sat down at the tables and partook of bread and butter and coffee, carefully cut for them by Fritz. The difficulties of language did not interfere in the fun, and the efforts to carry on conversation in broken English with mouths filled with bread and butter caused many shouts of laughter. Several young ladies in one corner had matters more to their

¹⁰ DCL, Special Articles, SP 6:75.

¹¹ *Weekly News*, 22 April 1905, p. 11.

¹² Newland, 'Immigrant Minorities in Dundee,' p. 43.

liking, and were making great headway in their friendship. They spoke to Fritz in his own tongue.¹³

The glowing, somewhat romanticised reporting over the German sailors was replaced only three months later in August with a complete reversal in attitude toward all things German by the Scottish press with the British Declaration of War on 4 August 1914. On 17 August the *Courier* reported on five Germans arrested in Dundee and transported to Edinburgh under armed guard. It added ominously that one owned a car and two concealed cameras, and another was a German army reservist.¹⁴ The citizens of Dundee and surrounding areas responded to the idea of the German threat with enthusiastic vigilance during the opening month. A collector for the Prince of Wales' Fund in Dundee wearing his old navy uniform was twice accused of being a German and even marched down to the police station once. And in Montrose three men taking a walk were stopped by some Scouts and taken by 'point of the bayonet' to the Coastguard station where they were identified and released. Later, two men 'of decidedly foreign appearance' were arrested in the West End of Dundee and detained until they were identified – one being an Englishman.¹⁵ One of the most sensational reports came in September when a Dundee Territorial narrowly avoided being shot in the head while on patrol one evening in an event that was expressed to be the work of a German spy intent on cutting off Dundee's water supply.¹⁶

The same month, arrests of Germans in Dundee continued to increase. In the middle of the month, ten men were arrested and sent to Edinburgh, and at the end of the month the *Evening Telegraph* reported that six Germans had been arrested in a 'round-up' which included 'Dr. Stede, lecturer in German at University College, Dundee, and W. F. Floerke, teacher of German.'¹⁷ The following month *The Weekly News* reported with satisfaction that 'the Dundee police have also been on the warpath' after arresting two more Germans in the city.¹⁸ Near the end of October, Dundee police had arrested around 50 Germans in the city and another 10 in surrounding districts under their authority.¹⁹ By the end of the war fifty-six German

¹³ *Dundee Advertiser*, 25 May 1914, p. 9.

¹⁴ *Dundee Courier*, 17 August 1914, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Dundee Courier*, 24 August 1914, p. 4; 25 August 1914, p. 4; 28 August 1914, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Evening Telegraph*, 18 September 1914, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 September 1914, p. 9; *Evening Telegraph*, 25 September 1914, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Weekly News*, 31 October 1914.

¹⁹ *Evening Telegraph*, 23 October 1914, p. 1.

Dundonians had been deemed 'enemy aliens,' twenty-four of whom were interned because they were men of military age.²⁰

Paranoia over the arrests and supposed spy activity was exacerbated by reports of German cruelty. The local press in Dundee mimicked papers across Britain in decrying German army atrocities, both fabricated and factual, during the opening invasion of Belgium. John Horne and Alan Kramer have done the most thorough work regarding the German invasion, and while confirming a number of civilian casualties, they also debunked a number of popular myths from the time including stories of bayoneted babies and dismemberment. Fear over German invasion of Britain was thus 'expressed vicariously through the plight of Belgium,' vividly pictured in papers and posters as 'the rape of Belgium.'²¹ The reported atrocities were sometimes corroborated by locals as was the case with the Reverend James Hamilton who was on vacation in Switzerland when war was declared and received a number of first and second hand accounts from Belgian refugees.²² At other times the stories were perpetuated in lectures given by visiting Belgians, such as Robert Wouters, who 'hit hard' on German atrocities and included a story of a child found with both hands and feet cut off.²³ Occasionally, these reports resulted in extreme reactions from Dundonians, and one letter to the *Dundee Courier* from a correspondent named 'Extermination' suggested that all Germans in Britain be given 24 hours notice to leave and then be shipped back to Germany.²⁴ Other letters expressed fear over the destruction of the Tay Bridge, claiming that 'there are alien enemies crossing and recrossing daily,' and another letter from 'Thorough' implored the Chief Constable to place the safety of Dundonians above the comfort of the alien community.²⁵

The rhetoric became dramatically more severe after 7 May 1915, when a German u-boat sank the liner *Lusitania*, killing over 1,000 civilians on board. The tragedy struck a chord across Britain. On 12 May a reader identifying as Veteran voiced his disgust to the *Dundee Advertiser*, naming naturalised Germans as the 'subtle

²⁰ Murray and Stockdale, *The Miles Tae Dundee*, p. 25.

²¹ John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 302.

²² *Dundee Courier*, 2 September 1914, p. 2.

²³ *Dundee Courier*, 21 January 1915, p. 2.

²⁴ *Dundee Courier*, 2 September 1914, p. 2.

²⁵ *Dundee Courier*, 21 October 1914, p. 2; 22 October 1914, p. 4.

factor...causing a prolongation of the war,' and concluded that 'every German and Austrian within our borders should be interned during the period of the war.' The writer further accused the resident Germans of passing 'all their information to those "commercial travellers" who make regular visits,'²⁶ a likely allusion to the Jewish businessmen who travelled up and down Scotland making sales.²⁷ A look through the alien registry book confirms that wartime Dundee received frequent visits from men such as Moise Abramsky, Hyman Bernstein, Jack Cohen, Hyman Goldwater, and various others.²⁸ Many of these Jewish travellers were from Glasgow, where associations were made of Germans with Jews. In one particularly large anti-German meeting in Glasgow's St. Andrews Halls, one speaker proclaimed that 'the German Jew in this country was the lowest type of Hun.'²⁹ While this outburst was by no means the prevailing attitude in Scotland towards its Jewish residents, it illustrated the subtlety of the letter condemning the 'commercial travellers.'

Veteran's letter sparked an immediate reply from the *Dundee Advertiser* which suggested that the mood across Britain demanded the internment of enemy aliens 'if not for the security of the country, for their own.'³⁰ This was in reference to the riots that were causing extensive damage to German alien properties especially in London, Liverpool and Manchester, although as we have seen some riots did occur on a far smaller scale in Scotland. The *Dundee Advertiser* acknowledged the letters received from the naturalised Germans of Dundee and furthermore approached the sensitive topic with caution stating:

There is no harder case just now than that of men who have passed their lives in a British environment, whose minds have been shaped to British modes of thought, and whose sympathy is with the land of their adoption, and who yet are inevitably entangled in a suspicion of sympathy with doings which it requires a special education to approve.³¹

²⁶ *Dundee Advertiser*, 12 May 1915, p. 3.

²⁷ Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901*, pp. 12-14. While determining the size of the Jewish community in the Glasgow South Side, Kaplan has calculated that 16% of those in the Jewish community who claimed an occupation were listed as hawker/peddler/traveller. Only two other industries claimed larger percentages of Gorbals Jewish workers: 32% in tailoring and 18% in tobacco.

²⁸ Dundee City Archives (hereafter DCA), Register of arrivals and departures of aliens 1917-1949 (Po 3/1).

²⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 16 June 1916, p. 5.

³⁰ *Dundee Advertiser*, 13 May 1915, p. 6.

³¹ *Dundee Advertiser*, 13 May 1915, p. 6.

The letters flooded in from at least eight of Dundee's naturalised Germans, and at least one of the correspondents, Rudolph Polack, was indeed of German Jewish descent.³² Each letter expressed loyalty to Britain and a disgust over German tactics, and almost every correspondent highlighted his length of residence, twenty years being one of the lowest amounts mentioned. Three of the men made specific mention of marrying an 'Englishwoman' or a 'Scotswoman.' Albert Josephy defended his previous silence against Germany by saying that 'members of our community' had advised 'not to express opinion unless I was asked to do so.' The most positive letter came from Ferdinand Heilbrunn who stated:

I am sure this letter is not required by my many friends in Dundee to let them know my sentiments – they are all well-aware of them, and only the other day I had occasion to express my deep emotion at the thought of all the kindness that they have shown me, every one of them; not an unpleasant word has ever been said to me during these long darkened months, and all I could do was – to walk humbly.³³

Heilbrunn's positive outlook was severely put to the test by the letters that poured into the *Dundee Advertiser* for the next day's edition. So numerous were the letters that the editor made a special note to say that only 'a selection' could be printed. Only one letter printed from 'A Working Man' expressed sympathy with their 'pain of being misunderstood,' but the other letters were decidedly anti-German. The following excerpt of a letter signed 'R.J. Fisher' displayed the most vitriolic attitude represented:

Britishers to-day do not want expressions of horror from reptiles who tomorrow, if given the chance, will cut our throats, and who would outrage and maim our women and children. What we want and what we ought to have promptly, is every German in Great Britain, whether alien or naturalized, put behind bars and kept there till the end of the war, and all their relations sent 30 miles inland. Up to the present the naturalised German has been a greater peril than the alien German and the wealthier he is the greater the danger. It makes no difference whether he has been in this country 50 years or 50 weeks; once a German, always a German, and those who have been expressing horror at the Lusitania crime are only doing so because they think their own

³² It is likely that another correspondent, Max Wulff, was of German Jewish since it is known that Albert Wulff of Dundee was. Ferdinand Heilbrunn, another German correspondent, shares a similar surname with the prominent Jewish Heilbron family of Glasgow, but there is no evidence of his relation to them and therefore it is assumed that he was only German and not Jewish. However, Heilbrunn is mentioned as a supporter of the synagogue building fund.

³³ *Dundee Advertiser*, 13 May 1915, p. 6.

skin is in danger. If they had stood out against the first Belgian atrocities they might have been listened to now, but, like the man who locked the stable door after the horse was gone, they are too late. I appeal, therefore, Mr. Editor, to your readers to be British. Allow no German, by birth or marriage, to have anything to do with patriotic or Red Cross work; keep their wives and daughters clear of our hospitals, where in more than one case they have insulted wounded Belgian soldiers. Refuse to speak to or recognize them, and treat them in general as you would treat a snake, and insist on internment.³⁴

Interestingly, the reader suggested that an earlier denouncement of Germany would have helped the Dundee Germans despite his sentiment of 'once a German, always a German.' Similarly, a letter from 'Disgusted' asked his fellow readers: 'Do we fully realise they are denouncing their own country and their own kith and kin?' The German population was therefore in a no-win situation. Even a declaration of loyalty to Britain was seen as a traitorous act. These scathing letters certainly had an effect on the German community. Hugo Freudenfels claimed, 'I suffer very much under the stigma which has unjustly fallen on people who, like myself, have always identified themselves with this country by marriage and otherwise.' Freudenfels furthermore expressed his desire to sign a document declaring his loyalty to Britain, referring to a sample form that had been printed earlier in the paper, and encouraged others of German descent to do likewise.³⁵ The backlash in the press also prompted Ferdinand Heilbrunn to write a second letter elaborating on his German background, condemning German tactics, and reiterating his loyalty to Britain. Despite feeling the need to defend himself, Heilbrunn graciously added:

Still, there can be no manner of doubt that those hard words were written under unprecedented provocation – provocation such as the world has never experienced before – and who can wonder that wild flames of passion flare up, and what human heart can remain unmoved when deeds are committed the mere mentioning of which strikes the soul like a deathblow.³⁶

A number of similar letters were placed in the *Courier* as well, and the outpouring of outrage expressed by the Germans in Dundee was not dissimilar from the reactions of other Germans in Scotland, particularly those in Glasgow who sent the

³⁴ *Dundee Advertiser*, 14 May 1915, p. 5.

³⁵ *Dundee Advertiser*, 15 May 1915, p. 3.

³⁶ *Dundee Advertiser*, 18 May 1915, p. 2.

Lord Provost a signed letter of allegiance to King and country.³⁷ The discussion of Germans in Dundee, however, came to an abrupt end after Heilbrunn's second letter. It is possible that the argument simply ran its course, but there are two incidents that could explain the silence thereafter. First, men from the 4th Black Watch (Dundee's Own) were involved in fighting at Aubers Ridge on 9 May 1915, and reports from the front slowly trickled back to Dundee. It was not until 20 May that the *Dundee Advertiser* printed a letter from Lance-Sergeant Bowman which described the battle and losses of the battalion in great detail. Of particular interest was the death of Second Lieutenant Philip David Weinberg during the battle, the first officer of the 4th Black Watch to fall in France.³⁸ As mentioned above, Second Lieutenant Weinberg was of German Jewish descent, an interesting fact upon which the Dundee Germans failed to capitalise and which the local press completely ignored. His name appearing in the casualties list, as an officer no less, would have been an inconvenient truth for those who held animosity toward the Dundee Germans.

The second factor was the Quintinshill rail disaster of May 22 which claimed the lives of over 200 soldiers and left another 200 soldiers injured. The tragedy is still today the worst rail disaster in British history. Even though most of the soldier in the crash hailed from Leith as members of 1/7th Royal Scots, the Dundee press covered the news extensively as did the press throughout Scotland and the rest of Britain.³⁹ These losses, at the front with the 4th Black Watch and at home with the Quintinshill tragedy, were local issues which help explain why the surging anti-Germanism in Dundee abruptly abated.

The fact that anti-German feeling in Dundee was confined to the press and never resulted in acts of violence or destruction in the city was a testimony to the integration of the German community. Abrams suggested that there was looting of German shops in Dundee, but was an apparent misreading of the source used since the local press did not report on any such activity.⁴⁰ In contrast to Dundee places in

³⁷ MLGCA, 'Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow', April 1915-November 1915, p. 1496.

³⁸ Julie Danskin, *A City at War: The 4th Black Watch, 'Dundee's Own', February 1915-March 1916* (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 2013), p. 69.

³⁹ Royle, *The Flowers of the Forest*, p. 133.

⁴⁰ Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 77. The source Abrams cites, *The Miles Tae Dundee*, makes the statements, 'The First World War brought unwelcome attention to Germans settled here. There were

Scotland such as in Greenock, Annan, Dumfries, Perth, Alloa, and Leith did experience small scale riots in the wake of the *Lusitania* catastrophe.⁴¹ Scotland as a whole, however, experienced far less action against enemy aliens than in other parts of Britain since as a whole Germans comprised only just over 1% of the immigrant population and thus were perceived much less as a 'real danger.'⁴²

The discussion of localised anti-Germanism is relevant not only because of the Jewish heritage of some of the integrated Germans but also because of the amalgamation of Jews and Germans in the minds of some of their Scottish neighbours, as illustrated earlier in relation to comments about commercial travellers as explained throughout Chapter Four. It was therefore not just German Jews that had to be conscious of the rhetoric taking place but Scottish Jews in general. Even the *Dundee Courier*, as well as other Scottish papers, fell prey to this confusion of German and Jew while reporting the riot at Leven involving Simon Harris. The Harris incident put Dundee Jews on notice at the beginning of the war that connections, real and perceived, between Germans and Jews carried a potential hazard. Occasionally, brief remarks disparaging the business practices of German Jews appeared in the local press,⁴³ but from the experience of Henry Rothfield, this connection between German and Jew continued to be an issue even toward the end of the war. Henry's father, Nathan, was a jute merchant in Dundee, and the family was heavily involved with the Jewish community. Henry, although living in Newcastle-on-Tyne where he conducted a money lending business, maintained his connections to Dundee by giving advice and financially supporting the building fund for a new synagogue.⁴⁴ His money-lending business required travel throughout Scotland, and he frequently stayed in Edinburgh at the North British Station Hotel. In January 1918, the hotel informed him that his 'continued residence...for practically half the year...had become a source of annoyance,' and he was asked to 'find accommodation elsewhere.'⁴⁵ Incidentally, this was the same hotel that Carl Hans Lody, the German spy, used during his time in Edinburgh, perhaps revealing a factor in the hotel's view of Rothfield.

riots and looting of shops belonging to German residents.' This was a reference to Scotland in general, not a specific assessment of Dundee.

