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Researching Jewish Families in Belfast

- Pamela McIlveen and William Roulston

This Belfast Jewish community is currently celebrating the centenary of the opening of the synagogue in Annesley Street, just off Carlisle Circus in the north of the city. Opened in August 1904 by Sir Otto Jaffe, for many Russian and Polish immigrants the synagogue proved to be something of a refuge after a hard day's work in what were often demanding circumstances. Journalist Martin Sieff, a former Belfast Telegraph reporter now with United Press International, sums up the hold of the synagogue for him and for many members of the Jewish congregation in the city:

To me it really was a shul from the long centuries of Galut [exile] with all the romance, atmosphere, and mystery that accrued.¹

It may therefore be timely to remember that there was a quite substantial settlement of Jewish people who arrived and resided, largely in north Belfast, in the last quarter of the nineteenth and first few decades of the twentieth centuries. In this context, it may be appropriate to consider the question of how a researcher might set about reconstructing Jewish families in Northern Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is important to emphasise that the approach adopted is very much that of the genealogist. At the same time it is not our intention to give a detailed presentation of all the sources that could be used to research Jewish ancestors in Northern Ireland, but rather to give some pointers as to how the history of Jewish families in the province might be explored further. Genealogical sources are of course about people so this perspective should be of interest to social historians as well as those researching specific Jewish families. The geographical focus will be on Belfast because this is where the great majority of Jewish families in the northern part of Ireland lived.

Historical background

The Jewish community in Belfast differed immensely in size and chronology from its counterparts in Dublin and Great Britain. Whilst England can date the arrival of Jews to the medieval period, the earliest record of a Jewish resident in what is now Northern Ireland is the solitary figure of a tailor – Manuel Lightfoot – living in Belfast in 1652.² There are virtually no records of any other Jews in Belfast until the middle of the nineteenth century. The earliest Belfast entry in a register of Jewish births kept in Dublin is that of Meir Levy, to whom a male child was born in 1849. In the Belfast and Province of Ulster Directory of 1852 Meir Levy & Co., drapers and hatters, were listed at 61 High Street. The Jewish population in Belfast remained small, however: in 1861 it was only 11, while in 1881 it was still only 61. It was also mainly German in origin.

The immigration of German Jews into Ulster predates the larger eastern European immigration by about twenty to thirty years. Daniel Joseph Jaffe, a Hamburg merchant, came to Belfast in 1845 with the intention of establishing contacts for the purchase of linen goods.³ By 1852 the Jaffe family had moved to Belfast and opened a linen house in the city, shipping linen back to the family offices in Dundee, Paris, Hamburg, Leipzig and New York and agents further afield in Russia and South America.⁴ In the aforementioned Belfast and Province of Ulster Directory of 1852 Jaffe [sic] Brothers, merchants, are listed at 4 Fountain Lane in the city.

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Although small in number and present for just over half a century, the German Jews who came to Belfast from the 1850s to the 1870s were the foundation of a permanent Jewish community in Northern Ireland. They provided lay-leadership and tangible financial and charitable support to their eastern European co-religionists. Following the May Laws introduced in Russia in 1882, hundreds of thousands of Jews fled westwards. Some 150,000 eastern European Jews arrived in Britain in less than 25 years, several hundred of whom made their way to the north of Ireland, mainly to Belfast. In 1901 there were 708 Jews in Belfast and by 1911 the number had risen to 1,139, nearly all of whom were Ashkenazi Jews from central and eastern Europe. Many of these Jews worked in a concentrated number of trades as tailors, shoemakers and cabinetmakers and a large number were travelling salesmen. When the first census was held in Northern Ireland in 1926 there were 1,149 Jews in Belfast.

The Jaffe family

When studying Jewish families in Belfast it is difficult not to devote a disproportionate amount of time to one family in particular. The wealth of sources available to anyone wishing to research the Jaffe family tree is remarkable. The family claimed descent from a Medieval religious scholar, Rabbi Mordechai Jaffe of Prague, and through him from the greatest of all Jewish Bible scholars, the eleventh-century Rashi.⁵ Perhaps the most famous, they were also the first German Jewish linen merchants to settle and trade in the city, and certainly the most successful. Studying the Jaffe family opens avenues into records of Jewish participation in trade, industry, commerce, politics, charity work, education, local government and the arts. Both Louis Hyman and Bernard Shillman give accounts of the family's beginnings in and departure from Ireland.⁶

The Jewish quarter of the City Cemetery is the final resting place of the founder and organizer of the city's Jewish congregation – Daniel Joseph Jaffe, born in Mecklenburg, Schwerin, on 19 August 1809. Daniel Joseph's son Martin held the first Jewish services in Northern Ireland in his Holywood home under the auspices of the British Chief Rabbi, but it was his father who, on 7 July 1871, laid the foundation stone of the synagogue in Great Victoria Street. Daniel Joseph Jaffe died in Nice on 21 January but was buried in Belfast thanks to his son Martin's success in securing the plot of land in City Cemetery which was to become the Jewish Cemetery.

