

# **‘My solemn desire is not to burden themselves with religious duties’: Researching 100 Years of a Scottish Jewish Family Through the Archives**

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Fiona Frank’s PhD was an oral history study looking at the transmission of Scottish Jewish identity through five generations of a Scottish Jewish family. As Ronald Grele writes, oral testimonies are only one part of finding out about the past: ‘where written sources are available, they should be used as background as well as corroboration’.<sup>1</sup> This paper examines the various archival sources which provided background and context for the research. Focusing on the archival material allows an understanding of how the material itself contributed further to the understanding of the lives of the family members. A dogged interest in examining data from many sources, plus some unexpected synchronicity, led to some surprising material and some unexpected directions in the research.

Preparing my paper as one of the invited speakers at the Scottish Records Association 2015 annual conference ‘On the Move: Researching Scottish migrants and immigrants to Scotland’, I began to focus on the secondary source material that I used in my doctoral research, rather than the ideas which had surfaced from the evidence presented by the data. I had first given a version of my paper at a workshop for postgraduate students organised by the University of Edinburgh Jewish Studies Network, entitled ‘Working with archival resources in Jewish Studies’<sup>2</sup> to which I took along some copies of the original source material – censuses, marriage certificates, naturalisation records, etc. – that I had used in my PhD. In this paper I examine these various sources and show how their use supported my arguments and led to new conclusions.

My thesis<sup>3</sup> was an oral history study of five generations of an extended Scottish Jewish family, the family of Rabbi Zvi David Hoppenstein and his wife Sophia (née Wittenberg), who arrived in Scotland in the early 1880s. I

<sup>1</sup> R. Grele (ed.), *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History* (New York, 1991, first published 1973), 5.

<sup>2</sup> The programme can be found at: <https://jewishstudies.div.ed.ac.uk/2014/02/01/postgraduate-workshop-working-with-archival-resources-in-jewish-studies-1922014/> My paper was entitled: ‘Researching a Scottish Jewish family through 100 years: the historian-detective through oral history, wills, archives, and even Facebook groups!’

<sup>3</sup> F. Frank, ‘An outsider wherever I am? Transmission of Jewish identity through five generations of a Scottish Jewish family’ (PhD thesis, University of Strathclyde, 2012).

interviewed nearly all the living members of the family, mostly face to face but two by telephone due to location and logistics; and I conducted ‘Facebook-based focus groups’ with members of the fifth generation. I used grounded theory and a feminist perspective in the analysis, explored Bourdieu’s theories relating to cultural and economic capital, and examined the main themes through the triple lens of generational change, gender and class.

When I wrote up the research, I made divisions between the public sphere and the private sphere, and the secular world and the religious world. The empirical chapters focused on:

- The Hoppenstein family in the public sphere, and the experiences of the five generations of the family in the Scottish secular world; (including experiences and choices of education and employment, and also the different ways in which members of the family had experienced anti-Semitism through the generations).
- Marriage choice and its effect on class mobility, linked to gendered educational opportunities.
- Jewish life in the home.
- The Jewish public sphere – i.e. life in the synagogue, and in Jewish public organisations.

As Ronald Grele writes, oral testimonies are only one part of finding out about the past: ‘where written sources are available, they should be used as background as well as corroboration’.<sup>4</sup> When looking at the history of a family spanning more than 100 years, it is of course necessary to look further than life story interviews and virtual focus groups with living people, in order to find out information about the earlier members of the family. But by using the archives it also proved possible to verify content of the interviews, and enlarge on that content.

In a study of relations between Irish Catholics and Jews in Glasgow, historian Billy Kenefick acknowledges possible difficulties with accuracy of data gained through oral history and proposes the use of a ‘four-stage process of evaluation and validation’ of interviews, developed by Murray Watson. The four stages are: ‘i) to clearly distinguish between first-hand and secondary knowledge, ii) to seek internal consistency within individual testimonies, iii) to verify and corroborate content against other sources ... and iv) to search and identify recurring themes throughout all the testimonies’.<sup>5</sup> I followed all of these stages within my doctoral research, and used a wide range of different sources of information to corroborate and enlarge on the information gained from my interviews.

The first of these sources were additional oral histories carried out by others. A BBC radio programme and associated book on different immigrant

<sup>4</sup> Grele, *Envelopes of Sound*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> M. Watson, *Being English in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003), 4. Cited in W. Kenefick, ‘Comparing the Jewish and Irish Communities in Twentieth Century Scotland’, in (ed.) D. Cesarani, T. Kushner and M. Shain, *Place and Displacement in Jewish History and Memory* (Edgware, Middlesex and Portland, Oregon, 2009), 53–68, 54.

groups in Scotland were released in 1982 and as part of the research for that book, Moss Stone,<sup>6</sup> the youngest son of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein, had been interviewed by Murdoch Rodgers.<sup>7</sup> The Scottish Jewish Archives Centre<sup>8</sup> provides a rich source of oral history interviews with contemporaries of the Hoppenstein second generation, some of which I cite within my thesis.

