

Saving Jews:
The History of Jewish-Christian Relations in Scotland, 1880-1948

A Master's Thesis
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For David

*Your pardon, sir, for this digression:
I maist forgat my Dedication;
But when divinity comes 'cross me,
My readers still are sure to lose me.*

*So, sir, you see 'twas nae daft vapour;
But I maturely thought it proper,
When a' my works I did review,
To dedicate them, sir, to you:
Because (ye need na tak it ill),
I thought them something like yoursel'.*

Robert Burns

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history of Jewish-Christian relations in Scotland from 1880-1948. It explores the changing role of the Jew in the Scottish religious consciousness by analyzing the concept of “saving Jews.” From the advent of Scottish missions to the Jews in 1839 until the early 1900s, “saving Jews” meant saving Jewish souls through conversion to Christianity. However, by the 1930s, “saving Jews” came to mean preserving Jewish life by supporting the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and by urging the British government to intervene in Nazi Germany. By the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, the Scottish evangelistic impulse had essentially been abandoned, and the Jewish and Christian communities in Scotland had developed a strong, sincere friendship. Yet, this shift was hardly a manifestation of Scottish Christian secularization. Rather, Scottish Christians viewed their ties to the Jewish community, their commitment to Zionism, and their efforts to fight antisemitism and Nazism as fundamental expressions of their Christian faith.

Drawing on a large collection of primary sources including church records, Scottish and Jewish newspapers, interviews, autobiographies, and other archival documents, this thesis offers an alternative interpretation of the popular notion that secularization is always a benefit to the Jewish community.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1641, Naphtali Margolioth, a Jewish-born scholar from Vienna, arrived in Scotland. Hired by the University of Edinburgh to serve as the first Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, Margolioth is the earliest-known person of Jewish origin to have lived on Scottish soil. Born in 1562 into a prominent Jewish family of Talmudic scholars,¹ he converted to Christianity in 1603 and subsequently changed his name to Julius Conradus Otto. After his conversion, Margolioth became a professor of Hebrew at the University of Altdorf and decades later assumed the appointment in Edinburgh. Remarkably, Margolioth renounced Christianity towards the end of his life and returned to Judaism.² The case became notorious, causing stirs in Protestant academic circles as far away as Boston.³ The Puritan minister Increase Mather spoke about Margolioth on the occasion of the baptism of Judah Monis, a Jewish-born Hebraist who was appointed as the “New World’s” first professor of Hebrew at Harvard University in 1722.⁴

It is perhaps fitting that such a complex individual as Margolioth was the first “Scottish Jew.” Indeed, the history of Scottish Jewry has largely been shaped by a rich dynamic of Jewish-Christian relations. The country’s century-long history of

¹ The Margolioth family traditionally traced its roots back to Rashi.

² A. Levy. *Origins of Scottish Jewry*. (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1958). p. 1-3.

³ The Massachusetts Historical Society. “Judah Monis.” *Proceedings: October 1918-June 1919*. Vol. 52 (May 1919), pp. 301-302.

⁴ Eisig Silberschlag. “Judah Monis: In Light of an Unpublished Manuscript.” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*. Vol. 46, Jubilee Volume (1979 - 1980), pp. 495-529. Mather contrasted the two conversions, arguing that Monis was unmotivated by non-spiritual incentives. The fact that Harvard at the time only hired Protestant professors perhaps stands in opposition to this claim.

international missions to the Jews created a unique place for Jews in the Scottish religious consciousness. The Scottish missions were among the most significant of 19th century Protestant efforts to evangelize the Jews. The missions were also notably benevolent in their approach to the Jews and placed tremendous emphasis on providing education and social welfare. Despite these missions, Scottish Jews saw Scotland as a unique haven in a hostile Christian Europe. Salis Daiches (1880-1945), the revered and beloved rabbi of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation and presumed leader of the Scottish Jewish community for much of the first half of the 20th century, once said, “Scotland is one of the few countries in Europe...where the Jews had never been persecuted.”⁵ Since its formal establishment in 1816 when the country’s first synagogue was founded in Edinburgh, the Scottish Jewish community has succeeded professionally in secular society while maintaining strong Jewish communal ties.

Beginning in the 1880s, these two previously divergent historical narratives met for the first time. From 1839, when the first Scottish mission to the Jews was initiated, until the 1880s, Scottish efforts to evangelize the Jews took place almost exclusively outside of Scotland—primarily in Pest, Constantinople, and the Levant. The Scottish Jewish community thus existed for more than 60 years essentially untouched by Scottish Christian missions. By the 1880s this had changed. As European, Ottoman, and Levantine Jewish communities became more progressive and self-reliant, Scottish missionaries to the Jews found their work more and more difficult. At the same time, increased Jewish immigration to North America and Western Europe—including Scotland—prompted Scottish missionaries to refocus their evangelization efforts back to

⁵ David Daiches. *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (Sussex: The University Press, 1974), p. 92.

the home front. It is this story—the history of Jewish-Christian relations in Scotland beginning in the 1880s—that is the focus of this thesis.

PRINCIPAL PLAYERS

It is important to note what “Jewish-Christian relations” means here. Who represents the “Jewish side” and who represents the “Christian side”? The Jewish community in Scotland has always been relatively small when compared to the rest of the population. And, like other Jewish communities throughout the British Empire, Scottish Jewry has historically been homogenous and tight knit. As a result, the opinions and attitudes toward Christianity of Scottish Jewish clergy, lay leaders, writers, and reporters that are examined in this thesis should be seen as characteristic of the wider Jewish community of Scotland.

The “Christian side” of Jewish-Christian relations discussed here, on the other hand, is not representative of an “overall Christian opinion” in Scotland. While it is historically accurate to refer to the “Scottish Jewish Community,” there is no such Christian equivalent in Scotland. Since the Reformation of 1560, the majority of Scots have remained Presbyterian. However, a Catholic minority endured following the Reformation, growing during the 19th century with increased immigration from Ireland. The city of Glasgow in particular served as an important center for Jewish-Catholic relations.

Within Scottish Presbyterianism, major disagreements over State involvement in spiritual matters arose during the 18th century and ultimately led to a schism within the Church of Scotland between the Evangelical and Moderate parties. The majority of Evangelicals regrouped to form the Free Church of Scotland. Both churches operated

international missions to the Jews throughout the 19th century. The fact that missions in Scotland were church-run is unique. In England and the United States, for example, missions to the Jews were generally run by non-denominational Christian organizations, independent of any church, and employed laymen of diverse backgrounds. Missionaries in Scotland, however, were generally highly-educated members of the clergy who demonstrated in their work a commitment to progressive social ideals. These missionaries formed the basis for Christian relations to the Jewish community in Scotland. The Christian opinions discussed here are representative, not of a broader Christian public, but of the formal Christian institutions and the ministers, priests, and missionaries who led them.

THE EVOLUTION OF SAVING JEWS: ASSESSING CHANGE IN JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN SCOTLAND

What does it mean to save the Jews? By tracing the answer to this question throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries in Scotland, one can grasp the essence of Scottish Jewish-Christian relations and by implication the evolving ways in which these relations developed in other parts of the world.

“We told them that we had come from Scotland out of love to their souls.”⁶ Written by a Scottish missionary after visiting a Jewish synagogue in Alexandria in 1839, these words epitomize the role Jews played in the religious consciousness of Scotland’s missionaries, ministers, and laymen throughout much of the 19th century. If one such Scottish Christian had been asked, “What does it mean to save Jews?” the answer undoubtedly would have been, “It means to save their souls through conversion to

⁶ Andrew A. Bonar and Robert Murray McCheyne. *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co., 1849), p. 49.

Christianity.” But this answer changed over time—so much so that at the dawn of World War II, Scotland’s Christian religious leaders had entirely abandoned their evangelistic impulse. They came to passionately support the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine and desperately urged the British government to act against the Nazi regime before it was too late. A profound change had occurred in their minds about what it meant to save Jews. This thesis seeks to answer *why* this change occurred.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH JEWISH COMMUNITY, 1816-1880

Individual Jews—mostly merchants and medical students—settled in Scotland throughout the late 17th and 18th centuries. Records exist of Jews applying to the Town Council of Edinburgh for trading rights. The first such Jew was David Brown,⁷ a merchant from London, who was given permission to trade in 1691. The case was a source of controversy among members of the Town Council. William Patoun, who was recorded as being the dean of a guild, protested Brown’s right to trade in the city:⁸

Noe person whatsomever that denyes the basis or fundamentalls of our Christian religion can have any previledge within the city of Edinburgh or suburbs. As the said David Brown does not denye he being a profest⁹ Jew.¹⁰

In Brown’s defense, Hugh Blair, treasurer of the Town Council, wrote,

It is alleadged to be against reason that they that deny the fundamentalls of our religion should have or enjoy any civill priviledge. Its answered that Jewes as such are not to be considered or treated as other infidels. They being the ancient people of God of the seed of Abraham of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came. To them belongs the promise, to

⁷ Brown is the anglicized version of the Sephardic surname Pardo. According to Cecil Roth, David Brown was a cousin of David Pardo, who served as a chazzan in London. Several members of the Pardo family moved to the Americas to serve as rabbis. See M. Kayserling, “The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish Writers of America.” *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*. No. 3 (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1895), pp. 18-20.

⁸ Levy, op. cit., p. 8.

⁹ professed

¹⁰ Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 1691, cited in Levy, op. cit., p. 8. Note: Punctuation added, original spelling kept.

them were the Scriptures consigned. And from them have wee handed down to us the law and the Gospell...And thought now in their rejected state they are enemies of the gospel for our sake yet as touching the election they are beloved for their fathers sake. Upon which and several other acompts¹¹ it is that they are allowed the libertie of trade in places of greatest trade wher the reformed religion is professed.¹²

The Town Council ultimately sided with Blair, thus allowing Brown to trade freely in Edinburgh and setting precedent for future prospective Jewish traders. These included Moses Mosias, who was given permission to trade in Edinburgh in 1698, and Isaac Queen, who was granted the right in 1717.¹³

Scotland also hosted Jewish medical school students throughout the 18th century. The American-born, but London-raised Joseph Hart Myers became the first Jew to graduate from a Scottish medical school when he was granted his degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1779.¹⁴ In September 1787, Levi Meyers of South Carolina became the first Jewish graduate of the University of Glasgow's medical school. Unlike their English counterparts including Oxford and Cambridge, Scottish Universities did not bar students from admission on religious grounds and did not require the taking of a Christian religious oath upon graduation.¹⁵

There is also evidence in London of a Jew living in Scotland in the 18th century. Records of the Great Synagogue mention a Mr. Wolf of Edinburgh. Additionally, in the cemetery of the Hambro' Synagogue lies buried a Mrs. Zipporah ben Menahem, wife of Issachar ben Abraham "from the Holy Congregation of Edinburgh,"¹⁶ who died in 1780. According to Cecil Roth, this fact seems to indicate that Jewish religious services were being held in Edinburgh at this time. However, it could also be inferred that any such

¹¹ accounts

¹² Note: Punctuation added, original spelling kept.

¹³ Cecil Roth. *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* (London: The Jewish Monthly, 1950), p. 58.

¹⁴ Levy, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁵ Kenneth E. Collins. *Second City Jewry* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives, 1990), p. 15.

¹⁶ Tombstone record as cited in Roth, op. cit.

organized Jewish community residing in Edinburgh at the time did not have its own burial ground, and was thus perhaps, not permanent.¹⁷

The modern Scottish Jewish community dates from 1816. In that year, a small congregation of twenty families was founded in Edinburgh's Old Town on North Richmond Street near the Royal College of Surgeons. The synagogue would come to be known as the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation. It is still active today. The first religious leader was Rev. Moses Joel,¹⁸ originally from London, who served as the congregation's head for 46 years until his death in 1862.¹⁹ A burial ground on Braid Place,²⁰ just minutes down the road from the synagogue, was purchased by the community in 1820.²¹ This small cemetery accommodated the burial needs of the community until 1867, when new ground was purchased in Echobank Cemetery.²² In 1825,²³ the community moved its synagogue to new premises around the corner on Richmond Court, where it remained for 43 years. A small faction of the community broke off in 1833 from the main congregation and started a new synagogue which operated until 1840. Interestingly, this

¹⁷ Roth, op. cit.

¹⁸ Those who served as leaders of Jewish congregations or as chazzans but had not received *semikhah* (rabbinical ordination) were given the title "reverend" and were often referred to as ministers. These Jewish leaders should not be confused with Protestant clergy.

¹⁹ Some debate exists as to whether or not Joel was, in fact, the Edinburgh synagogue's first leader. The prolific British Jewish scholar Cecil Roth claimed in his book *The Rise of Provincial Jewry* instead that Meir Rintel, an "author of various Hebrew works" was the first minister. Roth cites that Joel was only licensed as a *shochet* in 1831, and thus likely did not serve as head of the synagogue before that date. Roth does not explain how he came to conclude that Rintel was the first minister. Levy, in *Origins of Scottish Jewry*, is not aware of any records of a minister preceding Joel. Furthermore, Roth himself seems to have revised his position in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. See: Roth, op. cit., p. 58-59; Levy, op. cit., p. 14; Cecil Roth. "Edinburgh." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. Vol. 6. 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), p. 147.

²⁰ Braid Place is now known as Sciennes House Place. It is located off Causewayside on the eastern edge of Edinburgh's Marchmont neighborhood.

²¹ Levy, op. cit., p. 14.

²² Echobank Cemetery is presently known as Newington Cemetery. Abel Phillips, *A History of the Origins of the First Jewish Community in Scotland-Edinburgh 1816* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1979), p. 7.

²³ Cecil Roth says the community moved after just one year, in 1817. See Roth, op cit., p. 59.

congregation did not travel far—it took up premises on the same small street as the original synagogue.²⁴

By 1844, approximately 107 Jews lived in the city.²⁵ Most were well-to-do and of German or Dutch origin, which remained the case until Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe increased in the final decades of the 19th century.²⁶ While some Jews entered the medical profession, most worked as merchants and traders of furs, clothing, jewelry, and other fashions, utilizing their family connections on the continent to aid in the import and export of goods.²⁷

In 1862, Rev. Moses Joel passed away. For twelve years, the position of minister was filled on only a short-term basis. During this time, the community knew five different leaders, most of whom left after their brief time in Edinburgh for positions elsewhere in the British Empire.²⁸ Finally in 1879,²⁹ Rev. J. Furst was appointed by the community. He served in this post until his death in 1918.³⁰

In 1868, the community moved to a new location in Ross House on Park Place,³¹ only a short distance from Richmond Court. The new synagogue included upstairs accommodation for the minister. Here the congregation remained until 1898, when Ross

²⁴ Levy, op. cit.

²⁵ Roth, op. cit., p. 110.

²⁶ Nathan Abrams, *Caledonian Jews* (North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), p. 8.

²⁷ Levy, op. cit.

²⁸ Levy, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁹ Alternatively cited as 1878 (see Levy, op. cit.).

³⁰ Kenneth Collins. *Go and Learn: the International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), p. 66.

³¹ Ross House was on the site of a large estate once owned by the Lords Ross, and had once been occupied by George Lockhart of Carnwath (1673-1731), the Scottish Parliamentarian and Jacobite Spy. Though Park Place is no longer listed in maps of Edinburgh, it was located near the northeastern corner of George Square, the University of Edinburgh's central campus. See James Grant. *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, Vol. II* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co., 1882), p. 339.

House was appropriated for city improvement.³² In preparation for this move, a former chapel had been purchased on Graham Street³³ in 1896. It was then converted into a synagogue to accommodate Edinburgh's burgeoning Jewish population which, at the turn of the century, had nearly 1,000 individuals.³⁴

Though individual Jews had attended medical school and had traded temporarily in Glasgow during the 18th century, there is no Jew on record permanently settling in the city until 1812. In that year, Isaac Cohen, a hat maker originally from London, was admitted as a burghess.³⁵ Traditionally, upon admittance to a Scottish borough, one took a Christian religious oath. Sources differ in their account of the nature of Cohen's entry to Glasgow as a burghess. One source claims Cohen was allowed to become a burghess without taking the oath.³⁶ Another source asserts that he did, in fact, take the oath, though it had no impact on his commitment to Judaism as it was "regarded as a matter of form rather than belief."³⁷ Cohen's children were nevertheless raised in Judaism and his descendants were active members of the Scottish Jewish community. Local legend credits Cohen with introducing the silk hat to Scotland.³⁸

Within several years of Cohen's arrival, more Jewish families had settled in Glasgow, including the Levys, Schwabes, and Michaels—all of whom were successful

³² Levy, op. cit., p. 18.

³³ This is not the Graham Street on present-day maps of Leith. The Graham Street synagogue was near present-day Lauriston Place, near the University of Edinburgh and the Meadows, Edinburgh's large central park. See Stephen W. Massil, ed., *The Jewish Year Book, 2000* (Middlesex: Vallentine-Mitchell, 2000), p. 15.

³⁴ John Cosgrove, "Scottish Jewry." In Stephen W. Massil, ed., *The Jewish Year Book* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000), p. 15.

³⁵ A Burgess is a borough citizen.

³⁶ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op.cit., p. 18.

³⁷ Levy, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁸ Ibid.

merchants.³⁹ Glasgow's first synagogue was founded in 1823. Housed in a small two room flat on High Street, the new synagogue accommodated Rev. Moses Henry Lisenheim, the community's first leader and *shochet*. David Davies, an optician, served as the congregation's president.⁴⁰

Jewish immigration to Glasgow was part of a larger trend. Though today it is the largest city in Scotland, Glasgow in the 18th century was only a provincial town with a population of roughly 20,000. As British trade with North America increased however, so, too, did Glasgow's population—suddenly the city's location with access to the west coast of Scotland, which had once been considered remote, began to attract merchants, traders, and businessmen interested in taking advantage of the sugar, tobacco, and cotton industries. By the beginning of the 19th century, the city's population had increased to more than 80,000. Many new arrivals in Glasgow had come from the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, as well as the continent. Jews were thus one of the many groups that made Glasgow their new home in the 19th century. With a robust economy and a diverse and cosmopolitan population, Glasgow had come to be known as the “Second City” of the British Empire by the mid-19th century.⁴¹

By 1831, 47 Jews had settled in Glasgow, most of whom were of German or Dutch origin, or had moved from London. A burial ground was purchased in this year⁴²

³⁹ Levy, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16-17.

⁴² It is interesting to note that ground was not purchased for Jewish burials until the relatively late date of 1831, though deaths most certainly occurred before then. No record exists of Glaswegian Jews being buried in Edinburgh, so it is conceivable that arrangements were made for burials elsewhere in Britain—particularly in London as so many Jews in Glasgow had family there. See Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 20.

at the Glasgow Necropolis, recently built by the Merchants' House⁴³ in the style of the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. That Jews were buried in this expensive and “exclusive” cemetery speaks of their financial status and standing in the Glasgow community.⁴⁴

In 1837, the community moved its synagogue to the first floor of a building on Old Post Office Court which had previously housed the Glasgow Post Office and later, *The Glasgow Herald*.⁴⁵ In 1842, the congregation decided to move its worship to a leased hall at Andersonian University⁴⁶ on George Street (in the heart of the City Centre), naming itself the New Hebrew Congregation, and later, the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation. A small group of congregants protested the decision to move, and subsequently set up a separate synagogue, the Old Hebrew Congregation, near Old Post Office Court. This group argued that, because the new premises at Andersonian University also contained a medical school, any dissection that occurred would render a place of worship impure. The split was particularly bitter and caused great contention in the community for several years.⁴⁷

By 1850, nearly 200 Jews lived in Glasgow.⁴⁸ That same year, the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation moved from its hall in Andersonian University to a nearby flat on Howard Street. Though the community remained there for eight years, the premises were small and not particularly dignified. Beginning in 1856, the community began a large fundraising campaign in order to purchase a new location for a synagogue. The response

⁴³ The Merchants' House is one of the oldest organizations in Glasgow. Both a guild and a charity, the Merchants' House was one of the most influential organizations in 19th century Glasgow.

⁴⁴ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit.

