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JUTE, JOURNALISM, JAM AND JEWS: THE ANOMALOUS SURVIVAL OF THE DUNDEE HEBREW CONGREGATION

NATHAN ABRAMS

The Dundee Hebrew Congregation (1878 to the present) provides an unusual case study in the history of small and remote Jewish communities in Britain. Dundee's Jews are what I have called elsewhere 'remote Jews', that is Jews who are physically and psychologically removed from the major centres of British-Jewish life.¹ Furthermore and against the odds, the Dundee Jewish community continues to survive, running counter to the dominant historical narrative of the seemingly inevitable decline of such small and remote communities in the United Kingdom. As I have written a history of the Dundee Hebrew congregation elsewhere, that story will not be retold here.² Rather, the aim of this article is to bring the history of the Dundee community up to date, while emphasising the ways in which it is unusual. These factors are worth elucidating for they enrich our pictures of both provincial Jewish life in Britain and of Scottish ethnic history. Moreover, analysis of Dundee's Jews requires a reassessment of the somewhat limited notion of the 'port Jew', a term coined by Lois Dubin and conceptualised by David Sorkin, which is now the focus of new work in Jewish historiography in general.³

The first unusual feature of Dundee's Jewish community is its origins. The nucleus of the community arrived some four decades before the other small Jewish communities in Scotland apart from Glasgow and Edinburgh, namely those in Aberdeen, Ayr, Dunfermline, Falkirk, Greenock and Inverness. Most of these communities began to form around the 1880s, as a result of the great waves of Jewish immigration from eastern Europe. By contrast, around 1840 textile firms in Hamburg had already begun sending Jewish representatives to Dundee for the purchase of jute, cheap linens and packing cloths. These Jews soon became direct agents and subsequently independent merchants, setting up permanent offices. Prominent Jewish merchants and businesses included Isaac Julius Weinberg, Messrs Lipman and Hamel, Herman Cohen and Co., Hermann A. Hirsch, Holdheim and Wagner, F. Rosenstern and Co., Julius Salomon, Otto Friedheim, William Schlochauer, Daniel J. Jaffe, Victor Chose, Sampson and Unna, Arnold Cohen, Hassberger and Dreschfield, and Albert Wulf and Co.⁴ The Jews responsible

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for these companies were predominantly of German origin and character, quite unlike the communities of eastern Europeans which were established in other small Scottish towns.

There were other differences too. Religious concerns were initially not central to Dundee's Jews. They were likely to be 'more German (if anything) than Jewish. Certainly few practised the old religion'.⁵ They 'found no Jewish life when they came', and many integrated quickly and assimilated completely.⁶ Some may simply have been deracinated in the first place. This lack of interest in observance perhaps explains the conspicuous and unusual lack of a Dundonian synagogue until the late 1870s, some thirty years after the first German Jews started to arrive. But even after the synagogue was formed, many of the first wave of Jewish immigrants remained aloof from its activities.⁷ There is a high probability that several of Dundee's German Jews were Reform, an originally German movement. Reform Judaism denotes a form of Jewish religious worship and thought which originated in Germany in the 1850s and which sought to move away from Rabbinic Judaism. In 1818 a Reform Temple was dedicated in Hamburg, from where many of the German Jews had emigrated. Nevertheless, it appears that Dundee's first Jewish settlers were either not interested in religion or insufficiently numerous to form a synagogue. This stands in clear contrast to German Jews elsewhere, who during the mid-nineteenth century established Reform communities in London, Manchester, Hull, Bradford and the United States.⁸

