A CENTURY OF ANGLO-JEWISH LIFE 1870-1970



Edited by

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A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life

Lectures to commemorate the
Centenary of the United Synagogue

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Introduction

The Centenary of the United Synagogue, 1870-1970, was commemorated in a number of different ways. Her Majesty the Queen and H.R.H. Prince Philip honoured the United Synagogue by attending a Reception given by its president, Sir Isaac Wolfson, on 22 June 1970, at the Dorchester Hotel. The Chief Rabbi welcomed the Royal guests and Sir Isaac presented Her Majesty with a silver-backed Hebrew Bible specially made in Israel for the occasion. On 19 July 1970, there was a Service of Thanksgiving at the St. John's Wood Synagogue, where the Chief Rabbi addressed a vast, representative gathering. There was a Centenary Exhibition at Christie's from 7 to 18 September 1970, opened by the Lord Mayor *locum tenens*, Alderman Sir Charles Trinder. Here the treasures of the United Synagogue, its scrolls, ritual silver, textiles and documents were on display. Of further interest was a symposium entitled, "Looking Ahead" held at Hendon Synagogue on 26 May 1971, in which the Chief Rabbi, Rabbi Raymond Apple, Dr Vivian Lipman, Dr Aubrey Newman and the writer participated. Currently there is being written a history of the United Synagogue by Dr Newman, which should prove a work of major importance.

We are here concerned with the course of eight lectures entitled "A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life", jointly arranged by the United Synagogue and the Jewish Historical Society of England. The first lecture in the series was given by Dr Newman on 16 September 1970, in the Adolph Tuck Hall, Woburn House, and thereafter the lectures were held at University College. In view of the historicity of the United Synagogue and its central role in Jewish life in this country, it was natural that it should approach the Jewish Historical Society of England to join with it in organising this course of lectures which, while centering on the United Synagogue, would also be concerned with aspects of the broader life of Anglo-Jewry during the century. These inevitably revealed the dominant role of the United Synagogue in all fields of Anglo-Jewish life, religious, educational, communal and charitable.

All the lecturers are members of the Jewish Historical Society of England and the United Synagogue pays tribute to the academic standing of that Society in the cultural life of Anglo-Jewry. As chairman of the committee responsible for organising the Centenary Exhibition and lectures, I should like to thank the lecturers for their papers in this series, which richly deserves to be given permanent form by means of this publication. By agreement with the Jewish Historical Society, the United Synagogue was glad to undertake the publication of the lectures, although in accordance with usual practice, neither the United Synagogue nor the Jewish Historical Society are responsible for views expressed by the lecturers.

I am grateful to Mr Edward Jamilly for his advice and assistance in the selection of illustrations. We endeavoured to select pictures re-

presentative of the various stages in the development of the United Synagogue including in that development, of course, the three City Synagogues dating from the early eighteenth century. So far as synagogues are concerned, it is to be regretted that there are no imposing exteriors, as in the case of the buildings of other faiths. This is no doubt due to our vigorous monotheism shunning images and likenesses. It reflects also a migrant and wandering people, with little incentive to create great buildings that would attract attention. It is the inner spirit that matters and this is reflected in the desire of the Jew to adorn the interior of his synagogue, and to make the Holy Ark its most beautiful and focal point.

What of the future of the United Synagogue? Will its patterns remain as before? Are there changes in the womb of time which we should encourage and not abort if the United Synagogue is to continue to dominate the Anglo-Jewish scene and enfold its masses in the decades ahead? These questions were the substance of the symposium to which I have already referred. The principles of the United Synagogue were amply realised during the first hundred years of its existence. It had a rigid constitution, it was ruled paternally, the synagogues were branches of a highly organised unit and all their income and assets flowed into one pool. It was a community built up over the years by immigration from countries which oppressed their Jews. It is not likely that Anglo-Jewry will again increase its numbers by this means. The community has assimilated thoroughly and has followed the patterns of the wider host community — in some respects it has excelled the model. Its birth-rate, and the statistics of marriage and death, the advent of the secular Jew and the attraction of Israel for aliyah, now point to a community that is not merely static, but has begun to decline. Nevertheless, so far as can be foreseen, Anglo-Jewry will remain a substantial community for a long time to come.

The chances are, too, that the majority of Anglo-Jewry will remain within the ambit of Orthodox Judaism. In this respect we are at an advantage over our brethren in the United States. Writers on the American community have shown that Jewish life in America is concentric. There is an inner, older circle of Orthodox Jews, a middle ring of Conservative Jews and an outer ring of Reform Jews. In England the movement of Jews out of metropolitan areas has been different, and certainly in London so far as the United Synagogue is concerned. Through the development of that body, orthodoxy reached the outer suburbs before Progressive Judaism. The problems of the future, nevertheless, are formidable enough if we are to attract young people to membership, encourage local initiative, and shed paternalism. Among the members of the United Synagogue there is an ever increasing number of university graduates and of those with professional skills; their service must be welcomed and, indeed, if we lost them, the future of the United Synagogue would be bleak.

The age of mutual aid, which was a supreme quality of the past, must not be allowed to deteriorate into an age of parasitism, if declining

synagogues in the older areas, no longer viable spiritually, financially or in numbers, were to consume large resources, thereby delaying the new development in the outer areas, or raising the cost of membership so much that it will be priced out of the market for large numbers of ordinary folk. It is reasonable to assume that no more major synagogues will be built. In the first place they would prove too costly; secondly, the requirement of Jews, ever moving into gentile surroundings, will be satisfied by small, multi-purpose buildings for membership of 200-300, to serve religious, educational and communal needs. To provide viability, it will be necessary for these small centres to be co-ordinated and regionalised from the standpoint of ministerial services, administration, education and social functions.