⁴⁵ *The Glasgow Herald* was a prominent Scottish daily newspaper that was first published as *The Glasgow Advertiser* in 1783. It still exists today as *The Herald*.

⁴⁶ Andersonian University is presently known as the University of Strathclyde.

⁴⁷ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

to the campaign—from both Jews and Christians—was positive and far reaching. Using the money that was ultimately raised, a new, large building on the corner of John Street and George Street was purchased in 1857. The congregation moved there a year later and remained for 21 years. For the first time, the Glasgow Jewish community had an entire building for itself. The new large synagogue included accommodation for the minister, classrooms for a *cheder*, a committee room for meetings, and a mikvah—the first in Glasgow.⁴⁹ The Glasgow Hebrew Philanthropic Society was also founded in 1858 in order to assist the small number of poorer Jewish families in the city. In 1866, the Society was incorporated as part of the synagogue and renamed the Glasgow Jewish Board of Guardians and Philanthropic Society.⁵⁰

In 1877, land was purchased in the Garnethill district of the city. On this ground, the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation built a large and elegant, cathedral-like synagogue. The building in Garnethill has the distinct title of being Scotland's first purpose-built synagogue. It continues to serve members of Glasgow's Jewish community today. The synagogue and its development will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two.⁵¹

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE JEWS, 1839-1880⁵²

As the Jewish community in Scotland took root and grew, the country saw another development—the advent of Scottish Christian Missions to the Jews. Ironically, as we have said, these Christian missions initially had very limited contact with Jews *in*

⁴⁹ Levy, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵⁰ Zena Endlar. *A Tree of Life: A Chronicle of the Formation and Evolution of Jewish Care Scotland, 1867-1997* (Glasgow: Jewish Care Scotland, 1997), p. iii.

⁵¹ Levy, op. cit., p. 22.

⁵² This section relies on Elizabeth E. Imber, *The Free Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews, 1839-1914*. A Senior Honors Thesis, Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, May 2009.

Scotland. Instead, they focused on the evangelization of Jews outside of Scotland. This remained the case until the 1880s.

The Church of Scotland saw the conversion of the Jews as one of its most important goals. In 1838, the General Assembly even identified the effort as one of the Church's five greatest social causes and founded a Jewish Mission Committee.⁵³ But why did the Church of Scotland see the Jewish cause as so significant? While the answer to this question certainly changed as missions to the Jews developed over the next century, the initial importance attached to the conversion of the Jews was deeply rooted in Scottish theological conceptions of the Holy Land. Traditional stories of the Crusades (even though Scottish involvement was, in reality, limited) told of a mythical Land of Israel, steeped in biblical prophecy. Scottish Presbyterians saw the redemption of Israel—both the land and the people—as the ultimate fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. The Church of Scotland also considered itself specially bonded to the Jewish people through a shared “chosenness”—members of the Scottish Church saw themselves as the “chosen people” of Christianity, while the Jews were the “chosen people” who had fallen from God's covenant. The perception of its own unique place in Christianity encouraged the Church of Scotland to pursue Jewish mission work as a sacred obligation to God.

In 1839, the Church of Scotland's Jewish Mission Committee sent four Scottish ministers—Andrew Bonar, Robert Murray McCheyne, Alexander Black, and Alexander Keith—on a mission of inquiry to the Jews. The deputation traveled through Europe and the Levant, meeting with and collecting information on various Jewish communities in order to decide which would be most amenable to evangelization. Not surprisingly, the

⁵³ Sometimes referred to also as the Committee on the Conversion of the Jews.

ministers were enthralled with Palestine. Every village, every stream, every rock was of prophetic importance to the four Scots. “Judea must be regarded as the centre of the Jewish world,” wrote Bonar and McCheyne in the travelogue they kept of the journey. “Every Jew, in whatever country he sojourns, turns his face toward Jerusalem in prayer. It is the heart of the nation, and every impression made there is transmitted to all the scattered members.”⁵⁴ Upon their departure, the deputation became determined that the Church of Scotland would one day establish a mission in the Land of Israel—this dream would not be realized until 1885.

The first mission to the Jews established by the Church of Scotland was short-lived and, compared to missions established in its wake, unsuccessful. Little is known of this mission other than that a missionary named Daniel Edward set up a post in Jassy, then the capital of Moldavia, in 1841. Later that year, however, a mission was established in Pest. It was this mission that would become Scotland’s most important evangelization effort among the Jews.

Headed by a minister from Glasgow named John Duncan, the Pest mission ultimately converted approximately 100 Jews, making it one of the most successful (though, in reality, demographically insignificant) Protestant missions in Europe. But its influence in the Jewish community went beyond conversions. Soon after its inception, the mission established a school for Jewish children. Many Jewish parents in Pest, most of whom did not even consider conversion, chose to send their children to the school. Although its curriculum included religious studies, the school also offered an outstanding secular education—something that was unavailable in Pest’s Jewish schools but that

⁵⁴ Andrew A. Bonar and Robert Murray McCheyne. *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co., 1849), p. 321.

greatly appealed to many Jewish families in the city. Additionally, the school admitted students free of charge. The Chief Rabbi of Pest vehemently opposed the formation of the school and, in order to remain competitive, offered to admit students to the Jewish school gratis as well. Yet, for many Jewish parents, the prospect of giving their children a secular education in pre-emancipation Hungary was too enticing to refuse. Ultimately, nearly 375 Jewish students would attend the mission school.

Jewish emancipation in Hungary in 1867 sent the Scottish mission in Pest on a downward spiral, however. Suddenly conversions dropped drastically—Jews no longer needed to become Christian in order to succeed in secular civic society. As Jewish schools became more progressive and education in Hungarian schools became more accessible, Jewish parents no longer felt the need to send their children to the mission school. By 1880, when a massive wave of Jewish immigration began to come forth from Eastern Europe, it was clear that the mission's era of success had passed.

A mission was also established in Constantinople in the year 1842. As was the case in Pest, Scottish missionaries in Constantinople set up a first-rate school that attracted a significant number of Jewish pupils. Although Scottish missionaries remained active in Constantinople for several decades, their schools, which accounted for much of their activity, were ultimately eclipsed by those established by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Then in 1877, the Russo-Turkish War forced the Scottish missionaries to flee the country. Though they returned to their mission a year later, their evangelistic ambitions were never fulfilled.

It is important to note that in 1843 a tremendous schism occurred in the Church of Scotland. Moderates and Evangelicals in the Church had long debated the issue of

patronage, the controversial practice supported by the Moderates of giving wealthy parish patrons the right to choose ministers. In a dramatic departure which came to be known as the Disruption, 474 Evangelicals—roughly 40 percent of the General Assembly—broke away from the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland. Here the Evangelicals would be able to implement their vision of a democratic Presbyterian polity. Every single missionary (most of whom were also ministers), sided with the Evangelicals and joined the Free Church. Thus, it is important to realize that the missions discussed here came under the control of the Free Church after the Disruption of 1843.

Following the decline in their foreign mission success, Scottish Christian missionaries realized they needed to refocus their work. As Jewish immigrants flooded into Scottish cities, a move back to the home front seemed the next logical step.

CHAPTER 2: FROM THE HOLY LAND TO THE HOME FRONT, 1880-1914

THE FREE CHURCH'S MISSION IN PALESTINE

By 1880, the future of international Scottish missions to the Jews looked bleak. The ability of the Free Church of Scotland's mission in Pest to attract and convert Jews had rapidly declined following Jewish emancipation in 1867. In Constantinople, Jewish families who had previously sent their children to the schools run by the Scottish mission found the new Alliance Israélite Universelle schools a far more attractive option. In spite of these challenges, the dream remained to open a Scottish mission to the Jews in Palestine. "The purpose to begin missionary work among the Jews in Palestine, although long in abeyance, was never forgotten,"⁵⁵ one Scottish missionary later reflected.

In 1883, Dr. James Hood Wilson, the convener of the General Assembly's Jewish Mission Committee, visited Palestine. Upon his return, he recommended that a mission to the Jews be established at once in the Holy Land. However, a suitable location needed to be found and premises would have to be obtained.⁵⁶ This was no small task.

Jerusalem, as the spiritual center of the Jewish world, seemed an obvious location. The city, however, was already home to a Protestant mission to the Jews, and it was the practice of the Committee not to intrude in the missionary territory of another Protestant

⁵⁵ William Ewing. *Our Jewish Missions Vol. I: The Holy Land and Glasgow* (Edinburgh: The Jewish Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1914), p. 7.

⁵⁶ Norman L. Walker. *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1895), p. 177.

denomination. This custom, known as “comity,” was designed to maximize Christian evangelical efforts over the largest geographical area possible.⁵⁷ The Committee contacted Kaloost Vartan, an Armenian-born, Edinburgh-licensed physician who had been living and practicing medicine in Nazareth since 1861, to ask for his insight on possible mission locations. He reported that northern Palestine was well-populated by Jews, but had few Protestant missions. He also suggested that a medical mission in particular would flourish in Palestine where modern health facilities were generally limited.

After taking Vartan’s recommendations into account, the Committee decided that Safed would be a prime location for a Scottish medical mission. Additionally, the four ministers who had traveled to Palestine in 1839 on the Mission of Inquiry had been captivated by the mystical city’s beauty and pleasant climate. In late 1884, the Committee appointed Dr. David Watt Torrance, a recent graduate from the University of Glasgow Medical School, to serve as the new mission’s first head, and hired James Wells, a Glaswegian minister, to assist him. While the two made plans for their departure, the Committee received news that the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, another Protestant mission, had just sent its own missionary to Safed. The London Society suggested that a Scottish mission instead be established in Hebron.

Despite this setback, the Committee decided to send Torrance and Wells to Palestine in the hope that they would find a suitable location for the mission. The two examined Hebron, but concluded that the city’s large Muslim population would hinder the success of a mission to the Jews. Finally, it was decided that Tiberias would be a

⁵⁷ Michael Marten. *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home: Scottish Missions to Palestine, 1839-1917* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), p. 210.

suitable site.⁵⁸ On the western banks of the Sea of Galilee (which had tremendous biblical significance for the missionaries), the city was home to 5,000 Jews and had no Protestant mission.⁵⁹ Torrance and Wells returned to Scotland in the early summer of 1885. The Committee decided that Torrance alone would journey back to Palestine to serve as the Free Church's medical missionary.⁶⁰

In late 1894, the Committee dispatched Torrance, hoping he would be able to find suitable premises in Tiberias once he arrived. He stopped in Constantinople on his way so that he could obtain an Ottoman medical license, and finally arrived in Palestine in January 1885. Torrance spent a number of months shadowing Vartan at his Nazareth hospital and learning Arabic. In September 1885, Torrance, with the help of Vartan, found a site in Tiberias—a house rented from the city's Chief Rabbi.

Vartan had given the Committee wise advice about the viability of a medical mission. What secular education had been for the Jews of Pest and Constantinople, modern medical services became for the Jews of Tiberias. The medical mission initially succeeded in attracting many Jews, particularly those who had immigrated to Palestine from European countries with more advanced medical facilities. With the assistance of the Glasgow Ladies' Association of the Free Church of Scotland, a school was also opened. In 1888, William Ewing, a newly ordained minister from Glasgow, was sent to join the mission in Tiberias. Under his leadership, a mission branch was opened in Safed in 1889 after he was able to convince the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews that the “work of...the two Christian agencies [would]

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁹ Ewing, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

⁶⁰ Marten, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

conspire instead of [conflict].”⁶¹ In 1901, the Committee took over a mission in Hebron which had previously been maintained by the Mildmay Mission, a small, non-denominational English evangelist society.⁶²

Despite the mission’s development and ability to attract Jews to its hospital, not a single Jewish convert to Christianity was made until 1895—a decade after the mission’s inception. In that year, James Cohen, who immigrated to Palestine from Russia at the age of 13, was baptized in the Free Church. The mission’s lack of success, especially in comparison to the missions in Pest and Constantinople, can in part be attributed to its inability to promise potential converts a satisfactory means of earning a living after conversion. Jews who converted to Christianity were ostracized from their community. In Palestine, in particular, where Jews would have associated almost entirely with co-religionists, finding work and a welcoming community after leaving Judaism was nearly impossible. The Scottish missionaries were certainly aware of this situation, although their efforts to remedy it failed. After Cohen’s conversion, the missionaries made plans to build a trade school for new converts. However, they were outbid (by Franciscans, much to their chagrin) on the tract of land that they had hoped to develop for this purpose. No other site was sought out after this setback.

Another explanation for the mission’s inability to make converts was the very character of the Jews of Palestine. On the 1839 Mission of Inquiry, the four Scottish ministers had learned from an English missionary stationed in Jerusalem that the Jews of Palestine were the “*élite* of the devotional and strictly religious Jews of other

⁶¹ Norman L. Walker. *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1895), p. 177.

⁶² Marten, op. cit., pp. 67-69; 100.

countries.”⁶³ The rabbis of Palestine were very fierce in their threats of *cherem* (excommunication), particularly against those who sent their children to the mission school. “A curse from the Rabbi pronounced on any parent letting his children go to the school...emptied [it],”⁶⁴ a missionary magazine noted at the time. As had been the case in Constantinople, when the Alliance Israélite Universelle opened its own school in Tiberias in 1910, the mission school soon lost the small number of Jewish pupils it had been able to retain.⁶⁵

It seems that seeking treatment in the mission hospital was tacitly approved in the Jewish community. According to a missionary record, Torrance even treated a rabbi in Tiberias. Although the rabbi had originally been adamant in his opposition to the mission hospital, after Torrance was able to cure him successfully of an “inflamed throat,” the rabbi “never since opposed the Medical Mission.”⁶⁶

THE ROLE OF HEBREW-CHRISTIANS IN THE SCOTTISH MISSIONARY EFFORT

Out of the efforts of Protestant evangelization emerged a unique group of individuals—the Hebrew-Christians. While an entire Jewish family occasionally converted to Christianity, new converts were most often single men. These Hebrew-Christians, as they came to be known, found themselves in a difficult limbo—they were shunned by the Jewish community and, at the same time, only tentatively accepted among Christians. Setting out and starting a successful new life as a Protestant was often unrealistic. For example, a Jew in Islamic Constantinople did little to change his status

⁶³ Bonar and McCheyne, op. cit., p. 168.

⁶⁴ “Work Among Jewesses: Tiberias.” *The Women’s Missionary Magazine of the United Free Church of Scotland*. No. 1 (January 1910), p. 63.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ewing, op. cit., p. 11.

by converting to Christianity. The inability to offer converts a promising *temporal* future was one of several factors that contributed to the failure of the Palestine mission.

It is not surprising then that many Hebrew-Christians turned to mission work and the ministry. Most significantly, these Hebrew-Christians became instrumental in the effort to evangelize other Jews. For example, brothers Philipp and Adolph Saphir⁶⁷ converted in the Scottish mission in Pest in 1843. Philipp went on to study education in Germany and returned to Pest in 1846 to run the mission school.⁶⁸ Adolph traveled to Scotland soon after conversion. There he studied theology in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, was ordained in 1846, and went on to serve as a missionary to the Jews for the Belfast Presbytery.⁶⁹ Alfred Edersheim, a Viennese-born Jew, also converted in the Pest mission in 1843. He later studied at Aberdeen and became a well-known biblical scholar.⁷⁰ Alexander Tomory, another convert from Pest, became one of the Free Church of Scotland's key missionaries in Constantinople. While serving in the Ottoman capital, Tomory oversaw many conversions, including that of Elieser Bassin.

Born in the city of Mogilev (present day Belarus), Bassin moved to Constantinople in 1869 in search of adventure. Warned by fellow Jews about the Scottish missionaries working in the city, Bassin was nevertheless interested in their activities. "An unconquerable feeling of curiosity arose within me. What are

⁶⁷ Adolph Saphir has been referred to as Aaron Saphir. See Kenneth Collins. *Be Well! Jewish Immigrant Health and Welfare in Glasgow, 186-1914* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2001), p. 157.

⁶⁸ Ábrahám Kovács. *The History of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews in Budapest and its Impact of the Reformed Church of Hungary*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006. p. 106.

⁶⁹ Carlyle, E.I. "Saphir, Adolph (1831-1891)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

⁷⁰ S. R. Driver. "Edersheim, Alfred (1825–1889)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

missionaries? What are Protestants?”⁷¹ he later reflected. Bassin arranged a meeting at the Scottish mission and after roughly ten weeks of religious study with Tomory, he was baptized.⁷² “After my baptism,” wrote Bassin, “I could no longer refrain from proclaiming the Gospel to my Jewish brethren.”⁷³ He went on to serve as a missionary for the London Jewish Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews in St. Petersburg and later, in Bucharest. He first visited Scotland in August 1878 and wrote that it was his “great desire to be connected with the Free Church”⁷⁴ as a missionary. Finally in 1885, Bassin returned to Scotland and was appointed as the first director of the Scottish Home Mission to the Jews in Edinburgh, a position he held until his death in 1898.⁷⁵

Another prominent Hebrew Christian missionary was Leon Levison, who was born in Safed in 1881. Levison’s mother Miriam came from a family of wealthy traders who had owned vineyards in Palestine for generations. Levison’s father Nahum was a revered and beloved rabbi in Safed. He was also apparently a close friend of Sir Moses Montefiore, who, on one of Nahum’s visits to Great Britain, arranged a meeting for him with Queen Victoria. Soon after his son’s birth, the elder Levison was appointed as the Palestinian representative to the Jewish communities in “Italy, France, Austria, Great Britain, Northern and Southern Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Bosnia, and America.”⁷⁶

⁷¹ Elieser Bassin. *The Modern Hebrew and the Hebrew Christian* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1882), p. 140.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁷⁵ Albert Edward Thompson. *A Century of Jewish Missions* (Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell and Company, 1902), p. 113.

⁷⁶ Frederick Levison, *Christian and Jew: The Life of Leon Levison, 1881-1936* (Edinburgh: The Pentland Press Ltd., 1989), p. 5.

As a teenager, Leon Levison secretly frequented the Free Church's mission in Safed in order to learn English. He also attended school to study agriculture. Well-versed in Torah, Levison later began having theological discussions with Dr. George Wilson, a Scottish missionary who had worked for the Free Church in Palestine since 1893.⁷⁷ Ultimately, Levison became convinced that he wanted to become a Christian. "I gave my heart in secret to the Lord Jesus and tried to serve and follow him," he later remembered. "After several months of this concealed belief I came to the conclusion that I must make an open confession."⁷⁸ Soon after admitting to his family his new spiritual convictions, Levison immigrated to Scotland where he would go on to become one of Edinburgh's most active missionaries to the Jews.⁷⁹ Bassin and Levison, among other Hebrew-Christians, would come to figure prominently in the history of Jewish-Christian relations in Scotland at the beginning of the 20th century.

NEW IMMIGRANTS, NEW MISSIONS: 1880-1892

"Of all the ugly things that have come to the surface during the recent stirring of the depths of Russian society, there is none less able to bear the light than the barbarous treatment to which the Jews have been subjected over a great part of the Empire,"⁸⁰ read an 1882 article in *The Scotsman*, a widely read Scottish newspaper that was founded as a weekly in 1817 and published daily starting in 1850. Scotland, like many other western nations, felt the indirect effects of the persecution of Russian Jewry. The 1880s brought a wave of immigration to the country which dramatically increased its Jewish population.

⁷⁷ Marten, op. cit., p. 75.

⁷⁸ Levison, op. cit., p. 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 7-19.

⁸⁰ *The Scotsman*, Thursday, January 12, 1882, p. 4.

Before the 1880s, the Jewish communities in Edinburgh and Glasgow had been relatively homogenous. Most Jews were of German or Dutch origin, were relatively wealthy, and held respectable jobs in business or medicine. Both cities had one central synagogue which served the community, with an occasional congregational break occurring over halakhic issues, as had happened in Edinburgh in 1833 and in Glasgow in 1842. In both instances, communal disagreements were settled within a few years and unity was achieved once again.⁸¹ However, with the advent of Jewish immigration to Scotland from the Russian Empire, different congregations were formed that better served the changing population. The year 1880 marked a new era of diversity in the history of Scottish Jewry.