According to the 1881 census, Dundee's German community comprised eighty-one residents, including both Christians and Jews. Thereafter the nature of Dundee's Jewish community changed as the 'Litvak' Jews began to arrive in greater numbers from eastern Europe.⁹ The years from 1881 to 1914 witnessed large-scale immigration into Britain by Jews who were either fleeing persecution or seeking economic betterment, a process eased by quicker and lower-priced mass transportation by the railway and steamship.¹⁰ Although many Jews simply passed through on the transmigration route to the United States, others stayed. As with earlier Jewish immigrants to Britain, since they were town dwellers in eastern Europe, those who remained tended to migrate towards urban, rather than rural, areas.¹¹ Some were drawn to Dundee because of port commerce and other business opportunities and these Jews were sufficiently numerous to constitute for a time the largest Jewish community in Scotland outside Glasgow and Edinburgh.¹²

The arrival of the Litvak Jews altered the socio-economic and religious character of the community. These eastern European newcomers stood in 'marked contrast' to their German co-religionists. The already-settled German Jews aspired to become part of 'the better-off class'—bourgeois, educated, acculturated, cultured, extremely well integrated into the commercial, civic and cultural life of the wider community, and they assimilated religiously, if they manifested any Jewish practice at all.¹³ The eastern European Jews were, by contrast, orthodox, Yiddish-speaking, often poor and largely resident in the

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Hilltown district of Dundee. They were described as ‘shy and aloof [having] been brought up in a much more secluded orthodox culture’.¹⁴ In contrast to the wealthy German-Jewish textile merchants, Jews from eastern Europe in the main plied more humble trades. As elsewhere in Britain, they ‘gravitated towards occupations requiring skills they already possessed, or which could be easily learned, and where language problems could be minimised’.¹⁵ The majority were self-employed, owning stalls in Dundee’s Green Market and city arcade, or running tea rooms, lodging houses, general stores, pawn or clothes shops.¹⁶

Established Jews feared that the newcomers might undermine their position. Despite expressing sympathy for their plight, the pre-existing German Jews did not take kindly to the influx of their co-religionists from further east, whom they regarded as ill-educated and superstitious *Ostjuden* (‘Eastern Jews’). It seems that the ill-feeling was reciprocated, the newcomers probably regarding the Germans as snobbish, assimilated and irreligious. As a consequence, the two groups kept themselves apart, forming two distinctive sub-communities, each with its own synagogue: one German (and perhaps Reform), the other Litvak (and orthodox).¹⁷ These divisions produced separate sites of worship—a highly unusual feature for such a small Jewish population. Initially, the Litvak newcomers met in rented rooms at 7 Ward Road, within a block of warehouses and offices. The Litvak sub-community was, however, itself quickly divided into two rival synagogues, one meeting at Ward Road and the other at Bank Street. The circumstances of the division, though unknown, can probably be dated to 1880–3, by which time new immigrants were sufficiently numerous to sustain two synagogues.¹⁸ This proliferation of synagogues in what was, nonetheless, such a small community was an unusual feature of provincial Jewish life, which was more typically based on a single congregation.

Tensions involving the Jewish community were also unusual. Hostility did not develop between Jews and their gentile neighbours. Nor, despite their markedly contrasting socio-economic and religious differences, were there disagreements between the German and eastern European Jews. There was, however, antagonism between the two Litvak communities. While the exact cause of this division remains unknown, it seems to have been fuelled by personal differences. Ongoing frictions between key personalities in the two congregations ensured that the Ward Road and Bank Street synagogues remained separate and hostile. These differences came to a head over the attempt to secure the services of a *shochet* (Hebrew: trained Jewish butcher). A *shochet* was required to slaughter chicken and other animals in accordance with *halacha* (Hebrew: Orthodox normative rabbinic law) in order to render them *kosher* (Hebrew: lit. ‘prepared’ but referring to foods considered edible and prepared according to *halacha*). This was an important requirement for eastern European Jews who strictly adhered to orthodox practice.