It is hoped that this publication will act as a spur to thinking and action to ensure that the glories and achievements of the United Synagogue in the future will be as great as those of the past, and that this institution will continue to be the bastion for the survival of Anglo-Jewry.

It remains for me to thank all those who have collaborated in the preparation of this publication. I would especially mention Mr Nathan Rubin, the Secretary of the United Synagogue for much help and advice. I am full of praise for Mr S. J. Rosenberg of the Head Office staff, who has made this book his special concern and has thus completed with distinction a period of service in connection with the celebration of the Centenary. Last but not least, a word of thanks to my dear wife for inestimable help in reading the proofs and preparing the index.

SALMOND S. LEVIN
Editor

SETTING THE SCENE
ANGLO-JEWRY IN 1870

by Dr. Aubrey Newman, M.A.

One hundred years ago this summer five of the leading Ashkenazi synagogues in London came together to form a united congregation, and in doing so laid the foundations for a much greater edifice, which itself made possible a wide development of Jewish religious life. But in so coming together, the leaders of metropolitan Jewry were less concerned with religious life itself than with what might be termed the 'envelope', the outward appearances of religious life. Indeed, it is surely significant that what we have been celebrating this summer is the coming into effect of an Act of Parliament made necessary by these secular trimmings; it had to be left to a deed of trust to give the outward appearance its spiritual life. This is emphasised by the extent to which the task of these founders was at once strengthened and weakened by several personal factors, such as the relationships and jealousies of the leading protagonists. The union owed less to various possible remarks by the Chief Rabbi at breakfast in his succah on 24 September 1866, than to the whole pattern of development in London Jewry over the previous seventy-five years.

London Jewry by 1870 had developed very far indeed. Both politically and socially the Jews of this country had been accepted into almost every sphere of activity, and the fight for emancipation had been ended. Jews were to be met in almost every rank of political and social society, where they participated as of right. Admittedly there were as yet no Jewish members of the House of Lords, but there were Jewish members of the House of Commons. There had been Jewish Lords Mayor of London, there were Jewish baronets, and Jews had gained other marks of distinction too. Sir Moses Montefiore and Sir Anthony de Rothschild were men who had not only gained high recognition among their co-religionists but had also achieved eminence in the non-Jewish world. But as well as these there were other men who had risen to the heights in business and industry, as well as in the professions such as medicine, the law, architecture and so on. The growth of Jewish participation in these spheres of life reflects the growth of a Jewish middle class. The community indeed had come a long way from the poverty of the early nineteenth century, and was already absorbing the habits and customs of the non-Jewish world in which it lived.

This growth of a middle class was highly significant, parallelling a similar development in the importance of the middle class in the outside world. For it had its repercussions in the organisation of the community and the leadership of Anglo-Jewish society. Analysis of the leading members of London Jewish synagogues emphasises the rise of this upper middle class, as well as the way in which its members intermeshed one with another. Their marriages, friendships, and commercial interconnections illustrate how this group dominates the activities of London

Jewry in the middle of the century. Each of them found himself, or even herself, involved heavily in Jewish and non-Jewish welfare and communal activities, and this was made possible, in Jewish as in non-Jewish life at this stage, by the emergence of a number of individuals who had the time, the money, and above all the inclination to play a leading part in public life. At the same time, however, since they had been largely responsible for their own wealth and prestige, they had often an impatience with ineffectiveness at whatever level it was to be found.

One further factor resulted from this prestige of the upper middle class. The overall status of the religious leadership was not at all high. As will be shown later in this series, Rabbi Nathan Adler had a great, if personal influence, but whether others of his contemporaries had this same status is to be doubted.

This rise of the middle class and dominance by the oligarchy must not be carried too far. One of the factors in synagogal agitation right through the years before and after 1870 was the rigid differentiation into three groups, or ranks of Jews. There were the privileged or free members, who possessed an hereditary right of membership of their particular institution and, in consequence, of access to its charity funds. This hereditary right, as it turned out, was a two-edged weapon, since the synagogues in turn claimed an hereditary right over them. There were the yearly tenants of seats, who could claim few rights in the synagogue; and there were the strangers, who had no rights at all. The growth of new wealth, at a slightly lower level than those just mentioned, was to provoke opposition to these distinctions, and a demand that all ranks and honours in the synagogue should be made available to the whole congregation. But that had not yet been achieved, and in the meantime it was the privileged class who dominated communal affairs.

Finally, let me remind you that communal affairs did not, in 1870, merely mean the synagogue. Apart from the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, there was the field of education, above all, of the Jewish Free Schools. The J.F.S. itself is a prime examplar of this connection, for the links between it and the Rothschild family have continued even down to our own time.

I do not claim to have done more here than single out one element of all the multifarious strands of London Jewish life. But I have concentrated on this, because it was vital in any discussion of the communal organisation of London life and how it developed.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there had been in London several major Ashkenazi synagogues, namely the Great, the Hambro', the New, the Borough (in Southwark), and the Western and Maiden Lane synagogues. They were designed to serve a population which, for the most part, resided in the East side of the City — Duke's Place, Fenchurch Street, Bishopsgate, and Finsbury Square, extending into Goodmans Fields and Houndsditch. There were also various small synagogues — such as Gun Yard and the Polish synagogues — and it is highly interesting, and perhaps indeed significant, that these small groups had particular con-

nections with one or other of the major ones, almost as if they were brotherhoods with particular sorts of links.