There are some tensions in using interviews carried out by others. As oral historian Joanna Bornat argues, ‘not being there reduces the interview to the text alone and changes the way that the text can be analysed’,<sup>9</sup> and health researcher Wendy Rickard *et al.* suggest that this leads to ethical and methodological tensions.<sup>10</sup> But by paying attention to these issues, it is to be hoped that an empathic researcher will be able to avoid such tensions.

Other sources of direct information about the Hoppenstein family were also available. Evidence was obtained from contemporary newspapers, valuation rolls, trade directories, census records, birth and death registers, marriage and death certificates, naturalisation records, school and university archives, and wills and testaments. The work of contemporary historians of Glasgow Jewry Kenneth Collins, Ben Braber, Harvey Kaplan, Billy Kenefick and Linda Fleming, who had themselves uncovered much of this type of primary source material, was invaluable.<sup>11</sup> In addition to these publicly available records, I also consulted the papers of one family member, Harold Levy, who had worked for nearly 40 years as Inspector for the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education, travelling the country inspecting Hebrew classes and advising on teaching methods. Harold’s papers were available in the Special Collections of Southampton University.<sup>12</sup> In accessing archival material I have to acknowledge

<sup>6</sup> I look briefly later in this paper at the issue of name changing – for example, why Moses Hoppenstein became Moss Stone, with regard to the difficulties this poses for the archivist – but deal in more detail with the question of name change as a response to anti-Semitism and as an attempt for assimilation, in Frank, ‘An outsider wherever I am?’, 111–18.

<sup>7</sup> M. Rodgers, ‘Glasgow Jewry’, in (ed.) B. Kay, *Odyssey: Voices from Scotland’s Recent Past* (Edinburgh, 1982), 113–21. *Glasgow Jewry*, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast 24 March 1982.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.sjac.org.uk>.

<sup>9</sup> J. Bornat, ‘Recycling the Evidence: Different Approaches to the Reanalysis of Gerontological Data’, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung*, 6, no. 1 (2005), 5.

<sup>10</sup> W. Rickard, Nikita, S. Evans, S. Reeves and G. Cameron, ‘What Are Sex Worker Stories Good For? User Engagement with Archived Data’, *Oral History*, 39, no. 1 (2011), 100.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, K. E. Collins (ed.), *Aspects of Scottish Jewry* (Glasgow, 1987); K. E. Collins, *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790–1919* (Glasgow, 1990); L. Fleming, ‘Jewish Women in Glasgow c.1880–1950: Gender, Ethnicity and the Immigrant Experience’ (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005); H. Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow, 2006); B. Braber, *Jews in Glasgow 1879–1939, Immigration and Integration* (London and Portland, Oregon, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Harold Levy prepared detailed, courteous and helpful reports on his visits, made recommendations to the Head Teachers of the various classes and sent copies to the local Jewish education committee and to the honorary officers of the Central Council

the assistance provided by the staff of the various records offices, and the invaluable support I was given in locating the material by two ‘amateur’ (but no less professional and knowledgeable) historians, the late Jean Noble in Glasgow, and Rita Gerrard in Lancaster, who pointed me to several sources of which I was unaware.

Personal records should not be discounted in the research process, and several family members held documents and photographs which I consulted during my research. Arthur Stone, a third-generation Hoppenstein, regarded himself as the ‘historian of the family’<sup>13</sup> and allowed me access to his collection of press cuttings, memoirs, letters, documents and photographs. Hannah Frank (wife of Lionel Levy, third generation)<sup>14</sup> never threw any letters or certificates away; I had access to all her papers during her life, and on her death at the age of 100 in 2008 eight crates of material – diaries, letters, carefully preserved scrapbooks and other materials relating to her career as an artist – were deposited in the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre.<sup>15</sup>

Doreen Spevack (fourth generation) is a very different type of archivist; she does not consider what she does as ‘being a historian’. But she, too, has preserved family documents and items from her past: ‘and I’ve got the payslip my father had during the war and all his war letters and absolutely everything. Invitations. My parents’ wedding, my grandparents’ wedding. Absolutely everything’ (Plates 1 and 2).<sup>16</sup>

Most of the women in the family whom I spoke to had a collection of photographs of their parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles which act as a reminder of those people. ‘Keeping family snaps is a gendered activity’, states feminist geographer Gillian Rose.<sup>17</sup> As Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton write: ‘perhaps the major icons of continuity in American culture today are photographs. They seem able to provide a record of one’s life, and of the lives of one’s ancestors, and can be handed down to one’s descendants’.<sup>18</sup>

for Jewish Religious Education, University of Southampton Special Collections MS179, Papers of Harold Levy, 1951–76.

<sup>13</sup> Scottish Oral History Centre Archive (hereafter SOHCA), 031/005a Oral Testimony of Arthur Stone, interview by Fiona Frank and Bill Williams, Cheadle, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> And aunt of this author.

<sup>15</sup> In a study of the role played by non-professionals in shaping and creating archives, Dawn Sinclair used the Hannah Frank and Lionel Levy collection, and my role in saving the material for posterity, as a case study: D. Sinclair, ‘Shaping the Archive – Identity and the Acquisition and Processing of Archives’ (Master’s dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> SOHCA, 031/007 Oral Testimony of Doreen Spevack, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow, 2004.