The crisis arose in 1883 when both Ward Road and Bank Street congregations independently contacted the Chief Rabbi, the head of the Orthodox Hebrew congregations in Britain and the Commonwealth, to request the services of a

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shochet. In the absence of a *shochet*, they had both for some time received kosher meat from Glasgow, delivered by train. Given the coldness of the Scottish climate this was a largely satisfactory – if somewhat inconvenient – arrangement in winter but not at warmer times of the year when the meat tended to spoil. In response to their requests, the Chief Rabbi appointed Hirsch Levi to fill the position. It was the understanding of the Chief Rabbi that Levi was to be hired by the Bank Street congregation. He was, however, poached by the Ward Road synagogue, which he then joined. Levi subsequently fell out with the Ward Road congregation and defected to the opposition synagogue in Bank Street. Meanwhile, both sides corresponded with the Chief Rabbi, largely to no avail, probably on account of the distance between London and Dundee, demonstrating the lack of central control and the degree of autonomy that a small community, such as Dundee, might exercise. Ultimately, the case ended in court, when Levi's former Ward Road employers sought to sue him for breach of contract and to recover his salary.¹⁹ Ward Road agreed a settlement, which the sheriff recommended as fair and advised Levi to accept. Levi continued to live with his family in Dundee and work for the Bank Street synagogue, although following the court case a compromise was agreed by the two synagogues. The two communities were reconciled and amalgamated, to form a single congregation which worshipped in the same building. Although the spat was short-lived, the incident was a highly atypical for such a small community in Scotland. Small numbers meant such divisions were not a feature of the other small non-metropolitan communities.

From the late nineteenth century the Dundee community's fortunes mirrored those of other small Jewish enclaves in Scotland. Likewise, after the Second World War, Dundee's community began to decline though there were additional reasons for this, beside those which afflicted communities almost everywhere, except in London and Manchester. Common factors for the decline of Jewish communities included death and departure in search of either a better economic climate or a more extensive Jewish infrastructure, with better chances of 'marrying in'. By 1960 these factors had taken their toll on the Dundee community which now comprised only eighty-nine individuals.²⁰ Two years later there were only eighty members.²¹ Every member lost resulted in a decline of income. Mirroring simultaneous development in the Gorbals, Dundee began to empty of Jews who moved into the suburbs. As William Kenefick has noted, this migration also had the effect of moving the next generation away from religion.²²

Two factors stood out against this general trend of decline. First, the students' society presented a picture of buoyancy.²³ Indeed, the community and the students' society seemed to be heading in opposite directions: as the former declined, the latter thrived. The student society was described as 'a bonnie thrustful infant which has quickly made its mark on the Jewish student map'. In 1968 it had thirty members (twenty at Dundee and ten at St. Andrews).²⁴ As a mark of these trends, just about all of the *Jewish Chronicle's* coverage of Dundee

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was devoted to students rather than the community, even though the two groups did hold joint events and cooperated closely.

The second positive development was the opening of a new synagogue in 1978. An event such as this normally reflected growth in a community's size and prosperity. Dundee's new synagogue emerged in different circumstances. The local council had compulsorily purchased, closed and demolished the Meadow Street synagogue in 1973, as part of its regeneration of the city centre. Obligated to replace it with similar amenities, on the centenary anniversary of the congregation's establishment the council provided a purpose-built synagogue, at 9 St Mary's Place. The building, designed by non-Jewish architect Ian Imlach, was attractive and a rare example of experimentation in post-war synagogue architecture which in Britain, as Sharman Kadish has pointed out, was typically dominated by 'the single-story suburban brick box'.²⁵ Since only ten Jewish families (or eighty-four) people then remained in Dundee, without council support the new synagogue could not have been funded.²⁶ Dundee thus became the only community in Scotland, except Edinburgh and Glasgow, to acquire a purpose-built synagogue. Elsewhere, communities could not afford to erect their own buildings from scratch, relying instead on renting rooms before perhaps converting an existing house for sacramental use.