Traditionally, these congregations existed to provide buildings for worship and welfare and charitable services, not only for their own members but also for the wider Jewish community. So long as the congregations remained comparatively stable, economically and geographically, the complicating issues were minimal. But as a consequence of a rise in population, from between 15,000 and 20,000 in 1800 to a new total of between 35,000 and 40,000 in 1870, two different sorts of problems developed. Firstly, new centres of population emerged, such as Bloomsbury, Marylebone, Westminster, and Bayswater; and with their development came the need for the provision of new centres of worship. On the one hand, the older synagogues maintained that they needed to retain their old members, since only their continued subscriptions enabled the institutions to keep going. Moreover, there was a long tradition, among Jewish and non-Jewish institutions alike, of hereditary associations between religious communities and their members. If these synagogues were left only with those members who happened to live near or who had not bettered themselves sufficiently to move away, then their financial situations would have become almost impossible. In consequence, these institutions resisted very strongly any pressure to build new synagogues in these new centres of population. On the other hand, it was equally understandable that contributors to synagogal funds should maintain that, in return for their subscriptions, they should be able to worship in a synagogue near enough for them to walk to on a Sabbath morning.

The second set of problems was not new either, but it was one which this growth in Jewish population intensified. Even though the proportion of 'poor' had been reduced by a general rise in prosperity in the Jewish population, there remained great problems of social welfare, problems above all of relief of distress among the poor, and of the burial of the pauper dead. Each synagogue, of course, accepted obligations towards its own poor.

But those paupers unconnected with any synagogue could not be ignored, either in life or in death. If they were in need their wants had to be met, and if they were dead they had to be decently buried. The three leading Ashkenazi synagogues had accepted responsibility for those who were Ashkenazi and had gradually evolved amongst themselves a set of compromises; each contributed in turn and each buried in turn, the Great paying as much as the other two put together. But even so, the members of each synagogue often enough believed that the others were not undertaking their due share. Indeed, in the squabbles that developed during the last years of the eighteenth century, the object of the charity could sometimes be lost sight of, so that in 1790, for instance, a coffin was left lying in Duke's Place for two days while the synagogues debated as to the responsibility for paying for the burial; at last the Sephardi synagogue intervened to induce a compromise, as again had to be done in 1794.

The growing pressure on welfare services, and the need to share their

burden equitably, led not merely to a growing understanding of the need for joint action by these three synagogues, but also to some concrete formulation of the various understandings that had grown up. Hence, there were a number of treaties during the first half of the century; in 1804 various delegates had come together under the presidency of a member of the Great Synagogue, to discuss how these understandings could be given concrete form, and even though the details had on occasion to be renegotiated, the basic agreement remained in being for a generation. But still the detailed application continued to plague the officers of the three synagogues, and there were constant crises until, in 1835, the 'New Treaty' brought the new organisation of the 'Conjoint Synagogues' into being, this Treaty bringing with it also a standing Committee of Arbitration to keep the Treaty in effect.

The Treaty dealt with details of the 'foreign poor' and also with details of membership, denying to any of the constituent synagogues the right to enrol as member or tenant of a seat, anyone who was a member of another one. Within twenty-five years the relief of distress was to cease to be an issue troubling the Conjoint Synagogues, for the formation of the Jewish Board of Guardians led to that body taking over increasingly many of the original welfare services of the three congregations. And the consolidation of ecclesiastical authority in the person of the Chief Rabbi had also removed potential causes of discontent. The appointment of Nathan Marcus Adler as Chief Rabbi in 1844 had been made by delegates representing communities outside the London orbit, as well as the London communities, and it is perhaps still important to remind audiences that the Chief Rabbinate and the Beth Din, so far from being created by the United Synagogue, in fact considerably antedate the formation of the United Synagogue.

At this stage many should, I hope, be asking themselves certain crucial questions. If there already existed arrangements for effective action amongst the leading Ashkenazi synagogues, why should any further organisation be needed? If, as I am suggesting, we must look for the origins of the United Synagogue in terms of an extension of the idea of a treaty into something more important and much stronger than a confederation for specific purposes and limited ends, then it must surely follow that there must have been something in the 1860s which would have persuaded the eminent in London Jewry to take an even more decisive step. Naturally enough, there is no single answer. There are a large number of different threads which must be woven together to find the resultant set of answers. But all of them are to be found, in part, within the various factors which I have already mentioned and, in part also, in the particular personalities of the day.

The first of these factors lies in the need to build additional places of worship. Despite the attempt by the older synagogues to hang on to their members — and the Treaties did much to do that — there was mounting pressure from the West End for new buildings and facilities. The foundation of The West London Synagogue of British Jews had, in fact, represent-

ed as much an attempt by its founding fathers to have a neighbourhood synagogue as to alter the ritual. Many of its members were strict Sabbath observers, a further reason for a neighbourhood community. Eventually, in 1848, the Committee of the Great Synagogue had resolved:[1]

> "It being considered of the utmost importance that a place of worship in connection with this synagogue be established at the West End of the Metropolis, this Committee do take the subject into consideration at the next meeting."

Other congregations were invited to participate, even the Sephardim. But the Sephardim went ahead on their own, setting up their own branch in Wigmore Street in 1853, and none of the other Ashkenazi congregations took part in the first Ashkenazi branch set up by the Great in the West End, in Portland Street. At the consecration of this branch, on 29 March 1855, a proclamation was made from the reading desk:[2]

> "Notice is hereby given that this building now about to be consecrated is a Branch of the Great Synagogue."

As so often with Anglo-Jewish institutions, there was a close parallel with non-Jewish institutions, and here the parallel was with the relations between a parish church and a 'chapel of ease', the chapel having no ecclesiastical independence and its curate being normally unlicenced for such things as marriages. Ecclesiastical lawyers can indeed piece out all the different aspects of the parallel. Suffice it to say at this stage, that this branch was so much under the direct control of the Great Synagogue that it was not permitted its own honorary officers, nor was it allowed to allocate seats to any member of the others in the Conjoint.