<sup>17</sup> G. Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and The Politics of Sentiment* (Aldershot, 2010), 25–40.

<sup>18</sup> M. Csikszentmihalyi and E. Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge, 1981).

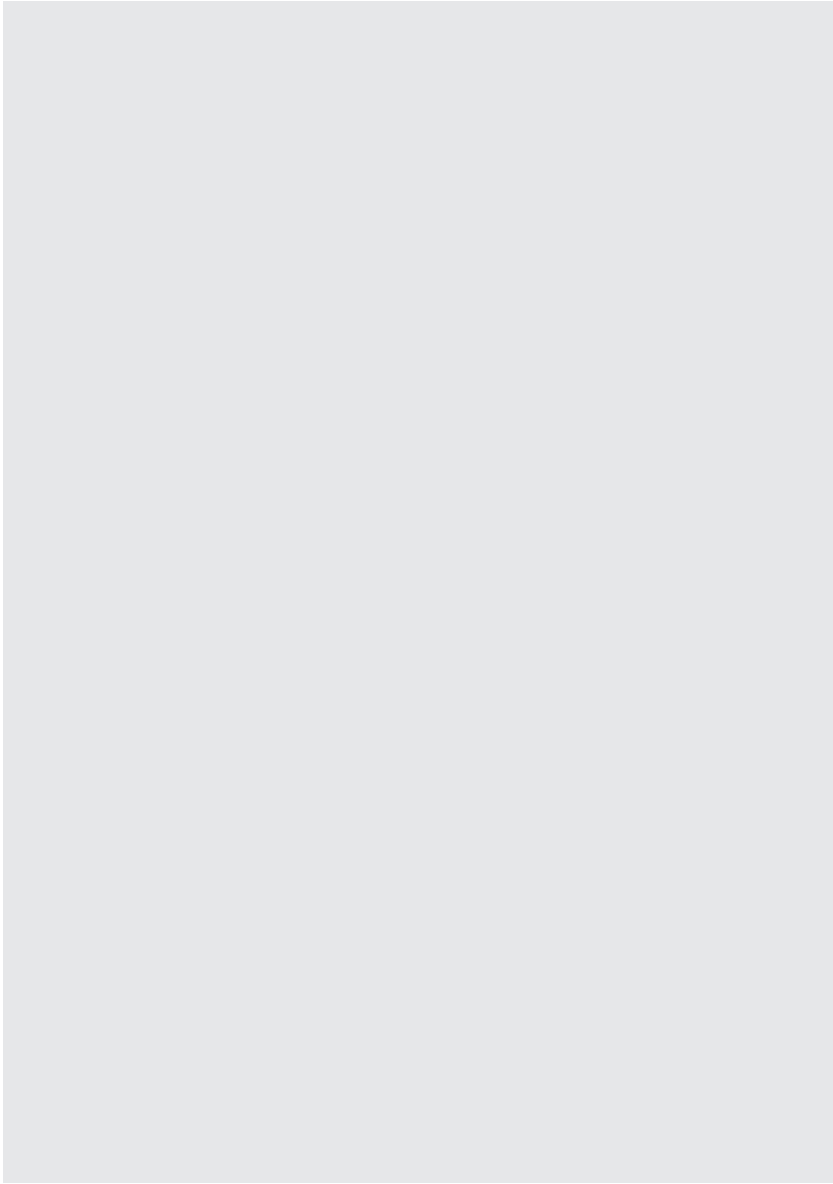


Plate 1 Rev. Zvi David Hoppenstein and his youngest grandson Harold. From the collection of Doreen Spevack and used with permission.

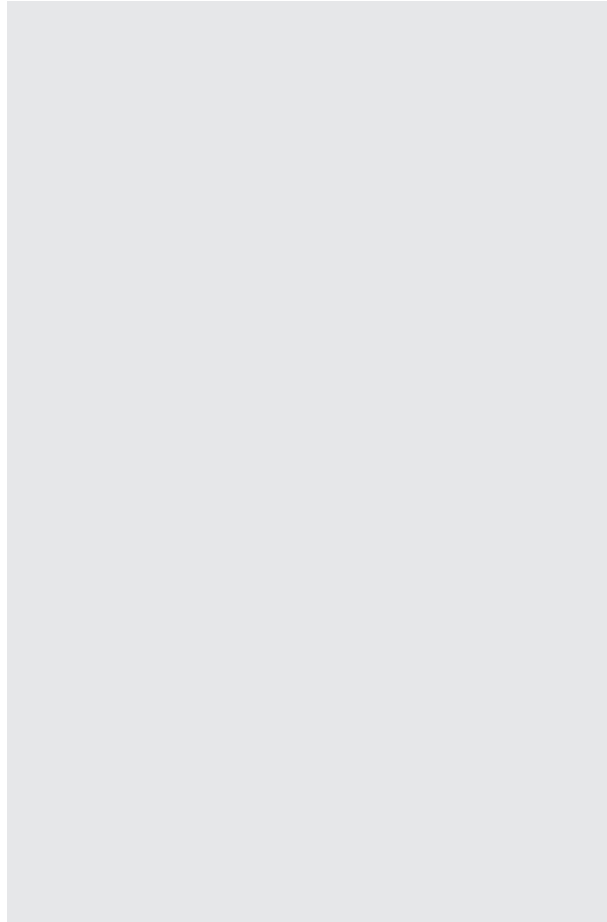


Plate 2 Wedding invitation, Harold Levy (grandson of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein) to Hannah. From the collection of Doreen Spevack and used with permission.