Despite the new premises, the 1980s saw a rapid decline in Dundee's community, from eighty-four members down to twelve. While a gradual decrease was to be expected, for reasons that affected many smaller communities, Dundee's sharp drop was attributable to other specific reasons too: anti-Zionist and anti-semitic activity. Generally, relations between Jews and non-Jews in Scotland were cordial, particularly when compared to developments in England. But by the 1960s, after more than a century of good relations in Dundee, inter-faith tensions began to intensify. Dundee's universities attracted many Arab and Muslim students who were vocal and active in their support of the Palestinian cause. In 1969 Munther Qualaj of Fatah addressed the Dundee University Socialist Society against a backdrop of anti-Israeli posters. Leaflets proclaimed 'Hate Israel'. Since Jewish students constituted only a tiny handful of the university's students, they felt overwhelmed.²⁷ The Glasgow Jewish Representative Council considered that this meeting marked the launch of an Arab anti-Israel campaign in Scotland.²⁸ Further anti-Zionist activity occurred during the 1970s.²⁹ A representative of the Jewish student society described these developments as 'extremely worrying'.³⁰

At the same time, the city council proposed twinning Dundee with the West Bank town of Nablus, deepening the Jewish community's sense of outrage, which was already high as a result of the campus activity. The Dundee Jewish community opposed the twinning because it was perceived as a vehicle for promoting the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which, it argued, was a terrorist organisation devoted to the destruction of the state of Israel. But Dundee's Jews also felt ignored by the city's Labour councillors. The public display of the PLO's flag on the council premises confirmed these suspicions. Pleas for the twinning

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arrangement to be reversed were dismissed. Instead, Labour councillors visited Nablus and promised to 'spread the word' about the PLO in Britain. Councillor Colin Rennie stated that 'It is the Israelis who are the terrorists. But under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, victory is assured. We will be your voice in Scotland, the United Kingdom, and in the rest of Europe'.³¹ As if to compound this perceived insult, the mayor of Nablus visited Dundee at the council's invitation; and almost a year later the PLO's representative in London was discreetly invited to a Burns Supper.³² Although the council denied that there was a link between the twinning arrangement and anti-Semitism, the Dundee Hebrew Congregation felt otherwise. Councillor James Gowans claimed that 'There is no antisemitism in Scotland'.³³ Without irony, Albert and Debby Jacob were told there had been no anti-Semitism until 'you lot' had started kicking up a fuss over the twinning.³⁴

In 1982 friction between the city council and the Jewish community increased as the war in Lebanon precipitated a wave of condemnation of Israeli policy from the Labour grass roots.³⁵ The Dundee Labour Party, driven by George Galloway, was especially active and vocal. Galloway, described as the 'guiding spirit' behind the twinning, was a self-confessed 'figure in the demonology' of the friends of Israel lobby, and at the forefront of pro-Palestinian activism in Dundee.³⁶ The Dundee Labour Party also forged links with Palestinian activists studying at Dundee university and invited PLO representatives to address its meetings. The Lord Provost and other councillors adopted a crude anti-Zionist position, alleging that 'the mass media is in the hands of the Zionists'.³⁷ They referred to Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin as 'fascists' and accused the Israeli Army of 'genocide'.³⁸ An article equating Zionism with racism then appeared in the *Dundee Standard*, the monthly journal published by the Dundee Labour Party.³⁹

These events reverberated beyond Dundee. The *Jewish Chronicle* described Dundee as 'the beating heart of anti-Zionism in this country'.⁴⁰ The president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Greville Janner, described the situation as 'a watershed', threatening to 'endanger the calm communal relations which have existed in Dundee for more than 100 years'.⁴¹ The stance taken by the councillors produced a great deal of ill-will, particularly when it emerged that a majority of Dundee's citizens opposed the twinning arrangement. Eventually, the issue of Nablus faded into the background and, although remaining unequivocally pro-Palestinian in outlook, the local Labour Party's anti-Israel pronouncements became less strident. The Jewish community and the council agreed to differ on the Palestinian-Israeli issue and their relations warmed, though for many the damage had already been done and more cordial relations were too little too late.⁴²

At the same time, specifically anti-semitic activity began to raise its ugly head. Previously, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism had existed as discrete phenomena in Dundee. Although anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are often equated, here it will be assumed that, while some anti-Zionism can be anti-semitic, the two are not identical. In Dundee they were parallel trends which did not overlap until 1981,

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when anti-Zionist activity to some extent prepared the ground for the emergence of anti-Semitism. At the same time, however, it is important to stress that the Dundee Labour Party's pro-Palestinian activism was simultaneous with, but not the same as, neo-Nazi and anti-semitic activity.