The Jewish community in Edinburgh had worshipped since 1868 at Ross House on Park Place.⁸² In 1880, however, a second, separate synagogue was founded on Caledonian Crescent in the Dalry section of the city. Many of the original congregants of this small synagogue, which came to be known as the Dalry Synagogue or the *Blecheneh Shul*, had moved from Eastern Europe to Edinburgh via Manchester in order to work in the city's growing waterproofing industry. This synagogue operated until the beginning of World War I. An additional congregation consisting mostly of new immigrants was founded in 1890 and was officially called the Edinburgh New Hebrew Congregation. Most of its Yiddish speaking congregants, however, referred to it as the *Greener Shul*. The Edinburgh Jewish Board of Guardians was also founded in 1890 in order to provide for the city's growing immigrant poor.⁸³

⁸¹ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 23.

⁸² Levy, op. cit., p. 18.

⁸³ Collins, *Go and Learn*, op. cit., p. 60.

Glasgow, too, was affected by the increase in Jewish immigration. Glaswegian Jewish families who had resided in the city for several decades tended to live near the new Garnethill synagogue built in 1879. The Glasgow Jewish Board of Guardians and Philanthropic Society, tasked with caring for the city's Jewish sick and poor, kept its offices in the synagogue. Throughout the 1880s, however, new Jewish immigrants tended to settle in poorer areas of the city south of the River Clyde, particularly in the Gorbals district. As a result, more and more of the Board of Guardian's cases were located away from the nucleus of the original Jewish community. Dr. Middleton, the group's head medical officer, was forced to resign in 1881—his frequent journeys to the south side of the city took too much time away from the rest of his work. In his place, the Board of Guardians appointed Dr. Morton who maintained a surgery in the Gorbals and lived in the nearby Crosshill district of the city.⁸⁴ For much of the 1880s, the Board of Guardians apparently did a respectable job caring for the city's Jewish poor, as well as immigrants who stopped over in Scotland on their way to North America. A "Dictionary of Glasgow" published in 1884 described the Society: "The object of this society is to relieve poor Jews resident in Glasgow, or casual visitors. No Jews are allowed to beg."⁸⁵ The dictionary (which is more aptly described as a society directory or city guide) also included the following observation:

The rate of criminality among the Jews is almost *nil*; indeed, no better-behaved class of people will be found in the city; and some of them have risen to wealth and distinction in municipal life, although the majority of them are poor. There are, however, few, if any, paupers among them, as they are careful to provide for their poor, the...Philanthropic Society...spending annually £300 for this purpose.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 43.

⁸⁵ Charles Kirkwood. *Kirkwood's Dictionary of Glasgow and Vicinity* (Glasgow and Edinburgh: John Menzies & Co., 1884), p. 153.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

The first Jewish congregation in the Gorbals was founded in 1880. The congregation was originally known as Chevra Torah and then later as the Commerce Street Synagogue. It earned the nickname the “Tailor’s Synagogue” because of the profession of many of its members. Around the same time, an additional small congregation known as the Rutherglen Loan Chevra was founded. It was attended by immigrant Jews who worked as peddlers and were often poorer than the congregants from the Commerce Street Synagogue.⁸⁷ While the congregation in Garnethill remained stable in population, the continued influx of new immigrants to the Gorbals caused the Jewish community south of the River Clyde to increase greatly. Concerned about the growing polarization in the community between the established Jews of Garnethill and the new immigrants on the south side, Garnethill leaders scrambled to find ways to unify Glasgow Jewry in order to maintain authority. Many thought that the Commerce Street Synagogue was an embarrassment and represented the Jewish community poorly in Glaswegian society. The Garnethill Synagogue, on the other hand, was a grand, purpose-built structure, designed by a prominent non-Jewish architect and most of its congregants were well-to-do members of society. Unifying the community into one congregation in Garnethill was never realistic—too many Jews lived too far away. Ultimately, an agreement was reached in 1884 between the Garnethill leadership and members of the Commerce Street Synagogue that the latter would become the Branch Synagogue, an offshoot of Garnethill. From then on, the two synagogues were unified, known collectively as the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation. After the merging, Garnethill took over responsibility for the Branch Synagogue’s property and religious services, which as a result became more anglicized. Rev. E. P. Phillips, who had been appointed minister to

⁸⁷ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

the Garnethill synagogue in 1878, was recognized by the British Chief Rabbi as the new head minister of the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation. Phillips worked to maintain Jewish solidarity in Glasgow until his retirement in 1929. A small minority from the former Commerce Street Synagogue did not join the new union, instead eventually merging with the Rutherglen Loan Chevra in 1887. In 1886, the Branch Synagogue moved to larger premises in Standard Hall on Main Street in the Gorbals.⁸⁸

After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, and later with the passing of the May Laws in 1882, Jewish immigration to Scotland further increased. Scottish Jews were certainly not the only group in Scotland that made efforts to accommodate the new immigrants. Scottish missionaries were fully aware of the challenges faced by poor Jewish immigrants new to the country.

Individual ministers were known to have preached to passers-by in the Gorbals as early as 1884.⁸⁹ In October 1885, the Scottish Home Mission to the Jews was founded in Edinburgh under the jurisdiction of the Free Church “on account of the steadily increasing Jewish immigration, and [was] designed to take care, not only of the Jews settled in the city, but also of such as are going through the country on their way to America.”⁹⁰ Elieser Bassin, the Hebrew-Christian who had converted in the Scottish Mission in Pest, was appointed as the first director.

In 1890, the Jewish Evangelical Mission in Glasgow was founded. The mission was non-denominational, and Rev. Aaron Matthews, a Jewish convert to Christianity, served as the first director. The mission’s premises were known as the “Hebrew Christian House” and were located on Abbotsford Place in the Gorbals. The mission held

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 50-55.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 72.

⁹⁰ Edwin Munsell Bliss, ed. *The Encyclopædia of Missions* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891), p. 510.

Bible classes, lectures, and religious services. It also assisted sick Jews with hospital admittance fees.⁹¹

In 1891,⁹² the Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Gospel among Foreign Jews, Seamen, and Immigrants was founded by the United Presbyterian Church under the leadership of Rev. John Blumenreich, a Jewish-born convert to Christianity. Blumenreich, a native German speaker, had worked for many years in Edinburgh as a minister for German immigrants, many of whom were non-Jews. This new mission, aided by Blumenreich's linguistic abilities and knowledge of Judaism, aimed to evangelize German-speaking Jewish immigrants docking in Leith (Edinburgh's port).⁹³

Not every Christian working among the Jews at this time sought to convert them. For example, Rev. William Patterson, who was affiliated with the Free Church,⁹⁴ worked on the docks of Leith, assisting new Russian-Jewish arrivals. Paterson had an excellent relationship with the Jewish community—Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler even referred to him as “our worthy friend.”⁹⁵ Paterson's accounts of working on the docks were often published in *The London Jewish Chronicle*:

The poor people land in despair, expecting nothing but rough treatment, to which they have been accustomed. The little kindnesses shown them resemble a momentary gleam of sunshine on their dark lives.⁹⁶

Paterson also penned several letters to the *Scottish Leader* which were reprinted in *The London Jewish Chronicle*:

⁹¹ Ben Braber. *Jews in Glasgow, 1879-1939, Immigration and Integration* (London: Vallentine Mitchel, 2007), p. 95.

⁹² It is possible the society was founded earlier, but there are no known records of it before this date.

⁹³ “German Mission in Edinburgh and Leith.” *Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Synod* (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, January 1868), p. 273.

⁹⁴ “Corresponding Members of Presbyteries.” *The Free Church Monthly and Missionary Record*, January 1, 1884, No. 25, p. 23.

⁹⁵ “The Jews in Russia.” *The London Jewish Chronicle*. June 3, 1892, p. 15.

⁹⁶ “Latest Intelligence” in “Darkest Russia,” supplement to *The London Jewish Chronicle*, October 16, 1891, p. 4.

It is hard to think that all this suffering is in the name of what is called the Christian religion in Russia...The only Christianity which these Jews see there is a rude, uneducated Russian on the road-side on his knees, embracing a wooden cross, and kissing an image or a picture and then rising up to spit on the Jew and to curse him. It was a surprising thing for them to come into contact with our Scotch Christianity, and that a Christian minister was among them to express his deep sympathy.⁹⁷

Charles Petre Eyre, the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, was another Christian clergyman who did not seek to convert Jews but did support helping them for humanitarian and ethical reasons. Archbishop Eyre, like Paterson, was particularly concerned with the treatment of Jews in the Russian Empire and even attended Jewish protest meeting to demonstrate the Catholic Church's solidarity on the issue. In October 1892, on the 50th anniversary of Eyre's ordination, the Glasgow Board of Guardians and Philanthropic Society and a Glasgow branch of the Zionist group Chovevei Tzion gave an address in honor of the Archbishop. They commended him on the work of "truest philanthropy" that he conducted "without consideration of race or creed," particularly his "earnest advocacy of the claims of our oppressed brethren in Russia."⁹⁸ In response to the address, Eyre gave his own humble speech saying, "To know what has caused this compliment to be paid me by [the Jews of Glasgow] has been and is a puzzle to me...In thus raising a voice in favour of a body of persons persecuted because they are Jews, I have but acted according to the traditions [and] in the spirit of the Church, which I, unworthily represent here."⁹⁹ He then continued to explain a history of the Catholic Church and Jewish persecution, and said that he wished Jews to understand that laws

⁹⁷"Jewish Refugees (en route) at Leith," in "Darkest Russia," supplement to *The London Jewish Chronicle*, August 14, 1891, p. 9. Also cited in Collins, *Be Well!*, op. cit., p. 160.

⁹⁸ Cited in Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op cit., p. 72.

⁹⁹ Speech given by Archbishop Eyre. Archives of the Archdiocese of Glasgow, IP-E30/19/1.

enforcing the persecution of the Jews in Catholic society were “poisoned” “misrepresentations” of the true spirit of Catholicism.¹⁰⁰

Authentic concern for Jewish welfare, as exhibited by Paterson and Eyre, was not unusual among Scottish Christian religious leaders. For most late-19th century Scottish ministers, however, safeguarding the temporal welfare of the Jews went hand-in-hand with “saving souls” through their conversion to Christianity. It was relatively rare for humanitarian concerns to be unaccompanied by missionary drive, as was the case with Paterson and Eyre. The Scottish Jewish community had a good relationship with both clergymen (and a minority like them) and indeed commended and appreciated their work.¹⁰¹ Those ministers and missionaries who combined welfare work with evangelization were universally condemned by the Jews.

MORE MISSIONS AND THE INITIAL JEWISH RESPONSE: 1893-1900

Many of the new missions that were founded in Scotland in the 1890s and early 1900s were focused on providing medical care for new Jewish immigrants. Despite their humanitarian leanings, these missions considered the evangelization of Jews to be of chief importance, and as a result, clashed with the Scottish Jewish community. Ironically, as we shall see, it was often the presence of these missions that encouraged the Jewish community to develop its own welfare organizations that could compete with the services offered by the missions.

In 1893, the United Evangelistic Society, a non-denominational group founded in 1874 which ministered to Glasgow’s poor, established the Bonar Memorial Mission to

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ “The Jews in Russia.” *The London Jewish Chronicle*. June 3, 1892, op. cit.

the Jews. The mission was named in honor of Andrew Bonar, one of the four missionaries who went on the Mission of Inquiry in 1839. Meyer Herman, a Jewish-born convert to Christianity served briefly as the group's first missionary before he took up a post with the Free Church's mission in Constantinople. He was replaced by Rev. S. B. Rohold, a convert from Palestine who was friends with Leon Levison. Rohold later served as pastor of the "Christian Synagogue" in Toronto and president of the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America.¹⁰² The mission sought to evangelize the poorer Jews in the Gorbals and regularly held open meetings for Jews to come to discuss religious matters with missionaries, many of whom spoke Yiddish and had an extensive knowledge of Judaism.¹⁰³ According to missionary records, Jews did visit the mission—one source claims that 58 Jewish men and 5 Jewish women attended one meeting held in 1904.¹⁰⁴ But there are no available records that suggest any conversions were made.

In February 1894, the Jewish Literary Society in Glasgow held a meeting to discuss the Jewish community's growing concern over the missionary presence in the Gorbals. Several prominent members of the community attended and made speeches, urging Glaswegian Jewry to unite against the missionaries. Two weeks later, in response to the meeting, the Missionary Vigilance Society was formed. In April 1894, the Literary Society held an event at the Branch Synagogue at which "a Jew who had been baptized in a well-known Glasgow Church publicly declared his regret for having forsaken the ancient faith, and asked to be forgiven for his foolish act."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² S. B. Rohold. *The War and the Jew* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1916), Title page.

¹⁰³ Thompson, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

¹⁰⁴ Louis Meyer. "Jewish Missionary Notes from all Lands." *Salvation*. (New York: WM. Cowper Conant, 1904), p. 167.

¹⁰⁵ "Glasgow," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, April 13, 1894, p. 19.

Despite Jewish efforts in 1894 to curb missionary expansion through public protest, two more evangelistic societies were founded that year. The Church of Scotland had considered plans to hold “an annual lecture or course of lectures on the relations of Judaism and Christianity. Uncertainty as to funds prevented them from taking any practical action, but the subject [was] submitted to a sub-Committee for special consideration.”¹⁰⁶ There is no available evidence that the lecture course ever came to fruition. The Church did decide “that Jews in Scotland should not be over looked.”¹⁰⁷ Subsequently the Jewish Mission Committee, which occupied international Jewish mission stations in the Ottoman Empire, “warmly approved of a movement by ministers in Glasgow who had formed themselves into a committee to provide for and direct the work of a Jewish agent there.”¹⁰⁸ The Committee decided that the “responsibility for the agent and for all his operations [would rest] with the local Committee,”¹⁰⁹ though a year later it was voted to bring the mission back under the auspices of the Church Committee.¹¹⁰ This mission came to be known as the Scottish Home Mission to the Jews in Glasgow.¹¹¹ The “Jewish agent” referred to was Morris Michaelis,¹¹² a convert to Christianity who worked for the Church of Scotland until his death in 1914.¹¹³

Premises were obtained in 1896 in the Gorbals on Cumberland Street, and nighttime English classes were held there for newly arrived Jewish immigrants.

¹⁰⁶ “Jewish Missions Committee,” *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1894), pp. 374-375.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ “Jewish Missions Committee,” *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1897), p. 533.

¹¹¹ This should not be confused with the Scottish Home Mission to the Jews in Edinburgh which was founded under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland. It should also not be confused with the many other “Scottish Home Missions” which long existed in the country to evangelize groups besides the Jews.

¹¹² Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹¹³ Delevan L. Pierson, ed. “Death of Missionaries to the Jews,” *The Missionary Review of the World* (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1914), p. 943.

Missionaries also made house calls in order to discuss theology with any willing Jew. In addition to its “educational” services, the mission acted as a medical insurer for poor Jews who needed to spend time in the hospital. Upon admission to a hospital, those Jews would present a “letter of recommendation” or “letter of admittance” (essentially insurance papers) that promised the hospital that the mission would cover all accrued medical fees. A Ladies’ Benevolent Mission (as a subdivision of the Home Mission) was also founded. The volunteer group of women made “appeals for clothing and other necessities.”¹¹⁴ In 1897, Michaelis reported the following on the mission’s development:

The Hall is now open every night, and the attendance is not large but steady. House-to-house visitation is still the greater part of the work, and it is here that the seed is “sown in hope,” aided by Scripture and tract distribution, the “silent messengers” being left to tell their own story and accomplish the work for which they are purposed. Regular meetings are held on Saturdays and Sundays. Emigration of foreigners *via* Glasgow is almost at a standstill, so that only little is done in this branch of the work at present; but the Infirmaries (where numbers of Jews are treated on the recommendations provided by friends of the Mission) are regularly visited, as also occasionally the country towns in the West of Scotland where Jews reside.¹¹⁵

The mission also held annual soirees. The event in 1899 included “an eloquent address in German,” “songs and recitations,” and a projection show depicting “biblical subjects” that was narrated by Michaelis who gave “explanations in Yiddish and English.”¹¹⁶ This soiree was reportedly attended by approximately 50 Jews.¹¹⁷ It should

¹¹⁴ “Jewish Missions Committee,” *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1897, op. cit., p. 535.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 534. It should be noted that while Jewish immigration to Glasgow (as the final destination) continued into the 20th century, immigration elsewhere *via* Glasgow did not. “Indirect” immigration routes—that is, from a continental European port to an eastern British port to a western or southern British port (via train or other land travel) then on towards North America—were an affordable and common way for many Europeans to reach the New World. In Britain, Hull, Leith (Edinburgh’s port), and London were the major east coast ports, while Liverpool, Glasgow, and Southampton were the most common west and south coast ports of departure. Liverpool via Hull was the most common indirect British root for much of the 19th century. Southampton later emerged as the leading British port of departure after several transatlantic ship lines decided to depart from the city. See Tony Kushner, “From Atlantic Hotel to Atlantic Park: Anglo-America, Port Jews and the Invisible Transmigrant,” *Jews and Port Cities: 1590-1990* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), pp. 247-260; and Tony Kushner, “A Tale of Two Port Jewish Communities : Southampton and Portsmouth Compared,” *Jewish Culture and History*, 4,2 (2001), pp. 87-110.

¹¹⁶ “Among the Jews,” *The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Mission Record*. Vol. 24, 1899, p. 41.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

be noted that these Jews would not have been converts to Christianity (otherwise they would have been referred to as Hebrew-Christians).

The Edinburgh Medical Dispensary was also founded in 1894 under the auspices of the Free Church. It provided medical care for new Jewish immigrants arriving in Leith, most of whom went on to Glasgow or America. The dispensary was founded with the financial backing of Mrs. McIntyre.¹¹⁸ In 1898, the Scottish Home Mission to the Jews in Edinburgh merged with the Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Gospel Among Foreign Jews, Seamen and Immigrants, jointly becoming the Jewish Mission in Edinburgh. Two years later, the Jewish Mission in Edinburgh merged with the Edinburgh Medical Dispensary to become the Jewish Medical Mission in Edinburgh. Thus, in 1900, because of the unifications of Edinburgh's various Jewish missionary societies, the Jewish Medical Mission was the only organized evangelistic group remaining in the city. David Sandler, a convert from the Free Church's mission in Constantinople, began working as a missionary for the medical dispensary in 1897 and was retained after the merger in 1900. During Sandler's tenure with the mission, which lasted until 1904, he also pursued a degree from the University of Edinburgh. Several prominent Edinburgh physicians volunteered their time at the mission. The premises since 1900 were located at 15 Spittal Street, minutes from the Dalry Synagogue attended by Edinburgh's new Jewish immigrants.¹¹⁹

While the Jews of Glasgow organized public protests against the missions, there is no evidence of the same level of objection in Edinburgh. One possible explanation for this is that the majority of Jews who arrived in Edinburgh on the docks of Leith

¹¹⁸ Mrs. McIntyre's first name is not available in any known record.

¹¹⁹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

ultimately left, whether for Glasgow or beyond. Glasgow's Jewish population in 1902 had reached more than 7,000, while Edinburgh's came only to 1,000.¹²⁰ Glasgow's Jewish community may simply have been more vocal because of its size. Another contributing factor may have been the social separation in Edinburgh between the older, well-to-do Jewish families (whom the missionaries would not have targeted) and the new poorer immigrants, whose struggles made them prime candidates for missionary welfare services and evangelization. Most established families who had lived in Edinburgh for several decades worshiped at the Park Place Synagogue, and then after 1898, the congregation moved to a converted chapel on Graham Street. New immigrants attended the Dalry Synagogue or the Edinburgh New Hebrew Congregation. Glasgow's Jewish community was also separated geographically based on social class (between Garnethill and the Gorbals). However, under the dynamic leadership of Rev. E. P. Phillips, the majority of the community was united in 1884 as the Glasgow Hebrew Congregation. It thus became a priority for the *entire* Jewish community to combat missionaries. In Edinburgh, the poorer Jewish immigrants, without the help of the established community, generally did not have the means or resources to challenge missionary efforts, and, as we shall see, sometimes even welcomed them.