Several of my informants had preserved other artefacts, physical objects passed down through the generations, which have lasted longer than the life of the person with whom they were originally connected. Ivor Kallin (fourth generation), for example, showed me a box which he kept carefully behind his bed containing some papers that his paternal grandfather had brought with him from Russia.

Social geographer Divya Tolia-Kelly, in a discussion of the importance of artefacts in modern British Asian homes, discusses material items which ‘ironically ... are sometimes transient, ephemeral things, which in turn fade,

tear, fragment, dissolve and break'.<sup>19</sup> The items which have lasted through the generations, however, are mostly made of metal, ensuring a long life. Doreen Spevack, the oldest of the fourth generation, for example, still had her great-grandmother's ring and a pestle and mortar that had belonged to her great-grandfather. David Stone is in possession of a silver loving cup which had been presented to his great-grandfather, Zvi David Hoppenstein, by the committee of Edinburgh Central Synagogue in 1905 in recognition of his 'untiring zeal and his valuable services to the congregation',<sup>20</sup> and which had been carefully preserved by David's father Fred Stone. In addition to his grandfather's papers, Ivor Kallin showed me two silver cups on display in his kitchen, which had been presented to his paternal grandfather by the Workers' Circle.<sup>21</sup> Less durable items also lasted through the century. For example, a framed embroidery of a mourning poem composed by Zvi David Hoppenstein and embroidered by Sophia Hoppenstein had been passed on to Arthur Stone. These items all had deep significance for their owners. Each had had the item passed to them from another family member; each was at least the third owner of the item. In the case of Ivor Kallin, he had never met his grandfather who had died before he was born, but he had been named for him and felt a close affinity with him. The items were described and shown to me with great reverence which demonstrated the importance of the objects in providing 'embodied memory' of members of previous generations, bringing them to life in the contemporary reality of their descendants.

Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein arrived in Edinburgh from Lithuania in the early 1880s. In order to meet their most basic needs for shelter and food, they had to engage with the local community. Although qualified as a rabbi, Zvi David's first employment was as a peddler, hawking jewellery and pictures. Information on father's employment is available on birth certificates, so we have this information from the birth certificates of their first three children, Eve Ettey born in 1883, Abraham Aaron (Harry) born 1885 and Isaac, born 1887.<sup>22</sup> This employment was not such an unusual way of earning a living for Jewish immigrants at the time; there were nine Jewish picture dealers or framemakers, fifteen jewellers and seventeen hawkers listed in the 1881 Census for

<sup>19</sup> D. Tolia-Kelly, 'Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Remembrance Through Artefacts in the British Asian Home', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 29, no. 3 (2004), 315.

<sup>20</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, 6 January 1905.

<sup>21</sup> The Workers' Circle, formed in March 1912, was a friendly society which collected weekly subscriptions and paid out sickness benefits, but also organised political debate and other activities, much of which took place in Yiddish. See: Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, 97, 164.

<sup>22</sup> National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS): Birth Certificates: 685/3/1883/399 Eve Ettey Hoppenstein; 685/1/1885/0963 Abraham Aaron Hoppenstein; 685/1/1887/763 Isaac Hoppenstein.

Edinburgh.<sup>23</sup> Although we know from interviews with his grandchildren that Zvi David only spoke Yiddish in the home,<sup>24</sup> he would have had to have learned some English in order to successfully trade with members of the host nation.

By 1894, as Zvi David's application for naturalisation tells us,<sup>25</sup> he had managed to find work within the Jewish public sphere as a Hebrew teacher: his occupation was listed on this document as 'Teacher of Hebrew' alongside the mention of 'Hawker of Jewellery'. On another letter in the naturalisation file, the occupation 'traveller' had been scored out and 'teacher' was inserted above it, presumably showing that Zvi David was not only beginning to earn his living as a Hebrew teacher within the Jewish community, but also, perhaps, that he thought that the occupation of teacher might serve him better in his appeal for naturalisation. The naturalisation application also shows some evidence of early fears of anti-Semitism – as will be shown below.