In many ways, however, it is the legacy of Daniel Joseph's son – Otto – that often overshadows his father's testimony. Otto was described most famously by his contemporaries as 'shrewd, sharp-witted, far seeing and [whilst] almost parsimonious in business, he is lavish in unostentatious charities'.⁷ He was elected a city councillor in 1894, was elected as Belfast's first Lord Mayor in 1899 (the first incumbent of the title under the new status of the city as a county borough). He was knighted after his first term, served as High Sheriff and was re-elected as Lord Mayor in 1904. Sir Otto's had a deep interest in education. The Jaffe school, by his stipulation, was not exclusively Jewish – Catholics and Protestants attended as pupils and served as staff and on the management board. He was also a pioneer in the foundation of Belfast's Technical College and contributed £4,000 to Queen's University.

Otto Jaffe made a huge contribution to the consolidation of the Jewish community in the province. As life president of the Belfast Congregation he contributed the majority of the funds required to build a new synagogue to house the two separate Great Victoria Street and Regent Street congregations. On 31 August 1904 Sir Otto opened the new synagogue in Annesley Street, Carlisle Circus. As JP, member of the Harbour Board, member of the first senate of Queen's University, Governor of the Royal Victoria Hospital, German Consul in Belfast, twice Lord Mayor and knighted, Sir Otto Jaffe was the representation of Jewish civic virtue; a fully integrated philanthropist, leader of both his co-religionists and non-Jewish citizens. Yet Otto Jaffe has no headstone in Northern Ireland. In 1916, after 25 years of service in the Belfast Corporation, he moved to England following

intimidation aimed at the family during the First World War because of their German roots.⁸ The family's loyalty was without question: they returned to support the war effort in the mainland with Otto's son Arthur Daniel serving in the British army. Sir Otto died and was cremated in London in 1929.

Civil registration

The main sources of basic family history information about the Jewish community in Belfast and Northern Ireland in this period are the civil registers of births, deaths and marriages. All births, deaths and marriages were registered from 1864. Non-Catholic marriages are registered from 1 April 1845. Not only did this mean Protestant marriages, it also included marriages conducted in the newly-created registry offices. Here we find the first marriage in Belfast involving members of the Jewish community. This was the marriage on 15 November 1859 of Marcus Robert Mendlessohn and Malvina Jaffe. Mendlessohn was a merchant whose address was given as Donegall Square East. His father was Robert Mendleson, also a merchant, a fairly general term for anyone involved in business. Malvina, whose residence was given as Holywood, was the daughter of Daniel Joseph Jaffe.

In 1875, four years after the opening of the Great Victoria Street synagogue in Belfast, the first recorded marriage conducted under its auspices took place: that of George Betzold of Wilmont Terrace, a linen merchant, and Anne Rosenbaum of Ulsterville Avenue. Around 150 Jewish marriages took place in Belfast in the period between 1875 and 1921.⁹ Nearly all of them were conducted under the auspices of the Great Victoria Street and Annesley Street synagogues. Only two marriages – in 1902 and 1903 – are recorded for the short-lived Regent Street synagogue.

Birth registers for Northern Ireland are available from 1864 in the General Register Office in Chichester St in Belfast. An official birth certificate will not indicate the religion of the child. It is therefore not possible to search specifically for the births of Jewish children. The Ulster Historical Foundation has a relatively small number of civil births on its database, but, during research, the following was discovered which is of some interest. This is the birth record of Chaim (or Chayim as it was written in the certificate) Herzog, son of Isaac Herzog, the Jewish rabbi, and Sarah Hillman – born on 17 September 1918 at 2 Norman Villas, Cliftonpark Avenue in north Belfast. Chaim Herzog of course became president of Israel in 1983; he died in 1997.