Although the *Jewish Chronicle* reported in 1966 that Nazi movements may have been operating branches in Dundee and that a 'small core of neo-Nazis' frequently caused trouble in Dundee during the 1970s and 1980s, the first recorded anti-semitic incident did not occur until March 1981.⁴³ Up until this point, specifically anti-semitic activity was almost unknown. In 1979 the south wall of the synagogue was spray painted but the city council concluded that 'the nature of the graffiti indicated that this was an everyday act of vandalism, without political overtones'.⁴⁴ It seems that the council missed the significance of the location of the vandalism. In March 1981 swastikas, British Movement symbols and other anti-semitic graffiti were, however, daubed on the synagogue's exterior walls, as well as on David Jacob's home. The pretext was a protest by the Jewish community against the twinning of Dundee and Nablus and the display of the PLO flag in the council chambers. Local neo-Nazi groups regarded the twinning argument and the demonstration as an opportunity to express their anti-semitic sentiments. There was no evidence to suggest that Arab or Muslim students were responsible.⁴⁵

Anti-semitic activity continued unabated until the end of 1990. Following the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Beirut in 1982, it was reported that members of the National Socialist Action Party were successfully recruiting youngsters outside Dundee schools. There was further vandalism of the synagogue, Jewish tombstones and other Jewish private property, while individual Jews received death threats.⁴⁶ Although for over a decade from 1990 there were no further reports of anti-Semitism, the synagogue was again vandalised in 2001, when swastikas and the words 'Combat 18' were daubed on the building.⁴⁷ Paul Spicker, *de facto* head of the Jewish community, was targeted with personal racial abuse.⁴⁸

The perception that Dundee had become a particular focus for anti-Jewish activity was probably a factor in encouraging much of the community to leave. Even though anti-semitic and anti-Zionist activity has since died down, the stigma of anti-Semitism has added to other reasons why the city has found it hard to attract permanently-resident Jews. Even today, Dundee remains a recruitment centre for Islamic fundamentalists. Its pro-Palestinian activism and its high concentration of students from Muslim and Arab countries have made the city attractive to politically motivated students.⁴⁹ Echoes of the 1970s and 1980s were manifest when in 2011 Liberal Democrat councillors proposed a resolution comparing Israel to apartheid South Africa and when a Jewish student from St Andrews was abused in a racially-motivated attack on the grounds of his support for Israel.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, and somewhat remarkably given the general trend of decline evident among small and remote communities in Britain, Dundee retains a Jewish

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community, based around a congregation. While it has not managed to stem the consequences of death, a low birth rate and departure accelerated by economic downturn, it has succeeded in balancing the outgoing migrants with incomers. Furthermore, the community has continued, even thrived, in the last quarter century. Although regular services had already ceased, in 1985 the synagogue hosted the celebration of the first Jewish wedding for eleven years. The couple subsequently left the city, as did the father of the bride, Albert Jacob, a mainstay of the community, who moved to Israel. Following Jacob's departure, a local Jewish businessman, Harold Gillis, kept the synagogue open single-handedly until his death in 2001. Paul Spicker, then a lecturer at Dundee University, took over as *de facto* head of the community. By then, the congregation was in financial crisis: it was so small that it was no longer viable in its own right. Only a donation towards its running costs from the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council enabled the Dundee synagogue to hold New Year services, which twenty people, including two students, attended in 2011.⁵¹ The synagogue building has, however, aged and is in need of expensive repair, prompting discussions about either relocation or development of an alternative virtual presence.⁵² Early in 2011 a series of leaks and the harsh winter closed the building for six months but it was reopened by the summer of that year. The community continues to maintain a presence in Dundee, numbering twenty-two, according to the most recent *Jewish Year Book* and, although many Jewish families have moved to St Andrews, Newport or Cupar, two of the original Jewish families that made up the community in the early part of its history remain in Dundee.⁵³