The archives can also help to track the fact that Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein had to engage with the local Scottish community through renting accommodation. The couple lived in Leith, near the port of immigration, when they first arrived in Edinburgh in 1883, but by 1885 they had moved to Dalry in the city centre. Over the next ten years they lived mainly in tenement flats in and around Caledonian Crescent near the city's main synagogues. Their nine children were born between the years of 1883 and 1897, and there are three different addresses shown on the nine birth certificates. The entry for the family in the census for 1901 shows a fourth address, an item in the *Jewish Chronicle* on 1 May 1903 about the educational achievements of one of their sons provides another; the *Glasgow Post Office Directory* for 1905 gives yet another address, and an (undated) inscription in one of the rabbi's books, now in the possession of his grandson Arthur Stone, furnishes us with a last address.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> H. Kaplan, 'A Snapshot of Edinburgh Jewry in 1801', *Edinburgh Star*, July 2000. Zvi David would have obtained the goods for sale from Jewish wholesalers and sold them to Scots around the streets of Edinburgh in the way described by Simons in his fictional account of the life of a Scottish Jewish peddler and by Bill Williams in his account of similar activity among the Jewish immigrants in Manchester – J. David Simons, *The Credit Draper* (Ullapool, 2008), based on accounts from Simons' own family: "Picture-fakers" sold picture frames and tinted photographs on a door-to-door basis, teams from Manchester travelling as far as Scotland and South Wales. "Klappers" (from the Yiddish, "klap", to knock) travelled from house to house buying gold jewellery and ornaments for resale at a profit to city bullion dealers'. B. Williams, 'The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History', *Oral History*, 7, no. 1 (1979), 52, n. 41.

<sup>24</sup> SOHCA, 031/004a Oral testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow, 19 October 2004.

<sup>25</sup> The National Archives (hereafter TNA), B17354 Edinburgh City Police, Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein residing at 18 Caledonian Place, Edinburgh, 27 December 1894.

<sup>26</sup> NRS, Birth Certificates: 685/3/1883/399 Eve Ettey Hoppenstein, 1883 (born at 18 Arthur St, Edinburgh); 685/1/1885/0963 Abraham Aaron Hoppenstein, 1885 (born



The number of different addresses and the frequency of moves could open up new questions for the historian-detective; one grandson told me that the family was ‘a poor family. It was hand-to-mouth’<sup>27</sup> so I began to look at valuation rolls to attempt to see whether the moves were to larger tenements to accommodate the growing family, or cheaper tenements to accommodate changes in financial circumstances. Once looking at the valuation rolls, I moved on to becoming more interested in the names of the other tenants in their tenements. ‘There is no scientific way to extract Jews from census records’ or any other list, as Kaplan reminds us,<sup>28</sup> but one can make educated guesses based on common Jewish names of the time. Many of the other tenants in the buildings were also new Jewish immigrants, but the buildings were owned by Scottish people and many of the other tenants were local Scots. In 1885, for example, Zvi David Hoppenstein rented a tenement in 38 Caledonian Crescent, Dalry, from ‘Miss Susan Darling’s Representatives’, for £9.00 per year. Other tenants in the building included another Jewish traveller, a Jewish waterproof coatmaker and five Scots with trades including butcher, railway servant and mason.<sup>29</sup>

The waterproof coatmaker will have worked for the Caledonia Rubber Company as a ‘schmearer’; the first synagogue in Dalry was established on Caledonian Crescent to serve the Jews from Manchester who came to carry out this somewhat unpleasant work at the Caledonian Rubber Works.<sup>30</sup> Zvi David assisted with the services in the local synagogues from the time that he arrived in the country, and by 1893 was President of the Dalry synagogue, a post to which he was ‘unanimously relected’ in 1894.<sup>31</sup>

We can see from his naturalisation papers that Zvi David Hoppenstein applied for naturalisation in 1894. For this purpose he had to provide references from five Scots. Daniel McDougall of 22 Downfield Place wrote that he had known Zvi David Hoppenstein for seven years, ‘not from information merely, but from personal knowledge of him ... having been neighbours together and residing in the same locality’.<sup>32</sup> Four other non-Jewish Edinburgh Scots testified that they had known Zvi David Hoppenstein personally for between

at 38 Caledonian Crescent, Edinburgh); 685/3/1889/625 Solomon Hoppenstein, 1889 (born at 21 Caledonian Crescent, Edinburgh). The other children were born at one or other of these addresses. *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 May 1903. *Glasgow Post Office Directory*, 1905. Arthur Stone archive: inscription in book. NRS, Census Entry for the Hoppenstein family, 1901, 1901685/01123/01007.

<sup>27</sup> SOHCA, 031/004a Oral testimony of Fred Stone with Zelda Stone, interview by Fiona Frank, Glasgow, 19 October 2004.

<sup>28</sup> H. Kaplan, *The Gorbals Jewish Community in 1901* (Glasgow, 2006), 5.

<sup>29</sup> NRS, VR100/127 Edinburgh Valuation Roll, St Cuthbert’s Parish, I, 1884–85, 200.

<sup>30</sup> <https://jewishstudies.div.ed.ac.uk/exhibition/edinburgh-synagogues/>.

<sup>31</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, 29 September 1893 and 26 October 1894.

<sup>32</sup> TNA, B17354 Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein.

two and five years.<sup>33</sup> The requirement to find five local residents to vouch for an immigrant applying for naturalisation may well have posed challenges, but as we can see from the valuation rolls and census documents, the Hoppensteins had had non-Jewish neighbours since they arrived in Scotland.

As mentioned above, it may be that Zvi David thought that the occupation of teacher might serve him better in his appeal for naturalisation. One reason that he gave for his application was that he was ‘afraid that the Jews might be expelled from this country’ and that he ‘prefers the laws of this country to that of his own’.<sup>34</sup> The fact that Zvi David Hoppenstein wrote in his naturalisation application that he thought that at some stage the Jews might be expelled from Britain gives the first indication that he thought that there might be a prospect of institutional anti-Semitism or ‘legal differentiation’<sup>35</sup> on the part of the government, and he felt that if he were naturalised he would be less likely to be required to move on.