Death registers for Northern Ireland are also available in the General Register Office in Belfast from 1864. Irish death certificates are fairly uninformative: the name, age, marital status and occupation of the deceased, the date, place and cause of death, and the name and qualification of the informant is provided. The indexes to civil death registers usefully provide the age of the deceased.

Census records

Beginning in 1821, a census was held in Ireland every ten years until 1911. However, the earliest complete census surviving for the whole of Ireland is from no earlier than 1901. Censuses for the thirty-year period 1821-51 were almost entirely destroyed in Dublin when the Public Record Office was burned in the Four Courts fire in June 1922, while those for 1861-91 were pulped on government orders during the First World War. The originals of both the 1901 and 1911 censuses are available in the National Archives in Dublin. At present only the 1901 census on microfilm is available in the Public Record Office in Belfast. The 1926 census for Northern Ireland was also intentionally destroyed.

To take as an example of the nature of the information contained in census records 13 Hopefield Avenue in north Belfast in 1911 may be used. The head of the household was Frank Wine and he lived there with his wife Julia and their children, Bertram and Sybil. There were three other occupants of the house. Mark Sugden a visiting wallpaper merchant, and two servants,

Margaret Crawford and Eliza Drennan. Particularly useful about census returns is that they will give the place of birth. For those born outside British Isles this will be no more specific than the country. Thus we see that Frank Wine was born in Russia, not necessarily the Russia we understand today due to changes in political boundaries. His wife, however, was born in Manchester and we can possibly surmise that Frank stopped off there for some time prior to coming to Ireland. It is interesting to note that Mark Sugden was also born in Manchester.

By cross-referencing the information in this census return to civil birth registers we find that Bertram Wine was born on 10 March 1908 at 44 Orient Gardens, while Sybil was born on 31 October 1910 at Hopefield Avenue (both in Belfast). These registers also provide us with Julia's maiden name, Nathan. At least one other child was born: Beatrice Flora on 16 June 1913 when the family was living at 11 Easton Crescent. Three children born at three different addresses in the space of five years is an illustration of the housing mobility of the population in Belfast at this time, a phenomenon not just confined to the Jewish community.

School records

School records provide a fascinating insight into the education of Jewish children in Belfast. The registers of Regent Street School, afterwards known as the Jaffe School, date from 1898, with the first pupils beginning classes on 10 March of that year. Both male and female registers are available for inspection in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, from 1898 to the 1940s for boys and the 1950s for girls.¹⁰ The information contained in the registers includes the name, address, religion and date of birth of the pupil, the occupation, but unfortunately not the name of the father, and the date of entrance to the school. The name of the former school attended, if applicable, is also stated. There is also a useful column entitled, 'Destination of pupil'. In many cases this was entered simply as 'another school', 'gone to work', 'technical college' or 'apprenticeship'. However, a significant number of pupils emigrated. In many cases it will simply say, 'emigrated'. Occasionally more specific information will be provided. For example, the sisters, Fanny and Edith Appleton of Perth Street, who started school on 10 April 1907, emigrated to South Africa. Maurice Tyterbaum of Hillman Street, who started school on 23 September 1912 emigrated to America.

The school was not exclusively Jewish. An examination of the first boys' register, covering the period 1898-1916, reveals that of the 500 pupils recorded 79, or approximately 16 per cent, were not from Jewish backgrounds. These were made up of 29 Presbyterians, 26 Roman Catholics, 20 Anglicans, three styled 'Christian' and one styled 'Protestant'. The Jaffe School was not the only elementary school attended by Jewish children. Indeed many of the elementary schools in north Belfast had Jewish pupils at one time or another. For secondary level education Jewish children attended schools such as Belfast Royal Academy and Royal Belfast Academical Institution.¹¹

Wills and testamentary papers

Prior to 1858 the administration of wills was the responsibility of the Church of Ireland. However, from 1858 the state assumed responsibility for this. Virtually all original wills 1858-1900 were destroyed in Dublin in 1922, but transcripts of wills probated at the district registries of Armagh, Belfast and Londonderry are available on microfilm in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Genealogists use wills primarily to establish family links, but information contained in a will can extend far beyond this to give us an idea of the social, economic, religious and philanthropic activities of the testator. They also provide us with some idea of the wealth of Jewish families in Belfast at this time.