CHURCH UNIFICATION AND THE IMPACT ON MISSIONS

In 1899, three major Presbyterian churches existed in Scotland: The Church of Scotland, the Established Church, which was formed by John Knox during the Scottish Reformation; the Free Church of Scotland which broke from the Church of Scotland in the Disruption of 1843; and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland which was

¹²⁰ John Cosgrove, *op. cit.*

founded in 1847 after the merging of the Relief Church and the United Secession Church which broke from the Church of Scotland in 1761 and 1820, respectively. By the late-19th century, the extreme proliferation of missionary groups, most affiliated with one of these three churches, caused many Scottish Christians to question the practicality of such a decentralized approach to evangelization. The following excerpt is taken from a letter published in *The Scotsman* in 1876:

It humbly appears to me that, now so many abortive efforts have been made for what is called "Union," the time has come when co-operation in the foreign mission field might, with a fair prospect of success, be attempted by the various Presbyterian bodies. The world, it is true, is wide enough for each of these taking independent action; but it is unnecessary to point out the numerous and manifest advantages which would accrue from such co-operation. Already, the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Australia and in the Dominion of Canada has been consummated...No one who studies the question can, I think, fail to perceive that such action, if practicable (and I am of opinion it is perfectly so), would be highly expedient; for, although "the field is the world," and there may, therefore, be few cases of *overlapping*, the influence upon the heathen, and the Jews too, of our being able for the nonce to throw aside, or to at least keep in the background, those very shadowy differences which seem indigenous to Scottish soil, in order to present an unbroken front and a truly catholic spirit, would unquestionably, I think, be most beneficial.¹²¹

The bitterness that was once exhibited between members of the different churches (particularly in the years following the Disruption) had largely dissipated by the late-19th century. Many ministers and missionaries were well-respected beyond their own church. Indeed, some missionaries, as we have seen, even worked for more than one church's mission throughout their career. The unification of the United Presbyterian Church's Society for Promoting the Gospel among Foreign Jews, Seaman, and Immigrants with the Free Church's Scottish Home Mission to the Jews in Edinburgh in 1898 foreshadowed the two churches' ultimate unification in 1900. Together, the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church became the United Free Church of Scotland. Soon after, the Jewish Mission in Edinburgh united with the Edinburgh Medical Dispensary to become the

¹²¹ "Schemes of the Church of Scotland Jewish Mission," *The Scotsman*, February 3, 1876, p. 6.

Jewish Medical Mission. As a result, the United Free Church of Scotland controlled the sole mission to the Jews in Edinburgh. This did not remain the case for long.¹²²

In what came to be known as the “Free Church Case” of 1904, the House of Lords ruled in favor of a minority of Free Church clergymen who had refused to take part in the union with the United Presbyterian Church. The ruling gave the small group of protesting clergymen (nicknamed the “Wee Frees”) the right to all of the funds and properties that had previously belonged to the Free Church. As a result, the Jewish Medical Mission, whose employees all sided with the new United Free Church, fell into financial ruin. The mission was forced to become non-denominational in order to rebuild its capital. Despite this official change, the mission still reported to the United Free Church’s Jewish Mission Committee.¹²³

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDINBURGH JEWISH MEDICAL MISSION: 1903-1909

Leon Levison, who had decided to leave his family in Palestine and become a Christian, arrived in Edinburgh’s port only days before the death of Queen Victoria on January 22, 1901. Trained in Palestine to cultivate vineyards and olive groves, Levison found himself in a bitterly cold and foreign country without any useful job skills. With the help of Dr. Hood Wilson, the former convener of the Free Church’s Jewish Mission Committee, Levison found modest quarters in the struggling Fountainbridge neighborhood (near Dalry), home to many Jewish immigrants. Levison obtained a job working at the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens. Given his training, the idea seemed wise at first. However, the difficult physical labor required of him in the Scottish climate proved

¹²² Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-115.

¹²³ Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

too much for Levison. A member of Dr. Hood Wilson's church was able to procure a position for Levison at a biscuit factory. Levison found the manual labor challenging but stayed at the factory for two years. During that time, on June 16, 1901, he officially converted to Christianity. Soon after his baptism, Levison began visiting the Jewish Medical Mission to preach to the Jews who frequented the dispensary. He was officially employed in 1904, replacing David Sandler.¹²⁴

Levison began by teaching evening classes at the mission, but was eager for more contact with the wider Jewish community—not only the Jews who visited the mission. He asked permission to speak with all the Jewish patients at the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh's central hospital. In a note submitted to the mission and recorded in its minutes, Rev. R. Hernderson, chaplain of the Infirmary, wrote “that though Mr. Levison cannot be allowed to speak to any Jew whom he pleased there, he (the chaplain) would readily let Mr. Levison know of any of who might express a wish to see him.”¹²⁵

In October 1904, a Jewish immigrant was allegedly found dead in the Meadows, a large public park in Edinburgh, notorious for nighttime muggings and even murders. According to Levison, the deceased had come to him the previous day asking for money to buy food. Levison had given him two shillings, but later learned that the man, instead of spending the money on something to eat, had used it to pay his rent. Levison, assuming the man had thus died of starvation, appealed to the United Free Church's Committee for the Conversion of the Jews and to the Edinburgh Chief Constable to launch an investigation into the state of immigrant Jewish welfare in Edinburgh. The

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-27.

¹²⁵ “Records of the Edinburgh Jewish Medical Mission,” National Archives of Scotland, CH3/979/1, November 24, 1903, p. 90. The significance of this decision, and others like it, will be discussed at greater length in the section “Coercion versus Conviction: Exaggeration and the Facts.”

Chief Constable concluded that the Jews he had interviewed in his investigation (whose addresses were provided by Levison himself) were poor but not starving. Levison was not satisfied and argued that the Jews must have been afraid of being honest about their desperation. He resolved to launch his own investigation. With the Committee's approval, Levison hand-selected fourteen Jewish immigrants and interviewed them about their life in Edinburgh. The interviews, which appeared in *The Scotsman*, made clear that Levison was particularly concerned with exposing what he considered the blatant disregard of the Edinburgh Jewish Board of Guardians for its own people.¹²⁶ One interviewed Jewish immigrant claimed that his requests to the Board of Guardians for financial help were turned down. Several other immigrants said that they did not even bother applying to the Board of Guardians "as others who had done so got none."¹²⁷

In 1906, the mission moved to larger premises in Lauriston Place, close to the Graham Street Synagogue. Three years later, a Ladies Auxiliary of the mission was founded and worked to raise funds. Meanwhile, Levison, while continuing his missionary duties, enrolled in a course of study at the University of Edinburgh and married in 1908.

DEVELOPMENTS IN GLASGOW: JEWISH SELF-HELP, 1900-1914

The Jewish community in Glasgow continued to grow through the turn of the century. In 1900, two blocks of tenement housing were purchased on South Portland Street to serve as new premises for the burgeoning Branch Synagogue congregation. The site was occupied a year later and came to be known as the South Portland Street

¹²⁶ Levison, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

¹²⁷ "Jewish Refugees in Edinburgh," *The Scotsman*, December 16, 1904, p. 7.

Synagogue and later, the Great Synagogue. While a significant percentage of the Jewish population in Glasgow was still very poor, the continued immigration of impoverished Jews to Scotland greatly decreased following the passing of the Aliens Act in 1905.¹²⁸

The Jewish community in Glasgow already had an established tradition of supporting its own community welfare organizations. As we have learned, the Glasgow Board of Guardians oversaw the provision of charitable funds to the city's Jewish poor even before the advent of home missions. Many other Jewish welfare services, however, were founded in the 1890s and early 1900s in response to the challenges posed by missionary groups. In an ironic way, Glasgow Jewry thus owes the development of much of its communal infrastructure to the missions.¹²⁹

The provision of health services proved to be one of the greatest challenges faced by the Jewish community in Glasgow in the late 19th and early 20th century. For example, many poor Jews were unable to pay hospital bills. Some, in desperation, found themselves turning to the Jewish Evangelical Mission or to the Scottish Home Mission for financial assistance. In doing so, they became more vulnerable to evangelization. In 1899, the Glasgow Jewish Hospital Fund and Sick Visiting Association¹³⁰ was founded to counteract the efforts of the mission by providing financial insurance for Jewish medical care.¹³¹ Joseph Fox, the Association's president, wrote the following in *The London Jewish Chronicle* in 1911 detailing his group's progress:

It may interest...your readers generally to know that at one time almost all the letters for admission to the various hospitals were given to the Jewish poor by the missionaries. Since the inception of our Society, about ten years ago, nearly 1,500 letters for admission to hospitals and homes have been given out by the Society. Last year we sent 159 patients; one-third of our income is derived from our subscribers, in the shape of these admission letters

¹²⁸ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 179.

¹²⁹ Collins, *Be Well!*, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

¹³⁰ This group was later known as the Glasgow Jewish Sick Visiting Association.

¹³¹ Collins, *Go and Learn: The International Story of Jews and Medicine in Scotland*, op. cit., p. 62.

and larger money subscriptions, and two-thirds by penny subscriptions and small collections at family gatherings.¹³²

The Jewish community in Glasgow also countered the “intellectual” work conducted by the missionaries. The Bonar Memorial Mission and the Jewish Evangelical Mission’s Hebrew Christian House, for example, operated reading rooms where curious Jews could come and browse magazines and books, and discuss intellectual and theological matters with missionaries, many of whom spoke Yiddish. The appeal of these reading rooms should not be underestimated. They provided a much appreciated change of pace and atmosphere from a day of hard manual labor—not to mention they were likely better heated than most immigrant homes. In response to these missions, the Jewish community started two of its own reading rooms in 1900: The Zionist Free Reading Rooms and The Jewish Free Reading Room, both located in the Gorbals.¹³³

In 1910, missions to the Jews in Glasgow underwent a massive structural reorganization. It was decided at the World Missionary Conference, held in Glasgow that year, that all of the city’s Jewish missions would be amalgamated under the leadership of the Bonar Memorial Mission and the United Free Church. The architects of the plan hoped to maximize funds and foster unity among the missions. The new combined mission, named the Jewish Mission Committee, opened on Oxford Street in the Gorbals and held standard missionary religious services, study groups, and classes. The Jewish Mission Committee also oversaw the formation of several new mission clinics and dispensaries.¹³⁴

¹³² “Glasgow: The Purposed Jewish Medical Dispensary,” *The London Jewish Chronicle*, February 24, 1911, p. 13.

¹³³ Collins, *Be Well!*, op. cit., p. 165.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

Many in the Glaswegian Jewish community thought opening a Jewish dispensary was the only way to counteract the work of the missionaries. Furthermore, Jewish dispensaries already existed in many of the other urban centers in Britain with sizable Jewish communities. “The missionaries have a first-class medical dispensary and the services of the best doctors right in the midst of the Jewish poor,” wrote Joseph Fox. “It is to assist in counteracting their [missionaries’] influence and work that this dispensary is to be established. Added to this, of course, there is a benefit that the poor will have in being attended by those who will be able to speak with and understand them.”¹³⁵ While plans were being made for the dispensary, the Board of Guardians moved its offices from Garnethill to Apsley Place in the Gorbals (a wise decision given the Jewish population distribution by 1911—indeed it is surprising that this move did not occur sooner). The dispensary was at first temporarily housed at the office of the Board of Guardians, but soon moved to a permanent location on Abbotsford Place. A physician and a dentist were hired to staff the dispensary. Over the next several years, the popularity of the dispensary increased among the poorer Jewish residents in the Gorbals. Glaswegian Jewish financial support for the dispensary also grew.¹³⁶

Beyond competition with each other, both Jews and Christian missionaries considered their respective dispensaries to be important for the same reason. Critics—both Jewish and Christian—argued that there was no need for the dispensaries when such excellent hospital care already existed in the city. But Jews and Christian missionaries who supported the dispensaries thought that medical care tailored to suit specific Jewish needs was essential. “In the Mission’s dispensary,” an article in the Scotsman noted,

¹³⁵ “Glasgow: The Purposed Jewish Medical Dispensary,” *The London Jewish Chronicle*, February 24, 1911, op. cit.

¹³⁶ Collins, *Be Well!*, op. cit., pp. 168-170.

“[patients] were safe from insult as Jews, and as most of them were ignorant of the English language they could have their medical advice translated to Yiddish or from Yiddish to English.”¹³⁷ Jews, on the other hand, saw the provision of kosher food and having medical professionals who spoke Yiddish as essential characteristics of the Jewish dispensary.

COERCION VERSUS CONVICTION: EXAGGERATION AND THE FACTS

It is clear from their communal response that Jews in Scotland perceived missionary work as a genuine threat. Rev. E. P. Phillips once commented that “during a long experience with the missionaries he had never known a single case of conversion to Christianity from conviction.”¹³⁸ Scottish Jewry agreed with him and considered mission classes, dispensaries, clinics, and other welfare services to be coercive and subversive ways of attracting the vulnerable Jewish poor for evangelistic purposes. A common Jewish accusation was that missionaries cared little about the spiritual authenticity of potential converts and were merely concerned with baptizing as many Jews as possible. Missionary and Jewish records alike seem to indicate that, while many Jews visited the missions, only a handful of conversions were actually achieved. Of course, this fact alone does not necessarily speak to missionary intention. However, ample evidence from missionary sources emphasized the importance of a discerning approach to conversion, such as this record from the Church of Scotland:

It is very commonly assumed by those who are predisposed to disparage the Mission as uncalled for and hopeless, and barren of results, that the prime object of the missionary is to baptise professed converts. This interest, they think, is all in favour of increasing the number of baptisms. Because the baptisms are comparatively few, and occasionally some convert is

¹³⁷ “Medical Mission to Edinburgh Jews,” *The Scotsman*, March 24, 1905, p. 4.

¹³⁸ Collins, *Be Well!*, op. cit.

found to have been insincere, it is argued that the work is a conspicuous failure. It must, therefore, be made plain, that while the missionary is in the truest sense encouraged by every genuine conversion, his personal interest is to prevent the baptism of those who have selfish ends.¹³⁹

Additionally, Leon Levison was involved in several cases in which potential converts (whom he had recommended for baptism) were turned down by ministers due to a perceived lack of true spiritual conviction.¹⁴⁰ This attitude was not new to the Scottish churches, and many examples of similar situations involving potential converts can be found in the foreign missions of decades earlier.

It is understandable that Scottish Jews, more than any other group, were highly aware of mission activity and tended to interpret relatively small missionary successes as major threats to the Jewish community. Ultimately, these fears served them well. By the dawn of World War I, Jews in Scotland had put in place a strong, cohesive network of communal organizations. The community emerged from missionary evangelization efforts stronger than ever.

¹³⁹ "Jewish Mission Committee," *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1888), p. 316.

¹⁴⁰ Levison, op. cit., pp. 29-20.

CHAPTER 3: WORLD WAR I AND THE GROWTH OF ZIONISM, 1914-1927

WORLD WAR I

On August 4, 1914, Britain declared war on Germany and entered World War I. Leaders of Scottish Jewry felt that the community had a duty to show solidarity with its country. Soon after the war's outbreak, leaders of the Garnethill synagogue put together committees to organize fundraising efforts, clothing drives and youth drill training. Community-wide appeals, including a Jewish Forces Day and a Jewish Flower Day, raised money to contribute to the war effort. "Intercession services" became popular among both Jews and Christians. The first such Jewish service was held on September 27, 1914, with Rev. E. P. Phillips officiating. Money collected at the event was donated to the Belgian Relief Fund. "The singing of the British National Anthem and the playing of the Russian, Belgian and French national airs concluded the service."¹⁴¹ This fact is evidence of the Jewish community's desire to demonstrate its solidarity with the Triple Entente and other allied countries. The United Free Church also held intercession services throughout the war's duration. The subject of Jewish relief in continental Europe was regularly addressed.¹⁴²

While the war encouraged patriotism and awareness among Jewish and non-Jewish Scots alike, it also created several complex and at times contentious issues for the

¹⁴¹ "Glasgow," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, October 2, 1914, p. 14.

¹⁴² "Ecclesiastical," *The Scotsman*, May 5, 1916, p. 7.

Jewish community. Although most Jews in Scotland during World War I were originally from the Russian Empire, many had emigrated from Germany. The British government therefore classified them as enemy aliens, and many were consequently interned. The Jewish Representative Council, formed the previous year to foster unity between Glasgow's many Jewish organizations, took on the challenge of having the internees released and made citizens. The vast majority of interned Jews were released and given British citizenship by 1916. The Scottish Office gave permission to the Jewish Representative Council to take on the cause, apparently not considering it unpatriotic. Lord Dewar, a Scottish politician and Senator of the College of Justice (Scotland's supreme civil court), even "[expressed] satisfaction with work of the Council in this regard."¹⁴³

In March 1916, in an effort to protect its port and naval shipbuilding industry, Glasgow became an illegal city of residence for all aliens (German or otherwise). With the help of the Glasgow Police, the Jewish Representative Council organized declarations of nationality for nearly 2,000 foreign-born Jews.

ZIONISM AND A CHANGING SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JEWS

"Oh! when will this weary exodus close, and the poor Jews find a rest in the land of their fathers? Palestine seems the only solution of a very pressing question, and that in the name of humanity, European Governments must combine to find a speedy solution."¹⁴⁴ So wrote Rev. William Paterson in an 1893 letter to *The London Jewish*

¹⁴³ "European War," *The American Jewish Yearbook*, Vol. 18 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1916), p. 215.

¹⁴⁴ "Correspondence," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, August 4, 1893, p. 11.

Chronicle. By World War I, Zionist aspirations and an awareness of the Jewish plight in continental Europe were already well-known among Scottish Christians for decades.

As mentioned previously, Jewish suffering in Europe was often highlighted at intercession services. Many Scots felt that the war had further exacerbated an already terrible situation. In addition to the Jews of the Russian Empire who had long been subjected to persecution and pogroms, masses of Jewish refugees from Germany found themselves stranded and destitute. In May 1916, Rev. W. M. Christie, a minister from the United Free Church, returned to Scotland after spending six months in Russia trying to bring relief to Jewish refugees. At an intercession service held in Edinburgh, Christie reported that

The refugees...included all classes of Jews, from merchant princes to poor wayfarers, who had fled before the German armies, and the object of his work had been to assist in re-establishing the refugees by supplying them with clothing and equipment, so that they might be able to find work and to help themselves. Many of those whom he met wondered why the Jew was always suffering, and questioned him as to the possibility of Great Britain taking over the government of Palestine as a result of the war, and thereby opening up a way for the return of the Jew to the land of his ancestors.¹⁴⁵

Scottish Jews also fervently supported the notion of a Jewish homeland. A branch of Chovevei Tzion was founded in Glasgow in 1891 and worked to raise funds for Jewish refugee settlement in Palestine. The group was also known as the “Society for Colonising Palestine by Jewish Emigrants.” Those Scottish Jewish Zionists who belonged to Chovevei Tzion almost universally favored the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. However, until the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905, most members of the Jewish community were political Zionists who supported territorialism, the movement to find a Jewish homeland somewhere other than Palestine. British Colonial Secretary

¹⁴⁵ “Ecclesiastical,” *The Scotsman*, May 5, 1916, op. cit.

Joseph Chamberlain's Uganda¹⁴⁶ scheme, proposed in 1903, was backed by many Scottish Jews. They, like Theodor Herzl, considered Jewish settlement in British East Africa to be a temporary solution to the Jewish problem in the Russian Empire.¹⁴⁷ At the Sixth Zionist Conference held that same year, delegates debated whether or not to send a deputation to East Africa in order to evaluate its potential as a Jewish refuge. Despite tremendous opposition from Russian Zionists, a majority of delegates voted in favor of the motion. In 1904, however, the Uganda scheme collapsed when the British Foreign Office reversed its support under pressure from white settlers in Kenya. Months later, Herzl died suddenly at the age of 44. At the Seventh Zionist Conference, which convened in Basle, delegates voted to abandon territorialism and resolved to work towards the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.¹⁴⁸ In protest, Israel Zangwill and other supporters of territorialism seceded from the Conference and formed the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO).¹⁴⁹

The departure from territorialism split Scottish Jewry. For example, Dorshei Zion, a recently formed Glaswegian political Zionist organization which worked to bring Zionist activities into the synagogue, maintained its support for territorialism even after the Seventh Zionist Conference and aligned itself with ITO. This created considerable tension with Bnei Zion, another prominent political Zionist organization in Glasgow, which decided to follow the decision of the Zionist Conference to support the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Escalating violence against Jews in

¹⁴⁶ The proposed Uganda settlement was in fact the Guas Ngishu plateau in modern-day Kenya.