We also know, from the radio programme on Jewish immigration to Scotland recorded in 1981 and broadcast in 1982,<sup>36</sup> mentioned above, that Moss Stone’s parents had wanted to leave Russia because of the anti-Semitic regime of that country:

because, I’m not sure if it was 1880 or before that, it was enacted that all Jews were liable for military service, it applied to everybody in the country. Well, there was a difficulty there with dietary laws being infringed, they couldn’t eat bacon and so on like that and they wanted time for worshipping so they decided to get out.<sup>37</sup>

Having seen one country enact anti-Semitic laws, it was reasonable that Zvi David might think that it could occur in any other country in which he was residing, so it could be assumed that he was taking evasive action prior to it happening, by becoming naturalised.

Archival material was invaluable in finding out about the interface between the families and the education system. The second-generation Hoppenstein children attended Boroughmuir High School, Viewforth, one of Scotland’s

<sup>33</sup> David Daiches, writing about his father, an Edinburgh Rabbi of the same generation as Zvi David, talked about his living in a different world to the secular Edinburgh society. Although from the evidence given in the naturalisation form it seems that Zvi David did associate with Scots, it is likely that he encountered some difficulty in finding five Scots willing to vouch that they had known him personally for the length of time stipulated in the documentation. See D. Daiches, *Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh, 1997; first published 1956).

<sup>34</sup> TNA, B17354 Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein.

<sup>35</sup> G. C. Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918–1939* (London, 1978), 2–3. He uses this term for, for example, to define how Jews were officially restricted in standing for most public offices by not being able to swear a Christian oath, which lasted until the passing of the Promissory Oaths Act of 1871.

<sup>36</sup> M. Rodgers, *Glasgow Jewry*, BBC Radio Scotland, broadcast 24 March 1982.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

first non-fee-paying secondary schools,<sup>38</sup> which was close to Caledonian Crescent and the Dalry synagogue. The school has a small archive maintained by its immensely helpful Janitor, Neil Anderson, who gave me access to the examination lists and registers that they held for the early decades of the last century (the school logbooks for the years that the Hoppenstein children attended the school were no longer in existence). Out of 45 children listed as taking the first term examinations in 1911, Moses Hoppenstein was one of only two children with a Jewish name,<sup>39</sup> clearly indicating that Jews were very much in the minority. We have no oral testimony from the second generation about their experience of school, so we know little about whether the children's Jewishness was remarked on by the other pupils or teachers, whether they did, in fact, 'withdraw' from the periods of Christian prayer or religious education or whether they were able to take time off school for religious holidays. We do know, however, from logbooks of other Scottish schools, that they were very likely to have taken time off school for religious holidays and to have left school early on *Shabbat*.<sup>40</sup>

We know from the 1901 census entry that Harry, the oldest son, had left school by the age of 15 and was apprenticed to a watchmaker.<sup>41</sup> The Carnegie grants, which enabled the other four boys to go on from school to higher education, were only established in 1901<sup>42</sup> and therefore not available to Harry. We can see from other oral history transcripts relating to this issue that while the Carnegie grants did provide some financial resources covering fees and other expenses for study, the time invested in studying was still a financial investment by the sons and the whole family, as this was time not spent earning money for the family. In a transcript available in the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre of an interview with Dr Emil Glasser, another second-generation immigrant, Dr Glasser says: 'I would say that the parents who allowed their children to go to university made enormous sacrifices – the first-generation immigrants – that we should go to be able to go to university'.<sup>43</sup>

We know, mainly from newspaper articles in the *Jewish Chronicle* (which maintains a very useful online searchable archive of all its back issues) but also from university archival sources (obtained in response to an on-spec email to the Heriot-Watt Archives department), that the four younger Hoppenstein boys all studied chemistry and medicine-related subjects and progressed to work in the medical field. These four brothers were able, in Bourdieu's terms, to invest

<sup>38</sup> Boroughmuir High School, <http://www.boroughmuirhighschool.org>.

<sup>39</sup> Edinburgh, Boroughmuir School, Examination Lists, First Term, Session 1911–12; Second Term, Session 1912–13.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example: Glasgow City Archives, *Logbook, Gorbals Public School*, 3 October 1887 and 25 November 1914. Cited in Braber, *Jews in Glasgow*, 66.

<sup>41</sup> NRS, Census Entry for the Hoppenstein family, 1901, 1901685/01123/01007.

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.carnegie-trust.org/about/about-the-carnegie-trust/our-history.html>.