The other synagogues in the Conjoint had not accepted the invitation to join in the Portland Street branch which, incidentally, soon proved so popular as to need a complete rebuilding and enlargement on a new site in Great Portland Street. Even so, there were Jews further west still who desired a synagogue of their own, despite the existence of the Western, and there was a renewal of the attempt to have a branch set up for them in Bayswater under the sponsorship of all three of the Conjoint. A delegate conference to discuss this responded on 29 August 1859 in a rather unexpected way:

> "Considering the present social condition of the Jewish community in London — and with a view of their future well-doing — and to afford to the respective members and their families residing at the West End of the Metropolis increased accommodation by the establishment of another synagogue, it is the opinion of this committee that before entering into the details for building the said Branch Synagogue there should first be an amalgamation of the three City and such other Metropolitan Synagogues as may desire to unite with them."

The story of this resolution must be discussed later; let me just observe here that this is the first mention of the idea that the physical expansion of the buildings of London Jewry is a factor of the uniting of all the resources of the community. In the event however, the Hambro' did not join with the other two in sponsoring a new branch synagogue, the one

established at Bayswater. This was set up on the same lines as the Central branch, but with one essential difference; since it was dependent on two parents it could not be under the same strict surveillance as the first had been — it had, for example, to be allowed its own honorary officers — and from the beginning it was a pain in the neck to its sponsors. For one thing, it refused to be treated merely as a chapel, and the president, Lewis Jacobs, applied directly to the Board of Deputies for the Bayswater Synagogue to have its secretary registered as a marriage secretary and registrar, exerting, that is, a degree of independence unprecedented previously. The two parent synagogues objected, and for over a year the arguments passed back and forth, the Great Synagogue even having a case sent for the consideration of the Attorney-General, but eventually having to withdraw its objections. Nonetheless, the foundation of the new Bayswater branch solved some of the difficulties facing the London Jewish community, even though its very creation pointed the way to new ones. As was pointed out a little later in 1869,[3]

> "The accidental circumstance of the principal members of this Branch synagogue having seats at the parent boards has, hitherto, prevented any grave inconvenience . . .; but it cannot be forgotten that when this tie lapses, a natural consequence in the course of years, it will be difficult to reconcile the members of this and other synagogues, which may hereafter be similarly established, to the fact that they have no control over the administration of funds to which they contribute."

The general pressure for new buildings was not, however, confined to the meeting of the needs of the members of the three Conjoint Synagogues who had moved to the West End. On 9 December 1861, for example, in response to an appeal from Dover for help in rebuilding the synagogue there, the Committee of the Great Synagogue concluded, with regret, that it could not apply the funds of the congregation to such purpose; on 22 March 1866, the Borough Synagogue in South London was similarly informed by the members of the Committee of the Great Synagogue that "while individually wishing every success to the proposed Synagogue and desirous as they are to support it, they have no funds under their control which they are enabled to appropriate for the purpose required". But in March 1864, the committee of a proposed North London synagogue approached the Great and opened negotiations for financial help, negotiations which continued over a period of five years. On 9 February 1865, an agreement was outlined between the Great and the proposed North London Synagogue committee, laying down clearly the terms on which the Great would lend £1,100 for the new building. The terms warrant some attention. Beginning by declaring that "the said proposed synagogue shall not be a Branch of the Great Synagogue", the scheme went on, however, to tie the two very closely together, insisting on the continued conformity of ritual and customs in the new congregation to those of the Great and laying down the terms on which members of the Great could join the new congregation. The loan was to be strictly secured, and the

ground on which the synagogue was to be built was to be vested in the trusteeship of nominees of the Great.

The arrangements entered into, in 1865, between these two are, in fact, of the highest significance; they parallel very closely later links between the United Synagogue and newly-formed bodies and show conclusively that broader plans were in the air. The proof is to be found in the minutes of a vestry meeting of the Great on 1 July 1869; the North London Synagogue, having paid off its original loan, wished to have the Treaty between them declared lapsed. The Great Synagogue refused, saying that this was not possible, "seeing that the North London Synagogue had been founded plainly on the assumption of a permanent connection between the synagogues."

One cannot help looking back at the minutes of the meeting when the original treaty had been drawn up and seeing that the chairman of the Great Synagogue vestry had been Lionel Louis Cohen.

The second of my factors can be found in the continued financial decay of the three older institutions, and particularly that of the Hambro'. It had suffered more than the other two, and had been in difficulty at various times, trying unsuccessfully to limit its liability under the Treaty of 1835. Mention has already been made of the suggestion in 1859 by the Hambro' of a proposed amalgamation of all three synagogues. The suggestion was repeated, and was taken so far as to secure a legal opinion from Jacob Waley as to how such a union could be brought into being. His opinion was clear. He rejected the suggestion that a case could be brought in the Court of Chancery, but recommended that an approach could be made to the Charity Commissioners who could draw up a scheme which would be approved of by Parliament as 'a matter of course'.

Waley's opinion, dated 30 October 1861, continued:

> "I should think that any plan having the approbation of the Governing Bodies and of the generality of the Congregations recommended by expediency, and calculated to promote the general interests of the Jewish worship and religion, and also to preserve in substance the special charitable trusts above mentioned, would probably meet with the sanction of the Board. I therefore think that the Board might be induced to approve of a sale of the building and lands of the Hambro' synagogue with a dedication of the proceeds towards the purchase and erection of a new local synagogue in some other district or as a fund for enlargement or repairs of either of the other City Synagogues."

Nothing further was heard of this amalgamation of all three congregations, but in April 1863 the Hambro' governing body raised the question again, more specifically in terms of an amalgamation of the Hambro' and the Great. Both set up committees and sub-committees, the Great's chairman being Lionel Louis Cohen and the Hambro's Henry Isaacs. Nearly all points were capable of being agreed to by both sides, but the negotiations eventually broke down on the demand by the Hambro' that the Great should engage to keep the building of the Hambro' open for

daily worship. The Great would not accept the financial burden involved in this, and so the negotiations quietly lapsed.