¹⁴⁷ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., p. 117.

¹⁴⁸ Isaiah Friedman. "Uganda Scheme." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2nd ed. Vol. 20 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), p. 225.

¹⁴⁹ Oskar K. Rabinowicz. "Territorialism." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2nd ed. Vol. 19 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), p. 649. ITO is the transliterated Yiddish abbreviation for the Jewish Territorial Organization. The group is also referred to as the Jewish Territorialist Organization.

Russia increased debate among Zionists in Scotland, and elsewhere, over the best solution to Jewish persecution.¹⁵⁰

Following the death of Dorshei Zion's dynamic vice-president Julius Pinto in 1911, support for territorialism in Glasgow declined. More and more Zionist organizations including youth groups, friendly societies, and a day school were founded that supported Jewish settlement in Palestine. By the dawn of World War I, the majority of Jews in Scotland had abandoned territorialism and supported a Palestine-based Zionism.

World War I brought Zionism to the forefront. Moreover, the movement united Scottish Christians and Scottish Jews. Scottish Christian expressions of Zionism and concern over the Jewish situation in Europe had often previously been accompanied by evangelistic zeal. Throughout World War I, however, these sentiments were expressed more and more frequently without the associated desire for Jewish conversion to Christianity. For example, an important public Zionist meeting, organized by the Jewish community, was held in Glasgow in September 1915. The Zionist leader Nahum Sokolow was the honored speaker. Also in attendance were several prominent Christian public figures including John McLeod, MP who "assured the meeting that the entire Christian people were sympathetic towards the scheme of relief, so much so that they had also formed committees to raise funds."¹⁵¹ Baillie Edward Rosslyn Mitchell, an Independent Labour¹⁵² politician, was also present at the meeting. According to *The London Jewish Chronicle*, Mitchell "emphatically denied that proselytism had anything to do with the scheme for relief already initiated, and caused great sensation when, in a

¹⁵⁰ Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op. cit., pp 123-124.

¹⁵¹ "Glasgow," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, October 1, 1915, p. 18.

¹⁵² Britain's Independent Labour Party was a socialist political party founded in 1893.

fervent outburst, he said: ‘If the Gospel of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, in which is reflected my life and soul, in any way means the extermination of Judaism, then better by far that it should be swept from the face of the earth into a bottomless pit!’¹⁵³

Baillie Mitchell’s comments represent an extreme version of a more subtle trend that was developing in the Scottish Christian consciousness in the early 20th century. The Zionism of most Scottish Christians, unlike that of Mitchell, must be viewed as a legacy of Scottish missionary efforts, even when expressed without the accompanying desire for Jewish evangelization. Central to Scottish missions to the Jews were millennialism and the belief that Jewish conversion to Christianity would play a critical role in the Second Coming. Also central to Scottish missions was a deep and authentic commitment to social justice. Millennialism and social justice were also fundamental elements of Scottish Christian Zionism. After the turn of the century, however, Scottish Christian leaders increasingly explained their support for Zionism as an expression of social justice rather than as a part of a millennialist theology.

Of course, some Scottish Christian Zionists—likely including the above mentioned Rev. Christie who was dispatched to Russia at the behest of the United Free Church of Scotland’s Jewish Mission Committee—supported the continuation of Jewish evangelization. In reality, however, Scottish churches found the practical execution of Jewish evangelization challenging following the start of World War I when the majority of missionaries were forced to flee continental Europe and the Ottoman Empire. As a result, those Christian leaders who previously had focused their energy on issues of Jewish evangelization *and* welfare increasingly found themselves preoccupied only with

¹⁵³ Ibid. Section of quotation also cited in Collins, *Second City Jewry*, op.cit.

the latter. This dedication to improving Jewish welfare was often expressed through Zionism.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

In 1848 Arthur James Balfour was born in East Lothian, Scotland. After the death of his father James Maitland Balfour in 1856, Balfour was raised by his mother Lady Blanche Balfour.¹⁵⁴ Balfour would leave Scotland at a young age to study at a preparatory school in Hertfordshire, England, but he was nevertheless greatly influenced both intellectually and spiritually by his mother.¹⁵⁵ Though raised in the Church of England, Lady Blanche enthusiastically brought up her eight children in the Church of Scotland and devoted herself to their education. “Mental and moral good were associated together in [Lady Blanche’s] mind with a wholly unusual closeness,”¹⁵⁶ wrote Rev. James Robertson, a Scottish clergyman and professor of oriental and Semitic languages at Glasgow University.

After completing his education at Cambridge, Balfour went on to serve as a Member of Parliament, prime minister (1902-1905), and leader of the opposition. In December 1916, he was appointed Foreign Secretary while David Lloyd George was prime minister. Zionist leaders Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow urged Balfour and the British Foreign Office to declare support for a Jewish state. On November 2,

¹⁵⁴ Lady Blanche Balfour was born Lady Blanche Mary Harriett Gascoyne Cecil, daughter of James Brownlow William Cecil, the second marquess of Salisbury. Lady Blanche’s brother Robert Gascoyne-Cecil, the third marquess of Salisbury, preceded her son Arthur James Balfour as prime minister of Britain.

¹⁵⁵ Ruddock Mackay and H. C. G. Matthew, “Balfour, Arthur James, first earl of Balfour (1848–1930).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁵⁶ James Robertson, *Lady Blanche Balfour: A Reminiscence*, (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1897), p. 33.

1917, a month before British troops took Jerusalem from the Ottoman Empire, Balfour issued a public letter addressed to Baron Rothschild:

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet. His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.¹⁵⁷

The Balfour Declaration, as it came to be known, was a watershed moment in the history of modern Zionism. Most British Jews, Weizmann the foremost among them, believed that a strong and lasting—even official—relationship with Britain would ultimately protect Jewish independence rather than infringe upon it. The World Zionist Organization's London Bureau released a Zionist Manifesto on December 21, 1917 in response to the Balfour Declaration which declared that “our loyal acknowledgment of the support of Great Britain must be spontaneous and unmeasured,”¹⁵⁸ and called Britain “the shield of civilization.”¹⁵⁹

The response to the Balfour Declaration in Scotland among Jews was very positive. Scottish Jews, like most Jews from Britain, celebrated the Balfour Declaration and the prospect of Jewish self-determination, but also expressed their thankfulness for British and Christian support and emphasized their commitment to maintaining ties with the British Empire. At a large meeting held in Edinburgh on November 19th, S. S. Stungo, a Jewish justice of the peace¹⁶⁰ from Edinburgh

¹⁵⁷ Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, ed., *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 582.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 584.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

¹⁶⁰ Cyrus Adler, ed., *The American Jewish Year Book*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1916), p. 213.

...said the momentous and historical declaration of the British Government in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a home for the Jewish people, had been everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. Such a declaration of practical sympathy had never before been made by any responsible Government, and it only remained for the Jewish people themselves to unite to achieve the realisation of their national aspirations. They had the sympathy of their fellow-citizens; in fact, he believed their Christian friends were, in many cases, more Zionist than the Jews. Many difficulties would have to be overcome before they reached their goal, but trials and troubles had never deterred their race in any undertaking, and with the help of the British Government and of the Allies they would succeed this time.¹⁶¹

Also in attendance at the meeting was Salis Daiches, then a rabbi in Sunderland in the north of England, who would later move to Edinburgh in 1929 and become the presumptive leader of Scottish Jewry. In front of the large attendance, Daiches said

...that this meeting of Edinburgh Jewish citizens offer their heartiest thanks to His Majesty's Government for their declaration in favour of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people." He continued to say that "this was not the first occasion on which they had to thank Britain. In other days, when they had been in trouble, whether in the East or West, it was Britain that their eyes were turned to ask for help, and they always obtained it, no matter what the reason for their suffering was, or how great was the oppressing Power...The great Empire which was opening up the way to the realisation of all their national hopes and aspirations would be repaid in loyalty and in service. When the war was over Palestine would be the great link between the three Continents, through it would run the railways connecting Asia and Africa; the imports and exports of the world would find their centre of exchange there; and Britain would find in them a bulwark for her highway of Empire and a guardian for the Suez Canal. In that way they would be able to repay Great Britain for all she had done for them."¹⁶²

Daiches, who is discussed at greater length in the next section, firmly held that the Jewish homeland in Palestine should become a dominion of the British Empire, much like Canada.¹⁶³ Given the pro-British leanings of Weizmann in London and many leading Jews in Scotland, including Stungo and Daiches, it is perhaps surprising that some Scottish Christians received the Balfour Declaration cautiously. Certainly many celebrated with their Jewish compatriots—the meeting described above was attended by many Scottish Christians. However, some Scottish Christians—particularly missionaries—worried about what would happen to their missions in Palestine if Jews

¹⁶¹ "Edinburgh Jews and Palestine," *The Scotsman*, November 19, 1917, p. 3.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Daiches, Two Worlds*, op cit., pp. 34-35.

there were allowed to establish an autonomous government. As a result, their millennialist convictions, which before the Balfour Declaration had been overshadowed by their commitment to social justice, became more pronounced.

While the Balfour Declaration was being prepared, the United Free Church's Jewish Mission Committee requested that the Foreign Office guarantee that the Scottish missions be allowed to continue their work without interference even if a change in Palestine's governance were to occur. The Committee was also concerned about the future rights of Hebrew-Christians living in Palestine. Balfour responded to the Committee's concerns, assuring it that he was "in full sympathy with the points raised in the request."¹⁶⁴ But the language used in Balfour's letter did not explicitly delineate how the future Jewish homeland in Palestine would be governed and who would have authority over such matters as mission work.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, although Britain was winning its battle against the Ottoman Turks in Palestine and the Allies were defeating the Central Powers on the continent, World War I was still not over. The future of Europe and former Ottoman lands remained uncertain.

In reality, most Scottish Christians assumed Britain would retain control of Palestine, envisioning it as a Jewish homeland and haven, preserved under the protection of the British Empire. Scottish newspaper articles from late-1917 and early-1918 reflect this sentiment. An article appearing in *The Glasgow Herald* stated that Zionists "are looking forward now...to the establishment of a Jewish State, under the suzerainty of

¹⁶⁴ United Free Church of Scotland Jewish Mission Committee, *Report on Jewish Missions*, 1918, p. 5 as quoted in J. H. Proctor, "Scottish Missionaries and the Struggle for Palestine, 1917-48," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (July, 1997), p. 613.

¹⁶⁵ J. H. Proctor, "Scottish Missionaries and the Struggle for Palestine, 1917-48," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (July, 1997), op.cit.

some strong Christian power.”¹⁶⁶ An article in *The Scotsman* described Zionism as “not so much political, or even religious, as ‘cultural’”¹⁶⁷ and Palestine as a future haven, but not necessarily an independent state, for Jews. Many Scottish Jews did not feel so differently—they believed that the future Jewish homeland should remain close to the British Empire, perhaps even, as Daiches suggested, become a dominion. They most certainly, however, would not have supported allowing missionaries to continue evangelizing Jews.

In January 1918, the United Free Church’s Jewish Mission Committee issued a resolution regarding Palestine which it forwarded to Balfour and Prime Minister Lloyd George. In the resolution

The Committee reminded the Government of the deep and long-continued interest which the Christian Churches of this country have had in the Holy Land, and of the manifold labours engaged in for the material, moral, and religious welfare of the peoples resident there, and they [urged] that in any future determination of policy His Majesty’s Government should consult the Christian Churches which have so vital a stake in the Holy Land. Further, the Committee, observing that Mr Balfour’s letter of November 2 “fails to take account of the formation of fresh non-Jewish communities, and, in particular, of members of the Jewish race becoming Christian, express their conviction that no establishment of constitutional authority in the Holy Land can be either desirable or just which fails to secure, under adequate guarantees (a) generally, the fullest civil and religious freedom for the adherents of all faiths equally; (b) specifically, the same equal rights and liberties for Christian Jews as for non-Christian Jews; and (c) particularly, that the Christian Churches be no less free than under Turkish rule to continue their missionary enterprise.”¹⁶⁸

The mandate system, outlined under the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 at the end of World War I, was received very positively by Scottish missionaries. Ratified by the League of Nations in 1920 and officially put in place on July 1, 1922, the British Mandate of Palestine marked the first time since the Crusades that a (mostly) Christian authority had control of the Holy Land. Winston Churchill’s White Paper of 1922

¹⁶⁶ Nahum Sokolow, *The History of Zionism, 1600-1918*, Vol. 2, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919), pp. 77-78.

¹⁶⁷ “A Dream,” *The Scotsman*, November 10, 1917, p. 6.

¹⁶⁸ “United Free Church and Palestine,” *The Scotsman*, January 17, 1918, p. 4.

reassured Scottish missionaries that freedom of religion would be maintained in Palestine.¹⁶⁹ While the White Paper called for only gradual Jewish immigration to Palestine, the British Jewish community generally welcomed it. Weizmann even personally wrote Churchill to thank him for his support of Zionism and for his role in “securing for the Jewish people the opportunity of rebuilding its national home in peaceful co-operation with all sections of the inhabitants of Palestine.”¹⁷⁰

SALIS DAICHES

In March 1919, Rabbi Dr. Salis Daiches took up residence in Edinburgh with his wife Flora and their three young children.¹⁷¹ Rev. J. Furst, who had served as minister of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation since 1879, had recently passed away. Daiches was hired to replace him.

Born in Vilna in 1880 into a prominent family of rabbis, Daiches attended a *gymnasium* in Königsberg, Germany and later enrolled at Berlin University where he studied philosophy. While in Berlin, Daiches also studied for the rabbinate at Hildesheimer seminary. He went on to receive his doctorate in Leipzig, writing his dissertation on the Scottish philosopher David Hume. In 1907, Daiches moved to London in order to conduct research on Kant and Judaism at the British Museum. Two years later, he married Flora Levin. The couple lived in Hull, Hammersmith, and Sunderland where Daiches worked as a rabbi, before settling in Edinburgh.¹⁷² Daiches’ intellectual

¹⁶⁹ Winston Churchill served as colonial secretary from February 1921 to October 1922.

¹⁷⁰ Letter of July 26, 1922 from Weizmann papers as cited in Martin Gilbert, *Churchill and the Jews: A Lifelong Friendship* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007), p. 85.

¹⁷¹ Daiches and his wife would have a fourth child after their move to Edinburgh.

¹⁷² Michael T. R. B. Turnbull, “Daiches, Salis (1880–1945),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

commitment to both Jewish and secular studies was an early indication of his progressive worldview. During his 26-year tenure as leader of Scottish Jewry, Daiches ushered in an unprecedented era of unity in the Jewish community and worked tirelessly to promote positive Jewish-Christian relations.

Much of what we know about Salis Daiches can be found in his son David Daiches' memoir *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood*.¹⁷³ The younger Daiches, who went on to become a respected professor of English and Scottish literature, fondly recalls in *Two Worlds* his unusual upbringing complete with Hebrew lessons, vacations in the Highlands of Scotland, Zionist youth group meetings, and golf games with his rabbi father. Salis Daiches had a great affinity for Scottish and British culture and believed that Scottish Jews should embrace fully both a Scottish and Jewish way of life. This attitude was reflected in his admiration for both Zionism and the British Empire.

Daiches saw the relative lack of Jewish unity in Edinburgh as a major problem that faced the community. In 1919, when Daiches arrived in Edinburgh, most of the older, established Edinburgh Jewish families worshiped at the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation on Graham Street. Newer immigrants to the city tended to worship at the Edinburgh New Hebrew Congregation, also known as the *Greener Shul*. Daiches' effort to unite the two congregations began even before his arrival in Edinburgh—his condition for taking the appointment in Edinburgh was that the offer be extended by both synagogues. He “would worship and preach on Saturdays at the Graham Street *Shul*, though he would visit the other...at regular intervals and preach there in Yiddish.”¹⁷⁴ In 1921, Daiches was finally successful in uniting the two congregations—the Edinburgh

¹⁷³ Also see David Daiches, *Was: A Pastime from Time Past*, (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1975), a humorous autobiographical book filled with unique literary musings and cultural observations.

¹⁷⁴ Daiches, *Two Worlds*, op. cit., p. 98.

New Hebrew Congregation closed its synagogue and joined the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation on Graham Street.

By the time Daiches took the position in Scotland, the Glaswegian Jewish community had put in place a strong network of communal organizations that provided needy Scottish Jews with alternatives to missionary welfare. These organizations had successfully eclipsed Christian missions to the Jews in Glasgow. However, Christian missions in Edinburgh still offered welfare services that the city's smaller Jewish community had not organized to provide for itself. Daiches considered the unchallenged work of the Edinburgh Jewish Medical Mission to be particularly problematic. He was infuriated when, a month after his arrival in Scotland, Leon Levison, the mission's Hebrew-Christian president, was knighted by King George V in recognition of the work he had done for the Russian Jewish Relief Fund, a government-administered charity supported by both Jews and Christians. British Jewry was equally as outraged. *The London Jewish Chronicle* referred to Levison as a "professional charity-monger"¹⁷⁵ and his knighthood as a "prostitution of honours."¹⁷⁶ Allegedly, Leon had raised funds and donated them to the Russian Jewish Relief Fund with the express purpose they be used for the evangelization of Russian Jews—a wish with which the Relief Fund apparently complied despite its stance as a purported non-partisan charitable group.¹⁷⁷

While Daiches, like most British Jews, emphatically condemned Christian missions and the misappropriation of charitable funds, he did so in a new and highly persuasive way. Daiches understood the complex nature of mission work and recognized that its appeal for many Scottish Christians was based on, as he put it, "genuine sympathy

¹⁷⁵ "The Prostitution of Honours," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, August 22, 1919, p. 14.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

and goodwill.” He argued, however, that the missions were both fundamentally un-Christian and un-British in spirit. “Attractions and temptations,” he wrote in an article about the Edinburgh Jewish Medical Mission, “which cannot in any way influence one’s religious convictions and theological conceptions are held out to the bodily afflicted among my people, by which their gratitude is earned, their sense of loyalty to their race and faith blunted, their conscience silenced, and their apostasy from the faith of their fathers secured. Can such a result satisfy a true Christian?”¹⁷⁸ wrote Daiches in an article on the Edinburgh Jewish Medical Mission which appeared in *The Scotsman*. “I know how hypocrisy is hated by all true Britishers. We all know what the British citizens and the British law think of the man who—e. g., tries to convince his fellow-men of the truth and soundness of his political views, and to obtain their vote at an election, by offering them material aid and monetary assistance...Ought not our religious life to be at least as pure as our political and social life?”¹⁷⁹

Daiches realized the importance of convincing not only Scottish Jews, but also Scottish Christians, to oppose the missions. Instead of making missions into a conflict between Christians and Jews, Daiches astutely made the issue one between the British (Jewish, Christian, or otherwise), on one side, and immoral hypocrites on the other. Daiches adopted a similar approach in his condemnation of anti-Zionists, stating that he did “not see how a Christian who believes in the truth of the words of the Prophets and Psalmists could be an opponent of Zionism and could even find fault with the British Government for encouraging Jewish immigration into Palestine.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ “The Edinburgh Jewish Medical Mission,” *The Scotsman*, November 15, 1919, p. 12.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ “Affairs in Palestine,” *The Scotsman*, April 14, 1921, p. 9.