⁴¹ Macdonald, 'Race, Riot and Representations', p. 145.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴³ *Dundee Courier*, 11 November 1914, p. 4; 28 December 1916, p. 4.

⁴⁴ SJAC, Dundee File, COM.DUN 0001/0002, Dundee Hebrew Synagogue Building Fund Minute Book.

⁴⁵ *The Scotsman*, 21 July 1920, p. 7.

For this action, Rothfield filed a lawsuit against the hotel. The chief reason stated for Rothfield's exclusion was that he was accused of conducting money-lending inside the hotel, 'and that his general behaviour caused annoyance to the other guests.' In his evidence, the hotel manager included a comment about Rothfield being a 'German Jew.' In the cross-examination, it was noted that 'the charge of being a German Jew was particularly offensive,' and when asked if he regretted the comment, the hotel manager refused to back down. The hotel manager further explained that Rothfield was a nuisance in 'the way he strutted about and gave his orders,' and that 'guests expressed surprise that there should be a money-lender in the hotel.'⁴⁶ Despite the personal attacks regarding being a German Jew, the court found that Rothfield's 'swaggering conspicuousness and self-advertising character' to be reason enough for the hotel to withhold accommodation, adding, 'the fact that the pursuer was a Jew and a money-lender would not by itself be of any significance.'⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the fact that Rothfield's Jewishness came into question at all during the proceedings would surely have been something for him, if not his family and friends in Dundee, to ponder.

Even though the Harris and Rothfield incidents did not take place in Dundee, the connections with the local press and from family ties made these stories relevant to Dundee Jews. Nonetheless, the issue of Jewishness came straight to their door during the opening month of the war in the form of a letter to the *Dundee Advertiser* entitled 'What Are the Jews Doing?' The letter from Helen Macdonald of Dundee recounted a conversation that she had with a Jewish man in Glasgow who when asked if he would join the military responded, 'Oh, it wouldn't pay me to join. The money's not good enough!' Macdonald noted that the man had been receiving a good income from 'a Scottish employer' for many years, and she expressed the sentiment that Britain as an unparalleled protector of Jews in recent history deserved to be defended by those Jews residing in Britain. Macdonald furthermore appealed to the British Jews' sense of history, recounting their conquest of the Philistines and asking if 'the ancient valour and martial spirit...still lives in their descendents today.' In an effort to downplay any apparent condescension, Macdonald remarked that the attitude of her

⁴⁶ *The Scotsman*, 12 June 1919, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *The Scotsman*, 21 July 1920, p. 7.

aforementioned Jewish friend could have been ‘an isolated case,’ and concluded by asking for feedback from ‘the Jewish Societies.’⁴⁸

The tone of Macdonald’s letter did seem to hold more frustration than cynicism, observable in part by her concluding open question to the Jewish community rather than a blanket accusation. A prompt response followed the next day with a letter written by ‘A Jew’ entitled ‘What the Jews Have Done’ which claimed that around 6,000 Jews were serving in the British army and navy while over 1,000 had enlisted on the first day of the war from London, Manchester, and Leeds alone. In addition the Jewish correspondent assured that Jews in the colonies could be relied upon and that Britain’s Russian and French allies contributed over 300,000 Jewish military men. As for the Jews in Dundee, he estimated 20 resident families and claimed, ‘The average percentage has been more than maintained.’ Unfortunately, no specifics were given. Financially, the writer calculated that British Jews had donated nearly £120,000 to the Prince of Wales’ Fund since the outbreak of war, a substantial amount, and it was suggested that Macdonald would know this if she ‘would only scan the subscription list in even a casual manner.’ The letter ended with reference to the aforementioned Glaswegian Jew suggesting, ‘I am sure the answer was meant how best to amuse the questioner.’⁴⁹

The following week, a letter from an Edinburgh Jew appeared in the *Dundee Advertiser* under the name ‘A National Reservist’, a name chosen in obvious declaration of his participation in the British military. Furthermore, the writer highlighted Jewish participation in the Territorial Force, claiming to know ‘over a dozen young men’ who had already been called to the front. The Territorial Force was designed for British men to train locally as part-time soldiers in preparation for the defence of the country if required, and for such reason they were not required to serve in any capacity overseas. Mention of these Jewish Territorials was a statement that Jews were not only willing to defend the British homeland, but they were also ready to protect their country abroad despite not being required to do so. In contrast to the unwilling Glaswegian Jew, the writer declared documentary proof of a Jewish friend

⁴⁸ *Dundee Advertiser*, 14 August 1914, p. 4.

⁴⁹ *Dundee Advertiser*, 15 August 1914, p. 5.

who had volunteered despite making £500 a year, an obvious effort to discredit the stereotype of Jews as single-mindedly money hungry.

'Reservist' echoed an earlier sentiment of 'A Jew' about the dangers of such discussions started by Helen Macdonald stating, 'In time like these it is not opportune to write to the press on such points as Jews or Gentiles.' The concluding remark was much more pointed; 'Miss Macdonald would be better employed knitting socks and handling the needle instead of the pen.'⁵⁰ The final response to the Macdonald challenge came nearly a month later when 'A Jewess' wrote in asking for an article to be posted from *The Scotsman* entitled 'Jews in the Black Watch'. The article, previously noted in Chapter Two, was a rousing defence of Jewish soldiers by their wounded British comrades. Such a resounding endorsement by fellow soldiers was, no doubt, a source of pride for all British Jews.⁵¹ However, this did not negate the fact that Jewish participation was being questioned from the very start of the war in a city where Jews accounted for only .07 per cent of the population.

Dundee's Jewish Soldiers

The inclusion of Jews in the military was important for proving general Jewish patriotism, and on a local level the positive report in the *Scotsman* from Black Watch soldiers allowed Dundee Jews to claim Jewish participation in the local regiment, one of the most prestigious in Scotland. The *British Jewry Book of Honour* recorded thirty-eight Jewish members of the Black Watch during the Great War, the 4/5th Battalion having the largest number of Jews with five. The 1st, 8th, and 9th Battalions each had four Jewish members listed, and the rest were scattered across various other battalions of the regiment.⁵² Of the thirty-eight, five died during the war. None of the fallen had Dundee addresses and only two were from Scotland, one Edinburgh and the other Duntocher.⁵³ The soldier listed from Edinburgh was Second Lieutenant J. Wallace of the 1st Black Watch who died on 9 March 1915, the same day as Second

⁵⁰ *Dundee Advertiser*, 19 August 1914, p. 8. The writer also sent in article clippings describing Jewish contributions to the war effort which the paper stated they were unable to insert due to limited space.

⁵¹ *Dundee Advertiser*, 9 September 1914.

⁵² Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour*, p. 334.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 86, 103, 112, 122. The other three addresses listed include one from Brighton and two from Manchester. Only those who died have their addresses listed.

Lieutenant Philip David Weinberg of Broughty Ferry, the first officer of the 4th Black Watch to fall. Second Lieutenant Weinberg, however, was not listed on the Jewish honour roll, although he was listed in the 1915 Jewish Yearbook as one of two Jewish officers serving in Scottish regiments.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Jewish honour roll did not have any entries for the 4th Black Watch, a battalion raised quickly after war was declared and was composed of Dundee men, giving it the title of Dundee's Own. During the fighting at Aubers Ridge, Weinberg led his men toward the German lines, carrying a flag and shouting, 'Come on, boys, we will give the beggars socks!'⁵⁵ According to the *People's Journal*, Weinberg 'was an exceedingly popular officer, and held in great respect and even affection by the men of his company. Educated at Repton College, he was only 19 years of age, and joined the Fourth after the outbreak of war.'⁵⁶ It was unlikely that the Dundee Jewish community viewed him as one of their own, although some may have remembered his grandfather, Isaac Julius, and his connections and work with the community. In addition to being left off the Jewish honour roll, Weinberg's name was inscribed on the First World War memorial plaque 'in memory of the men of this church' in the St. Stephen's Church of Broughty Ferry, further showing his family's integration into society.⁵⁷ His name did provide some confusion regarding his gravestone which was originally inscribed with a Jewish Star of David, but this was later changed in 1952 upon request of the family who stated that Weinberg 'had been a lifelong member of the Church of Scotland.'⁵⁸

Despite the distance of the Weinberg family from the Jewish community, Philip David was important because he embodied the integrated nature of German Jewry in Dundee and the lack of patriotic leadership within the Jewish community there. Furthermore, he was later reclaimed by the Jewish community.⁵⁹ In the biography of Dr. Albert Jacob, a physician in Dundee until the early 1990s, a recollection was made of telling fellow citizens about the Jewish officer, Weinberg, represented in a painting

⁵⁴ *Jewish Yearbook 1915*, p. 185.

⁵⁵ *The Scotsman*, 19 May 1915, p. 11.

⁵⁶ *Dundee People's Journal*, 15 May 1915, p. 9.

⁵⁷ Second Lieutenant Philip David Weinberg is buried at the Cabaret-Rouge British Cemetery, Souchez.

⁵⁸ <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/584430/WEINBERG,%20PHILIP%20DAVID>; <http://www.twgpp.org/information.php?id=3784695>; email from CWGC.

⁵⁹ Philip David's father, Frederick, married Grace Keiller, a non-Jew. According to Jewish orthodoxy, Jewishness is maternal, or traced through the mother.

held in the city's art gallery.⁶⁰ The artwork, which still resides in The McManus, was painted by Joseph Gray with the title 'After Neuve Chapelle' in which Weinberg is identified as one of the ten officers depicted. Dr. Jacob hinted in his writing that Weinberg's death was a result of prejudice against Jews saying, 'He was to carry the regimental colours into action...Nor did it take much imagination for me to work out why "the Jew" had been selected for this signal, in both sense of the word, honour.' Dr. Jacob's assessment was likely coloured by his experiences in Dundee, especially his efforts before and after 1980 to prevent the city's twinning with Nablus, a Palestinian city, which resulted in various acts of anti-Semitism.⁶¹ In contrast to Dr. Jacob's view, the flag would not have gone to someone who was mistrusted or disliked. Carrying the colours would have been a high honour, a fact testified to by the actions of Donald Pyott and Jim Ross who each rushed to gather the flag after the bearer had fallen to the forfeit of their own lives.⁶²

Weinberg's death came in the early stages of the war, but another Dundee Jew was listed among the fallen even earlier. The *British Jewry Book of Honour* lists Pte. J. Barnett, 2nd Scots Guards, among the dead on 26 October 1914, but it was not until March 1915, that his name was reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*.⁶³ This gap was likely explained by the date of death written on the medal card of John Thomas Barnett as 'K in A 20-26/10/14.'⁶⁴ Sadly, it would appear that Private Barnett went missing during the week of fighting and was not confirmed dead until much later, and it would appear that his body was not recovered since he has no grave but is rather commemorated on Ypres Menin Gate Memorial. The *People's Journal* listed him in Dundee's honour roll, confirming his address as 16 Nelson Street in agreement with the *British Jewry Book of Honour*.⁶⁵ There are no other obvious indicators of Private Barnett's Jewishness other than his inclusion in the *British Jewry Book of Honour* and the *Jewish Chronicle*, but his residence was in the Hilltown area of Dundee where a large portion of the Jewish community resided.⁶⁶ The *Dundee Courier* also noted that prior to the war, Barnett

⁶⁰ Albert Jacob, *The Day it Hit the Fan* (Israel: Biblio Books, 2005), p. 23.

⁶¹ Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, pp. 90-94.

⁶² Adler, *British Jewry Book of Honour*, p. 79; *Dundee Advertiser*, 20 May 1915, p. 9.

⁶³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 March 1915, p. 26.

⁶⁴ TNA, WO363/B2644 John Thomas Barnett.

⁶⁵ *Dundee People's Journal*, Dundee War Memorial Supplement, 16 May 1925, p. 5.

⁶⁶ DCL, Special Articles, SP 6:75; Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 69.

had spent sixteen years with his regiment and had participated in the South African War 'with two medals and six clasps to his credit.'⁶⁷

In 1916, the Dundee Jewish community was again dealt a blow with the loss of Private Lewis Cohen. Lewis Cohen was born and raised in Dundee but moved to Glasgow shortly before the war. There he volunteered after the war began and proceeded overseas with the 16th Highland Light Infantry (HLI) on 23 November 1915.⁶⁸ In March, the *Dundee Courier* printed a letter from Lieutenant Brown which explained to Cohen's parents that their son had received a wound to his arm from an enemy shell. The Lieutenant seemed to downplay the wound reporting that Cohen had refused a stretcher at one point, but in fact Cohen had a fractured radius and ulna in his left forearm. Lieutenant Brown went on to commend Cohen's humour and popularity with the other soldiers and praised him because he 'never grouched.'⁶⁹ The sombre news of Cohen's death in Stobhill Hospital, Glasgow, came only two months later.⁷⁰ According to his death certificate, Cohen developed tetanus after an operation and died eight days later. Private Lewis Magnus Cohen was buried in Glasgow at the Garnethill Hebrew Congregational Burial Ground where his headstone declared him 'a brave volunteer who died for king and country.'⁷¹ The deaths of Weinberg, Barnett, and Cohen all represented opportunities for Dundee Jews to proclaim their patriotism and participation, yet after scanning contemporary and later reports in the Scottish or Jewish presses, they appeared to have made no such efforts. Only the Dundee press stated appreciation for the men's sacrifice with little acknowledgement of the Jewish community's service as a whole. In contrast, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Jews frequently addressed and publicised the military losses within their communities.

Apart from regular soldiers, the Dundee Jewish community also had connections to medical service during the war. Harry Fisher served briefly in the military until he was enrolled at St. Andrews to study medicine because of his

⁶⁷ *Dundee Courier*, 17 December 1914, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Thomas Chalmers, *A Saga of Scotland: History of the 16th Battalion, the Highland Light Infantry* (Glasgow: J. McCallum, 1930), p. 171.

⁶⁹ *Dundee Courier*, 4 March 1916, p. 4.

⁷⁰ *Dundee Courier*, 13 May 1916, p. 4.

⁷¹ Lewis Cohen is commemorated on the First World War memorial at the Garnethill Synagogue in Glasgow, but his name does not appear on the Glasgow memorial of the Jewish Ex-Servicemen Association. His name is entered in the *British Jewry Book of Honour* as a member of the 16th HLI, but the book does not list him among the war dead. Cohen's name is also found on the Dundee Roll of Honour.

qualifications. He graduated as a doctor of medicine after the war in 1922.⁷² David Jacob of Dundee also graduated in medicine the same year, but there is no reference to his participation in the military.⁷³ The most prominent medical military man with Dundee ties was Albert Edward Woolfe Sandelson, the son of a Newcastle-on-Tyne rabbi. Before the war Sandelson was a medical student at the University of St. Andrews and thus involved himself with the nearby Dundee Hebrew congregation as Honorary Secretary.⁷⁴ He also frequently participated in debates held at the Dorshei Zion Literary Society, an inclusive Zionist branching meaning 'a union of many in one Jewish interest.'⁷⁵ At the beginning of the war, he took a commission as a Lieutenant in the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC), and in May 1915 the local press commented on his appearance 'in uniform' as the groom's attendant for the wedding of the Reverend Lieb Falk and Fanny Rosen.⁷⁶ Lieutenant Sandelson's attendance at such a novel event in Dundee could certainly have done no harm to the image of the Jewish community. Later in the war, Lieutenant Sandelson assumed the posts of Senior Resident Medical Officer and Clinical Tutor to the Edinburgh Royal Maternity Hospital, and while in Edinburgh he conducted many of the services at the Graham Street Synagogue for the Jewish soldiers in the area.⁷⁷ Sandelson's qualifications would have made him the ideal candidate for promoting the war effort amongst Dundee Jews, but he was largely engaged elsewhere throughout the war. Again, Dundee Jewry lacked the leadership needed to strongly identify with the war effort and to promote patriotic activities, in stark contrast to the communities in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Conscription and Military Service Tribunals

Not every Jewish man of military age was eager to join the fighting, an issue thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three, and there were several in Dundee who took their cases before the Local Tribunal. Since no records for Dundee exist, the local press

⁷² Notes of Dr. Albert Jacob on Dundee doctors, email from Harvey Kaplan.