Several factors explain this survival. First, as in Aberdeen, students and staff have been recruited to higher education in or near the city – to the University of Dundee, to the University of St Andrews and since 1994 to the University of Abertay (formerly the Dundee Institute of Technology and Dundee College of Technology, founded in 1888). A significant proportion of the Dundee area's twenty-first-century Jewish population is composed of students and staff at its universities. Without their regular influx the Dundee community might not have survived. Admittedly, there was often little or no contact between the incomers and the established community, except for occasional festivities. Moreover, many students who attended services over the Sabbath or other festivals did so at home or in Edinburgh or Glasgow.⁵⁴ But at other points incoming students from beyond Dundee have provided reinforcements and an opportunity for revitalisation. The Dundee Jewish Society was reactivated in 1985 and the community pledged its support and co-operation. By 1989 the society was holding fortnightly meetings.⁵⁵ In 1995 it was reported that students had 'succeeded in re-opening Dundee Synagogue'.⁵⁶ They used the synagogue for regular study sessions or for the occasional party and religious service.⁵⁷ In 2006 St Andrews Jewish Society became the fastest growing in the United Kingdom, with 115 members that year, including a few Jewish students at Dundee and Abertay. Ten of them attended *Rosh Hashanah* (New Year) services, making for a record attendance of

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thirty-two, a figure not reached during the previous thirty years.⁵⁸ At the time of writing, St Andrews Jewish Society is Scotland's largest and most active, having expanded rapidly over the years 2009–11.⁵⁹ By September 2010 the community had shifted its base to the Byre Theatre in St Andrews, where services and social events were held, while the high holyday services took place in the synagogue, the community and students collaborating in joint services and other events. Events held in 2010 attracted between thirty and forty students and members of the community.

The presence of three universities so close to Dundee is an explanatory factor in the congregation's survival when other small communities, at Ayr, Greenock and Falkirk, disappeared. Another factor has been that Dundee has consistently provided employment opportunities for the professions. In addition to the jute industry, which survived into the 1970s, the city housed smaller industries, including whaling, shipbuilding, marmalade production and publishing. By the late twentieth century these were supplemented by new opportunities in health, leisure, software development, information technology, biomedicine, biotechnology, finance, banking, insurance, retail and digital entertainment. Ever since the 1830s medicine has attracted Jews to Dundee's hospitals and universities while military personnel at Condor (Royal Marines), Leuchars (RAF), and Barry (army) have also boosted the community, especially in wartime. One of the more unusual Jewish immigrants to Dundee was Israeli football player Jean Talasnikov, who played for Dundee United in 1999–2000.

There is a third reason too for the survival of the Dundee community. As in Aberdeen, the existence of a few key individuals or families, willing to bear the burden of conducting and organising religious duties, has been essential in the maintenance of a small Jewish community. Since small and remote provincial communities, such as Dundee, have to do it all for themselves, a greater proportion of the community typically participates in activities by comparison with larger communities. Jews must be self-reliant and resilient in places like Dundee.⁶⁰

It is hoped that this brief study of the history of Dundee's Jewish community will expand understanding of the settlement patterns of Jews in Scotland. The study of this community, although statistically tiny, is important for several reasons. Firstly, it augments our understanding, not only of Dundee's specific history, but of Scotland's modern history in general, with specific reference to the experiences of immigrants and minorities. Secondly, it provides an insight into the peculiar and particular experiences of Jews outside the larger and mainstream communities, focussing on those who are often ignored and forgotten by those who live in the major conurbations. Thirdly, the study of Dundee widens the somewhat limited notion of the 'port Jew'. Glasgow is considered to be the only valid location in Scotland where 'port Jews' might be found; Dundee has been overlooked. But as Gemma Romain has noted, 'each individual port needs to be considered'.⁶¹ It is