As passionately as he condemned missions and anti-Zionism, Daiches praised Christians in his community whom he considered his partners in encouraging positive Jewish-Christian relations. His opinions, “always assuming the closest natural sympathy between Scottish Presbyterians and Jews,”¹⁸¹ were featured regularly in letters published in *The Scotsman* and, as a result, reached a large non-Jewish audience. Daiches’ son David wrote in 1957 that while confirming a train reservation at Waverly Station in Edinburgh, a railway official noticed his name and asked, “Any relation of the late rabbi? I always used to read his letters in *The Scotsman*.”¹⁸² Daiches’ efforts to promote positive Jewish-Christian relations materialized throughout the 1930s with the formation of several joint Jewish-Christian organizations and dialogue groups.

THE ABERDEEN JEW

On one occasion Isaac was asked: ‘If you hadn’t been born a Jew, Isaac, what nationality would you have preferred?’

‘I think,’ said Isaac, ‘I would have preferred to be an Englishman.’

‘Indeed,’ said his questioner, ‘why not a Scotsman?’

‘Ach vell you see,’ said Isaac, ‘that vood have been no change!’¹⁸³

This “joke” was published in 1927 with dozens of others like it in a small book entitled *The Aberdeen Jew*. Written by Allan Junior, the book contains a series of jokes featuring a fictitious Jew named Isaac Levi who lives in the city of Aberdeen. Junior mocks both Aberdeen, depicted as the lowliest and cheapest of Scottish cities, and Jews, depicted as the lowliest and cheapest of men. “Some irresponsible individual had affirmed,” he writes in his mock introduction, “that there are no Jews in the Granite City.

¹⁸¹ Daiches, *Two Worlds*, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Allan Junior, *The Aberdeen Jew*, (Dundee, Valentine & Sons: 1927), p. 5.

The statement has no foundation in fact. There is one. He cannot raise enough money to get out of it.”¹⁸⁴

A book review at the time noted that *The Aberdeen Jew*, “catchily printed with bold illustrations, and bound in a tartan wrapper...sells at 1s. 6d., and a dozen or two placed on show should quickly disappear.”¹⁸⁵ Published in both Dundee and London, the book was perhaps more popular in England where the ridicule of Aberdeen was not uncommon. In fact, an article published in *The Scotsman* in 1917 shortly after the Balfour Declaration, detailed a “humorous” meeting in the House of Commons: “The Prime Minister had a cordial cheer when he came in and took his place between Mr Bonar Law and Mr Balfour. He seemed in excellent spirits, and his colleagues were also in cheerful mood, which betokened no feeling of impending crisis. Indeed the House as a whole showed no signs of depression, and laughed heartily over small jests such as Mr Watt’s inquiry whether it was the case that, as the result of the new prospects in Palestine, the Jews were leaving Aberdeen.”¹⁸⁶

In any case, the book garnered very little attention from the Scottish Jewish community. Daiches commented on it more in a tone of bemusement than outright condemnation: “People persist in speaking of the miserly Aberdonian and especially of the avaricious Jew!” Besides this observation, there is no other known record of Jewish opinion at the time of *The Aberdeen Jew*. In retrospect, the book has often been called antisemitic, though, given its cultural context, it is perhaps better characterized as bigoted and distasteful “humor” rather than purposefully inflammatory antisemitism.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ “Book Overview,” *The Stationery Trades Journal*, 1927, p. 22.

¹⁸⁶ “Parliament in Session,” *The Scotsman*, November 15, 1917, p. 5.

Nevertheless, the book's illustrations¹⁸⁷ of an ugly hooked-nosed Jew committing a number of indiscretions are particularly disturbing and eerily similar to the Nazi propaganda that was soon to be spread throughout Germany.

¹⁸⁷ The illustrations were done by Gregor McGregor.

CHAPTER 4: GROWTH IN JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN SCOTLAND AMIDST THE RISE OF NAZISM AND WORLD WAR II, 1928-1945

MISSIONS TO THE JEWS AND THE DECLINE OF EVANGELIZATION: 1928-1937

World War I temporarily forced most overseas Scottish missions to close. However, after a decade of rebuilding, many of the missions regained considerable strength. “The conversionists in Hungary are extremely active in the last few months,”¹⁸⁸ reported *The Jewish Echo*¹⁸⁹ in June 1928 regarding the United Free Church mission in Budapest.¹⁹⁰ Christian missions to the Jews in Scotland also persisted. The United Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland began working together on missions to the Jews in Glasgow. Despite protest from the Jewish community over the knighting of Leon Levison, the Edinburgh Jewish Medical Mission continued to offer medical, educational, and religious services. The mission, which had first been run by the Free Church of Scotland and had then become non-denominational in 1903, was brought under the auspices of the Church of Scotland. Various reports on the progress of the Scottish missions seemed extremely promising; one stated that “never in the whole

¹⁸⁸ “Conversionist Activity in Hungary,” *The Jewish Echo*, June 22, 1929, p. 9.

¹⁸⁹ On January 6, 1928, *The Jewish Echo*, Scotland’s first English-language Jewish newspaper, published its premiere issue. The weekly was printed in Glasgow and was edited by Zevi (sometimes Zvi) Golombok. While Scotland had previously had several short-lived Yiddish-language newspapers (two of which were started by Golombok himself), Yiddish press never took hold. *The Jewish Echo* was a well received by the community and published weekly until 1992 when it was replaced by the Manchester-based *Jewish Telegraph*. See Braber, op. cit., p. 163.

¹⁹⁰ The cities of Pest, Buda, and Óbuda were unified in 1873 to form Budapest. Like many Europeans, the Scottish missionaries continued to refer to the city as “Pest.”

history of Christianity have more thought and prayer and energy been expended on the Jewish problem than today. Jewish missions have been more successful than is generally surmised, and in some countries within recent years, their success has been overwhelming.”¹⁹¹

In reality the alleged success of Scottish missions was far more complex. Starting in the 1880s, patterns of Scottish evangelical decline began to emerge. Over the next five decades, church service attendance and involvement in other religious activities significantly fell, particularly among the middle class. Perceived failures in evangelistic urban welfare initiatives (including the missions to the Jews in Edinburgh and Glasgow) caused many Scottish Christians to question the effectiveness of missions. After all, Scottish cities—particularly Glasgow—were still filled with poor Catholics and Jews unwilling to convert to Protestantism. Traditional evangelical notions of relentless self-betterment and social improvement through evangelization were superseded by a new social theology that promoted group rights and non-evangelistic social reform schemes. The rise of the labor movement in Scotland played an integral role in this shift. With these new changes, missions to the Jews continued, but their ardent supporters were increasingly marginalized from mainstream Scottish Christian religious life.¹⁹²

The steady decline in evangelicalism culminated in 1929 with the unification of the United Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland. The merging was a reunion—one that ended an 86-year schism between Evangelicals and Moderates that began with the Disruption of 1843. Following the reconciliation, the majority of Presbyterians of Scotland were once again members of the Established Church. The

¹⁹¹ “Among the Jews,” *The Scotsman*, May 15, 1928, p. 13.

¹⁹² Callum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*, (London: Methuen, 1987), pp.169-191.

Union was made possible with the passing of two acts: the Church of Scotland Act of 1921,¹⁹³ and the Church of Scotland (Property and Endowments) Act of 1925. The acts, which were passed by British Parliament and drafted by both the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland, were designed to protect the sovereignty of the Church in spiritual matters. The United Free Church viewed spiritual independence of the Church as a prerequisite for unification.¹⁹⁴

Church unification and the continued decline in evangelicalism had an enormous impact on missions to the Jews. These developments, combined with the political changes that had occurred in Europe and the former Ottoman Empire in the wake of World War I, created many new challenges for Scottish missions abroad. For example, in 1930, the Jewish Mission Committee¹⁹⁵ decided to end its 87-year mission in Constantinople. For a number of years after the war “the [missionary] work had gone on despite enormous difficulties made by the Turkish authorities,”¹⁹⁶ reported *The Scotsman*. “But more recently they have passed decisions which make further missionary work impossible.”¹⁹⁷ The Turkish government ruled that Scottish missionaries were only allowed to work among the British community residing in Constantinople.¹⁹⁸ The evangelization of Jews became illegal.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹³ In this act, the Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual were passed as law.

¹⁹⁴ Francis Lyall, *Of Presbyters and Kings: Church and State in the Law of Scotland*, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1980), pp. 66-68.

¹⁹⁵ The Jewish Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland joined with the Jewish Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland in 1929 when the two churches united.

¹⁹⁶ “Church of Scotland Work in Turkey,” *The Scotsman*, May 19, 1930, p. 8.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ The name of Constantinople was officially changed to Istanbul in 1930. Scottish sources referred to it invariably as both name for several years.

¹⁹⁹ The fact that the Jewish Mission Committee did not desperately attempt to find a way around the Turkish government’s new laws adds further confirmation of the Church’s declining commitment to missions. In the early years of the mission in Pest, where it was illegal for Protestants to evangelize, the Scottish missionaries came up with shrewd and clandestine ways to work around the law. For example,

Even the Scottish missionaries in Budapest, whose level of evangelistic activity had concerned British Jewry only a year earlier, faced challenges as their work was increasingly regulated by the Reformed Church of Hungary. The members of this church numbered second in population only to Hungary's Catholics. Before World War I, the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, which was generally intolerant of Protestant evangelization, had repeatedly made it difficult for the Scottish missionaries to operate freely and legally. In an effort to preserve their own mission, the Scottish missionaries had arranged to become a technical subdivision of the Reformed Church of Hungary, which was a state-recognized and protected religious group. The Scottish missionaries had not expected the seemingly clever arrangement to backfire.²⁰⁰ "It was [once] a distinctively Scottish mission,"²⁰¹ opined the author of a letter published in *The Scotsman*. "Now there is no Scottish side—or next to none. It is Hungarian in outlook, control, and government...Let the Church and State in Hungary take over formally, as they have taken over actually...and this will enable the Church of Scotland to attend to the development of evangelisation in the Holy Land, and so meet an imperial obligation."²⁰² Indeed, the Church of Scotland's missions in Palestine continued to operate freely under the British Mandate—their success, however, was still limited.

Changes to domestic Scottish missions to the Jews also occurred. In May 1932, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland voted to organize a special commission that would "conduct a survey of the whole Jewish field in Scotland...to consider all

they destroyed evangelistic documents and instead committed them to memory, and they worked hard to ingratiate themselves with the Reformed Church of Hungary which was recognized as a legal religious group by the House of Habsburg-Lorraine.

²⁰⁰ Kovács, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.

²⁰¹ "Points of View," *The Scotsman*, August 14, 1935, p. 13.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

aspects of the problem as it affects our own land.”²⁰³ The commission’s findings, reported in 1935, reflected the broad public opinion of evangelization’s ineffectiveness, and prompted the General Assembly to call for a significant restructuring of mission management. The Jewish Mission Committee, which had been the heart of Jewish missionary work in Scotland for nearly a century, was to be disbanded. The control of Jewish missions was to be transferred to the Home Mission Committee. Although this committee had been responsible for directing domestic missions to non-Jews (mostly Irish and Scottish Catholics), it had no experience evangelizing Jews. Leon Levison was particularly troubled by this development, though he passed away in 1936, a year before the General Assembly’s new rulings were finally implemented. Shortly before his death, Levison expressed his concern that the Home Mission Committee was “less aware that work among Jews [was] not the same as that among non-Jews in the community.” Levison’s statement reflects the long-held Scottish Church doctrine that the mission to the Jews belonged in its own special realm of sacred Church duties. For example, between 1834 and 1841, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland appointed committees to head up what it considered to be the five greatest Church causes of the day: Church Extension,²⁰⁴ Education, Foreign Missions, Colonial Churches, and the Mission to the Jews.²⁰⁵ Once the Home Mission Committee took charge of Jewish missions, it delegated responsibility for Jewish evangelization to Church parishes. This practice, known as the “parish approach,” allowed an individual congregation to decide whether or not it wished to participate in Jewish mission work. The fact that missions to

²⁰³ Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²⁰⁴ Church Extension was the movement to build new parishes in underrepresented or needy communities.

²⁰⁵ Stewart J. Brown, “The Ten Years’ Conflict and the Disruption of 1843,” *Scotland in the Age of Disruption*. Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 6-8.

the Jews no longer warranted their own committee confirms the changing role of the Jew in Scottish Christian religious consciousness.²⁰⁶

CHALLENGES FOR SCOTTISH JEWRY

When Salis Daiches arrived in Edinburgh in 1919, his first goal was to unite the city's Jewish community. He succeeded in doing so by 1921, but he continued to believe that there was still significant work to be done in building a cohesive Scottish Jewish community. He considered Glasgow's growing lack of religious and communal organization to be a major stumbling block. By 1928, Glasgow's Jewish population had reached 15,000 and continued to grow. The unity that had once characterized Glaswegian Jewry in the early 1900s was considerably challenged throughout the 1920s by the community's burgeoning population. "The number of its Synagogues and communal institutions is constantly increasing,"²⁰⁷ wrote Daiches. "The number and the intensity of the problems facing the community is increasing at the same rate."²⁰⁸ Daiches worried that, without central leadership to make important religious and communal decisions, Scottish Jewry—particularly in Glasgow—would fall into chaos. Furthermore, without strong Jewish unity, hope for positive relations with Scottish Christians was slim.

Another major issue facing the Scottish Jewish community was intermarriage. As the Jews integrated and succeeded in wider Scottish society, the rate of intermarriage grew. The Jewish community was particularly concerned over its young women

²⁰⁶ Levison, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

²⁰⁷ "The Need for the Religious Re-organization of Scottish Jewry," *The Jewish Echo*, June 29, 1928, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

marrying outside of the religion.²⁰⁹ Leaders of Glasgow Jewry used the threat of intermarriage as a way to persuade parents to support Jewish education for their children—especially their daughters. Zevi Golombok, the editor of the *The Jewish Echo*, noted in 1931 that “many Jewish children in Glasgow receive no Jewish education whatsoever. This applies particularly to girls, many of whom grow up without having learned even to read the Aleph Beth...No doubt, the growth of intermarriage in recent years is to a large extent due to this lack of Hebrew knowledge and literature.”²¹⁰ Golombok’s solemn warning was taken very seriously by the community. With the help of Glasgow public schools (where student bodies were in many cases nearly two-thirds Jewish), Golombok created a school Hebrew program. Ultimately five public schools in the Gorbals and surrounding neighborhoods adopted Golombok’s plan.²¹¹

By the end of the 1920s, the Scottish Jewish community found its relationship with Scottish Christians becoming increasingly complex. The two-dimensionality of Jewish-Christian relations that had characterized the late 19th century—that is, the struggle between the Jewish community and Christian missions—was giving way to a far more complicated situation.

Scottish Jews had to decide how best to approach the problem of the remaining missions in light of the fact that the majority of Scottish Christians no longer supported or were indifferent to Jewish evangelization. As we have said, Daiches openly condemned missions (often in letters to Scottish newspapers) while steadfastly maintaining that there

²⁰⁹ The rates for intermarriage from the early to mid-20th century in America was higher for Jewish men than for Jewish women. Traditional Judaism adheres to matrilineal descent—that is, only the child of a Jewish mother is Jewish. See Sylvia Barack Fishman, *Double or Nothing? Jewish Families and Mixed Marriage*, (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2004).

²¹⁰ Cited in Braber, op.cit., p. 65.

²¹¹ Braber, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

was an innate affinity between Presbyterians and Jews. Daiches also advocated a more proactive approach. In May 1928, he organized a country-wide conference of British Jews in London. The goal of the conference was to develop a unified plan to combat the lingering missions. In preparation for the event, a questionnaire was sent out to Jewish communities worldwide inquiring into the effects and influences of Christian missions in their respective regions. Records of the conference indicate that attendees directed most of their attention to overseas missions—particularly in Palestine. The conference ultimately resolved to continue developing plans in conjunction with important domestic and worldwide Jewish organizations including the Anglo-Jewish Association, B’nai B’rith, the World Zionist Organization, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle. The latter organization, which had already established Jewish schools that eclipsed those run by the missions, was deemed essential in the crucial fight against the evangelization of Jewish children.²¹² The fact that the conference focused almost exclusively on the role of foreign missions indicates that, even before Church unification and the disbanding of the Jewish Mission Committee, the influence and perceived threat of domestic missions was on the decline.

Although a precise figure cannot be given, the number of Jewish converts to Christianity that were made in domestic Scottish missions was undoubtedly small. Before his death in 1936, Levison regularly reported that the Edinburgh Medical Mission converted hundreds of Jews each year,²¹³ but these fantastic claims were disputed by both Jews and Christians. Even Levison’s own son remarked on his father’s tendency to

²¹² “The Conversionist Activity,” supplement to *The Jewish Echo*, May 10, 1929, pp. 1-8.

²¹³ Levison, op. cit., p. 236.

exaggerate and wrote, “Exactitude was not his strong point.”²¹⁴ An article in *The Jewish Echo* suggested that “to speak of the ‘conversion of Glasgow and Edinburgh Jews’ is—well, preposterous is hardly a strong enough adjective. We doubt if [they] could manage to establish a *Minyan* (ten) of converted Jews in Glasgow. And in Edinburgh [they] would likely find it difficult to convene a *Mezuman* (three) of proper *Meshumadim*.”²¹⁵

ANTISEMITISM IN SCOTLAND

David Daiches recalled in his childhood memoir *Two Worlds* that his father often declared that Scotland was “one of the few countries in Europe...where the Jews had never been persecuted.”²¹⁶ To a great extent, Daiches was right. While there were isolated exceptions, Jews had never been expelled from Scotland; the modern Jewish community had never been subjected to oppressive or discriminatory laws; and Jews lived in relative peace and harmony with their fellow-Scots. Beginning in the late 1920s, a noticeable rise in antisemitism occurred in Scotland. While these events were met with tremendous concern by the Jewish community, they did not represent an endemic Scottish prejudice or hostility towards Jews.

Controversy arose in 1929 when David Kirkwood, a Member of Parliament belonging to the Independent Labour Party, referred to Alfred Mortiz Mond as “that German Jew”²¹⁷ at a local political meeting held at the Dixon Halls in Glasgow. Mond, who had recently been given the peerage title Baron Melchett, had been born in Lancashire, England in 1868 and was a prominent Jewish politician, businessman, and

²¹⁴ Ibid, op. cit., p. 6.

²¹⁵ *Meshumadim* is the Hebrew word for apostates. “Missionary Work in Glasgow and Edinburgh,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 17, 1929, p. 3.

²¹⁶ Daiches, *Two Worlds*, op. cit., p. 92.

²¹⁷ “Mr. Kirkwood and the Jews,” *The Jewish Echo*, January 11, 1929, p. 5.

Zionist. Many Scots condemned Kirkwood for his words. One non-Jew and clear opponent of the Labour party included the following condemnation of Kirkwood in a letter written to *The Jewish Echo*:

Well, as Mr. Kirkwood was famed during the war as a gentleman who would neither work nor fight, I should suggest to your Jewish readers that they accept Mr. Kirkwood's approbrious statement as a specimen of the culture that the Jewish people might expect from him and his satellites if they had the power. The man deprecates another man's faith is no good to anyone, and, finally, if Mr. Kirkwood displayed the same ability in getting us unemployed ex-Service men a job, as he does keeping his own, he might be of some use to the country.²¹⁸

Another Labour politician (whose name is unknown) was reported to have made offensive gestures in an attempt to mock stereotypical Jewish body language at a 1931 election meeting in Glasgow. However, many other Scottish Labour politicians were outspoken friends of the Jewish community. Baillie John Henderson was an active supporter of Jewish branches of the British Legion.²¹⁹ Baillie Rosslyn Mitchell and John McLeod, both of whom are mentioned in Chapter 3, were opponents of missions and, during the 1930s, were active in protests against the persecution of Jews in Germany. Another Labour politician, Baillie James Watson, described as an "old-established friend of the Jews,"²²⁰ spoke at Daiche's installation in 1929 at the Edinburgh Freemason's Lodge.²²¹ Watson also disassociated himself from the Passfield White Paper of 1930 and "[expressed] the hope that the terrible error [would] be rectified in time."²²² This new British policy statement on Palestine, which was issued in response to the 1929 Arab

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ "Jewish Institute Re-union Dinner," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, December 7, 1934, p. 35; Braber, op.cit., p. 36.