⁷³ Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 78.

⁷⁴ *Dundee Courier*, 29 June 1914, p. 7. The *Jewish Chronicle* often stated his name as Sanderson rather than Sandelson.

⁷⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 January 1914, p. 37; 20 February 1914, p. 21; 20 March 1914, p. 35; Kenefick, 'Jewish and Catholic Irish Relations', p. 222.

⁷⁶ *Dundee Courier*, 1 May 1915, p. 4.

⁷⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 April 1917; 9 March 1917, p. 20; 16 March 1917, p. 20; 15 June 1917, p. 16; 22 June 1917, p. 12.

is the main source to finding any Jewish cases in Dundee. Although this makes finding Jewish cases difficult, the press often reported on unusual cases including those involving minorities. One of the first Dundee Jews to appear before the tribunals was nineteen-year-old Israel Rosen. As a sack manufacturer, Rosen stated that he was doing important government work and successfully gained temporary exemption in July 1916.⁷⁸ He again appealed on the same grounds two months later when his exemption expired, but he was refused further exemption and subsequently placed into the Army Service Corps (Mechanical Transport).⁷⁹ In January 1918 Private Rosen disembarked at Basra and subsequently spent over two years in the Middle East with the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force. His military records showed a relatively quiet service, although his discipline records showed various infractions for which he received twenty-one days Field Punishment #2 for being absent from fatigue and loss of pay for neglect of duty.⁸⁰ He was, however, deemed intelligent and reliable and was marked as 'good' for sobriety on his character report. Rosen was discharged on 2 May 1920, after which he returned to his family and work in Dundee.⁸¹

Conscription did not reach unnaturalised Russians living in Britain until 1917 with the signing of the Anglo-Russian Military Convention. Under this agreement, Russian subjects living in Britain were given the choice of returning to Russia to join the military or join the British military. The *People's Journal* reported that there were only six men in Dundee affected by the convention, a number quite low considering that by this time most of the Jewish community were of Russian descent, although this may signify the lack of eligible Jewish men in Dundee.⁸² Nachmanovitch Koppel was likely one of the six men referred to, but his records indicated an earlier association with the army. In October 1916 he signed an attestation form, but because of his nationality he was placed in the army reserve. He was not mobilised for duty until June 1918 when he was placed in the Labour Corps. His son, Wolf Koppel, recalled his father's service, stating that he never spent any time overseas.⁸³ However, Koppel's records clearly show that he did spend time overseas for nearly four months just after the armistice

⁷⁸ *Evening Telegraph*, 5 July 1916, p. 3.

⁷⁹ *Dundee Courier*, 16 September 1916, p. 6.

⁸⁰ For Field Punishment No. 2, the soldier was put into shackles but not chained to any object which would have occurred for Field Punishment No. 1.

⁸¹ TNA, WO363/R1576 Israel Rosen.

⁸² *Dundee People's Journal*, 6 October 1917, p. 7.

⁸³ DCL, DOHP 017/A/1.

had been declared. His time in the military appears to have been of great importance to him since he took the time to inquire about his eligibility for certain medals. The reply letter, which is very badly damaged, reported that he was entitled to the British War medal but not others. The letter also appeared to acknowledge Koppel's participation in the Territorial Force prior to and during the First World War.⁸⁴ All of this information could have been valuable if Koppel was interested in gaining his naturalization. Despite being a resident in Britain for over twenty-one years and serving in the military, Koppel still had to register as an alien on returning to Dundee from France in May 1919.⁸⁵ More importantly, Nachmanovitch Koppel's participation in the Territorial Force prior to the First World War breaks the stereotype of Russian Jews resident in Britain as apathetic toward military service although this appears to be more an exception than a rule.

One of the first Dundee Jews to appear in the local press as an appellant before the Military Tribunals was Isaac Rubin who appeared before the tribunal in October 1917. Rubin was identified as a Russian Jew and appealed based on his occupation as a metal merchant. The military official attending, unimpressed by the appeal, stated, 'If this man had been a British subject he would have been in the army long ago.'⁸⁶ Rubin was therefore destined for military service, pending a medical examination. Others were able to postpone service for a time, such as Roman Brzezinski who in that same month successfully obtained conditional exemption and received further temporary exemption in January 1918. His exemption was withdrawn in May, and he was taken into the military.⁸⁷ Brzezinski was entered in Dundee's alien registry on 21 January 1919, with his previous residence listed as 'Army.'⁸⁸ Samuel Chodorovsky appears to have had a similar experience to Brzezinski. In October 1917 Chodorovsky was given temporary exemption which was renewed in January 1918. He appeared before the tribunal once more in April 1918, but his application was dismissed. His last attempt two weeks later was also refused.⁸⁹ There are no records of military service

⁸⁴ TNA, WO 363/K667 Nachmanovitch Koppel.

⁸⁵ DCA, Po 3/1, 19 May 1919.

⁸⁶ *Evening Telegraph*, 11 October 1917, p. 2.

⁸⁷ *Dundee People's Journal*, 13 October 1917, p. 6; 4 May 1918, p. 8; *Dundee Advertiser*, 31 January 1918, p. 4.

⁸⁸ DCA, Po 3/1, 21 January 1919.

⁸⁹ *Dundee People's Journal*, 13 October 1917, p. 6; 19 January 1918, p. 10; 6 April 1918, p. 8; 20 April 1918, p. 8.

for Chodorovsky, but the finality of the tribunal findings certainly suggests that he spent some amount of time in the military.

In contrast to Brzezinski and Chodorovsky, it would appear that Isaac Jacob was able to avoid military service through his appeals to the tribunals. Jacob was the first Russian subject in Dundee to appear before a Military Tribunal despite his appeal being submitted three days late because, as he explained, he did not understand the summons. Jacob appealed for exemption as a married father of eight children and as a worker of national importance, supplying boots for the Army Labour Corps.⁹⁰ The tribunal continued his case until he was medically examined, and the following week he was given conditional exemption. In May the following year, Jacob again appeared before the tribunal and received temporary exemption which was again renewed in August 1918 until February 1919, making it unlikely that he ever saw any military service.⁹¹

The Rosenzweig family had at least two members go before the tribunals. In January 1917, an appeal was made by the employers of a Mr. Rosenzweig on the grounds that he was vital to the workplace and was doing work of national importance. The military representative, Major Cappon, argued that Mr. Rosenzweig was nearly eighteen years old at the start of the war and there was still need for young men. The tribunal consented to the military's desire, and Mr. Rosenzweig's exemption, which he had until March 1st, was withdrawn.⁹² In October 1918, a Jacob Rosenzweig successfully obtained exemption until April 1919 meaning he likely avoided military service.⁹³ Since Jacob Rosenzweig obtained exemption, it is likely that the earlier case involving a Rosenzweig was his brother, Julius.

The most intriguing tribunal case involving a local Jewish man was that of Jacob Rothfield, brother of the above mentioned Harry Rothfield. As the 'sole proprietor' of Rothfield & Co., Jacob Rothfield had over forty women in his employ manufacturing sacks for the government. Since his father was an Austrian subject, his solicitor argued that he would necessarily be placed into a Labour Battalion if taken by the army where he would be of less value than if he continued his government work at home. In

⁹⁰ *Evening Telegraph*, 3 October 1917, p. 1.

⁹¹ *Dundee People's Journal*, 13 October 1917, p. 6; 11 May 1918, p. 8; 17 August 1918, p. 7.

⁹² *Evening Telegraph*, 25 January 1917, p. 3.

⁹³ *Dundee People's Journal*, 19 October 1918, p. 8.

response the military representative advised not to allow Rothfield any special treatment considering the sacrifices that British men were being forced to make. The tribunal eagerly sided with the military, which they did as a general rule, and refused any future appeals from Rothfield exclaiming, 'Why? Twenty-eight and Grade 1! We refuse that appeal also.'⁹⁴

Not all local tribunal cases dealing with alien enemy connections were dealt with in the same way as Rothfield's case. In March 1916, a British-born son of a German appeared before the Dundee Tribunal claiming work of national importance and family hardship based on his provision for his family since his father was a German and could not find work. Furthermore, the man claimed conscientious objection to fighting because of his family connections in both Germany and Britain. A debate ensued over his eligibility for the British military, but ultimately the man was given conditional exemption.⁹⁵ Two weeks later, the Cupar and St. Andrews Tribunal considered a similar case where the appellant was also British-born with a German father. The man quite stoutly declared his loyalty to Britain but said he 'was not particularly keen to go fighting in the trenches, but he would be quite willing to go where his service as an electrician could be utilized.' The tribunal granted him temporary exemption.⁹⁶ The treatment of these two men was far different from Rothfield's experience, and it was likely due to the timing of the tribunal cases. The exemption given to the two men with German fathers took place in the early months of conscription when the tribunals were still experiencing confusion over the course that was to be taken with such men. There was also an obvious lack of animosity toward these men despite their German connections. In contrast, Rothfield's tribunal case took place two years later during the war's final year by which time the tribunal was clearly unwilling to give exemption to any able-bodied young man. Although Rothfield's age and health were given as the main reasons for placement in the military, his German connections were clearly a topic in the proceedings and likely factored into the final decision to some degree. There was no mention of his Jewishness, and it would be cynical to assume that his identity factored into the decision. This conclusion would be consistent with the findings of the Lothians and

⁹⁴ *Dundee Advertiser*, 29 March 1918, p. 4.

⁹⁵ *Dundee Courier*, 28 March 1916, p. 6.

⁹⁶ *Dundee Courier*, 7 April 1916, p. 4.

Peebles Tribunals where Jews were present in large numbers, yet there was no evidence that they were treated any differently than their fellow Scots. Although much less information is available on Dundee appellants, they appear to have had as little success in their appeals as their co-religionists before the Lothians and Peebles Tribunals, and similarly the Dundee appellants similarly stated their claims predominantly on work related grounds. Even if participation and organisation were lacking in comparison to the larger Jewish communities, efforts toward non-participation within the Tribunal system were rather similar.

Conclusion

The small Jewish community of Dundee experienced more than its fair share of disruption throughout the war. Plans had been developing during the war for a new synagogue, but by April 1918 these plans were halted 'for the duration of the war.'⁹⁷ The war also had an effect on Jewish businessmen such as A. M. Hyams who had to close his furrier business in 1915 because he 'could not get a man to look after it owing to the war.'⁹⁸ Some of the Jewish men involved in the jute industry such as Rosen, Rothfield, and Rosenzweig were taken into the military which undoubtedly put a strain on their companies. Despite the difficult financial situation the Dundee Jewish community still managed to raise nearly £150 by 1917 for the Polish and Russian Jewish Relief Fund, showing a similarity to Glasgow Jewry where concerted efforts were made toward fundraising during a financially difficult period.⁹⁹

Like the rest of Scottish society, the war had an impact on Dundee Jewry numerically. At least one member, John Barnett, died in action, and even though Lewis Cohen had moved to Glasgow prior to the war, his death surely was a sad loss for the community since his father Jacob was one of the most prominent members of the Dundee congregation. Sadly, Jacob Cohen passed away shortly after the war in 1919, and the community suffered further losses at home during the war with the

⁹⁷ SJAC, Dundee File, COM.DUN 0001/0002, Dundee Hebrew Synagogue Building Fund Minute Book, 21 April 1918.

⁹⁸ NAS, HH30/5/4/17 Emanuel Hyams.

⁹⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 May 1917, p. 18.

deaths of Jacob Freedman and Albert Silver.¹⁰⁰ Both were of military age, but there are no records of military service for either man. The deaths of Lieutenant Weinberg and his father Fred Weinberg in 1921 removed further historical ties to the community even if the family no longer identified or supported the local congregation. Others simply left Dundee as did Jacob Rothfield's father, an Austrian subject who left for Alexandria sometime in 1914.¹⁰¹ Some Jews found their way to Dundee during the war like M. Kuspezoff who left Russia in 1915 and eventually set up a fruit store in Dundee.¹⁰² The military service records of Barnet Shulman and Morris Fishman showed that Jewish soldiers occasionally appeared in Dundee area hospitals during the war, and a quick glance over hospital records show names such as Asher, Hyman, Levy, Levison, and other typically Jewish surnames.¹⁰³

The overall numbers revealed the impact of the war on the Dundee Jewish community. Before the war in 1913 their number was calculated to be 152, but by 1920 the number had decreased to 100.¹⁰⁴ In conjunction, the German community was dramatically reduced to a mere total of twenty-one by 1921 after experiencing internment and mistrust during the war along with a downturn in the jute industry.¹⁰⁵ Integration should not be overlooked in the decrease in numbers, as evidenced by Fred Weinberg, son of Isaac Julius Weinberg and father of Second Lieutenant Weinberg. Born in Belfast, Fred Weinberg spent most of his life in Dundee, eventually taking over his father's jute business, along with his brother George, in 1902. During the war, he held the post of Vice-Consul for Spain, a position he could only have held with the trust of the people of Dundee. Furthermore, Fred was noted for raising and training pigeons for the war effort, some of his pigeons even being mentioned in military despatches.¹⁰⁶ Restrictions were quite stringent on owning pigeons during the war, police permission being necessary for everyone and aliens being barred from ownership. One German in London was sentenced to six months imprisonment for owning a pigeon based on the

¹⁰⁰ SJAC, COM.DUN 0001/0002, Burial Information.

¹⁰¹ *Dundee Advertiser*, 29 March 1918, p. 4.

¹⁰² *Evening Telegraph*, 10 May 1916, p. 1.

¹⁰³ TNA, WO363/S1199 Barnet Shulman; WO363/F215 Morris Fishman; http://www.fdca.org.uk/Great_War.html, Red Cross Hospitals, accessed 21 December 2013.

¹⁰⁴ Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁵ Murray and Stockdale, *The Miles Tae Dundee*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁶ DCL, Dundee Obituary Book, No. 2, January 1918-February 1935, p. 14.

scant evidence of a sole witness and despite a lack of proof found at his home.¹⁰⁷ It may seem trivial that Fred Weinberg owned pigeons during the war, but it signifies the family's integration into society and identity as British, and that he was regarded as loyal, trustworthy and ultimately as a patriot.