<sup>43</sup> Scottish Jewish Archives Centre, Oral Testimony of Dr Emil Glasser, interview by Ben Braber. 1988.

considerable time in their ‘embodied cultural capital’.<sup>44</sup> Isaac, the second son, had a glittering early career as a research chemist, winning medals and prizes throughout his university career in Chemistry, Physics, Mechanics and Natural Philosophy.<sup>45</sup> Solly (Sidney), the third son and Marcus, the fourth son, also won medals and prizes for chemistry and pharmacy studies.<sup>46</sup>

None of the Hoppenstein girls pursued professional qualifications at university (although material available at Glasgow University Archive tells us that women were studying medicine in Scotland since at least the 1890s).<sup>47</sup> In response to my routine enquiry to Heriot-Watt University about the Hoppenstein boys’ results, I was thus surprised to be told that Eva Hoppenstein had studied German there for a year in 1905–06 (and scored 74 per cent). I had been developing a theory that gendered educational opportunities contributed to consequent gendered intergenerational class shift. In other words, I was looking for some reasons to explain the fact that the four younger Hoppenstein brothers in the second generation who had studied at university all made ‘good’ marriages to daughters of middle-class merchant or professional Jewish families who helped to establish them in business (and this also happened in the third generation), whereas the Hoppenstein sisters in the same generation, who had no dowry nor opportunities to progress to higher education, all married men from working-class Jewish families. This new information that Eva had studied at university seemed to contradict my theory. However, Eva married a photographer, the son of a commercial traveller: her education did not seem to have provided her with additional economic resources. The information to back up this theory – relating to occupations of parents, type of housing – was available from marriage certificates and also from the wills and testaments, and accompanying inventories.

David Daiches writes about the sons and daughters of the Edinburgh ‘treblers’ (an approximation of the Yiddish pronunciation of ‘travellers’), ‘making full use of the city’s admirable educational facilities, [growing] up to be doctors and scientists and professors, changing their names from Pinkinsky to Penn, from Finkelstein to Fenton, from Turansky to Torrence’.<sup>48</sup> In the

<sup>44</sup> P. Bourdieu, ‘The Forms of Capital’, in (ed.) J. G. Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport, CT, 1986), 241–58.

<sup>45</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 May 1906, 24 April 1908, 8 April 1910, 5 August 1910. Also Andrew Connor, personal communication with the author (email, 14 November 2007): ‘Isaac was a busy chap that year [1905–06], [I] wasn’t looking for him but still found him scoring 95% in First Year Mechanics, Physics and Chemistry, winning a medal for each, while also coming second in his Mathematics First Year studies with 93%. Just by chance I also found a mention [of him] in 1904–05 winning a medal in Inorganic Chemistry with 85%.’

<sup>46</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 May 1908, 28 April 1911, 12 January 1912, 15 November 1912.

<sup>47</sup> L. Richmond, *Women at the University of Glasgow: Past & Present* (Glasgow, 2008), [http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media\\_109450\\_cn.pdf](http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_109450_cn.pdf).

<sup>48</sup> Daiches, *Two Worlds*.

Hoppenstein family, not one grandchild in the third generation inherited the Hoppenstein name. The daughters who married took their husbands' names, of course, and both sons who married changed their name prior to marriage.<sup>49</sup>

In a very interesting example of a family using the naming process as an archival record in itself, several branches of the family, while casting off the name 'Hoppenstein', which harked back to the immigrant generation and might render members of the second generation targets of anti-Semitism, kept a flavour of the surname by making a change to 'Stone' or to 'Hope-Stone'. Marcus Hoppenstein put an advertisement in the *Herald* newspaper in 1918 giving notice that he was changing his name to Marcus H. [for Hope] Stone.<sup>50</sup>

Several branches of the family even now use 'Hope' as a middle name, for males and for females. Abigail Elizabeth Hope Panter, for example, was born in 2004. She is the great-great-great-granddaughter of Zvi David and Sophia Hoppenstein, and the great-great-granddaughter of Beattie Hertz, their fifth child. Born more than 100 years after Zvi David and Sophia came to this country, she bears a part of Zvi David's name as a tangible link to the immigrant past of the family. Names, then, for the open-minded researcher, can sometimes provide surprising clues to historical connections.

The archival sources provide quite a lot of evidence about name changing – and, of course, it must be added that people changing their name can also cause a lot of confusion for the archivist, and this is particularly an issue when researching immigrant communities.<sup>51</sup> Several of the second-generation Hoppenstein children were to change their first names as well as their surname. The nine second-generation Hoppenstein children were given the names Eva Ettey, Abraham Aaron, Isaac, Solomon, Hannah Beatrice, Liebe Golde, Mordechai, Moses and Esther. Mordechai was known as Marcus from a very early age: his father listed him as being called Marcus in his application for naturalisation, dated 1894 when Marcus was only one year old.<sup>52</sup> The other children kept their given names at school (as we can see from the registers),<sup>53</sup> but by the time they were adults four of the sons and one daughter had changed their first name. Liebe Golde was known as Lily by the time of her marriage to Manuel Goldberg in 1925 as we can see from the marriage certificate. Solomon, while still using his given name at university, as we know from an article in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1908,<sup>54</sup> had changed his first name to Sydney by the time of the announcement of his marriage in that same newspaper in

<sup>49</sup> Some of the descendants of Zvi David's brothers and cousins who emigrated to the USA or South Africa still keep the Hoppenstein name.

<sup>50</sup> *The Herald*, 12 December 1918.

<sup>51</sup> Frank, 'An outsider wherever I am?', 111–18.