²²⁰ "A Friend of the Jews," *The Jewish Echo*, October 31, 1930, p. 10. Also quoted from *The Glasgow Herald* in Braber, op. cit., p. 36.

²²¹ "Provincial News Items: Edinburgh," *The London Jewish Chronicle*, January 4, 1929, p. 29.

²²² "A Friend of the Jews," *The Jewish Echo*, October 31, 1930, op. cit.

riots, called for limiting Jewish immigration and maintained that the creation of a Jewish national home was not the central goal of the British Mandate.²²³

Isolated cases of bigoted and antisemitic politicians seemed all the more grave with the rise of fascism and Nazism. In 1932, Sir Oswald Mosley formed the British Union of Fascists (BUF). Mosley first capitalized on the issue of growing unemployment in Britain. He drew inspiration from Italian fascism. Benito Mussolini, whom Mosley had visited in 1931, even provided funding for the BUF. After Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, the BUF's rhetoric became increasingly xenophobic and antisemitic, isolating many of the party's more moderate supporters. Following the 1934 meeting at Olympia in London during which the paramilitary wing of the party (nicknamed the "Blackshirts" after their Italian counterparts) used what many perceived as excessive violence to silence protesters, support for the BUF declined and the party's rantings received less attention. By 1940, the party was outlawed and disbanded.²²⁴

Political parties that were sympathetic to fascism and Nazism were also formed in Scotland. The Scottish Protestant League, founded in 1920 by Alexander Ratcliffe, was a virulently anti-Catholic and antisemitic group. To the shock of the Jewish community, the party won six seats in the Glasgow municipal elections of 1933. Its constituents were mainly working-class Protestants, many of whom were unemployed. The party by no means represented the majority political mood in Scotland at the time. Most mainstream political parties distanced themselves from the Protestant League. Although the party claimed to represent Protestantism, most members of the Church of Scotland and other

²²³Daniel Efron, "White Papers." *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2nd ed. Vol. 21. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), p. 37.

²²⁴Richard A. Smith, "British Union of Fascists," *The Oxford Companion to British History*, Ed John Cannon, (Oxford University Press, 2009).

smaller Protestant denominations did not associate with the Protestant League. In fact many Scottish Christians developed closer bonds and demonstrated increased camaraderie and solidarity with the Scottish Jewish community throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

DEVELOPMENTS IN JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN SCOTLAND

“Scottish Christians are beginning to realise that they can do more good by helping the Jew to survive than by ‘saving his soul’ through conversion,”²²⁵ wrote Salis Daiches in 1930. This shift in religious consciousness became more apparent among many Scottish Christians with the rise of Nazism in Germany following Hitler’s ascension to power in January 1933.

Many churches began to open their doors and pulpits to Jewish religious leaders. Rabbi I. Goodman, of the Queens Park Synagogue in the Gorbals, was one of the first members of the Jewish clergy to give a sermon at a church. In May 1933 Rev. H. S. McClelland of Trinity Church²²⁶ invited the rabbi to present a lecture addressing the “libelous accusations” against Jews made by Otto Schlapp, a professor of German at the University of Edinburgh. The event drew such a large turnout of both regular Christian congregants and Jewish guests that “many were unable to gain admittance into the Church.”²²⁷ McClelland had previously spoken out against the Protestant League and Alexander Ratcliffe, saying, “He is absolutely on the wrong lines for he is simply

²²⁵ “New Year Message to Scottish Jewry,” *The Jewish Echo*, September 19, 1930, p. 3.

²²⁶ Trinity Church was part of the Church of Scotland.

²²⁷ “Rabbi Goodman Replies,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 5, 1933, p. 6.

endeavouring to stir up religious bigotry.”²²⁸ In introducing Goodman, McClelland “expressed the hope that further meetings of protest would be held throughout the land to do something to open the eyes of the Nazi leaders to the anger and bitterness which they were creating against themselves.”²²⁹

McClelland’s appeal for protests against the Nazis was answered just nine days later. A city-wide meeting objecting to “the German persecutions”²³⁰ was convened in Glasgow “entirely by non-Jews [and] was attended by a very large gathering representative of every religious denomination and interest in the city.”²³¹ The list of attendees included some of Glasgow’s most prominent politicians, professors, businessman, and clergymen including A. B. Swan, Lord Provost of the Glasgow Town Council, who presided; William Smith, the Deputy-Chairman of the town council; Dr. W. L. Levack, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Glasgow; Father E. Lawton who represented the Catholic Archdiocese in Glasgow; and James Gilchrist, Convener of the Glasgow Trades House, one of the oldest and most prominent guilds in the city. Glaswegian politicians John McLeod and Rosslyn Mitchell were also present. The

²²⁸ Cited in Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace*, (Essex: Anchor Brendon, 1987), p.140. In 1934, McClelland would cause a stir after returning home from a diplomatic visit to Germany during which Nazi officials presented him with letters allegedly from prominent German Jews that claimed there was no persecution of the Jews in their country. McClelland apparently believed this information and repeated it in an article written for a Scottish newspaper. Two years later, he gave an impassioned retraction at his church in front of an audience of both Christians and Jews. *The Jewish Echo* reported that: “Now...he realized what a fool he had been, and he publically admitted with all humility that he was wrong and that his critics were right. In the light of what had happened since his return from Germany, in view of the continued cruelty of the Nazis towards unoffending Jews, he was firmly convinced that the hundreds of letters that he had been shown were either forgeries or had been extracted at the pistol point. Again Mr. McClelland declared with deep feeling the words, ‘I was a fool.’” See “The Rev. H. S. McClelland Retracts,” *The Jewish Echo*, January 17, 1936, p. 3.

²²⁹ “Rabbi Goodman Replies,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 5, 1933, op. cit. For a similar perspective on such protests in America, see Stephen H. Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-35.

²³⁰ “Glasgow’s Vigorous Protest Against the German Persecutions,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 12, 1933, p. 4.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

meeting unanimously approved the following resolution and forwarded it to the prime minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the German Ambassador:

This meeting, presided over by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and representative of the religious, civic, and commercial life of the city, protests against the persecution and discrimination under which the Jews in Germany are suffering, and in the name of humanity and international good will appeals to the German Government to take such measure as will cause such persecution and discrimination to cease.²³²

In response to the meeting, Joseph Sachs, the president of the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council wrote:

The Glasgow Jewish Community thanks the Right Hon. The Lord Provost Alexander B. Swan for presiding at the above protest meeting... The Jewish community appreciated the fact that it was important that the mind of Glasgow should have been expressed in the general abhorrence of the persecution of Jews living in Germany and protest made to the necessary quarters.²³³

The meeting opened a floodgate—protests, conferences, gatherings, and speeches addressing the issue of antisemitism soon abounded. Ministers gave sermons to their congregations protesting the treatment of Jews in Germany and warning against the sin of antisemitism;²³⁴ Christian and Jewish university student unions joined forces to sponsor lectures on antisemitism;²³⁵ even London followed the example set by Glasgow and organized a mass meeting of the city's leaders to protest the persecution of the Jews.

Jewish clergymen continued to give lectures in Scottish churches. As the relationship between Scottish Jews and Christians grew and developed, so too did the content of the lectures. While antisemitism remained a central issue, Jewish clergymen also began addressing Church congregations on Zionism, Palestine, and other aspects of Jewish history and culture. For example, Rabbi Goodman gave a lecture at the Adelaide Place Baptist Church Literary Society “on the subject of modern Palestine as an

²³² Ibid.

²³³ “Protest Meeting Against Persecution of Jews in Germany,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 12, 1933, p. 5.

²³⁴ See “The Persecution of the Jews,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 19, 1933, p. 2.

²³⁵ See “Address on Anti-Semitism at University Union,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 26, 1933, p. 7.

expression of Jewry's power to contribute to the advancement of civilization."²³⁶ Rev. Dr. I. K. Cosgrove, who was hired in 1935 to replace E. P. Phillips as leader of the Garnethill Synagogue, became a regular guest lecturer at churches and other Christian and secular organizations in Scotland.²³⁷ Soon after his appointment, Cosgrove was asked to preach at an Armistice Day Service held at the Erskine Church of Scotland in the small, rural North Lanarkshire town of Shotts. Cosgrove entered the church after the Lord's Prayer was recited. Out of respect for his Jewish guest, the church's minister Rev. John Beaumont led the congregation in the recitation of passages strictly from the Old Testament, and all hymns were taken from Psalms. During his sermon, Cosgrove "recited the Chief Rabbi's Armistice Prayer and pronounced the Aaronic Benediction." After the service, Rev. Beaumont said, "It [is] unique in the annals of the Church of Scotland that a Jewish Minister should preach in a Christian Church."²³⁸ We in Shotts are proud to be thus privileged and we shall take his words to heart."²³⁹

Not every lecture given by a Jewish clergyman at a church went so smoothly. In December 1935, Trinity Church in Glasgow organized an interfaith service featuring sermons on Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism. The goal of the service was to promote "the idea that God is the Father of all men, and that though men worship Him in many ways, and under many names, it is the All Father to whom all hearts aspire." Cosgrove was set to present a sermon on Judaism. Hyder Hussein, a leader of the Muslim community, was to give the lecture on Islam. The

²³⁶ "Rabbi Dr. Goodman Addresses the Cathedral Baptist Church Literary Society," *The Jewish Echo*, November 15, 1935, p. 4.

²³⁷ Braber, op. cit., p. 38.

²³⁸ This, as we have seen, was not entirely true—congregations from other Christian denominations invited Jewish clergymen to speak at their services.

²³⁹ "Rev. Dr. Cosgrove at Shotts Armistice Service," *The Jewish Echo*, November 15, 1935, p. 6.

progressive organizers at Trinity Church were unaware that 250 supporters of the Scottish Protestant League had made plans to attend and disrupt the service by walking out of the church in protest of the presence of Cosgrove and Hussein.²⁴⁰

Even though members of the Scottish Protestant League had been the only protestors, the event made the Scottish Jewish community uneasy. *The Jewish Echo*, which had in the past proudly reported each time a Jewish clergyman gave a sermon at a church, briefly espoused a more cautious stance toward the whole phenomenon following the incident at Trinity Church. “We are not over-enthusiastic about Jewish ministers preaching at churches,” the paper reported. “It is also questionable whether the practice shows much tact in view of the fact that the congregants of a church can scarcely be expected to be as broadminded as their spiritual leaders.”²⁴¹

The sense of unease in the Jewish community that followed the incident was made worse by the continued rise of antisemitism in continental Europe, the growing prospect of another war with Germany, and the fear that many foreign-born Jews in Scotland had of being declared enemy aliens. Scottish Jews continued to protest antisemitism and Nazism, but their sense of precariousness contributed to their decision not to advocate military intervention. In an effort to safeguard the Jewish community’s position in Scotland, the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council developed a four-point plan in September 1936 that was designed to assure Scottish society that Jews were committed and loyal citizens and residents of the country. The plan’s four points included: demonstrating to society that the Jewish community was law-abiding; refuting

²⁴⁰ “Dr. Cosgrove to Preach at Trinity Church,” *The Jewish Echo*, December 20, 1935, p. 4; and “The Trinity Church Incident,” *The Jewish Echo*, January 10, 1936, p. 4.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

ties to Bolshevism; continuing to foster close ties with local politicians and law enforcement; and developing strong bonds with the Church.²⁴²

In late October 1938, members of the Glasgow Christian Auxiliary Movement and the Glasgow chapter of B'nai B'rith held a meeting during which they decided to form a Jewish-Christian Society. A similar group already existed in London. The Auxiliary's chairman Rev. S. T. Stradford presided over the meeting. *The Glasgow Herald* reported that the new society "owes its origin to a number of Christians who felt that the present persecution of Jews and the rapid development of anti-Semitic propaganda was a definite challenge to their faith."²⁴³ It was decided that future meetings would feature lectures given by Jews and Christians on "various aspects of Jewish and Christian questions."²⁴⁴

Cosgrove, who was vice-president of Glasgow's B'nai B'rith, was also present at the meeting. In a speech he declared that he believed "ignorance of Jewish religion, of Jewish ideals, and of the Jewish mode of life, was undoubtedly at the root of anti-Semitism, for if people realised that the Jews' beliefs and aims were much the same as anyone else's, and if they knew what tremendous contributions Jews had made towards the progress of humanity, they would have no further cause for animosity."²⁴⁵ This view, perhaps naïve in retrospect, echoed the four-point goals set forth by the Jewish Representative Council in 1936. The gravity of the situation in Europe was not lost to Cosgrove, however. He added that "if people remained unenlightened on these points, there was a very real danger that they would fall victims to Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda.

²⁴² Braber, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁴³ "Jewish-Christian Group Formed in Glasgow," *The Glasgow Herald*, December 1, 1938, p. 9.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ "Fellowship of Jews and Non-Jews," *The Jewish Echo*, November 4, 1938, p. 4.

The Nazis had openly proclaimed a campaign of organized hate, and wherever the shadow of the crooked cross had fallen, the Jewish position had deteriorated.”²⁴⁶

Cosgrove’s warning came only days before Kristallnacht.

Jews and Christians in Edinburgh followed the example set in Glasgow and established their own interfaith group called the Jewish-Christian Fellowship in January 1939. Daiches hosted the first meeting at the city’s B’nai B’rith Lodge (of which he was president), but “the initiative,” he noted, “had come from their Christian friends, and was largely due to the Rev. Magnus R. Nicolson, of Fountainhall Road Church. He added that they as Jews gladly responded.”²⁴⁷ The defeat of antisemitism was named one of the new group’s chief goals.

The escalation of violence against Jews in Germany and Austria prompted many Scottish Jews to become involved in refugee aid. “Ten Jewish refugee children, most of whose fathers are in concentration camps in Germany, will find new homes with Glasgow people when they arrive in the city to-night from London,”²⁴⁸ reported *The Glasgow Herald* on December 22, 1938. The foster care effort was organized by the Glasgow branch of the Jewish German Aid Committee. A month later, the Committee acquired a hostel adjacent to the Garnethill Synagogue that was capable of accommodating 30 refugee children. It also organized a meeting with representatives from the Scottish Christian Council for Refugees in the hope that the two organizations could work more closely.²⁴⁹ The President of the Council Rev. R. Clephane Macanna

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ “Jews and Christians,” *The Scotsman*, January 14, 1939, p. 16.

²⁴⁸ “Glasgow Homes for Young Refugees,” *The Glasgow Herald*, December 22, 1938, p. 2.

²⁴⁹ “Refugee Hostels in Glasgow,” *The Jewish Echo*, January 6, 1939, p. 11.

believed that “Jews and Christians could find one way of coming together in the common work of succouring refugees, both Jewish and Christian.”²⁵⁰

In light of the Jewish refugee crisis, Scottish Jews found the British Government’s announcement of the Malcolm MacDonald White Paper in May 1939 to be appalling. The policy statement on Palestine unequivocally retracted British support for a Jewish state and sharply reduced further Jewish immigration. The Church of Scotland also condemned the White Paper of 1939. At a General Assembly meeting during which the Church issued its official denouncement, one minister declared, “The White Paper is the death of Jewish hope and Jewish longing, and I am sure it is also the death of Jewish trust in the integrity and sanctity of the British world.”²⁵¹

The Church of Scotland also increased its protest of antisemitism and Nazism in the months leading up to Britain’s declaration of war. Individual ministers regularly gave impassioned sermons on the topic. An official statement released by the Church reflects the changing position of the Jew in the Scottish religious consciousness:

The Nazi persecution of Jews has blackened the repute of Christendom and has debased the whole morale of Christian peoples and betrayed its highest tradition. . . . Beyond all anticipation of what persecution in its recklessness might do, the worst of perils ever dreamed of has been surpassed, and such an avalanche of trouble has swept over the Jewish people that the Church’s relation to them can no longer be thought of as simply the relation of a Christian missionary Church to a non-Christian people, but as the relation of the Church to a great political, racial, and humanitarian problem.²⁵²

As Salis Daiches had already reflected in 1930, the Church was coming to realize that it could do more for the Jews by saving lives than by saving souls.

²⁵⁰ “Jews and Christians,” *The Scotsman*, January 14, 1939, op. cit.

²⁵¹ “White Paper Denounced by Assembly of Church of Scotland,” *The Jewish Echo*, June 2, 1939, p. 3.

²⁵² “Debasing Morale of Christian Peoples,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 19, 1939, p. 13.

JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN WARTIME SCOTLAND: 1939-1945

On September 3, 1939, Britain declared war on Germany. The rhythm of daily life in Britain was disrupted as soldiers deployed and civilians adapted to air raids, evacuations, rations, and other wartime changes. The Scottish Jewish community, like the rest of the population, keenly felt these changes. Soon after the start of the war, strict regulations regarding synagogue services and air-raid warnings were issued. Jewish children were evacuated from urban areas in Operation Pied Piper, and leaders of the community made every effort to make sure that Jewish education and kosher food were available for the young evacuees. Members of the Jewish-Christian Society in Glasgow decided to “temporarily discontinue their meetings owing to the present emergency.”²⁵³ The group reconvened in April 1940.

The Jewish-Christian Fellowship in Edinburgh continued to hold regular meetings throughout the war. In December 1939, a lecture was given on “Jewish-Christian relations as affected by the war.”²⁵⁴ The meeting in January featured a lecture by psychoanalyst Dr. K. M. Abenheimer on “psychology and social groups.”²⁵⁵ In March, Rev. G. H. C. MacGregor, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at the University of Glasgow, presented a lecture on antisemitism and how Christians could combat it.²⁵⁶

Despite the impressive strides that had been made in Jewish-Christian relations and the outspokenness of MacGregor and countless others against the persecution of Jews, antisemitic incidents increased in Scotland following Britain’s declaration of war. For example, in November 1939, “malicious damage was done to a number of Jewish

²⁵³ “Society of Christians and Jews,” *The Jewish Echo*, September 13, 1939, p. 8.

²⁵⁴ “Jewish-Christian Relations,” *The Jewish Echo*, December 1, 1939, p. 5.

²⁵⁵ “Psychology of Social Groups,” *The Jewish Echo*, January 26, 1940, p. 9.

²⁵⁶ “How Christians Can Combat Anti-Semitism,” *The Jewish Echo*, March 8, 1940, p. 4.

shops in Glasgow and extensive anti-Jewish propaganda appeared on Jewish-owned property during the black-out at the week-end.”²⁵⁷ Approximately twenty windows were smashed, and eighty others were defaced with swastikas. The story of the event was widely reported, crossing the Atlantic to newspapers including *The New York Times*²⁵⁸ and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*.²⁵⁹ Police suspected that “some fanatical individual,” rather than a gang, was responsible for the crime. Politicians and Christian clergy were quick to condemn the vandalism.

Scottish Jews, like Jews in many other countries during the war, were accused by some for being responsible for both the current conflict and World War I. Daiches responded to these charges while giving a lecture at a meeting of the Jewish-Christian Society in Edinburgh, saying, “There is no more absurd a myth.”²⁶⁰ He added that “there were certain views that both Christians and Jews held in common. These included the belief that war in itself was abhorrent.”²⁶¹ Daiches continued, however, by declaring that “The God of Israel demanded that those who served Him should fight for justice and humanity. When they saw a despot arise and trample upon all the principles of humanity it was their bounden duty to try to stop the tyranny.”²⁶²

Daiches and other Jewish leaders were ardent and proud supporters of national service and encouraged the Jewish community to demonstrate their loyalty to Britain and “answer the call to duty.”²⁶³ In February 1940, a young man from Glasgow became the

²⁵⁷ “Swastikas Scratched on Windows,” *The Jewish Echo*, November 10, 1939, p. 5.

²⁵⁸ See “Glasgow Jews Victims; Swastikas Cut on Windows of Stores in Mid-City,” *The New York Times*, November 7, 1939, p. 21.

²⁵⁹ See “Store Windows in Glasgow Engraved with Swastikas,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 7, 1939, p. 4.