Despite evidence of German integration, there was still an amount of anti-German sentiment present in Dundee which caused discomfort for the Jewish community. There were also negative feelings against immigrants evident in Dundee during the war which would certainly have been an issue for the Jewish community composed largely of Russian immigrants. When four aliens appeared before Sheriff Neish in 1915 because they had not informed the Registration officer that they had moved house to which the sheriff complained, 'It is your business to make yourself acquainted with the regulations you are bound to observe. All you people seem to try to cause as much trouble as you can.'¹⁰⁸ After conscription was introduced for Russian subjects in 1917, several Polish women applied for financial relief in light of their men being taken off to war. The relief committee refused to give aid because the families received adequate incomes and disapprovingly stated, 'This square in Shepherd's Loan, where so many Poles resided, was getting famous in the west end. The one party told the other, with the result that the applications were multiplying.'¹⁰⁹ Beside the Italians, the Polish community was regarded as the next predominant alien community, and they were at times equated with Jews as one report regarding the National Register in 1915 stated, 'In Dundee there are a large number of Polish workers, and they have been supplied with forms in Yiddish.'¹¹⁰

Despite an underlying frustration with resident minority groups, Dundee Jews received little direct negative attention during the war. In comparison with the larger Jewish communities in Glasgow and Edinburgh who repeatedly attempted to portray themselves as patriotic, Dundee Jews kept a relatively low profile. The congregation did raise funds for various organisations throughout the war, starting with the Prince of Wales' Fund at an intercessory service at the beginning of the war and working to

¹⁰⁷ *The Scotsman*, 3 September 1914, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Dundee Courier*, 6 February 1915, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Dundee Advertiser*, 23 January 1918, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ *Dundee Courier*, 13 August 1914, p. 2; 13 August 1915, p. 6.

raise funds with the Red Cross at the end of the war.¹¹¹ Aside from the responses to Helen Macdonald's challenge in the *Advertiser*, the Jewish community kept quiet in the local press with the most overt patriotic call coming from Isador Rubin's advertisement asking for scrap metal for munitions work in an effort to 'Scrap the Huns.'¹¹² Even little effort was made to portray patriotism to the Jewish press, the lone example being a report of the Reverend Miller eulogizing Lord Kitchener after his death.¹¹³ Rev. Miller was, however, attentive to the needs of Jewish soldiers, shown by his letter to the Chief Rabbi requesting military leave forms for the High Festivals.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, the smaller Jewish community in Dundee with its lack of patriotic leadership and identity with the war effort therefore came into sharp contrast with those larger communities in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

¹¹¹ LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/037; *Dundee Courier*, 1 September 1914, p. 2.

¹¹² *Dundee Courier*, 28 August 1917, p. 1.

¹¹³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 June 1916, p. 18.

¹¹⁴ LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/037.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

During the war Jews were frequently disparaged as outsiders, self-interested in financial gain and aloof from military participation. Such unwanted attention was not a true reflection of the Jewish community's support for the war effort and neither was it conducive to Jewish efforts toward greater integration within Scottish society. Indeed, this struggle for recognition continued well beyond the armistice of 11 November 1918. In terms of religion Scottish Jews were often viewed with some suspicion, and in terms of the changing political landscape of Scotland in the Red Clyde era, Jews were more often than not regarded as dangerous aliens. These two issues deviate from this thesis' focus on war and militarism. However, it is necessary to show here how wartime anti-Jewish sentiment, which repeatedly surfaced throughout the war, re-emerged in the post war era in a somewhat different but still recognisable anti-Jewish form. Ideally, two chapters, or indeed a whole thesis, could be devoted to examining the Jewish struggle both politically and religiously in post-war Scotland, but space does not allow for such an analysis within the confines of this thesis. A protracted examination of these issues would also detract from the observations regarding wartime participation and non-participation. Nonetheless, this concluding chapter will provide a brief discussion of politics and religion in post-war Scotland, before returning to the principal themes of militarism and war – in particular the use of commemoration – and the continued drive toward a more inclusive integration by the Jewish community in post-war Scotland.

Post-war Politics and Religion

By 1918 the 'cancerous' spread of Bolshevism in Russia following the October Revolution of 1917 represented the greatest threat to the political stability of Great Britain and her empire: replacing the focus on German militarism of the wartime years.¹ The activities and reactions to conscription and revolution in 1917 amongst Russian Jews in Britain and in Russia inextricably linked Russian Jews with left wing

¹ Ian Moffat, *The Allied Intervention in Russia, 1918-1920* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) p. 166.

politics that made them a leading political threat to Scottish society. This post-war depiction of Jewish political extremism did not require a stretch of the imagination since it was simply building off the wartime portrayal of Russian Jewish 'otherness' in its many guises, but in particular their anti-militarism, and after 1917 their role as conscientious objectors. Those such as Charles Yachnies, Hyman Rosenberg, and Harry Paserinsky, refused military service on both moral and political grounds, and like Peter Petroff, a Russian Jew involved in left-wing socialist and communist politics in Glasgow, were very much part of the wartime and post-war Red Clyde political scene in Scotland. The leading anti-militarist organisation before, during, and after the war in Scotland were the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and John Maclean's Scottish Section of the avowedly Marxist British Socialist Party (BSP). Yachnies, for example, was a Gorbals Jewish Socialist and ILP war resister and conscientious objector, who was imprisoned in Wormwood Scrubs, later transferred to Colney Hatch asylum, where he died of pulmonary tuberculosis and was certified 'criminally insane' in July 1918.²

Petroff was closely involved with John Maclean who was one of the most recognisable left-wing politicians in Scotland and highly regarded by Russian Communists both before and after the October Revolution in Russia. Indeed, the Paris-based Russian Democratic international propaganda newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), edited by Leon Trotsky, printed twenty-three separate reports on 'Scotland's revolutionaries' on the Clyde and in particular the leading role of Maclean and the Clyde Workers Committee (CWC), many of whose members were Marxist and later founding members of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) such as Willie Gallagher and Arthur McManus, between April 1915 and July 1916. They also made special note of the significant support in Scotland for Petroff who was arrested and interned in January 1916, and who was repatriated to Soviet Russia in 1918. Indeed, according to *Nashe Slovo* the 'Petroff Affair' had 'intensified worker-government antagonism in Scotland' and with Maclean at its lead the BSP in Scotland was without doubt 'clearly Marxist...and internationalist...in character.'³ Both Petroff and Maclean

² Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 160.

³ Ian Thatcher, 'Representations of Scotland in *Nashe Slovo* during the First World War', in Mark Cornwall and Murray Frame (eds.), *Scotland and the Slavs: Cultures in Contact 1500-2000* (Newtonville Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 2001), pp. 140-157; in same publication see also William Kenefick, "'Aberdeen was more Red than Glasgow". The Impact of the First World War and the Russian Revolution Beyond Red Clydeside', pp. 158-189; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, pp. 94-100.

were arrested and imprisoned on several occasions during the war for their political activities, and both were regarded as 'the revolutionary or Bolshevik wing of the BSP.'⁴ Another prominent anti-militarist among the Scottish Jewish radical left was Emmanuel Shinwell, who was an ILP member and conscientious objector during the war. Following the war his position as the leader of the Seafarers' Union connected him with both the Glasgow race riots as well as the 'Battle of George Square' in January 1919, the latter for which he and other leading left-wing political activists such as William Gallacher and David Kirkwood were arrested. In 1922 Shinwell became the first Jewish Labour MP in Scotland, and by this time his activities and policies had earned him the title of 'Jewish Bolshevik.'⁵

As William Kenefick explained, Jewish attention to left-wing politics in Scotland was nothing new before the war as Jewish working men such as Shinwell were attracted to unions and political parties such as the ILP, the BSP, and the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). Similarly, as evidenced through the columns of *Nashe Slovo* this continued during the war, and it was reported at the time of the May Day demonstration in 1915 that 'internationalist sympathies' of the Scottish people were not only revealed in 'speeches made in Russian, Yiddish, Lithuanian and Polish,' but in money raised in collections to help 'political prisoners in Russia.'⁶ Indeed, further evidence of this type of support on the part of Scottish workers was revealed from the oral testimonies of Scottish Jews that socialist activity in Scotland during and after the war attracted a number of Jews.⁷ The Balfour Declaration in 1917 produced a great deal of debate in the years to follow within Scottish Zionism. This official declaration made Zionism more than just a Jewish effort, and politically it gave British Jews the confidence that the British government supported a future Jewish national home in

⁴ James Smyth and Murdoch Rodgers, 'Peter Petroff and the socialist movement in Britain, 1907-1918', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 2:3 (1983), p. 112; Nan Milton, *John Maclean* (London: Pluto Press, 1973), p. 116. For primary sources on the British government's surveillance and handling of Petroff see NRS, HH31/34/20; JC31/1916/12; JC31/1916/13.

⁵ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 216; Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 117; Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, p. 173; Jenkinson, 'The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919', pp. 55-57; Kadish, *Bolsheviks and British Jews*, p. 236; Beeston, *Hospitable, Generous England*, p. 129. Beeston also observes that the novels of John Buchan, born and educated in Scotland, contained 'subversive' Jewish characters, including a figure in his 1919 novel *Mr. Standfast* which 'exploited the contemporary alarm about the activities of Clydeside convenor, Emmanuel ('Manny') Shinwell.' See pp. 161-163.

⁶ Kenefick, *Red Scotland!*, pp. 80-81; 96-98.

⁷ SJAC, OHP1 Alec Bernstein; OHP1 Monty Berkley; OHP1 Bessie Bond; OHP2 Moray Glasser; OHP2 Ray Greenbaum; OHP2 Sadie Griffiths; OHP3 Misha Louvish.

Palestine. The fall of Jerusalem to British forces a month later in December 1917 suggested that this promise might become a reality. The newfound possibilities drew interest toward a number of Zionist branches including the socialist branch of *Poale Zion*, one of its leading figures being Dr. Lewis Rifkind.⁸ Other Jews continued to be attracted to left wing activity in Scotland throughout the 1920s and later in the 1930s, particularly in response to fascist campaigning in Scotland.⁹

Increased Jewish association with left-wing politics by the latter stages of the war, particularly after the Russian Revolution of 1917, meant that the correlation between Jew and Bolshevik became commonplace within the press. Reports abounded that Jews controlled the Russian government, and warnings of a local Communist threat in Scotland included fears of Jewish participation.¹⁰ The association of Jew and Bolshevik may not have been a deluge in the Scottish press after the war, but it existed, sometimes aggressively so as it did in *The Scotsman*.¹¹ The increasing frequency of the negative articles was enough to elicit a number of responses from Jewish community leaders from around Scotland. In Glasgow, the Reverend Jacobs warned of 'the poisonous and dreadful thing which went by the name of Bolshevism, a doctrine from which...Jews ought to keep aloof.'¹² The Chief Rabbi and Dr. Moses Gaster, visiting in 1919 to Dundee and Edinburgh respectively, both denounced the generalisations being made that all Jews were Bolsheviks.¹³ More importantly, Rabbi Salis Daiches in Edinburgh frequently defended the Jewish community in his sermons and letters to the press and attacked the connection between Jews and Bolshevism, complaining that Jews were made 'the scapegoat wherever and whenever trouble

⁸ Lewis Rifkind, *Lewis Rifkind* (Letchworth: Lewis Rifkind Memorial Book Committee with Glasgow Poale Zion, (1938), pp. 27, 31. This pamphlet also accused the socialist paper, *Justice*, of portraying Jews as capitalist exploiters of workers worldwide and that this had become 'quite a popular idea in the Western countries, especially in England and America.' See p. 29.

⁹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 125; Glasser, *Growing Up in the Gorbals*, p. 34; Maitles, 'Confronting Fascism', p. 110.

¹⁰ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 14 September 1917, p. 2; *Dundee Courier*, 28 December 1920, p. 3; 11 April 1921, p. 4; *Daily Record*, 11 December 1918, p. 7; *Evening Telegraph*, 8 August 1919, p. 1; *Dundee Courier*, 5 January 1924, p. 3.

¹¹ *The Scotsman*, 1 March 1919, p. 6; 23 July 1919, p. 6; 29 September 1919, p. 7; 9 August 1919, p. 7; 29 March 1919, p. 7; 26 August 1919, p. 4; 18 August 1920, p. 7; 20 August 1920, p. 5; 25 August 1920, p. 5; 30 August 1920, p. 3; 1 September 1920, p. 8; 6 September 1920, p. 3; 7 September 1920, p. 3.

¹² *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 December 1918, p. 16.

¹³ *Dundee People's Journal*, 27 December 1919, p. 10; *The Scotsman*, 17 December 1919, p. 8.

arises in any country.’¹⁴ As the premier Jewish religious authority in inter-war Scotland, Rabbi Daiches’ persistent denouncement of Jewish typecasts as political radicals reveals the extent of frustration felt by these accusations, and these stereotypes presented the Jewish community with a major obstacle in being accepted and integrating into Scottish society.

Aside from politics, Jewish otherness in a religious sense created further tension in a society dominated by the Protestant and Presbyterian Church. Throughout the war religious tensions between Scottish Christians and Jews were overshadowed by a widespread support for the Jewish people often expressed by church leadership.¹⁵ Admiration was occasionally expressed for the participation by Jewish soldiers, and one Scottish chaplain noted in 1918 that Scottish and English Jews were ‘not less loyal and patriotic than men of pure British blood.’¹⁶ Regarding civilian Jewry, the Reverend Moore of the Free Church in Edinburgh stated that Jews had suffered more than any nation in the war and that those in Poland and Palestine had endured ‘cruelties, outrages, and slaughter...far exceeding anything that had been known in Belgium.’¹⁷ Christian sympathy for Jewish suffering during the war was often accompanied with calls to increase mission activity among Jews: sentiments that naturally met with disapproval and scepticism by the Jewish community.¹⁸ The Russian Jews Relief Fund founded by Leon Levison in Edinburgh received particular condemnation from the *Jewish Chronicle* and leading figures of British Jewry as a ‘missionary-tainted’ fund. Although most Edinburgh Jews remained unconnected or disassociated from Levison’s fund, both Isaac Fürst and Claude Isaac Michaelson refused to part with the organisation. Both men suffered the full verbal wrath of their own community and broader British Jewry, and their obstinacy as leading figures of Edinburgh Jewry ultimately cost them their standing.¹⁹ After his arrival in 1919, Rabbi

¹⁴ National Library of Scotland (NLS), Acc.12278/25. This file is full press clippings of articles written by Rabbi Daiches during his time in Sunderland and Edinburgh; *The Scotsman*, 3 March 1919, p. 6; 6 March 1919, p. 6; 1 October 1919, p. 10; 1 December 1923, p. 12; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 29 January 1920, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 7 September 1915, p. 8; *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 October 1915, p. 18; *Glasgow Herald*, 23 May 1916, p.8.

¹⁶ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 27 September 1915, p. 3; *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 March 1918, p. 14.

¹⁷ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 20 October 1915, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 6 October 1915, p. 8; *Glasgow Herald*, 9 October 1915, p. 4; 15 May 1917, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 25 August 1915, p. 4; 20 November 1915, p. 11; 1 December 1915, p. 13; 4 December 1915, p. 9; *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 December 1915, p. 14; 21 January 1916, p. 7; 28 January 1916, p.9; 4 February 1916, p. 8; 4 February 1916, p. 7; 11 February 1916, p. 13; 25 February 1916, pp. 7, 13; 3

Daiches unhesitatingly led the charge against Leon Levison and Jewish missions.²⁰

Daiches' post-war use of the press to defend the Jewish community simply continued the work of many other Scottish Jews who made their voices heard in the press to a greater extent throughout the war.