<sup>52</sup> TNA, B17354 Application for Naturalisation by Mr David Hoppenstein.

<sup>53</sup> Edinburgh, Boroughmuir School, Examination Lists, First Term, Session 1911–12; Second Term, Session 1912–13.

<sup>54</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 May 1908.

1920.<sup>55</sup> Moses Hoppenstein changed his first name to Moss, as we know, for example, from his army records.<sup>56</sup>

Although Abraham Aaron was listed as Abraham in the 1901 census at the age of fifteen,<sup>57</sup> he was using the name Harry Hoppenstein by the time he emigrated to the USA in 1911 as we know from the New York Passenger Lists.<sup>58</sup> I had lost hope of tracing Harry Hoppenstein in the USA – having paid people to look through records in the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, to no avail. Then, in the last few days before completing my thesis I happened to be at the Scottish Jewish Archives Centre when one of Harry’s great-nephews dropped off some papers there, one of which happened to be a burial record for a Harry Stein – a piece of paper which would have meant very little to anyone else but me, and solved a problem that had haunted me throughout my doctoral research. I had had very little idea of what had happened to Abraham Aaron Hoppenstein when he got to America, what name he used over there, and whether he kept his Jewish roots. This piece of paper answered at least the latter two questions to my entire satisfaction, telling me that he had gone under the name Stein in America, and that he or his friends had considered his Judaism important enough to choose a Jewish burial.<sup>59</sup>

The matter of death, wills, and inventories taken on death also provide useful information about those members of the family who died in Scotland. In the few intergenerational accounts of immigrant families that I read while carrying out the research into the Hoppenstein family, I did not find any which had used wills as source material. The information in wills and inventories, however, showed the differences in the amounts of heritable and movable estate left by the ‘professional’ families and by the working-class families; and also provided information about who had reported the deaths, and even who had been the family doctor (some of the doctors were also Jewish).

One set of published wills also provided an unexpected, sad personal story. Julius Hertz was married to Beattie Hoppenstein, one of the second generation. When I requested copies of the wills of all the members of the second generation and their spouses, I was sent, along with a bundle of official typed documents from the National Archives of Scotland (now National Records of Scotland) a copy of Julius’s will in the form of a handwritten note, in quavery writing, composed in hospital in November 1976 at the time of his final illness; he was to die the following month. It read:

<sup>55</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 February 1920.

<sup>56</sup> See for example TNA, WO 372/10 British Army, WWI Medal Rolls Index Cards, Private Moss Hoppenstein, Highland Light Infantry. 1914–20.

<sup>57</sup> NRS, Census Entry for the Hoppenstein family, 1901, 1901685/01123/01007.

<sup>58</sup> Manhattan, Ellis Island Foundation, New York Passenger Lists 1820–1957: SS Mauretania, Port of departure Liverpool/Queenstown, date of arrival 30 June 1911.

<sup>59</sup> Glasgow, Private collection, David Stone. Burial Record of Harry Stein, died 31 October 1957. Flushing, NY, Block 58, Lot 11, Section 9, Grave 13, range A/B.

My son Leslie, my brother Israel, my sister Sarah and sister Leah, my solemn desire is not to burden themselves with religious duties because it is too much of a strain to keep things up to date. I have no desire to put themselves out in any way. Yours and my love to you all, signed J. Hertz.

All my belongings to be divided with the four members of my family mentioned above. Having my brother Israel Hertz to carry this out.<sup>60</sup>

The will was witnessed by two Scottish neighbours, Josephine Burns and Cecilia MacKeys, both of Dundrennan Road where Julius had lived all his married life.

In this note, Julius was suggesting that his family should not carry out the seven-day religious ritual of the *shiva house* – his only son had ‘married out’ and was no longer practising Judaism, his wife at the time was in residential care; and he was, by writing this letter, absolving them of any guilt in not carrying out the normal practice associated with a Jewish burial – and stating his desire not to be a burden on his relatives.

The archive, then, can provide statistics, addresses, numbers, and factual information – but sometimes it can provide unexpected heart-rending material, which provides an insight into the motivation of people long since departed. Spending time in the archives as well as doing the oral history interviews for my PhD research helped me to feel that I was authenticating and providing background context for the interviews, as recommended by Watson and by Grele – both cited at the beginning of this article. From my exploration of the archive, I learned that it is important to look at, but also around and through the archival information. For example, looking on the previous page or the next page of the census or the valuation rolls to the item that you are searching for, allows you to see information about the immediate neighbours. A marriage certificate does not just tell you the date of that particular marriage, but also, for example, gives clues about the class background of the protagonists, and their home addresses – so it can be seen how far the couple choose to live from the bride’s and the groom’s parents. And as I have shown, wills and inventories can sometimes throw up unexpected personal correspondence.

The lesson for the archivist, of course – from the last two stories but, really, from all the stories outlined above – is that there is always a space for synchronicity, and for the work of the ‘historian-detective’; and also that every piece of information in an archive provides the backup information for a longer story that can be told by an imaginative and well-informed researcher with the time and inclination to find it.

<sup>60</sup> NRS, 150 763 C/77 Will of Julius Hertz, Glasgow, 5 November 1976.