The third of these factors was the way in which union in so many ways was already in the air. The coming together of the Great and the New in order to set up the Bayswater branch; the way in which, during the 1850s, the Great and the New were collaborating over the purchase of a new burial ground in East London; the growing agreement among the synagogues for the maintenance of the Chief Rabbinate which, it was more and more clearly understood, was not the preserve of the Great Synagogue alone. There was the continuance under the auspices of the conjoint of the various arrangements for the poor, the preparation and distribution of matzoth, the supervision of shechita — all this emphasised existing tendencies. But the outstanding factor drawing the congregations together was their agreement to merge some aspects of their welfare services in the newly-formed Board of Guardians. Once again the leading figure in this new body was Lionel Louis Cohen, whose name has appeared already so often and will do so again.

Given all these factors then, it must seem obvious that some degree of closer union between the leading synagogues would be only a matter of time. The actual circumstances to precipitate union might well be incidental, but would probably owe much more to the personalities of those involved than the surroundings. If then, for example, the matter were raised at the succah of the Chief Rabbi, it would strike a responsive chord only if those to whom it were mentioned were predisposed to pay attention. And, in fact, among those who are known to have been present, particularly Lionel Louis Cohen, there was already an enthusiasm for the idea of union, an idea on which they had already been engaged among the synagogues as well as in other spheres.

The immediate circumstances of the Union, well enough known though they may be, demand some outline here. The Treaties between the leading London synagogues had included various understandings that members of one congregation could not, except under highly elaborate procedures, obtain seats or the privileges of membership in another. The attempt to keep hold of members, of their children and dependants, had been a perpetual source of trouble amongst these bodies, and the need to determine whether a particular individual was eligible to have his children married, or have their barmitzvah celebrated in one synagogue or another could prove extremely difficult, leading to long drawn out conferences amongst the synagogues in question.

It was at one such meeting, in November 1866, between the officers of the Great and the New, that the gentlemen present "took the opportunity of discussing the question of a Fusion of their respective Congregations," and having agreed to recommend such a suggestion in principle to their respective committees, decided also to invite the Hambro' to join their discussions. The initial meeting was on 5 November 1866, the first meeting of delegates of the three was on 13 December 1866; and the first draft scheme, outlining virtually the whole of the scheme which was eventually

agreed to, after a certain degree of emendation, was presented by the drafting sub-committee to its parent body by mid-January 1867.

The minutes of the committee and sub-committee dealing with the proposed union are, indeed, extremely enlightening to anyone who has ever had anything to do with running a committee, and even more so a committee on Jewish business. There is, for example, the minute of 27 December 1866:

"The Committee resolved for their own guidance,

1. That at all meetings of Committee no fresh business be introduced after 9 o'clock p.m.
2. That all resolutions passed at meetings of committee be embodied in a report, which report as a whole shall be subject to such future revision and correction as may be determined on."

Even more striking, however, is the mute testimony of the minute-books themselves. These were, after all, meetings of the three distinct congregations. Each began by keeping up their own versions of the minutes, they differ very slightly in their wording, but the differences are, indeed, so slight as to suggest that the three secretaries had got together in order to draw up an agreed record. But then gradually they fade away. The Hambro' minutes die away after the meeting of 27 December 1866; the New Synagogue continue until the meeting of 11 November 1867, and thereafter contain only various copies of letters and printed circulars.

Only the Great Synagogue shows a conscious attempt to present material in a chronological and methodical way. This version, from the beginning, was the official one; the secretary of the Great was the secretary to the delegates, and the chairman of the committee and sub-committee, Lionel Louis Cohen, was also a member of the Great. But the secretary, Dr Asher Asher, was so much aware of what he was doing that his minutes begin with file copies of pamphlets published in 1863, at the time of the abortive attempt to unite the Great and Hambro' Synagogues, continue with four letters from the secretary of the New Synagogue to the Great on the subject of disputed membership, minute the early meetings between the Great and the New on this subject, and then lead directly into the meetings of the delegates themselves. In other words, no matter what anyone else thought, both Lionel Louis Cohen and Asher Asher had very distinct ideas, as early as the summer of 1866, about how they intended discussions to go, and I, for one, would dearly love to know whether in Dr Nathan Adler's papers, if they survived in full, there might perhaps be found a letter from Cohen suggesting that a casual remark by him about union at his succah table would be of some help.

Be that as it may, the minutes give ample evidence of the industry of the delegates, and above all of these two men. If further confirmation were needed, it could be found after their deaths; Cohen's obituary commented:[4]

"Mr Cohen entered into the work with heart and soul, and an inspection of the documents relating to the proposed scheme will show how thoroughly he made the work his own. There is hardly a paper that

does not bear notes in his handwriting and every report has his signature. At the memorable meeting held on 19 April 1868 (the meeting in the Great) . . . Mr Cohen proposed the first resolution embodying the principle of the Union. Those present at the meeting will recall how telling and convincing was Mr Cohen's speech . . . It was Mr Cohen's tact and judgment — combined with the late Jacob Waley's legal experience and wise counsel — that carried the scheme through the opposition raised before the Charity Commissioners . . . So indefatigable was he in doing work for the Congregation that it was a matter of frequent occurrence for him to leave a meeting of the Synagogue at eleven o'clock at night, and to forward by the first post the following morning 8 or 10 folios of closely written manuscript on the subject of the meeting."

The *Jewish Chronicle's* obituary for Asher Asher was equally revealing:[5]

"Into this work (the formation of the Union) Dr Asher threw his whole heart and soul. The idea might have been due to other minds, but to his was due the great work of giving it form and substance. No-one but those who were engaged in some part of this important work can conceive the gigantic labour it entailed. The late Mr Lionel Cohen and Dr Asher spent night and day in getting materials ready for the structure upon the design of which they were mutually engaged . . . Great tact was displayed by Dr Asher in these personal negotiations which he conducted for the purpose of securing the support and goodwill of all parties — honorary and salaried for the Union."