²⁶⁰ “An Absurd Myth,” *The Jewish Echo*, February 2, 1940, p. 5.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

first Scottish Jew to request status as a conscientious objector, claiming that the Sixth Commandment (“You shall not murder”) prevented him from killing regardless of the circumstance. Cosgrove appeared before the Conscientious Objectors’ Tribunal in Scotland both to refute the young man’s reasoning and to provide reassurance that the Jewish community was committed to military service. Cosgrove “emphasized that although the love of the Jew for peace was proverbial, they had a strong sense of loyalty and duty towards the country, and had offered their services to the allies in this struggle for justice and liberty as they had done in the Great War.”²⁶⁴ Cosgrove himself would later temporarily leave his post at the Garnethill Synagogue in order to enlist as a Senior Jewish Chaplain to the Armed Forces.

Another significant problem facing the Jewish community in wartime Britain was internment. Adult male refugees and residents who had been born in Germany or Austria and had not yet been made citizens were classified as enemy aliens. “General internment was now the policy of the Government, and exemption from internment was the exception,”²⁶⁵ reported *The Jewish Echo*. However, “within that framework, the Home Office had intimated that certain categories of German and Austrian civilian internees were eligible for reason.”²⁶⁶ The recently established Glasgow Jewish Refugee Committee organized a subcommittee to aid in the processing of internee applications for release. The Scottish National Council for Refugees assisted the subcommittee.

Refugees and resident aliens who were not interned—mostly women and children—were prohibited from residing in “protected areas.” The British government considered these zones, which were often near military training sites or on the waterfront,

²⁶⁴ “Judaism and Conscientious Objectors,” *The Jewish Echo*, February 2, 1940, p. 5.

²⁶⁵ “Interned Refugee,” *The Jewish Echo*, August 16, 1940, p. 4.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

significant to national security and required all enemy aliens living in them to relocate. For instance, one Jewish refugee named Ingrid Wuga, who arrived in Britain on the Kindertransport as a teenager and was later joined by her parents, recalled having to leave the Scottish coastal town of West Kilbride with her family when it became a protected area in 1940. “[West Kilbride] became protected...near the sea—not that we would have sent any signal to Germany. Anything but. But we had to leave. And Glasgow was the nearest place,” she said. Wuga found the community in Glasgow “very kind...there was a refugee committee and we went there and they were very helpful. They found...my parents a job and there was a girls’ hostel...where I stayed for a while and you made friends and you found a youth club. It took off from there.”²⁶⁷

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In December 1941, the systematic murder of Jews in the gas chambers of Nazi death camps began. Though news had reached Scotland of the horrors committed by the Einsatzgruppen and of the massive numbers of Jews dying from hunger, exhaustion, and abuse in the concentration camps, it took nearly a year and hundreds of thousands of murdered Nazi victims before reports surfaced about the gas chambers. At a meeting held in London in November 1942, “more than 10,000 Jews and non-Jews of British and Allied nationality assembled in Albert Hall...to voice their protest against the ruthless policy of extermination decreed by the Nazis and their satellites against the Jewish population in all territories under their sway.”²⁶⁸ As the full extent of the atrocities committed was realized, it no longer was sufficient to condemn Jewish persecution alone.

²⁶⁷ “Ingrid Wuga, Tape 57,” Acc 11307/57, National Library of Scotland, Manuscripts Collection, pp. 877-878.

²⁶⁸ “Nazi Atrocities Condemned,” *The Jewish Echo*, November 6, 1942, p. 9.

The Final Solution had been implemented—the Nazi goal was the complete annihilation of the Jewish people.

A mass demonstration, similar to the one in London, was organized in Glasgow in December 1942 and was attended by “more than two thousand Glasgow citizens, Jewish and non-Jewish.”²⁶⁹ The Lord Provost of Glasgow John M. Biggar presided and in his speech “recalled the recent demonstration of protest in the Albert Hall, London, saying that the meeting to-day was for the purpose of adding the weight of public opinion of the people of Glasgow to that demonstration.”²⁷⁰

Rev. T. S. Stuart Thompson, a prominent minister in the Church of Scotland, gave a speech at the demonstration on the special relationship between Jews and Scots, and the desperate need to win the war:

Between the Scots and the Jews, there are many links of friendship and parallel history. Both people came from small hilly countries whose freedom was frequently menaced by powerful enemies. Both peoples have always been idealists, following lost causes. The Christian Church and Jewry have a great heritage in the Psalms of David, the ancient prophecies and the Ten Commandments. Scotland and Scandinavia are the only two countries in Europe which have never—and pray God never will—persecuted the Jews. The only way in which this foul inhumanity can be stopped is by the Allies winning the war as quickly as possible—we must so utterly defeat these evil men that never again will they dare to put a stop to the progress of civilization.²⁷¹

As Thompson’s words reflect, the perceived similarities between Jews and Scottish Christians—most importantly a sense of shared chosenness—that had once inspired the Church of Scotland’s missionary impulse, a century later served a new purpose. The solidarity fueled a desire to save Jewish lives.

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²⁶⁹ “Glasgow Condemns Nazi Atrocities,” *The Jewish Echo*, January 1, 1943, p. 7.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

After the successful invasion of Normandy in June 1944, the prospect of an Allied victory over the Nazis became more than just a desperate hope. In September 1944, on the fifth anniversary of the war's start, religious services were held throughout Scotland. At the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation, Salis Daiches "preached the sermon, in the course of which he said that soon the defeat of the arrogant blasphemers would be complete, and the state of terror in which the peoples of Europe had lived for so long would give way."²⁷²

Soon after this service, Daiches was involved in a bad traffic accident and broke his arm. Against advice from his doctors, the rabbi quickly returned to work. David Daiches, who was by then grown and employed at the British Embassy in Washington, was visiting home when his father returned to the synagogue to deliver his first sermon following the accident. The younger Daiches recalled how "frail and worn" his father looked "as he stood in the pulpit to begin his sermon."²⁷³ Over the next five months, the rabbi "continued to preach regularly, attend meetings, deliver public speeches, and carry on all his multifarious duties."²⁷⁴ After an exceptionally busy day full of meetings, Daiches collapsed and was rushed to the hospital. He died three weeks later on May 2, 1945.²⁷⁵ Six days later, an Allied victory was declared in Europe.

²⁷² "Service in Edinburgh Synagogue," *The Scotsman*, September 4, 1944, p. 3.

²⁷³ Daiches, *Two Worlds*, op. cit., p. 149.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁷⁵ "Late Dr Salis Daiches," *The Scotsman*, May 3, 1945, p. 4.

CHAPTER 5: REBIRTH, 1945-1948

At the war's end, hundreds of thousands of Jews who had survived the Holocaust were left homeless and impoverished. Jews who were already in or were able to reach Allied-controlled territory often ended up in displaced persons camps—which in some instances were set up on the same land that had been used for Nazi concentration camps. Conditions in the displaced persons camps were bleak—survivors had no access to many basic necessities, and hunger and disease were endemic. Jews worldwide called on Britain to end Jewish suffering in Europe by opening the doors of Palestine to the survivors. Earl G. Harrison, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and former commissioner of immigration, was appointed by the U.S. Congress to investigate the condition of the displaced persons camps and to propose a long-term solution. “We appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them,”²⁷⁶ reported Harrison in August 1945. He proposed that the British allow 100,000 Jewish refugees to immigrate to Palestine. The British refused to comply and instead granted visa to only a fraction of that number. As a result, the majority of Jewish survivors who wished to move to Palestine were forced to resort to illegal immigration or *Aliyah Bet*.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Cited in Joseph Berger, “Displaced Persons,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. 2nd ed., Vol. 5, (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), p. 684.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 684-685.

Scottish Jews did not hesitate to criticize those in the Christian community who voiced opposition to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. For example, Cyril Forster Garbett, the Archbishop of York, was condemned by the Jewish community after he declared that “no pledge was ever given by the British Government that Palestine would be handed over to the Jews”²⁷⁸ and that “Christendom would be deeply stirred if its sacred places were transferred to either Jews or Arabs.”²⁷⁹ He said that Jewish opposition to mandate policies in Palestine was rightly creating British resentment toward the Jews that “might easily turn into indignant hostility.”²⁸⁰ According *The Jewish Echo*, the Archbishop “said that men who had gone to Palestine with the greatest sympathy for the Jews had had their sympathy turned to resentment within a few weeks. He took exception to the Jewish demand for the immediate admission of 100,000 refugees into Palestine and reminded [them] that if not for the British defeat of Hitler, no Jews would have remained.”²⁸¹

The Scottish Jewish community was outraged over the Archbishop of York’s stance. *The Jewish Echo* published the following response to his statements:

[This] was not the first occasion on which this leader of the Christian church demonstrated his animosity to the people who gave to the world the founder of the Christian religion. There is only one reply which can be made to these remarks: Sympathy that can so quickly be turned into resentment is of no value, and that if there were no Jews there would not have been any Archbishops.

Many Scottish Christian leaders echoed the Jewish opinion. For example, Rev. David McMahon, who served as the liaison between the Church of Scotland and the Glasgow Jewish Representative Council, encouraged his fellow Christians not to waiver

²⁷⁸ “A Church Leader’s Opposition,” *The Jewish Echo*, June 7, 1946, p. 3.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ “Our London Letter,” *The Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, December 28, 1945, p. 7.

²⁸¹ “The Archbishop of York,” *The Jewish Echo*, August 9, 1946, p. 3.

in their support for a Jewish state in Palestine or allow the “misguided actions of [a] desperate few”²⁸² to have any effect on their solidarity with the Jewish people.

* * * * *

The war also had a profound impact on Scottish Christian Zionist belief. The most significant change was the abandonment of ambivalence regarding the national character of the future Jewish homeland in Palestine. Following the Balfour Declaration, the Jewish Mission Committee expressed concern over its ability to evangelize Jews freely in Palestine should the future Jewish homeland be an autonomous Jewish state. By the end of World War II, however, Scottish Christian Zionists adhered firmly to the belief that a Jewish national state should be established in Palestine.

At a General Assembly meeting in Edinburgh in June 1947 that included 4,000 delegates from all over the world, the Church of Scotland issued a severe condemnation of the British government’s policy on Palestine:

The Assembly, which had devoted considerable time to the Palestine problem, heard one minister term “tragic and blundering” the Government’s decision to delay action on Jewish immigration...A second delegate warned of the dangers of anti-Semitism in Britain, asserting that it would result in a “return to Fascism.”²⁸³

In November 1947, on the recommendation of its Special Committee on Palestine, the UN passed a vote in support of the termination of the British Mandate and the establishment of two independent states in Palestine, one Arab and one Jewish. In response to the vote, the British government declared that it would not participate in the partition of Palestine and resolved to withdraw all military and civilian personnel by May 15, 1948. While Jews in Palestine celebrated the decision, Arab leaders rejected the plan for partition and violence broke out. British troops refused to step in to quell the unrest.

²⁸² “Rev. David McMahon on Jewish-Christian Friendship,” *The Jewish Echo*, December 6, 1946, p. 10.

²⁸³ “Government Policy Criticized at Church of Scotland Assembly,” *The Jewish Echo*, June 6, 1947, p. 3.

The news of the UN vote in Scotland was praised by both Christians and Jews. Despite the refusal of the British army to defend Jewish communities in Palestine from attacks by Arabs, Scottish Jewish leaders expressed the sincere belief that Britain would “once more [co-operate] in the great task of the regeneration of the Jewish people.”²⁸⁴ Cosgrove, in an address to the Paisley²⁸⁵ Branch of the United Nations Association, said that “The great services rendered by Britain before the White Paper, in helping to lay the foundations of the Jewish National Home would always be remembered with gratitude...When present troubles were over the true British spirit of disinterested justice and idealism would reassert itself.”²⁸⁶

On May 14, 1948, the People’s Council, the provisional Jewish government in Palestine, declared independence and the State of Israel was established. In Scotland, at a celebration at the Queen’s Park Synagogue, the Jewish community adopted the following resolution:

We, the Jews of Glasgow, send greetings to the re-born State of Israel. We remember with reverence on this blessed day, the founder of political Zionism, Dr Herzl. We remember with pride and sorrow the hundreds of our young men and women who have given their lives in defense of the Yishuv. We remember in sadness the six million of our brethren who lost their lives in Nazi Europe: because their murder spurred world Jewry into the realisation of their responsibilities, they did not die in vain. On this historic day, we remember with pride the life-long service of our great leader Dr Chaim Weizmann...We fervently hope that Great Britain, the country which gave us the Balfour Declaration will, like the U.S.A., recognise the Jewish State, thus re-establishing the age-long friendship between Jewry and the British Empire. We pledge our continued support in the consolidation of the New State which will set an example to the world in justice and peace.²⁸⁷

CONCLUSION: SAVING JEWS

From the dawn of Scottish missions to the Jews in 1839 to the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, a remarkable shift occurred in Scottish religious consciousness.

²⁸⁴ “Dr Cosgrove Addresses Non-Jewish Audience,” *The Jewish Echo*, December 26, 1948, p.10.

²⁸⁵ Paisley is a town in the Renfrewshire council area in the west-Central Lowlands of Scotland.

²⁸⁶ “Dr Cosgrove Addresses United Nations Association,” *The Jewish Echo*, March 12, 1948, p. 4.

²⁸⁷ “Glasgow Jewry’s Memorable Day,” *The Jewish Echo*, May 21, 1948, p. 4.

The Jew, who had once been regarded as a soul in need of salvation, had become a valued life in need of rescuing from a hostile world. “Saving Jews” had gradually taken on an entirely new meaning.

And yet, the basic traditions and ideals that had guided Scottish missions were the same ones that later inspired Scottish Christian leaders to become some of the strongest voices of Jewish support and advocates for Jewish-Christian camaraderie. Scottish missions were founded on principles of social justice. Spreading the Gospel was irrevocably tied with spreading goodwill. Never was there a Scottish mission to the Jews that did not offer educational, medical, or welfare services. As evangelicalism in Scotland declined and support for missions waned, Scottish Christians nevertheless maintained their compassionate stance toward the Jews and considered this benevolence to be a fundamental expression of their Christian faith. For example, in 1943, a letter appeared in *The Scotsman* with an impassioned plea to help the Jews of Europe: “My appeal to every reader is to help save those remaining of the Jewish race in enemy-occupied Europe from torture and death...Let us save lives while there is time. Let us practise our Christianity in this cause without the loss of another day.”²⁸⁸ Thus, despite the shift in the Scottish Christian conceptualization of how Jews needed saving, a continuity between past and present is clearly apparent.

The transformation of Scottish Jewish attitudes towards Christianity is also remarkable. In the 1880s, Scottish Christians established domestic Jewish missions. Scottish Jews quickly recognized the need to create their own welfare services in order to prevent the poor immigrants in their community from turning to the missions for assistance. As much as the Jews opposed the missions, they developed a communal

²⁸⁸ “Save the Jews,” *The Scotsman*, January 29, 1943, p. 4.

strength that made evangelization less and less of a threat. As the perceived risk of associating with Christians declined for the Jews, and as the missionary impulse declined among Christians, new opportunities for friendship and collaboration emerged.

Zionism provided the first tentative ground to test this new friendship. Scottish Christians had long protested the treatment of Jews in Russia and saw a Jewish return to the land of Israel as a solution to the problem. Scottish Jews dreamed of a day when Jewish national aspirations would be realized and the persecuted masses from Europe (they clearly did not consider themselves among this rank) would find haven in a land of their own. But several fundamental differences between Scottish Christian and Scottish Jewish conceptions of Zionism made finding a unified, interfaith approach challenging. Before World War I, many Scottish Jews supported territorialism. Christian Zionism, on the other hand, was rooted in millennialism, and many Scottish Christians believed that the only conceivable place for a Jewish homeland was in Palestine.

Even after World War I, when the vast majority of Scottish Zionists, both Jewish and Christian, agreed that the Jewish homeland should be established in Palestine, disagreement over the nature of that homeland emerged. Lingering millennialist belief and concern for the future of the Scottish missions in Palestine created ambivalence among many Scottish Christians regarding the national character of the proposed Jewish homeland. The Mandate of Palestine was welcomed by many Scottish Christians who saw British control as a guarantee that more traditional Christian interests in the region would be protected. Jewish Zionists generally felt more strongly that Palestine should become an independent Jewish state. Some Scottish Jews, however, did not see a contradiction between a strong Jewish national state and strong, even official ties with the

British government. Salis Daiches, for example, envisioned a Jewish state that would be a dominion of the British Empire. It was this type of Jewish thinking—that championed both Jewish independence and British honor and greatness—that allowed for significant progress to be made in the development of Jewish-Christian relations in a relatively short period of time.

As antisemitism increased in Europe, Christian and Jewish religious leaders in Scotland found a cause against which they could unequivocally unite. Jewish-Christian groups were founded in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Dynamic Jewish leaders like Daiches and Cosgrove encouraged their congregations to learn about Christianity and to create friendship with their Christian compatriots, and Christian ministers reciprocated and welcomed Jews into their churches as Jews and not as potential converts. Who could have predicted that so soon after the height of Scotland’s domestic missions to the Jews, a Jewish rabbi would be giving a sermon in a Scottish Church?

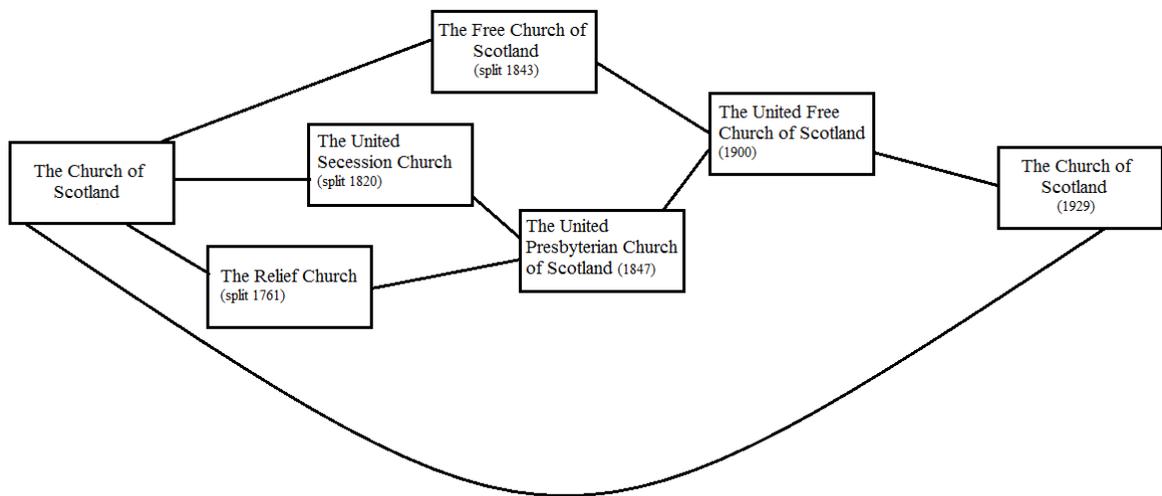
After World War II, the Church of Scotland and the Scottish Jewish community condemned Britain’s restrictive immigration policies in Palestine, which kept Holocaust survivors in the limbo of the displaced persons camps. The declaration of the State of Israel was praised by many Scottish Christians and Jews. One Scottish Christian Zionist in her jubilation declared, “It is something so wonderful that I cannot understand why every Christian let alone Jew does not talk and think about it to the exclusion of everything else.”²⁸⁹ Scottish Jews, throughout their celebration, continually praised the British government for the groundwork it had laid with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and expressed hope that a steadfast and sacred bond would soon be forged between two great nations—the State of Israel and Britain

²⁸⁹“A Christian Looks at Israel,” *The Jewish Echo*, December 17, 1948, p. 2.

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Scottish Jews may well have seen the end of missions and the willingness of Scottish Christians to build ties with the Jewish community as a Christian compromise of their traditional religious values. It is clear, however, that religiously committed Scottish Christians in the first half of the 20th century did not see their ties to the Jewish community, their Zionism, or their efforts to fight antisemitism as manifestations of the forces of secularization. Instead, Scottish Christians considered these benevolent inclinations to be innately rooted in Christianity. The history of Jewish-Christian relations in Scotland stands as a powerful testament against the popular notion of the benefit of secularization to the Jewish community.

APPENDIX: SCOTTISH CHURCH DISSENSION AND UNIFICATION CHART



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