Daniel Joseph Jaffe died at Nice on 21 January 1874. On 9 February his will was proved at Belfast with his executors including Martin Jaffe and Joseph

John Jaffe of Belfast, Otto Moses Jaffe of New York and Siegmund Armin Oppe of London. His effects in the United Kingdom were valued at the staggeringly high figure of £140,000. The wealth of the Jaffes should not give the impression that all Jewish families in Belfast were of similar means. In fact most Jews did not leave a will, leaving us with no information on their financial standing.

One who did make a will was Caroline Boas (wife of the German Jewish merchant Herman) who lived at Windsor Park. She died in 1916 and was buried at Carnmoney. Her will provides us an intricate picture of domestic Jewish life in Belfast in the second decade of the twentieth century. Her home life was no doubt similar to many 'middle class' Jewish homes in Northern Ireland throughout the first half of the last century, filled with the objects of suburban domesticity: family portraits, sterling silver teapots, a Sheffield candelabra and hand painted china. We can see from the wills and testaments of Herman Fox, Albert Cohen, Sophia Cohen and a multitude of others that charitable organisations were supported by individual gifts bequeathed in wills or donated seasonally, like the Passover Relief Fund. The wills of Daniel Joseph Jaffe, the Cohens, Herman Fox, Harris Sergie and Samuel Freeman include generous bequests to local hospitals.

Gravestone inscriptions

Gravestone inscriptions are an immensely important source for studying family history. The earliest known gravestone to a Jew in Northern Ireland can be found in the graveyard attached to Derrriaghy Church of Ireland church. It commemorates the death of Nathaniel Kronheim on 18 September 1852 at the age of 80. The informative inscription reads:

Underneath lie the mortal remains of Nathaniel Kronheim Born in Prussia Silesia and an Israelite according to the flesh but converted by the grace of God to the faith of the gospel which he afterwards lived to promote in public and in private for the space of 20 years during 18 of which he was employed in Ireland and especially in Ulster as agent to The Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews. Thus did he endeavour to serve that Saviour in whom he believed and whom he loved until in death he could say 'Lord now lettest thou thy servant Depart in Peace according to thy word For mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' This monument has been erected by a few of his personal friends as a small memorial of affectionate regard. He departed to his rest on the 18th Sept. 1852 aged nearly 80 years.

There is also an inscription in Hebrew on the face of the column. It reads in translation: 'Pray for the peace of Jerusalem'.

Mention has already been made of the Jewish quarter of Belfast City Cemetery. The City Cemetery was opened on 1 August 1869 to provide burial space in a rapidly expanding industrial city where the longer established graveyards were becoming overcrowded. In the autumn of 1870 formal proposals were made regarding the walling off of a section for burials of members of the Jewish community.¹² Martin Jaffe, Honorary Secretary of the Hebrew Congregation, was the principal representative of the Jewish community at the meetings involving the corporation. Final approval came in 1871. The names and addresses of those who purchased graves can still be accessed in the records at the City Cemetery office, and these are a useful indication of the geographical spread of many of the first Jewish immigrants.

Also of some interest and value is a set of gravestone recordings taken by John and Patrick Holden as far back as Sunday, 11 October 1955. Over 100 names are listed, together with dates of birth, if given, and dates of death. Occasionally some additional information is provided. It is noted, for example, that Daniel Joseph Jaffe was born at Schwerin and died at Nice. A copy of these inscriptions can be consulted in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.¹³ The value of the names transcribed lies in the fact that vandalism has resulted in the destruction of many headstones in the Jewish section of Belfast City cemetery, while others have apparently been removed.¹⁴

The expansion of the Jewish population in Belfast by the early twentieth century created a need for a second cemetery. With a large proportion of the Jewish community living in the north of the city, consideration was given to acquiring a plot of land for a burial ground in this area. In 1909 an application for a cemetery in the Rural District of Carnmoney was made to Belfast Rural District Council.¹⁵ Despite a letter of objection from the Reverend R. J. Clarke, rector of the parish of Carnmoney, who believed that there were already too many cemeteries in the area, the application was granted. Soon afterwards a site in Carnmoney was purchased by Samuel Freeman, a house furnisher from York Street, and Maurice Goldring, a financier in Donegall Street. Trustees were then appointed who, in addition to Freeman and Goldring, included Sir Otto Jaffe, Luis Berwitz, another house furnisher in York Street, and David Levinson of Clones, County Monaghan, a merchant. Following the opening of this second cemetery the Jewish quarter at Belfast City Cemetery was less frequently used. The graveyard at Carnmoney, protected by a high wall and a secure gate, is in very good condition.