The issue of Christian missions to Jews was by no means an anomaly during the war as both Edinburgh and Glasgow Jews had taken measures to disrupt missionary activity prior to the war. Indeed, the first Church of Scotland Mission to the Jews in Scotland was established in Glasgow as early as 12 December 1893, and the Free Church Mission to the Jews of Glasgow was founded the same year.²¹ As a result, Jewish organisations such as the Glasgow Hebrew Philanthropic Society, and charities such as the Society for Providing Strangers with Food and Lodging were created to avoid proselytism.²² The Glasgow Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society was formed to assist sick Jewish women and children as early as 1880, and the Jewish Free Reading Rooms were opened 'to counteract the evil influences of the missionaries who were doing all in their power to entrap the unwary foreigners' in 1900.²³ By this time it was clear that Jewish missions had achieved little and the *Jewish Chronicle* considered it a 'huge failure.'²⁴ Despite the evident failure of the Jewish missions it nonetheless strained Jewish-Christian relations for many years to come.²⁵

This was a problem that was to persist through the war years and beyond, and the tensions and increased awareness of Jewish issues resulting from the war did heighten sensitivity over the matter.²⁶ Nevertheless, the war caused severe interruptions to Jewish missions, and during the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1919, it was expressed that the Great War as 'a turning point in human

March 1916, pp. 7, 19-21; 17 March 1916, p. 12; 7 June 1918, p. 4; 20 December 1918, p. 26; 12 December 1919, p. 16.

²⁰ *The Scotsman*, 15 November 1919, p. 12; 16 February 1920, p. 8; 23 February 1920, p. 11. Rabbi Daiches opposed 'conversionists' during his time in Sunderland prior to his move to Edinburgh. See NLS, Acc.12278/25 and LMA, ACC/2805/04/02/112.

²¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 December 1893, p. 4.

²² Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 33, 43. The Glasgow Hebrew Philanthropic Society later became the Glasgow Jewish Board of Guardians around 1890. See Collins, *Be Well!*, p. 53.

²³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 January 1880, p. 13; 5 October 1900, p. 21.

²⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 August 1900, p.

²⁵ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 11; Murdo MacDonald, "'Antipathy and Empathy': Glasgow's Jews and their Relationship with Scotland's Christian Churches from 1878 to 1902' (MA, Cambridge University, 2010).

²⁶ Elizabeth Imber, 'Saving Jews: The History of Jewish-Christian Relations in Scotland, 1880-1948,' (MA, Brandeis University, 2010); Collins, *Second City Jewry*, pp. 103-104.

history' presented the church with 'a deepened sense of responsibility' toward missionary activity.²⁷ At home a push was made to return men to the church with the broader goal of restoring the nation to Christianity following the traumatic experiences of four long years of war.²⁸ The renewed efforts brought on a fresh analysis of the Jewish community in Scotland, and the Church of Scotland estimated 30,000 Jews living in Glasgow's South Side, claiming, 'Some of the parishes there had become a real Jewish ghetto.'²⁹ The report was mildly alarmist and vastly overestimated Jewish numbers, but in 1922 a new report caused a greater stir by increasing the estimate to 40,000 Jews in Glasgow, observing that 'so large an alien and non-Christian population constitutes a problem in the city.'³⁰ The report provoked a strong response from Rabbi Daiches who noted the 'fantastic figure' given of Jewish numbers in Glasgow had never been estimated higher than 15,000, and he took great exception to referring to the whole of Glasgow Jewry as alien since 'a very large proportion' was British born or naturalised. Furthermore, Rabbi Daiches did not hesitate to called attention to 'the number of Glasgow Jews who have served, obtained distinction, or made the supreme sacrifice as British soldiers in the Great War.'³¹ Nevertheless, an anonymous Church of Scotland 'Pew Leaflet' in May 1924 appealed for funds for the Jewish Mission by warning that the 'Jews are capable of becoming a menace to the Peace of the World.'³²

Despite Rabbi Daiches' best efforts, the reports continued to have an effect. An article in the *Dundee Courier* under the headline 'Jewish Invasion of Scotland' bemoaned the lack of giving to Jewish missions and warned that 'Protestant communities were threatened with extinction' because of the 'steadily increasing numbers of Jews in Scotland.'³³ The most outrageous claim came from the Reverend Dr. G. A. Frank Knight during a 1925 Jewish missions meeting of the United Free Church in Glasgow when he declared that 100,000 Jews were living in the city. Rev. Knight continued, saying, 'An unchristian Jew was a menace to real spiritual

²⁷ NRS, CH1/1/162, p. 84.

²⁸ Callum Brown, 'Piety, Gender and War in Scotland in the 1910s', in Catriona Macdonald and E. W. McFarland (eds.), *Scotland and the Great War* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999), p. 182.

²⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1918, p. 6.

³⁰ *The Scotsman*, 16 May 1922, p. 7.

³¹ *The Scotsman*, 20 May 1922, p. 11.

³² MacDonald, 'Antipathy and Empathy'.

³³ *Dundee Courier*, 2 May 1923, p. 3.

Christianity, and there was a tremendous menace facing their Church in Glasgow.’³⁴ While the verbal battle over Jewish missions should not be used to typify Judeo-Christian relations in Scotland after the war, given that Christian leaders regularly spoke out and shared platforms with Jews regarding Jewish persecution internationally, but the issue of missions, along with the perception of Jews as politically left wing, clearly drew a distinction between the Jewish community and the predominantly Christian society in Scotland. Indeed, Macdonald noted that the Church of Scotland Jewish Mission was not actually wound up until 1967.³⁵ However, Rabbi Daiches’ use of the Jewish experience during the war, as noted above, revealed the importance of Jewish military participation, and leads this study to an investigation of Jewish commemoration and its role in the integration of Scottish Jews.

Commemoration

The British nation faced major questions both politically and religiously relating to post-war progress, and this brought Jews into the crosshairs at times. Yet the war and its multitude of tragedies could not simply be forgotten. The entire nation of Great Britain struggled to deal with the terrible losses of war with a death toll officially numbered at 702,410 soldiers.³⁶ Consolation and support were sought through commemoration, and as Jay Winter notes, ‘Such efforts marked indelibly much of interwar communal life.’³⁷ This was particularly true in Scotland where the crowning achievement of Scottish memorialisation, the Scottish National War Memorial, was prominently built and finished within Edinburgh Castle as ‘a coronach in stone’ which solemnly affirmed the Scottish martial tradition and proudly dwarfed the cenotaph first displayed in London in 1919.³⁸ Furthermore, the memory of the war drove forward the Scottish Renaissance movement of the 1920s, further saturating Scottish lives.³⁹ Commemoration permeated both religious and secular spheres, and

³⁴ *Evening Telegraph*, 9 December 1925, p. 3; 9 December 1925, p. 7. The headlines read respectively, ‘Menace of Jews in Glasgow’ and ‘Jewish Menace.’

³⁵ MacDonald, ‘Antipathy and Empathy’.

³⁶ The War Office, *Statistics of the Military Efforts*, p. 237.

³⁷ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 30.

³⁸ McFarland, ‘A Coronach in Stone’, pp. 1-2.

³⁹ Anne Petrie, ‘Scottish Culture and the First World War, 1914-1939’, (PhD, University of Dundee, 2006).

memorials were erected in nearly every town and village across Britain. These memorials were unavoidable, placed at the centres of communal life, and beckoned people to remember. To engage in commemoration was to perform 'an act of citizenship', an important idea for the Jewish community and the desire to integrate and blend with Scottish society.⁴⁰

Throughout the war the Jewish community marked its acknowledgement of its fallen soldiers through various ways. This commemoration included donations to YMCA huts and Jewish relief funds, the presentation of a medal at a Jewish Lads' Brigade meeting, and even the renaming of a friendly society to the Captain Edwin Schonfield Lodge.⁴¹ During and after the war, some families erected memorial stones to fallen soldiers, but throughout the post-war period, commemoration took a more communal form rather than individual. In Edinburgh the first memorial was erected in Piershill Cemetery where a rather public ceremony was held in front of a reported 2,500 people.⁴² Such attention was surely due in part to the attendance of Colonel Sir George M'Crae, the popular commander of the 16th Battalion Royal Scots, whose speech praised Jewish efforts in the war for both Britain and Palestine.⁴³ Two years later a second Edinburgh memorial was placed in the Graham Street Synagogue during another public ceremony at which a number of prominent community leaders were present including Lieutenant Hutchison who gave a speech on behalf of his ill father, the Lord Provost.⁴⁴

In Glasgow plans for a memorial tablet had been discussed as early as 1916 by the Glasgow Hebrew Burial Society, and later in 1919 it was publicly announced that a memorial for Garnethill was being considered.⁴⁵ The first memorial to be unveiled in Glasgow was indeed at Garnethill where a ceremony was held, preceded by a march to

⁴⁰ Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 80-85; Gilbert Bell, 'Monuments to the Fallen: Scottish War Memorials of the Great War', (PhD, University of Strathclyde, 1993).

⁴¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 December 1916, p. 21; 15 December 1916, p. 16; 2 March 1917, p. 3; 29 June 1917, p. 3; 22 June 1917, p. 24; 26 January 1917, p. 24.

⁴² *Evening Telegraph*, 8 March 1920, p. 6.

⁴³ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 8 March 1920, p. 4; *The Scotsman* 8 March 1920, p. 6. The British Jewry Book of Honour shows that a fair number of Jewish men, seven, served in the 16th Battalion Royal Scots. Colonel M'Crae's celebrity status in Edinburgh is evident from his funeral which affected the city to such an extent that it was commonly said that 'you might have thought the King had passed away.' The funeral procession was viewed by an estimated 100,000 people. See Alexander, *McCrae's Battalion*, pp. 273-274.

⁴⁴ *The Scotsman*, 13 March 1922, p. 5.

⁴⁵ SJAC, Glasgow Hebrew Burial Society Minutebook; *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 November 1919, p. 23.

the synagogue which must have created a profound spectacle. The *Glasgow Herald* reported that the procession was led by the band of the 6th HLI and was followed by 'Jewish ex-Service men, Jewish Lads' Brigade, T.F.A. Cadets, and Jewish special constables.' Amongst the notable citizens attending were Major-General Sir Philip Robertson, Chief Constable Stevenson, and the Lord Provost, the latter giving a speech which graciously claimed that 'no section of the community had taken up arms more willingly than the Jews in Glasgow.'⁴⁶ In January 1922 a second memorial was placed in the South Portland Street Synagogue in the Gorbals, a report by the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* mistakenly describing it to be the first Jewish memorial in Scotland.⁴⁷ The service was attended by the Town Clerk and other members of the public, and West End Jews seemed to dominate the proceedings with Rev. Phillips of Garnethill officiating and Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis Heilbron giving the unveiling speech. Within London Jewry, similar commemorative work amongst the immigrant Jewish sector in the East End initiated by an 'Anglo-Jewish hierarchy...obsessed with assimilation' has been described by Mark Connelly as manipulative 'in order to present the nation with a trustworthy, integrated community.'⁴⁸ However, the overt Zionist symbolism of the South Portland Street memorial, which will be observed below, suggests that South Side Jews had a fair amount of control over proceedings.

Conversely, in Dundee there was a distinct lack of commemoration within the Jewish community after the war. During the ceremony for the completed Dundee War Memorial, the Italian community, which had numbered roughly 300 during the war and were observed to be the dominant 'alien' community in Dundee, laid a wreath, but there was no mention of a Jewish presence.⁴⁹ The congregation made no memorial plaque for those who fought or died, unlike after the Second World War when the congregation commissioned a plaque to memorialise the twenty-four participants, one of whom was killed on active service. Clearly, the Second World War had a strong Jewish element attached to it that the Dundee congregation could identify with in contrast to the Great War. Indeed, there would have been little reason for Dundee Jews, many of them Russian immigrants who simply desired a better life

⁴⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 December 1920, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 January 1922, p. 11; *Evening Telegraph*, 9 January 1922, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Mark Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London 1916-1939* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 82.

⁴⁹ *Dundee People's Journal*, 16 May 1925, p. 24; 13 August 1914, p. 2.

for themselves, to identify with the Great War, and from the evidence few of them willingly did.

The unveiling of each Jewish memorial in Scotland garnered a fair amount of public attention both in the press and at the actual ceremonies, whereas Connelly observes that a lack of reporting in the London East End press left the public 'hardly likely to be well-informed as to the nature of Jewish sacrifice.'⁵⁰ Additionally, the placement and design of each Jewish memorial in Scotland revealed something more about each community. Edinburgh was the only community to raise a public memorial, plainly in sight of any visitors to the Piershill Cemetery. The tall obelisk shape with an impressive list of nineteen names was punctuated by the Star of David at the top, boldly proclaiming the memorial to be Jewish. In contrast the Glasgow memorials were housed within the synagogues, although Edinburgh did later place another memorial in the Graham Street Synagogue. While synagogue memorials did not preclude the public from seeing them, their location limited any possible impact on society.⁵¹ It is therefore interesting that the Glasgow community never chose to erect a public memorial like the one in Edinburgh.

The two Glasgow memorials at Garnethill and South Portland Street, however, were vastly different in their design. At Garnethill the memorial tablet, which is still displayed today and is shown here in Figure 6.1, was made of marble, and the simple design with little ornamentation gave it an aura of austerity and composure. The memorial was therefore dominated by the large, inclusive list of names, ninety-seven in all, of both war dead and participants, showing a unity in participation important to the ideology of the congregation. The tablet was also restrained in the use of Jewish symbols. The Star of David and the Jewish dates of the war adorned the top of the tablet, and underneath a divided Hebrew phrase invited onlookers to witness or remember. At the bottom were written two verses of Scripture, the first from Zechariah 4.6 in both Hebrew and English which states, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.' The second verse from Maccabees 1.4.35 was simply written in English, 'They were ready either to live or die nobly.' While the memorial was obviously Jewish, it was not blatantly so, and by such design the focus

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 69.

was placed on the names thus understatedly observing both the Jewish and British qualities of the men listed. This memorial design was consistent with the architecture of the Garnethill Synagogue which Sharman Kadish has noted made use of a Romanesque style, as opposed to Gothic, and thereby 'made a statement that the synagogue, while integral to the cityscape of Britain, was not a church.'⁵²

In stark contrast the memorial tablet unveiled at the South Portland Street Synagogue in 1922, which is now displayed at the Glenduffhill Cemetery Prayer Hall, was described by the *Glasgow Herald* as being 'rich in symbolism.'⁵³ The bronze plaque,⁵⁴ commissioned by the Glasgow Jewish Ex-Servicemen Association bore the Hebrew word 'memorial' at the top which sat above a prayer for the dead written in both English and Hebrew. The prayer was flanked on

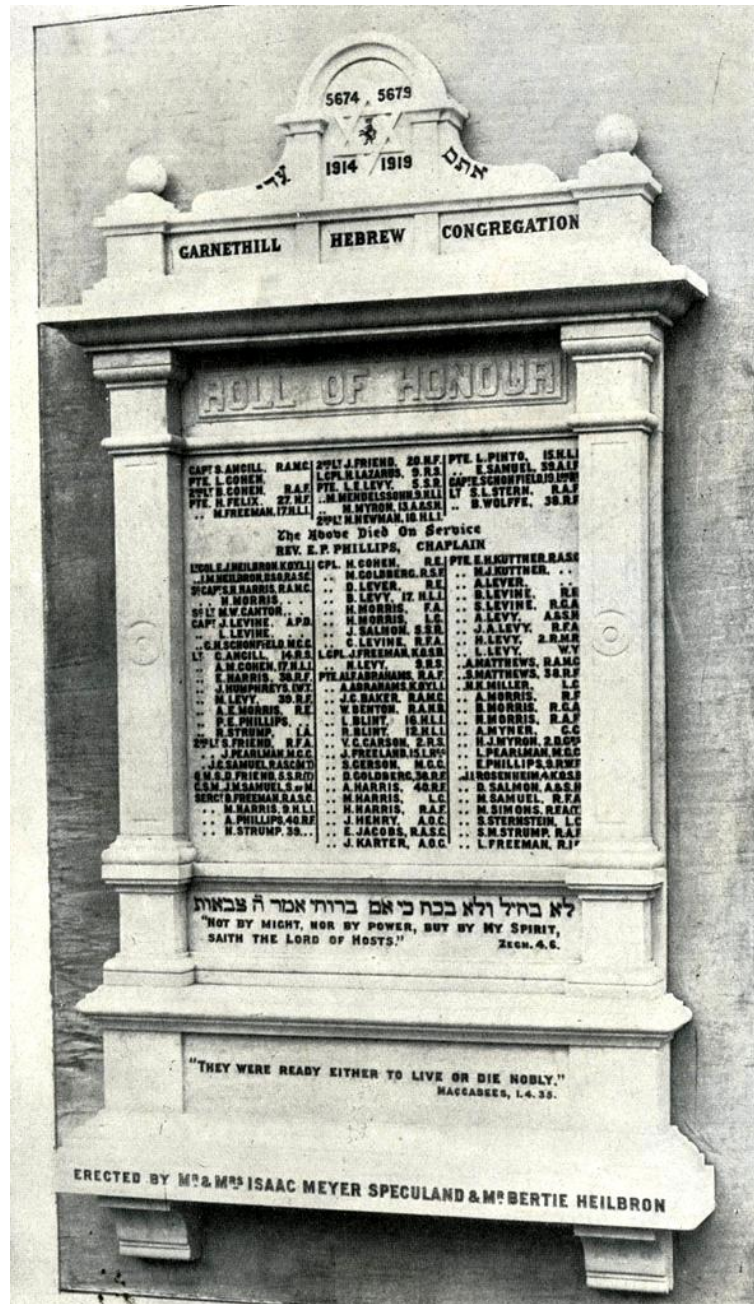


Figure 6.1 Garnethill First World War Memorial. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

⁵² Sharman Kadish, *The Synagogues of Britain and Ireland: An Architectural and Social History* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 86.