The respective parts played by the two men was, in fact, summed up by an editorial in the *Jewish Chronicle*:

"In speaking of the United Synagogue, it is the custom to refer to it as the creation of Lionel Cohen. So in large measure it was, but if Lionel Cohen was the spirit that animated the movement, Asher Asher was the right hand that brought the movement into working order."

I spoke earlier of enmities and jealousies; there were potent opponents of the projected Union. Some members felt very strongly that the scheme for union was merely an opportunity for a grab by the central synagogues of the funds of the newer creations, while others felt that the first step by the new body would be to secure the closing down of synagogues that were failing to pay their way. Prominent in such discussions were individual members of the Bayswater and Hambro' Synagogues, so that the scheme was perforce delayed for some months while Cohen and Asher very patiently untangled all these threads, patiently persuaded them out of their opposition, evolved compromises that would at once reassure the richer synagogues that they could retain control over their own fates, and at the same time ensure that the resources of the entire Union should be available for the needs of the entire community. It is not intended as a mark of disapprobation to show how extremely suspicious were men like Samuel Montagu or other leaders of the Bayswater Synagogue, but instead to illustrate how men of considerable standing could see dangers and disadvantages in the development of the new body.

I have concentrated on London Jewry, and of course the series does bear the title of Anglo-Jewry; indeed, for even that is too narrow, because Asher Asher himself was a product of Glasgow. But it is, I think, sufficient to indicate that there is a wider community outside London and yet leave it at that. London saw the greatest concentration of Jews in Great Britain, and was the magnet that drew to itself many coming from outside the metropolis. At the same time these founding fathers did have a vision which could extend outside the metropolis. The Union was originally to be called 'The United Metropolitan Congregation of Jews', and at an early stage this was changed to United Synagogue.

My theme has been to set the scene; I have interpreted that, perhaps mistakenly, as entitling me to show how the U.S. came into being. I have not dealt much with the other congregations in London. There were the Sephardi communities, there was the Reform community in the west side of London, there were the other Ashkenazi congregations elsewhere in London, such as the North London, Borough, Western congregations. But none of these was strong enough, or wealthy enough, to affect the actions of the United Synagogue. This applies even more to those communities outside London.

Looking at the pattern of London in this year, 1870, there are certain trends that can be discerned in this static picture. There was strong religious leadership. The Adlers, father and son, dominated the religious life of London with little or no substantial rival. There was strong lay leadership, closely knit by friendship and blood ties. This was the period of the 'Grand Dukes' of Anglo-Jewry, and the various relationships of cousinhood reinforce the way in which everybody of importance not merely knew everybody else, but was related to everybody else. There were already signs of the physical expansion of London Jewry, an explosion out of the narrow confines of the small area of settlement into the suburbs; this came even before the vast mass of immigration, which in itself presented enormous problems of organisation and leadership. Finally, there was already within the United Synagogue a realisation that the United Synagogue itself would have to develop various new spheres of activity. Welfare services were obviously already vital, but in the 1870s there was already the feeling that education, and the provision of new sorts of education, was going to have great importance.

What I can see then, in 1870, are the seeds of what would happen in the next hundred years. These are all issues which are going to be handled by others in this series of lectures. But just as the Union is seen to be inherent in the developments of the preceding fifty years, so the developments in the century following the foundation of the United Synagogue can be seen as inherent in the circumstances in which the Union itself came into being. All through that time the United Synagogue and its activities recur, again and again. It has been the fate of the United Synagogue to be involved in all the controversies, lay and ecclesiastic, which beset Anglo-Jewry. From the rest of this series you will see how

these factors developed. I hope that this lecture has not merely made it possible for my successors to fit their own aspects into that pattern, but has also induced you to come and hear them.

NOTES ON SOURCES

[1] All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the manuscript minute books preserved in the Archives of the United Synagogue.
[2] Quoted, Cecil Roth, *The Great Synagogue 1690–1940* (London, 1950), p. 280.
[3] Report by the Charity Commissioners, 1869.
[4] *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 July 1887.
[5] *Ibid*, 1 January 1889.

UNITED SYNAGOGUE: RELIGIOUS FOUNDERS AND LEADERS

By Rabbi Raymond Apple, B.A., LL.B.

In 1870 the religious and lay leadership of the community rested alike in strong hands. The *lay* leaders will be described by Mr Finestein: my task is to portray some of those who were responsible for *religious* leadership during the first couple of generations in the history of the United Synagogue.[1]

Nathan Marcus Adler was Chief Rabbi from 1845–90. In fact he and his son and successor, Hermann Adler, occupied the Chief Rabbinate for a total of sixty-six years, and some thought the office might have remained in the family for a third generation had Hermann's son, Solomon Alfred Adler — minister in Liverpool and later in Hammersmith — survived his father.

The Adlers had a firm hold on the community, and their policy — called by its critics 'Adlerism'—of strong centralised religious government, to some extent still characterises Anglo-Jewry. Their impact on the British public is indicated by this Press comment: "Among possessors of Galton's 'Hereditary Genius' there must be some who have amused themselves by adding to Galton's table of kindred. One addition to his 'Divines' table might well be the Adler family, springing from Dr Nathan Marcus Adler, Chief Rabbi from 1845 to 1890."[2]

The writer of this comment was not to know, but the family's yichus goes back long before 1845.[3] They were kohanim and their surname was originally Kahn or Kayn. An ancestor was the author of the *Yalkut Shimeoni* and they counted among their relatives and connections Rabbi Nathan Adler ('the pious', 1741–1800), David Tevele Schiff, Chief Rabbi of London from 1765–91, and the Rothschilds and Worms. Their motto was *k'nesher ya'ir kino*, "as an eagle (=Adler) stirs up her nest" (Deut. 32: 11) — a phrase to which, as we shall see, someone once gave an ingenious and uncomplimentary twist.