Two headstones at Carnmoney with interesting inscriptions read: "Deborah Fox, Founder and President of the Hebrew Benevolent Society" and "Herman Fox, Honorary President of the Belfast Hebrew Congregation and President of the Belfast Board of Guardians". They died on the 22 September 1923 and 10 August 1932 respectively.

Herman Fox, along with his wife Deborah, helped to organise the Belfast Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Belfast Hebrew Board of Guardians. These organisations are incredibly elusive to those searching for any written record of their purpose and activities. Yet among those members of the Jewish community who witnessed their work, their legacy is resolute. Members of the financially secure German Jewish families organised a support network (independent of the state Poor Law Guardians) which provided interest free loans or small gifts to Jewish families in financial need, many of whom were eastern European immigrants, to enable them to "find their feet" and establish small businesses in their trades. Along with seasonal gifts from the Passover Relief Fund etc. and Hebrew Friendly Societies an intricate support network was established within the Jewish community which linked Jewish "working class" tradesmen to the wealthier commercial German Jewish families. In Jewish society the synagogue formed the pivot around which a multitude of family run support groups worked to keep the heads of immigrant Jews above water in times of crisis. The experiences of individual members of the Jewish community were far from uniform, yet the collective experience of emigration and common religious belief gave the community a distinctive coherence by the beginning of the twentieth century.

The inscriptions of a number of headstones highlight two further areas of Jewish history in Northern Ireland which require much more intensive research, the current resources for which are admittedly quite sparse. These are the experiences of the community during the First and Second World Wars and the history of the Gibraltar Jews in Northern Ireland. Carnmoney cemetery holds the headstones of Flight Sergeant B. E. Samuels of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Albert Goldstone, 'lost in Action, Hamburg 1942', pilot Louis Sergai (who served in the American Forces) and the grave of Harris Sergai whose son Bennett Sergai was lost in action in the Great War (Harris's will makes mention of monies made payable to him by the American Government for the loss of his son). These headstones are in part testimony to Jewish loyalty towards the British war effort. We know that 50,000 Jews served in the British forces in WW1 and that of this 1,596 were decorated.¹⁶ Also, because of the propensity for a large number of Jews to work in civilian occupations and trades, a large majority were conscripted into service in England, thus the proportion of Jews in the armed forces in England was higher than in the general population.

The Gibraltarian Jews buried in Carnmoney include Isaac Rafael Attias, Joseph Benselum, Reuben Benggio and Leah Pariente. Jews had lived in Gibraltar in the fourteenth century. However, when the island passed to English control in 1713 the Jewish residents were expelled until 1749. At its

height, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community in Gibraltar numbered 2,000, a time when the colony's strategic importance was most acute. During the Second World War the Jewish community was evacuated with the rest of the inhabitants to other British territories. A very small number made their way to Northern Ireland, with Joseph Benselum even residing in Saintfield. There has however been little research into the numbers of Gibraltarian Jews that came to Northern Ireland (gravestones are admittedly only an indication of those who stayed).

Home Affairs files

The papers generated by the Ministry of Home Affairs in the new Northern Ireland government created in 1921 form a vast and, as far as genealogists are concerned, under-used source. Part of the reason for this is the lack of a comprehensive index to all of the files. It was not possible in the course of research for this article to examine the early documents systematically, but just glancing through the PRONI list a number of intriguing files were noted.

One in particular is of considerable interest. It concerns the application of Samuel Samuels, formerly Dmitrovski, of 3 Hopefield Avenue, Belfast, for naturalisation.¹⁷ To begin with a public notice was placed in the Northern Whig newspaper on 26 May 1927 which set forth that Samuel Samuels was applying for naturalisation and that if anyone had any objections to this they should contact the Home Office. With no objections having been received, police enquiries were conducted into Samuel Samuels' background. A report was prepared which reads like a detailed CV of the man and his family.

Samuel Dmitrovski was born in Kamentetz Litovsk, Poland, on 20 October 1874, to Russian parents, Hirsch and Fage Dmitrovski. Samuel arrived in Northern Ireland on 15 August 1910 with no documents. He adopted the name Samuel Samuels and the family was now known by that name. He was described as being of 'good character and loyal'. He could speak, read and write English, Hebrew and Yiddish. He intended to reside in the British Dominions for the remainder of his life and would, if called upon, enter the service of the crown. His application for naturalisation was for business reasons. He has two daughters married to British subjects and a third was soon (November 1927) to marry another, Emanuel Ryness of Glasgow.