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clear that in Dundee few Jews worked at the city's port – their market function was rather in related work. Dundee did not, therefore, function as a typical port Jewry at all, although in terms of commercial activity the port was central to the Jews' livelihood. Fourthly, Dundee presents some interesting anomalies when compared to the other small Jewish communities in Scotland. Aberdeen and Dundee remain but Ayr, Dunfermline, Falkirk, Greenock and Inverness have dissolved. And as we have seen, Dundee presented some atypical and unusual characteristics for such a small Jewish community in Scotland which serve to broaden our understanding of small and provincial Jewish communities throughout Britain.

Notes

1. Nathan Abrams, 'The Jews of Aberdeen: a revolving door community since 1893 and its antecedents', *Northern Scotland* 27 (2007), 147–68.
2. Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews: A Study of Seven Small Communities in Scotland* (Jefferson, NC, 2009).
3. In a nutshell 'port Jewry' is a concept only applicable to large cosmopolitan communities that had sizeable Jewish communities, often invited in and granted religious freedoms for their commercial prowess (at the time of arrival) to develop commercial interests. See Lois Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford, CA, 1999); David Sorkin, 'The port Jew: notes towards a social type', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 1:1 (1999), 87–97; David Cesarani and Gemma Romain (eds), *Jews and Port Cities, 1590–1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism, Jewish Culture and History* 7:1–2 (2004).
4. *Jewish Chronicle* [hereafter *JC*], 20 November 1953; Henry McGrady Bell, *Land of Lakes: Memories Keep Me Company* (London, 1950), 37; Kenneth Collins (ed.), *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow, 1987), 4, 37; Salo Baron, Arcadius Kahan *et al.*, *Economic History of the Jews* (Jerusalem, 1975), 204; Albert Jacob, 'The Day it Hit the Fan' (unpublished MS in author's possession), 284.
5. *JC*, 20 November 1953.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, 4, 37.
8. Ewan A MacDonald, 'Discovering the Jews of Dundee: With Particular Reference to German and Russian Jews', unpublished Honours dissertation (University of Dundee, 2005), 18.
9. Litvak, in this context, included Ukrainian and Belorussian immigrants, as well those from Poland and Lithuania.
10. T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (London, 1999), 518.
11. Henry Maitles, 'Jewish trade unionists in Glasgow', *Immigrants and Minorities* 10:3 (1991), 48.
12. Suzanne Audrey, *Multiculturalism in Practice: Irish, Jewish, Italian and Pakistani Migration to Scotland* (Aldershot, 2000), 55; Kolmel, 'German-Jewish refugees in Scotland,' 72; Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 518.
13. Audrey, *Multiculturalism*, 55.
14. *Dundee Courier and Advertiser*, 26 February 1965; Janice Murray and David Stockdale, *The Miles Tae To Dundee: Stories of a City and its People* (Dundee, 1990), 26–7.
15. Audrey, *Multiculturalism*, 47.