Nathan Marcus Adler was born in Hanover on 15 January 1803. From an early age he was known as a rabbinic scholar: he obtained his rabbinical diploma in Würzburg in March 1828, and his doctorate from the University of Erlangen later in the same year. After a year as Rabbi of Oldenburg he became Chief Rabbi of Hanover, and on the death of Solomon Hirschell in 1842 he was one of thirteen candidates — none of them from England — for the English Chief Rabbinate. With 121 votes, Adler easily defeated the other two finalists — Hirsch Hirschfeld (13 votes) and Samson Raphael Hirsch (2 votes). The factors which weighed in Adler's favour included his family connections with England, his Hanoverian birth, his combination of secular and rabbinic learning, his experience as an ecclesiastical administrator in Germany, and the fact that he was known to the Duke of Cambridge, who had previously been Viceroy of Hanover.

He was the first Chief Rabbi to be elected on a broad basis of nation-wide congregational representation, and he set himself the task of systematically organising the religious life of the community. Within a month of his installation he wrote to congregations throughout the British Empire setting out his plans and priorities, which would be:

1. Educational establishments, "from those which are calculated for infants . . . up to such as are to extend their salutary influence to the future, by training proper and efficient teachers;"
2. Houses of worship: "it is necessary that quiet and decorum, dignity and solemnity should prevail there during divine worship, so that it may awaken the fear of the Lord, foster feelings of devotion, and promote brotherly union;"
3. "Institutions which are of a purely religious character, and those which are established for the furtherance of charity and benevolence, for the cherishing of industrious habits and useful activity among our co-religionists."

He sent congregations a detailed questionnaire, to which replies came from the remotest parts of the British colonies, enabling him to make contact with many communities and to give them advice and assistance. He established himself as the almost unquestioned authority in everything that concerned Jewish life throughout England and the colonies. To his religious 'empire-building' applies the Biblical verse, "At his word shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in, both he and all the children of Israel with him and all the congregation" (Num. 27:21). In 1847 he issued a booklet of laws and regulations for synagogues, making it clear that everything — the conduct of services, the appointment of an officiant, the formation of a congregation, the erection of a synagogue — was to be under his control.

He was anxious that his authority should not be undermined in areas such as shechita (where necessary, he insisted that a community dismiss a shochet, and at least once he was sued — unsuccessfully — for withdrawing a butcher's licence), and marriage and divorce (even the Lord Chancellor was prepared to follow Adler's view that a Jewish religious divorce should be valid *per se* in English law, but lay leaders such as David Salomons and Lionel de Rothschild opposed it).

Cecil Roth called Adler "the father of the Anglo-Jewish pulpit." He had come from a milieu in which preaching was becoming an established feature of the orthodox synagogue; Adler himself was deemed "advanced" by Leopold Zunz because his inaugural sermon at Oldenburg in 1829 was in German. In England the situation was very different. The synagogues had readers but hardly any preachers. In 1846 a Jewish periodical complained that the "readers or so-called officiating ministers are, with a few exceptions, elected for their vocal capabilities."[4] The need for preachers was stressed not only on its own merits but also as a weapon in the struggle for emancipation. The *Jewish Chronicle* declared on 12 January 1849: "We are anxious to obtain full emancipation; and would it not be a disgrace if we were told by our Christian

opponents, that the Jews of England are so ignorant that they cannot find a lecturer in their community?" It should also be added that preaching was popular in nineteenth-century England, and this made the lack of 'lecturers' in the Jewish community even more evident.

Adler stressed and encouraged English preaching but it was clear that there was an urgent need for an institution to train ministers and teachers, and without this there would never be an adequate supply of preachers. Hence the establishment in 1855 of Jews' College, at which there was also a day school until 1879. The *J.C.* ended its report of the meeting which launched the plan for the College with the words, "Thus ended *the* most important meeting ever held by the Jews of England."[5]

We must consider in detail Adler's part in the foundation of the United Synagogue, which Cecil Roth called "perhaps Dr Nathan Adler's greatest monument." Dr Newman was right, in his opening lecture, to remind us that decades of development led up to the establishment of the U.S. and it did not all begin with some new, wonderful idea first propounded by the Chief Rabbi in his succah in 1866. But it is important to realise that the trends which grew over the years and culminated in 1870 were both in keeping with and influenced by Adler's record of thinking and activity.

We do not know exactly what was said in the succah in Finsbury Square, but what may have happened was this. The moves to unite the City Synagogues had struck difficulties, and bitter incidents had occurred which set the negotiations back. Sitting in his succah, the Chief Rabbi may have told the communal leaders how concerned he was at the situation. He may have said: "Is it not time for us to resolve to avoid such problems in the future, and to persevere energetically towards the final union of the congregations, allowing no obstacle to stand in our way?" Thus admonished, the lay leaders may have decided to throw themselves with fresh vigour into the movement for union.

This interpretation of events is suggested by the preface to the first edition of the United Synagogue bye-laws, which states:

> "Two members of one of the contracting Synagogues, . . . inadvertently accepted by another Synagogue, declined to resume the membership of the one to which they had originally belonged. A conference ensued between the Executives of the Great and New Synagogues on the point . . . endeavouring to prevent the possibility of a similar occurrence in the future. With the view of ensuring so desirable a consummation, the Revd Dr Nathan M. Adler, Chief Rabbi, suggested to and impressed on the Wardens of the Great Synagogue, assembled round his table on the morning of the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, 5627–1866, the advisability of endeavouring to unite the Congregations under one management."