⁵³ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 January 1922, p.

⁵⁴ Connelly notes that in London 'all the Jewish memorials relied on bronze, alabaster and marble work. This was only natural; the memorial was a substitute grave, so that names and words were paramount.' See Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*, p. 74.

each side by inward facing lions, symbols important in both British and Jewish culture, and a flag flew above and slightly draped over each lion, the British flag with the left lion and a flag with the Star of David with the right lion. The ornate columns running down either side of the tablet each had a Star of David at the top with the word 'Zion' inscribed within, written in English on the left and in Hebrew on the right. At the bottom of each column a lighted candle symbolised the perpetual memory of the fallen. The tablet boasted of the local Jewish participation with the British military as the names of the various theatres of war wrapped down both side columns, with France, Belgium, and Dardanelles listed top to bottom on the left and Palestine, Salonika, and Egypt top to bottom on the right. At the heart of the plaque lay the impressive list of seventy names, later given three additional names, all names of Jewish Glasgow soldiers who died in the war.

When compared to the solemnity of the Garnethill memorial, the South Portland Street memorial seemed almost celebratory, shown here in Figure 6.2. It told a far more detailed story, and unlike the Garnethill memorial which only listed Garnethill men, this memorial was much more inclusive, embracing all the fallen Glasgow Jews in an impressive display. While British affinity and symbolism was clearly displayed, although distinctly Scottish symbols were absent, the designation of British symbols and English writing to the left hand side emphasised the Jewishness of the memorial. Biblical metaphors placed strength in the right hand, and many Jewish eyes would have been naturally drawn to the right since Hebrew is read from right to left. It was no accident that the theatres of war listed on the right side were Near Eastern rather than European and noticeably topped by Palestine. The memorial conveyed neither fear of the future nor shame of the past but rather projected a hope that the war had given to the families and fellow soldiers of the fallen men.

In addition to the local memorials, Scottish Jews were generous in their giving to the Jewish War Memorial, established in 1919, which sought to raise £1,000,000 for the benefit of the Jewish communities across Britain, particularly with the aim of funding Jewish education for the coming years. In an effort to raise funds, the Chief Rabbi visited a number of provincial communities which resulted in small donations from Dundee and a promise of around £500 from the Edinburgh community by the

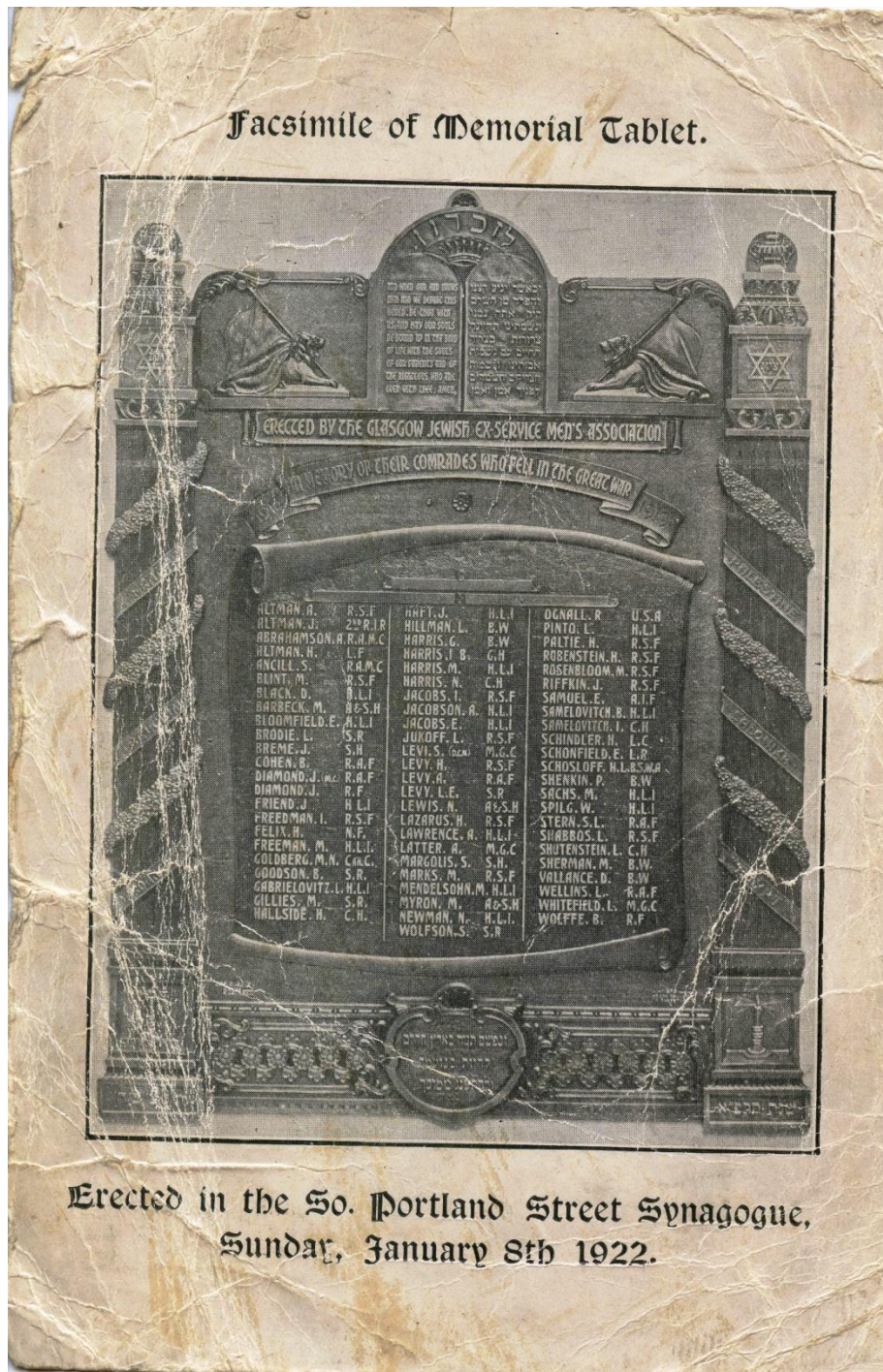


Figure 6.2 South Portland Street First World War Memorial. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

start of 1920. The same year in Glasgow a Canvassing Committee was formed, as was also done in Edinburgh, under the leadership of Bertie Heilbronn, and the initial list of donations from the city amounted to £1,350.⁵⁵ Other Scottish Jews participated on the Council for the fund, including Rabbi Daiches in Edinburgh alongside Ellis Isaacs, Isaac Meyer Speculand, and S. S. Samuel, all from Glasgow.⁵⁶ The fund later provided

⁵⁵ LMA, ACC/2999/A3/2/1-8.

⁵⁶ LMA, ACC/2999/1/A/1.

administrative and financial support for the newly formed Hebrew College in Glasgow.⁵⁷ Even after the financial difficulties of the war the communities were still able to contribute to the fund, and the giving from Glasgow, which was highlighted within the British Jewish community during the war, once again came in significant amounts.

Along with funds and memorials, various organisations were used or even created to remember the war and the soldiers. The Glasgow Jewish Ex-Servicemen Association was formed by military members of the Jewish Young Men's Institute and other returning servicemen, such as George Spilg, a recipient of the Military Medal with Bar.⁵⁸ It must be noted that the new Ex-Servicemen Association later became a branch of the British Legion, a testimony to Glasgow's continued dedication to the philosophy of integration in regards to military matters. Mark Connelly noted that other similar Jewish organisations in Newcastle, Manchester, and Leeds affiliated with the British Legion, reasoning that remaining as an isolated Jewish military organisation, or 'self-imposed ghetto,' was a 'dangerous concept.'⁵⁹ The purpose of the Glasgow organisation was to tend to the needs of soldiers and the families of those soldiers deceased and living, and those involved in leadership represented a mix of West End and South Side figures. By the late inter-war period, the Glasgow branch of the British Legion retained a sound leadership structure, and continued to advocate the basic needs of ex-servicemen, for example requesting discharge papers for Solomon Goodson for employment purposes.⁶⁰ The Glasgow branch held an influential position within the large body, evidenced by the praise it received in 1935 for convincing other Scottish branches from joining a large contingent of fellow British Legionnaires in a tour of Germany.⁶¹ In Edinburgh a similar organisation was established in 1920 as the Jewish Ex-Soldiers' and Dependents' Federation.⁶² Some older Jewish organisations gave special recognition to servicemen such as Lodge Montefiore, a Masonic lodge in Glasgow, which made Jack White, one of the five Jewish recipients of the Victoria Cross

⁵⁷ LMA, ACC/2999/A1/5.

⁵⁸ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, p. 162; Collins, *Second City Jewry*, p. 217; Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, p. 134.

⁵⁹ Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*, p. 220.

⁶⁰ TNA, WO363/G610 Solomon Goodson.

⁶¹ Connelly, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual*, p. 222.

⁶² *Edinburgh Evening News*, 21 April 1920, p. 3.

during the war, a member in 1919.⁶³ In the same year the Grand Order of Israel, a Jewish friendly society, extended an invitation to the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation to participate in an event honouring returned soldiers which the congregation declined, believing that 'a meeting at this stage would be hurtful to relatives of those soldiers not yet demobilised.'⁶⁴

Commemoration was not limited to activities solely within the Jewish community. Some servicemen participated in similar general organisations, and in Rutherglen, Harry Ognall was not only the first elected Jewish member of the Town Council but was also the Commandant of the local branch of the Comrades of the Great War, being recognised in addition as a pension expert.⁶⁵ Jewish organisations also held deliberately public events such as a 1925 service organised by ex-servicemen in Glasgow which attracted considerable attention, and it appeared that most Jewish commemoration was self-initiated rather than by invitation of other groups or the community. The *Scotsman* reported that the procession starting from the South Portland Street Synagogue was 'witnessed by a large gathering.' The group was led by the band of the Jewish Lads' Brigade, which made its way to the cenotaph in George Square where a wreath was laid, and then returned again to the synagogue for a service.⁶⁶ Another notable commemorative event in 1924 was held by the Grand Order of Israel Friendly Society near the close of its annual conference in Glasgow. The members of the society gathered at the George Square cenotaph to lay a wreath in the shape of the Star of David. At a reception held afterwards, the 'large number' of Jewish volunteers during the war was noted, and the society presented the Lord Provost with a cheque for the Unemployment Fund. The Lord Provost gave a glowing account of the Jewish community which was reported as follows:

The Lord Provost said the Corporation were always very willing to extend a welcome to members of Friendly Societies, because they recognised that they encouraged thrift and independence. These were characteristic of the Scottish people, and he thought, very peculiarly of the Jewish people. The Jewish population in Glasgow seemed to have chosen the Gorbals district in which to settle down, and as the representative of that Ward in the Town Council for many years he

⁶³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 20 June 1919, p. 26.

⁶⁴ SJAC, Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation Minutebook transcript.

⁶⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 November 1919, p. 31.

⁶⁶ *The Scotsman*, 12 January 1925, p. 5.

enjoyed the friendship of the Jewish community, and numbered amongst some of his best friends those who belonged to the Jewish faith. The Jews were a very law-abiding class of the community, and another characteristic was that they took charge very largely, if not entirely, of their own poor.⁶⁷

The mutual respect between Scots and Jews was expressed by the Reverend Geffen in a visit to Dundee. As a chaplain during the war Rev. Geffen praised Scottish officers and chaplains, concluding, 'Scots of all ranks were good and helpful comrades of the Jews, and manifested kindly feelings which won the appreciation of all Jewish soldiers.'⁶⁸ Similar attitudes were expressed in a sermon by Rabbi Daiches in which he honoured the return of the 4th Royal Scots to Edinburgh, referring to the 'band of Edinburgh's heroic sons' with this glowing statement:

The emotions which filled the hearts of the inhabitants of the Scottish Metropolis at the sight of this regiment of heroic warriors who marched so triumphantly the other day through cheering multitudes of the city was fully shared by the members of the Jewish Community, who recalled with gratitude their brave deeds in the land of Israel.⁶⁹

The reverence that both Christians and Jews held for Palestine provided a common ground between the two religious groups, and the role that Scottish regiments played in the taking of Palestine evoked sincere appreciation and admiration from the Jewish community. The most tangible way in which Jews used the war to identify with their Scottish compatriots during the inter-war period was through the development of the Glasgow JLB. The khaki uniforms worn by the JLB after joining the Cadet Corps during the war confirmed their military affiliation, but more importantly the addition of Glengarry caps gave them a distinctive Scottish appearance.⁷⁰ Attachment to the Cadet Corps did not mean that success was inherent during the inter-war period as an official report revealed that Glasgow faced 'many difficulties' which were handled thanks to 'the constant interest and financial support' of the Heilbron family.⁷¹ Numbers were relatively low following the war with only 84 boys enrolled at the end of 1921. The year 1924 marked a high point with 6 officers and 202 other ranks reported, but the Glasgow company dipped in size to around 90

⁶⁷ *The Scotsman*, 6 August 1924, p. 5; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 6 August 1924, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *Evening Telegraph*, 18 February 1921, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 May 1919, p. 27.

⁷⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2 June 1916, p. 20.