His residences in Northern Ireland since arrival had been:

169 North St, 1910-11

19 Carlisle St, September 1911-13

32 Carlisle St, 1913-15

10 Antrim Rd, 1915-21

3 Hopefield Ave 1921-to date

He was a retail draper – the owner of five establishments. He had two sons and six daughters, all of whom had been born in Poland. Samuel married in March 1893 (initially this was incorrectly given as 1903) at Puzanna, Poland. His wife was Polish. Still at home were his daughters: Polly (born 1907), Annie (born June 1909), Leah and Esther. All the birth certificates had been destroyed in Poland. His sons' Leon and Joseph Dmitrovski were to apply for naturalisation also. Naturalisation was granted to Samuel Samuels on 30 July 1928.

A file from 1931 concerns the application by Rabbi Schachter to employ Gerson Sungalowsky, a Lithuanian Jew then living in Belgium, as the reader, ritual slaughterer and circumcisor to the Belfast Hebrew congregation.¹⁸ There was a considerable amount of prevarication on the part of the authorities over this application and when Sungalowsky was allowed to move to Belfast he left after three weeks. Another file in this collection, covering the period 1923-5, relates to the imprisonment for larceny of Jacob

Harris, a Russian from Livonia, and the arrangements for his deportation.¹⁹ Further careful research in this archive should reveal more references to Jewish individuals and families in Belfast in this period.

Conclusion

Through studying the genealogy of Jewish men and women from a variety of backgrounds and classes we can see the diversity of this small community over a century of change and in doing so chart the changes and developments of society collectively and the Jewish community in particular. It is important that in what is eventually becoming a multi-cultural and more diverse society that we do not forget just how peculiar and fascinating the presence of German, Russian and Polish Jewish families would have initially appeared to the working class men and women of north Belfast, who in all reality had limited experience of other cultures or nationalities. The presence of the Jewish peddler, carpenter, draper, glazier, baker, tailor, traveler, jeweler, carpenter or even Rabbi²⁰ must have had a remarkable effect on broadening the cultural horizons of Belfast's indigenous residents. This subject of Jewish experience in Belfast's Protestant and Catholic ghettos needs much more research, and quickly before the spoken recollections of a past generation is forgotten.

We have not provided many answers to questions about the social composition of the Jewish community in Northern Ireland, but have rather outlined the building blocks that are available to do so. Using the sources highlighted in this essay, it ought to be possible to build up a more detailed picture of this community from the middle of the nineteenth century. Much work needs to be done before we have a fuller understanding and a more informed appreciation of the contribution of the Jewish community to life in Northern Ireland at both the economic and social level, not to mention the religious, political and cultural dimensions. Hopefully there will be those who will be stimulated to take this up.

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Notes

1. Linen Hall Newsletter, no. 22, November 2004 p. 7.
2. Cecil Roth, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, p. 5; Harold Ross, *History of the Jews in Ireland* (privately published, no date).
3. Harold Ross, *op. cit.*
4. Louis Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland: from Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (Shannon, 1972), p. 208.
5. *Jewish Encyclopedia* VII.
6. Hyman, *op. cit.*, p. 208; Bernard Shillman, *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland* (Dublin, 1945).
7. Hyman, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
8. Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland* (Cork, 1998), p. 69.
9. The Ulster Historical Foundation has a database of these marriages.

10. PRONI SCH/240/1/1-2.

11. The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland has records of over 1,500 schools in Northern Ireland. An index of the schools covered is available to aid the researcher.

12. PRONI LA/7/11AB/2, Minutes of the Cemetery Committee of the Belfast Corporation, 1867-87

13. PRONI T/1602/1.

14. See www.historyfromheadstones.com for a case study of the Jewish quarter at Belfast City Cemetery by Pamela McIlveen (or Linden as she was then).

15. PRONI LA/59/2F/6, Belfast Rural District Council minutes.

16. Cecil Roth, op. cit., p 760

17. PRONI HA/5/1447.

18. PRONI HA/5/795.

19. PRONI HA/5/779.

20. Michael Leinkram aged 48, Rabbi, born Austria. (1901 census for Bristol Street, Belfast, National Archives of Ireland, ref A93/8).

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