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16. Lloyd Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (London, 2001), 92; Murray and Stockdale, *The Miles Tae To Dundee*, 27; Neil Robertson (ed.), *An A-Z of Hilltown: A History of Dundee's First Suburb* (Dundee, 1994), 31.
17. Jacob, 'The Day it Hit the Fan', 285; *Dundee Courier*, 6 November 1883; Collins, *Aspects of Scottish Jewry*, 37; Salis Daiches, 'The Jew in Scotland', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 3 (1929), 208.
18. London Metropolitan Archives, Archives of the Office of the Chief Rabbi and the United Synagogue, RG-ACC/2805/4/2/37; ACC/2805/2/1/49.
19. *Dundee Courier*, 6 November 1883.
20. *Jewish Year Book* [hereafter *JYB*] (London, 1962).
21. University of Southampton, Hartley Library, MS 167 (Papers of Julius Jung, 1955–70) [hereafter 'Jung Papers'], S.M. Gillis to Julius Jung, 24 July 1962.
22. William Kenefick, 'Comparing the Irish and Jewish communities in twentieth-century Scotland' in David Cesarini, Tony Kushner and Milton Shain (eds), *Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory: Zakor v'Makor* (London and Portland, 2009), 64.
23. *JC*, 3 January 1964.
24. *JC*, 3 May 1968.
25. Sharman Kadish, 'Constructing identity: Anglo-Jewry and synagogue architecture', *Architectural History* 45 (2002), 404. For a fuller discussion of the synagogue, see Abrams, *Caledonian Jews*, 84–5.
26. *JC*, 12 January 1979; *JYB* (1978).
27. *JC*, 21 November 1969.
28. *Ibid.*, 28 November 1968.
29. *Ibid.*, 24 April 1970; 19 March 1976; 2 April 1976; 16 December 1977; 9 March 1979; 7 December 1979.
30. *Ibid.*, 11 November 1977; 18 November 1977; 16 December 1977.
31. *Ibid.*, 10 April 1981.
32. *Ibid.*, 10 July 1981; 26 February 1982.
33. *Ibid.*, 3 April 1981; 27 March 1981.
34. *Ibid.*, 27 November 1981.
35. June Edmunds, *The Left and Israel: Party-Policy Change and Internal Democracy* (New York, 1999), 87; *JC*, 16 July 1982.
36. *JC*, 3 September 1982; 15 April 1983; 31 August 1984.
37. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1982.
38. Edmunds, *The Left and Israel*, 87.
39. *JC*, 26 November 1982.
40. *Ibid.*, 18 March 1983.
41. *Ibid.*, 10 April 1981.
42. Jacob, 'The Day it Hit the Fan', 486.
43. *JC*, 4 March 1966; *Jewish Telegraph* [hereafter *JT*], 13 July 2001; *JC*, 13 July 2001; *The Herald*, 13 July 2001.
44. 'Racial Tension in Tayside: A Regional Report Commissioned by Tayside Community Relations Council' (January 1987).
45. *JC*, 27 February 1981; 25 September 1981; 27 March 1981; *The Times*, 23 March 1981; Jacob, *The Day it Hit the Fan*, 343.
46. *JC*, 11 July 1983; 25 May 1985; 27 September 1985; 'Racial Tension in Tayside', *The Independent*, 10 June 1990; *JC*, 31 August 1990; 9 November 1990.

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47. *JT*, 13 July 2001; *JC*, 13 July 2001; *The Herald*, 13 July 2001; *The Independent*, 13 July 2002; *The Herald*, 27 August 2001; *The Herald*, 12 July 2001; *Daily Record*, 11 July 2001; *The Express*, 11 July 2001; *The Herald*, 11 July 2001; *The Mirror*, 11 July 2001; *The Scotsman*, 11 July 2001.
48. *JT*, 13 June 2001.
49. *Sunday Times*, 18 September 2005.
50. *JC*, 17 June 2011; 26 August 2011.
51. *Ibid.*, 28 September 2001.
52. *Four Corners* 25 (March 2010); *Four Corners* 26 (June 2010); *Four Corners* 30 (July 2011).
53. *JT*, 6 October 2006.
54. *JC*, 9 December 2005; Hayden Krasner, email to author, 21 May 2006.
55. *JC*, 18 October 1985; 25 October 1985; 3 March 1989.
56. *Ibid.*, 22 September 1995.
57. *JT*, 23 November 2001.
58. *Four Corners* 12 (December 2006).
59. *JC*, 19 November 2010; 6 June 2011.
60. I would like to thank Rabbi Zvi Solomons for his helpful comments here.
61. Romain, 'Ethnicity, identity and 'race': the port Jews of nineteenth-century Charleston', in Cesarini *et al.*, *Jews and Port Cities*, 124.