⁷¹ GMCRO, M130/2345, 1919 Annual Report.

members in 1934.⁷² Regardless of the fluctuating numbers, the Scottish ties were strengthened during the inter-war period as the Glasgow JLB was officially affiliated with the 7th Battalion of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), and many of the boys donned McKenzie or Black Watch kilts.⁷³ In 1922 the Glasgow JLB vividly expressed its Scottishness by forming a pipe band in addition to the already popular bugle band, both led by a Scotsman named McIntyre.⁷⁴ The Glasgow JLB's adaptation of distinctly Scottish kit and growing awareness of Scottishness is visibly portrayed here in Figure 6.3.

The year 1924 marked a highpoint not only in numbers but also in activity. In May the JLB was represented at the unveiling of the Glasgow Cenotaph in George Square, and in October the pipe and bugle bands paraded around the city alongside other cadet units. The company finished the year strong by parading 150 members to the annual *Chanukah* service held at Garnethill Synagogue.⁷⁵ The Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association took particular interest in the Glasgow JLB, subscribing to annual funds and participating in annual *Chanukah* and memorial services. The JLB was able to distinguish itself outside of Glasgow through its pipe band, receiving an invitation from Manchester in 1930 to perform in a programme alongside other provincial companies.⁷⁶ Memorial services, however, continued to be a main activity for the band, including a



Figure 6.3 Piper Laurence Collins of the Glasgow JLB. Image courtesy of the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.

⁷² GMCRO, M130/2345, 1921, 1924, and 1934 Annual Reports.

⁷³ GMCRO, M130/2345, 1935 Annual Report; AJA, MS244, PO/D (Glasgow).

⁷⁴ AJA, MS244, PO/D (Glasgow).

⁷⁵ GMCRO, M130/2345, 1924 Annual Report.

⁷⁶ GMCRO, M130/2340, Officers' Minutes (1923-1934).

march to Luss on the west coast of Scotland where a wreath was laid at the small town's war memorial.⁷⁷ Outside of Glasgow, the acceptance and uniqueness of the JLB pipe band was captured in this report in 1932 following the annual camp of the JLB provincial companies,

The kilted pipers attached to the Glasgow contingent of the Jewish Lads' Brigade were responsible for a rather amusing incident. It is one of the annual customs of the contingents in camp at St. Annes-on-Sea to march to the Cenotaph on August 4th, and to lay a wreath there. The Glasgow pipers play the lament, and the proceedings attract large numbers of interested onlookers. One Englishman, apparently unable to reconcile kilts with Jews, whilst congratulating the Pipe-Major on the excellence of his playing, took the opportunity of passing a derogatory remark about their being in the company of Jews. Pipe-Major Shulman's reply was evidently quite shattering, for the Englishman hastily retired in complete discomfort.⁷⁸

On the one hand, the incident showed that the foundational mission of the JLB, to integrate Jewish boys into British society, was successful in its Scottish context. The Scottish appearance of the Glasgow company concealed their Jewish identity. Sadly, the incident also revealed an anti-Jewish prejudice that even participation in and commemoration of war could not erase.

Post-war Position

The armistice of 11 November 1918 may have signalled an end to warfare, but it was evident that the Jewish community found little time for reprieve from fighting for their place in Scottish society. Ironically, the efforts during the war by Scottish Jews to sympathise and identify with the Russian contingent in their midst, often in an attempt to portray themselves as sympathetic to the causes and ideals of the British public, resulted in a public perception of Jews as dangerous political leftists. The greatest alien threat had thus come full circle: the threat of Jewish immigration prior to the war, the German/Jewish threat during the greater portion of the war, and the return of the Russian Jewish threat, politically, toward the end and after the war. Although the Jewish community was scrutinised for their association with radical

⁷⁷ AJA, MS244, PO/D (Glasgow).

⁷⁸ GMCRO, M130/2346, scrapbook (1906-1936).

politics, compared with the Irish, Jews posed less of a threat. According to Kenefick, the Irish most often fared worse at the hand of the Protestant Church in Scotland and this was clearly seen in the Church and Nation Committee report of 1923 entitled: *The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nation* – arguing for the repatriation of Irish Catholics on grounds that they were ‘a completely separate race of alien origins.’⁷⁹

The Jewish community lost a number of left-wing thinkers toward the close of the war, although it is true that during the interwar period a steady number of Jews gravitated toward the political left. But clearly, the Irish presented a greater threat numerically, religiously, and politically. Growing support for radical Irish movements, such as Sinn Fein, amongst the Irish population in Scotland was cause for concern,⁸⁰ and the records of the Scottish Home and Health Department clearly showed that the issue of Irish immigration was a major concern throughout the 1920s and 30s.⁸¹

Jewish issues, while clearly identified, were often and in the main overshadowed by the ‘Irish Question.’⁸² Nevertheless, this comparison between Jews and Irish did not negate the insecurity felt by the Jewish community in post-war Scotland. In the joke section of the *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, for example, Jewish participation in the war was made light of through Jewish stereotypes as late as 1926:

To a Jewish ex-Serviceman an acquaintance remarked – ‘So, you were in the Army, Ikey?’ ‘Oh, I was in the Army,’ was the proud reply. ‘Did you get a commission?’ ‘No; only my wages!’⁸³

Contextually, the financial tightfistedness of the people of Aberdeen had previously prompted the joke that Aberdeen was the only place that a Jew could not make a living.⁸⁴ The story of the Jewish soldier could then possibly be seen as light-hearted humour, but not all stories were so ambiguous. Scare stories of Jewish ‘swamping’ were still being printed in the press as an article headed ‘The Jewish Invasion’ in the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* claimed that American Jews were coming to Britain with the belief that American prosperity was declining and that financial gain

⁷⁹ William Kenefick, ‘The Jews and Irish in Modern Scotland: Anti-Semitism, Sectarianism and Social Mobility’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 31:2 (2013), p. 204.

⁸⁰ NRS, HH31/34/20.

⁸¹ NRS, HH1/537-574.

⁸² Kenefick, ‘Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities,’ pp. 75-76.

⁸³ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 13 July 1928, p. 6. This was the second time this joke appeared in the same paper with slight modifications. See also 6 October 1926, p. 6.

⁸⁴ Aberdeen Jews remained a common punch line in Scottish humour at the time. See Allan Junior, *The Aberdeen Jew* (Dundee: Valentine & Sons, 1927).

was to be had in Britain. Indeed, this situation got worse before it got better, and at a political meeting in 1929 a question was raised over the government's immigration policy and specifically in relation to the 'Irish and Jewish menace in the West of Scotland.'⁸⁵ Ironically, it was the *Motherwell Times* which took a composed and sympathetic view of Jewish immigration in a 1929 article, estimating that there were likely 16,000 Jews in Glasgow and 2,000 in Edinburgh, remarking that Jewish migration from Russia had nearly come to a 'complete cessation' since 1914.⁸⁶

Jewish sensitivity to their outsider status was compounded by the religious atmosphere in Scotland, particularly experienced through the zealous efforts of Christian missions. The most dynamic responses to the related political and religious issues came from Rabbi Salis Daiches, the most open spokesman for the Scottish Jewish community if not its figurehead.⁸⁷ He vigorously denied any inherent relationship between Jews and the political left, and he openly criticised the methods of Christian missions. Christianity, where it was preached 'out of conviction...by clear reasoning' and with 'sincerity' was not the object of his ire, but rather his objection was to the added allurements of 'monetary assistance or bodily relief' alongside church claims, specifically those made by Leon Levison, which were exaggerated or manipulative.⁸⁸ To those objecting to a Jewish population, he replied that it was 'mere calumny to assert that the alien Jew was lowering the moral level of the native population of this country.'⁸⁹ His public engagement over Jewish issues built bridges not only with Scottish society but also with the broader Jewish community. Indeed, Rabbi Daiches' correspondence in the *Scotsman* earned him a sympathetic letter from a Christian shepherd in the Scottish Borders who condemned a journalist as one of the 'anti-Christian Christians of our age' and assured the rabbi that 'you have friends, I am one.'⁹⁰

Assurances of support for the Jewish community were received from the upper levels of society, and the former Lord Provost Sir Matthew Montgomery stated at a

⁸⁵ *The Scotsman*, 12 January 1929, p. 12; *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 8 September 1926, p. 4.

⁸⁶ *Motherwell Times*, 3 May 1929, p. 6.

⁸⁷ Discussions were held about making Rabbi Daiches a provincial head rabbi for Scotland. See NLS, Acc.12278/2.

⁸⁸ *The Scotsman*, 16 February 1920, p. 8.

⁸⁹ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 8 December 1924, p. 4.

⁹⁰ NLS, Acc.12278/2.

Jewish fundraiser that 'Jews...made very good and loyal citizens of Glasgow.'⁹¹ As noted above, the response from Glasgow and Edinburgh leadership was positive thanks to the commemorative efforts of ex-servicemen, Jewish organisations, and even the synagogues. Alex King stated that 'Churches played an important part in attaching a concern for world peace to the commemoration of the dead,'⁹² and Jewish ministers were no exception. During his memorial service sermons, Rabbi Daiches honoured the fallen but decried the 'futility of war,' calling for a 'lasting peace' through the support and development of the League of Nations.⁹³ These sentiments served not only as an exhortation toward the Jewish community but also as a way to combat the perception of Jews as political troublemakers. Commemoration was therefore vital for Jews to claim their place in Scottish society. Their participation in the war and creation of memorials for the dead provided tangible evidence of their dedication to Britain, and a Scottish identity was particularly expressed through the commemorative role of the JLB, Jewish youth marching in kilts and playing the bagpipes in remembrance of the loss and service of Scots and Jews together.

Conclusion

By exploring the issues affecting Scottish Jews during the Great War in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and other areas of Scotland, this thesis has expanded upon the Glasgow-centric nature of Scottish Jewish history. What has been found is that the larger communities of both Edinburgh and Glasgow contrasted in their attitudes and responses to the war in comparison with the smaller community of Dundee. This emphasises the importance that the integrated leadership held in the two larger communities with particular emphasis on the works of the Jewish Representative Councils. Their efforts to protect both friendly and enemy aliens while cooperating and collaborating with the local government should not be underestimated considering that they acted largely without the aid of the Chief Rabbi or the help of broader British Jewry, especially in the matter of internment. Their activity potentially left the Representative Councils exposed to public anger considering the anti-alienism

⁹¹ *The Scotsman*, 22 December 1927, p. 7.

⁹² Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), p. 16.

⁹³ *The Scotsman*, 7 November 1927, p. 9; 8 November 1926, p. 8; 11 November 1929, p. 12.

present throughout the war, and the fact that none was specifically directed at these Jewish institutions is a testimony to the strong relationships that had been built by the members of the Representative Councils with local leadership. However, the strain of delicately balancing loyalty to Britain with concern for co-religionists who were enemy aliens did expose resentment between the Councils in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Although this was eventually resolved since the need for unity became increasingly necessary as the war extended, there is the sense that Glasgow held a 'big brother' role to Edinburgh as the larger community who introduced organisations such as the Jewish Lads' Brigade and the Jewish Representative Council to their smaller neighbouring community.

This broader comparative view of the Jewish community further aided in the deepening of the previously optimistic view of military participation by Scottish Jewry during the war. A closer look at the communal information alongside an analysis of tribunal records, newspaper reports, oral testimonies, and military records reveals a diverse community which on the one hand participated at a rate comparable with the Scottish average while on the other hand resisted participation in large numbers. Those who brought cases before the Tribunals appealed mainly on economic and familial grounds, reasons similar to the main factors motivating the mass immigration of Russian Jews during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The alien Russian Jews in Scotland facing conscription during the years 1917-1918 resisted military service by legal and illegal means, were vilified in the press, and received little sympathy from tribunalists. Such was the case for Russian Jews across Britain, and in the case of the Tribunals the integrated portion of Glasgow Jewry remained consistent in their desire to see their foreign co-religionists participate in the military by sitting as tribunalists on the special Russian Tribunals where the attitude was decidedly against the appellants. The consistency and influence of the integrated sector was further illustrated by the Scottish Jews who did serve in the military in their efforts to spread themselves across the various regiments. This had been a point of emphasis in the pre-war years as a way to prevent allegations of Jewish clannishness. The attitudes of integrated Jews toward military service as a means for reducing or pre-empting accusations against the community therefore remained throughout the war. These differing attitudes toward militarism across the Jewish communities in Scotland

importantly reveal a divide between the integrated and immigrant sectors of Scottish Jewry. Where other historians have shown an internal Jewish division in terms of class, religious practice, and politics, this thesis has used an exploration of militarism to add another layer to the internal struggle by exposing the desire of integrated Scottish Jewry to embrace Scottish militarism which clashed with an anti-militarist attitude held by many within the newly arrived immigrant sector, particularly Russian Jews.

Not only has this thesis used militarism and the experiences of the Great War to deepen an understanding of the complexity and division within Scottish Jewry, it has also undeniably revealed anti-Jewish sentiment within a Scottish society which has been widely considered as tolerant and accepting of the Jewish minority. While anti-Semitism does not surface within the Tribunal records or within the Scottish regiments which appear to have welcomed and included Scottish Jews from the pre-war years, there was blatant anti-Jewish sentiment found in the Scottish press consistently throughout the war years. This was the most unexpected finding of this research given the assumptions in the existing Scottish Jewish historiography that Jews were largely left alone in a country where inter-communal tensions were dominated by Christian sectarianism, especially during the inter-war period.⁹⁴ The extended presence of anti-Jewish sentiment, more intense than anything present before the war, was therefore testimony to the wartime strain on society and the corresponding severe anti-alienism, but these strong anti-Jewish feelings clearly built upon pre-war concepts and remained well after the war. In comparison to the Irish, Jews may have found Scotland to be more hospitable, but the persistent prejudice and ill-feeling toward Jews throughout the war uncovered within this thesis showed that the Jewish minority indisputably struggled for acceptance and tolerance within broader Scottish society.

Despite the overt anti-Jewish attitudes and David Cesarani's conclusion that the war signified a decline in the societal position of British Jews,⁹⁵ it is not immediately apparent that the Scottish Jewish community experienced a weakening following the Great War. Compared to their English counterparts, Scottish Jews observed a fair amount of anti-Jewish rhetoric throughout the war but experienced far less threat of physical abuse. As discussed, the Representative Councils in both Edinburgh and

⁹⁴ Kenefick, 'Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities', pp. 75-76.

⁹⁵ Cesarani, 'An Embattled Minority', p. 61.

Glasgow, newly formed around the time of the war, operated with great efficiency and effect throughout the war, sheltering the migrant Jewish community while working closely and making positive connections with local governing bodies. The Councils effectively established the authority within and without the Jewish community and emerged from the war with a positive record. Mark Gilfillan has generalised interwar Edinburgh Jewry as unified in contrast to the widespread division found in that pre-war community and credited in part the war work of the Edinburgh Jewish Representative Council.⁹⁶ The war also served to reduce the more visible alien elements across Scotland, namely the German community as well as a number of Russians, both communities having perceived and actual Jewish ties. The international Jewish community, particularly those trapped on the Eastern Front, received sympathy in the press and in churches across Scotland throughout the war, and Scottish Jews received a fair amount of support in the press through pictures and stories printed expressing their loyalty and service. Appreciation for this support was expressed later by Rabbi Daiches in a letter to the *Edinburgh Evening News* in which he praised the paper for its 'just and generous attitude towards racial and religious minorities,'⁹⁷ this despite some less than flattering reporting during the war. After the war, Scottish Jews steadily grew in numbers and generally avoided open altercations with Scottish society. This was most notable in the absence of anti-Jewish violence during the 1919 race riots in Glasgow.⁹⁸ Socially, those in the Gorbals continued to move into more salubrious areas on the South Side of Glasgow as they had slowly done before the war.⁹⁹ More importantly, wartime participation allowed Scottish Jews to identify with fellow Scots through military organisations and acts of memorialisation.

Despite the positives found during and after the war, the period from 1914-1918 exposed an existing and ugly anti-alien sentiment across Scotland that was frequently expressed in the press. Scrutiny of the Jewish community heightened in 1916 as increased anti-Germanism combined with frustrations over the newly implemented conscription. By the end of the war and into the post-war period, the

⁹⁶ Gilfillan, 'Two Worlds'.

⁹⁷ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 20 May 1923, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Manny Shinwell's inflammatory comments as the leader of the Seafarers' Union regarding Asian sailors have been linked to the racial violence of January 1919, and his debated involvement represents the only Jewish link while no violence was committed against Jews in Glasgow.

⁹⁹ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp 10-12.

Jewish community and its Russian element was suspected as politically radical. Relations between church and synagogue experienced strain as the church amplified its post-war missionary activity which was often combined with a political fear of an immigration threat. When considering other minorities such as the Irish, it is clear that Scottish Jews were left relatively undisturbed and enjoyed greater social mobility during the post-war period.

After weighing the positives and negatives, it would be hard to describe the position of Scottish Jews as worse following the Great War. Yet, as Ben Braber noted, their position was not one that was necessarily felt to be stable.¹⁰⁰ Attitudes toward immigrants and aliens were still unfavourable, and this affected the way that the Jewish community treated fellow Jews. After the release of Oscar Slater in 1927, the Jewish community continued to keep its distance, although admittedly the criminal element involved in the matter complicated things. More insightful was the relationship between Scottish Jews and the Jews seeking refuge in Britain from Hitler's Germany prior to the Second World War. Although a number of Scottish Jews opened their homes, Henry Maitles noted that Glasgow Jewry worked 'primarily at the level of fund raising,'¹⁰¹ a familiar idea that was exposed in this research regarding their relationship with military efforts. This does not mean to suggest that Glasgow or other Scottish Jews were unsympathetic toward the plight of their European co-religionists, nor does this necessarily mean a fragmented community, but rather reveals great diversity. Both Maitles and Braber, as well as a number of oral testimonies, have shown that Scottish Jews did fear a corresponding rise in anti-Semitism with the increased immigration of German Jews which resulted in tension between integrated and immigrant. These same fears were present within the integrated sector of Scottish Jewry concerning the influx of immigrant Russian Jews in the lead-up to the 1905 Aliens Act. In the years prior to the Second World War the tensions between established Jews and their immigrant brethren was further complicated by political and ideological divisions as well. The promise of British sympathy toward a Jewish state affirmed in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was cause for Jewish celebration, but it also further complicated the struggle to portray and maintain both British and Jewish identities. Given the fears over immigration before and after the Great War, it is no

¹⁰⁰ Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, pp. 34-36.

¹⁰¹ Maitles, 'Confronting Fascism', p. 111.

surprise that Scottish Jews reacted toward their coreligionist refugees in any way which might be regarded as negative. This inter-Jewish tension may even suggest that the families of Russian Jews who had been reluctantly received years earlier were now part of the integrated Scottish Jewry resisting the new German immigration.

The existence of this continued strain over immigration found within Scottish Jewry deserves closer investigation in future research of the interwar period with the rise of European racial tensions leading into the Second World War. The obvious tension between Jews and Scots during the Great War also provokes questions over wartime relations during the second war. This thesis and its observations of the wartime tensions within Scottish Jewry as well as with their host society combined with the complexity of Jewish military participation and non-participation thus becomes the basis for any further investigations of tensions, wartime or otherwise, between Scottish Jewry and Scottish society in the years following the Great War. Within the broader context of British Jewry, this thesis shows that Scottish Jewry approached militarism in a particularly Scottish manner, seen first in the independent efforts of the West End Glasgow Jews to promote Scottish militarism and patriotism through Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association, and then seen secondly through the initiation of a Scottish Jewish Lads' Brigade which successfully started and continued for a few years to be uniquely Scottish in its aloofness and independence from the national body. Throughout the war, many who participated joined Scottish units and embraced military Scottishness, and this was galvanised within the younger generation of Jewish Lads' Brigade boys through the military affiliation with the Cadet Corps and the continued military ties after the war which resulted in the use of Scottish military kit and the formation of a pipe band. Despite the military aloofness and obvious anti-Jewish feelings encountered during the war, this thesis does show that identification with military participation did grow within Scottish Jewry through the combination of commemoration and Zionism which were possible through British success in the war. Ultimately, this thesis shows both sides of Scottish Jewry to be consistent. The integrated sector never flagged in its pursuit of Scottish militarism, patriotism, and military participation in a bid to further integrate the Jewish community, while the newer immigrant sector continued to attach more importance to their Jewish identity

even in a softening attitude toward militarism in the post-war period through commemoration and the promotion of Zionism.

Appendix I

Military Service Records

The National Archives, Kew

Abrams, Benjamin (WO363/A35)

Abrams, Jack (WO363/A36)

Altman, Michael (WO363/A385)

Ancill, Nathaniel (WO363/427)

Balkin, Archibald (WO363/B1362)

Barbeck, Maurice (WO363/B1958)

Brody, Max (WO363/B1729)

Broidy, Israel (WO363/B526)

Brown, Harry (WO363/B893)

Camberg, Jacob (WO363/C108)

Cohen, Clarence (WO363/C922)

Cohen, Ellis (WO363/C923)

Cohen, Harry (WO363/C924)

Cohen, Isaac (WO363/C925)

Cohen, Louis Judah (WO363/C926)

Cohen, Solomon (WO363/C928)

Dishkin, Harry (WO363/D536)

Fishman, Morris (WO363/F215)

Franks, Arthur (WO363/F670)

Freedman, Joseph (WO363/F920) - Greenock

Freedman, Joseph (WO363/F920) - Edinburgh

Freedman, Louis (WO363/F920)

Glaskie, Harry (WO363/G428)
Gold, Max (WO363/G847)
Goldberg, Myer (WO363/G848)
Goldstein, Bernard (WO363/G580)
Goldstone, Charles (WO363/G582)
Goodson, Solomon (WO363/G610)
Gordon, Louis (WO363/G893)
Green, Harry (WO363/G996)
Green, Samuel (WO363/G1197)
Grows, Harry (WO363/G1205)
Harris, Samuel or Simon (WO363/H413)
Heilbron, Theodor (WO363/H1058)
Hillman, Lewis (WO363/H1597)
Hyams, Joseph (WO363/H2528)
Hyman, Reuben (WO363/2782)
Isaacs, Raphael (WO363/I106)
Jacobs, Edward (WO363/J189)
Joseph, Archibald Goodman (WO363/J881)
Joseph, Harris (WO363/J881)
Josephs, Jacob (WO363/J882)
Kallin, Zelik Israel (WO363/K3)
Kapkin, Hyman (WO363/K9)
Kaplan, David (WO363/K9)
Kaplan, Lazarus (WO363/K9)
Kessler, Samuel (WO363/K300)

Klar, Charles (WO363/K228)

Klar, Lewis (WO363/K228)

Koppel, Nachmanovitch (WO363/K667)

Levenson, Maurice (WO363/L504)

Levine, Solomon (WO363/L512)

Levinson, Asher Meyer (WO363/L513)

Levy, David Walker (WO363/L515)

Levy, John Henry (WO363/L669)

Lewis, Nathan (WO363/L703)

Linderman, Maurice (WO363/L552)

Marks, Murray (WO363/M939)

Marks, Sameul (WO363/M939)

Miller, Nathaniel Klibanskie (WO363/M1788)

Morrison, Benjamin (WO363/M1742)

Myron, Maurice (WO363/M2353)

Nathan, Samuel (WO363/N10)

Pass, Harry (WO363/P1445)

Pearlman, Leonard (WO363/P201)

Pelikansky, Nathaniel (WO363/P782)

Phillips, Harry (WO363/P953)

Phillips, Philip Emile (WO363/P1088)

Pogalevitz, Barnett (WO363/P406)

Poliwansky, Nathan (WO363/P523)

Riffkin, Jack (WO363/R1166)

Rosen, Israel (WO363/R1576)

Rosenberg, Hyman (WO363/R1695)
Rosenbloom, Harry (WO363/R1696)
Rosenbloom, Morris (WO363/R1696)
Rubenstein, Philip (WO363/R1496)
Sakolsky, Joseph (WO363/S468)
Salberg, Abraham Henry (WO363/S468)
Samuels, Reuben (WO363/S1011)
Sandys or Sanders, Jock (WO363/S1439)
Schwarzman, Isaac (WO363/S14)
Shapiro, Abe Jack (WO363/S623)
Shotland, Maurice (WO363/S1091)
Shulman, Barnet (WO363/S1199)
Shulman, John or Simon (WO363/S1199)
Silverman, Samuel (WO363/S456)
Simon, Knighton (WO363/S896)
Simons, Michael (WO363/S901)
Sless, Louis (WO363/S1029)
Smith, Jacob Max (WO363/S1281)
Solomon, Gordon (WO363/S1815)
Stoller, Israel (WO363/S3173)
Stupsky, Davis (WO363/S2265)
Weinstein, Barnet (WO363/W773)
Winetrobe or Winestone, Harry Wolf (WO363/W2431)
Winetrobe, Morris (WO363/W2431)
Wober, Israel (WO363/W2158)

Woolfson, Barnet (WO363/W1472)

Woolfson, Harry (WO363/W1472)

Zam, Alexander (WO363/Z1)

Zellman, Isaac (WO363/Z3)

Appendix II

Lothians and Peebles Military Service Tribunal Records National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh

Baker, Jacob Meyer (HH30/3/3/8)

Berman, Manuel (HH30/3/3/21)

Bernstein, Jacob (HH30/3/3/9)

Brown, Harry (HH30/2/6/42) and (HH30/33/75)

Cohen, Louis (HH30/2/6/34)

Cowen, Barnett Jablonsky (HH30/13/8/6)

Eprile, David Louis (HH30/12/2/28)

Eprile, Harry Joel (HH30/3/5/13)

Factor, Bernard (HH30/2/4/39) and (HH30/33/51)

Freedman, Joseph (HH30/4/8/25)

Freeman, Abel Bernard (HH30/2/2/36) and (HH30/33/36)

Goldberg, Myer (HH30/3/1/3)

Goldstein, Bernard (HH30/2/6/46)

Goldstein, Samuel (HH30/2/1/23)

Gordon, Louis Grant (HH30/2/5/13) and (HH30/33/58)

Harris, Simon (HH30/3/1/19) and (HH30/33/84)

Holliday, David (HH30/1/4/8) and (HH30/5/5/20)

Hyams, Emanuel (HH30/7/4/28)

Hyams, Joseph (HH30/2/4/49) and (HH30/33/55)

Hyman, David (HH30/2/6/49) and (HH30/33/76)

Hyman, Reuben (HH30/7/8/2) and (HH30/33/127)

Klar, Charles (HH30/27/1/5)

Kurtzman, Benjamin Manuel (HH30/21/1/2)

Levinson, Hyman (HH30/3/1/16)

Levitt, Joseph (HH30/2/6/11) and (HH30/33/69)

Levy, David Walker (HH30/5/1/12)

Lucas, Alexander (HH30/13/3/38)

Lucas, Jacob (HH30/2/6/32) and (HH30/33/71)

Lurie, Abraham (HH30/20/4/13)

Lyons, Berks (HH30/2/5/50)

Mein, James (HH30/2/6/57)

Michaelson, Saul Hirsh (HH30/13/3/22)

Ockrent, Harry (HH30/2/5/59) and (HH30/33/31)

Pass, George (HH30/2/5/47)

Pass, Harry (HH30/15/2/13)

Phillips, Hyman (HH30/2/4/38)

Polivansky, Myer Hyman (HH30/2/3/37)

Rifkind, Lewis (HH30/2/2/35) and (HH30/33/35)

Ronder, Maurice (HH30/5/7/16)

Rosenberg, Hyman (HH30/21/1/5) and (HH30/33/159)

Rosenberg, Moritz (HH30/10/2/15)

Shulfine, Morris (HH30/2/6/45) and (HH30/13/42)

Shulman, Barnet (HH30/17/5/5)

Simon, Harris (HH30/2/7/14)

Spark, George (HH30/4/9/31)

Wedeclefsky, Harry Ezekiel (HH30/6/6/23)

Wedeclefsky, Jacob Naphthali (HH30/5/4/18)

Weinschel, Jack (HH30/2/4/43) and (HH30/33/53)

Woolfe, Jacob (HH30/23/1/209)

Youde, Sydney (HH30/3/4/23) and (HH30/3/4/22) and (HH30/6/9/11) and (HH30/33/112)

Appendix III**Middlesex Military Service Tribunal Records
The National Archives, Kew**

Appelboom or Appelbloom, Louis (MH/47/114/233)

Baker, Frank (MH/47/68/22)

Berman, Henry (MH/47/45/10)

Goldston, David (MH/47/43/29)

Joseph, Harry (MH/47/19/6)

Lewis, Solomon (MH/47/53/17)

Nathan, Abram (MH/47/47/5)

Plotkin, Boris (MH/47/99/68) and (MH/47/116/2)

Ritterband, Samuel (MH/47/41/82)

Rosenberg, Philip (MH/47/45/44)

Seren, David (MH/47/45/6)

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DOHP – Oral Histories

Dundee Obituary Book, No. 2, January 1918-February 1935

‘The Dundee Yearbook 1912-14’, D9161 – Local History Highlights

Special Articles, SP 6:75 – Article Book

Dundee City Archives

Po 3/1 – Register of Aliens

Greater Manchester County Records Office

M130 – Jewish Lads’ Brigade Records

Jewish Military Museum, London

File 1006 – First World War Records

London Metropolitan Archives

ACC/2805/04 – Papers of Chief Rabbi Joseph Hertz

ACC/2999 – Jewish Memorial Council Records

Mitchell Library, Glasgow City Archives

D-HEW17 – Poor Relief Records
 D-TC 19 (ADDL) (BOX 3) – Russian Records
 Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Acc.12278 – Rabbi Daiches Papers

National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh

CH1 – Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland
 CS46 – Court Records
 HH1 – Records of Irish and Migration
 HH30 – Military Service Tribunal Records
 HH31 – First World War Records
 JC31 – Judiciary Appeals
 SC20 – Court Records
 SC253 – Court Records

Rothschild Archives, London

File 000/358 – Jewish War Services Committee Records

Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, Glasgow

Ayr Jewish Community Information Folder
 COM.DUN 0001/0002 – Dundee Records
 Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation Minutebook transcript
 Garnethill Member Registry, 1911
 Glasgow Hebrew Burial Society Minutebook
 Glasgow Hebrew Congregation Minutes
 Glasgow Jewish Volunteer Association File – Minutebook and Records
 Glasgow United Synagogue Minutes
 JLB 0004 – Jewish Lads' Brigade Records
 OHP1-4 – Oral Histories
 Pol. Z/0 – Chovevei Zion Records
 Rel. QP 0002 – Queen's Park Congregation Records

Serving Their Country 1 & 2 – Wartime Histories
 WWI Roll of Honour

The National Archives, Kew

HO45 – Registered Papers and Russians
 MH47 – Military Service Tribunal Records
 NATS1 – Ministry of National Service Records
 WO363 – Military Service Papers, ‘Burnt Records’
 WO364 – Pension Records

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Jewish Chronicle
Jewish Echo
Jewish Yearbook
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