This preface was drafted by Dr Asher Asher, the first secretary of the United Synagogue, and it appears to be the first literary reference to the 'succah' story. The chances are that he was himself present in the succah and was describing events as they happened. The story is also told in

the *J.C.* obituary of Adler: men must then still have been alive who were present in the succah, and they would surely have attempted to correct the facts had the story been false.

In 1879 the now ageing Chief Rabbi must have sensed that his hold on the community was weakening. With reluctance he had to sanction some modifications in the synagogue services; and he also saw the closing of the Jews' College school, which had been so dear to him. He went into semi-retirement in Hove, there to continue his literary work — his *magnum opus, Netinah LaGer*, an extensive commentary on Targum Onkelos, had appeared in Vilna in 1872.

He died on 21 January 1890. The *J.C.* said in an editorial comment: "Had a man of smaller ability and with a less commanding personality occupied the Rabbinical chair, it is probable that the wholesale reforms and the undesirable extravagances that characterise American Judaism would have found their way into our community." It is largely due to him that J. H. Hertz could say in 1931, "The United Synagogue has given its distinctive character to English Judaism."[6]

There were a few in the community who opposed Hermann Adler's succeeding his father in office, but his election was a foregone conclusion: indeed *The Times* solemnly informed its readers that Dr Hermann was a hereditary high priest.

Hermann Adler was born in Hanover on 29 May 1839 and he came to England as a child when his father became Chief Rabbi. He was educated at University College School and at University College and obtained his doctorate at Leipzig in 1862. He himself wrote concerning his Hebrew education, "Dr Hermann Adler's first and last Teacher was his late lamented Father . . . ." He began to teach his son the Decalogue when he was four years old, and studied Talmud with him practically to the very last day of his life. . . ." He gained his rabbinical diploma in Prague in 1862.[7]

On his return to England he acted as his father's secretary and taught at Jews' College and privately. When the Bayswater Synagogue was established, he became 'lecturer' there, defeating A. P. Mendes of Birmingham in the election for the post. Bayswater was a large congregation and many of Hermann Adler's members were men of influence. Hence "his pulpit utterances," as his successor, Sir Hermann Gollancz, declared, "frequently set in motion those new departures in communal action which have now become hallowed by time and usefulness."

Though he involved himself in the lives of his congregants and was affectionately known by them as "Dr Hermann," Hermann Adler's services were from the beginning placed at the disposal of the whole community, and as the Crown Prince he took on an increasing share of his father's rabbinic and public work. Thus the United Synagogue Council said of him in 1880, when he was officially appointed Delegate Chief Rabbi: "If Dr Hermann Adler were entirely unconnected with the Chief Rabbi by the near ties of relationship, his great learning and high

abilities, his conciliatory disposition, and the manner in which he has succeeded in gaining the affection of a large and important congregation, would designate him as eminently fitted for the discharge of the responsible duties from which Dr (N. M.) Adler is compelled to seek relief."

Hermann Adler brought English preaching to a peak. He produced a tremendous output of sermons, which were frequently published. A Liverpool paper declared: "In the pulpit he is an eloquent and most finished speaker, and commands a broad vocabulary of classical English. He possesses that peculiar chromatic richness of language . . . which is often observable in deep students of Oriental literature."[8]

He wrote a great deal but made no major contribution to Jewish literature. His most significant literary efforts were as a polemicist. He was the leading nineteenth-century Jewish figure to use the pen in defence of Anglo-Jewry in time of attack. His literary controversies with Professor Goldwin Smith, in particular, were widely followed.[9]

His polemical writings show that a post-emancipation rabbi could feel free to present the Jewish case ("for defence, and not for offence" as he put it) and at the same time hold office in public bodies and be on friendly terms with Church and public figures. It was his association with leading ecclesiastics that prompted his adoption of clerical garb and his assumption of the title, 'The Very Reverend' (one wonders why he did not put himself on a par with at least a bishop, who is styled 'The Right Reverend!!'). There was, as Cecil Roth put it, "an inevitable tendency for him to interpret his position almost in Anglican terms."

He was Chief Rabbi from 1891–1911 and gave the office a high, unique dignity. But his succession to the Chief Rabbinate coincided with a change in the order of things within the community. The vast immigration from Eastern Europe was changing the character of Anglo-Jewry. Hermann Adler — "a typical product of the placid Victorian era in Western Europe," as Cecil Roth called him — could not fully understand the immigrants, and they for their part could not fully understand a Chief Rabbi who was so different from the rabbis to whom they were accustomed.

He feared that the uncultured ways of "our East End brethren" might threaten the Jewish position in England. Some may think he was unduly sensitive in this respect, but it is a fact that the immigrants did not always pay much attention to the requirements of English law in matters such as marriage and divorce. He did not always show much understanding of the problems of the East End working men. He had a constant fear of anarchism among them, and shared the prevalent prejudices against socialist movements. He also had little sympathy for the emergent Zionist movement which he stigmatised as "an egregious blunder," warning the Anglo-Jewish Association: "We must be on our guard against fostering fantastic and visionary ideas about the re-establishment of a Jewish State and a Jewish nation."

The major religious controversy involving Hermann Adler and the immigrants was the Machzike Hadath battle. Ostensibly this concerned

the standards of kashrut supervision in the community, and the fact that the establishment gradually tightened up its supervision shows that the immigrants did have a point, but the battle was fundamentally a *kulturkampf* between East and West. It took years before the dispute came to an end: and even then it was partly external factors which brought the parties together.[10]

A further challenge to Hermann Adler's authority is seen in the agitation that surrounded appointments to the London Beth Din. The early history of the Beth Din is obscure, but we know that in N. M. Adler's time there was only one permanent dayan — Aaron Levy, who retired in 1872. Shortly afterwards the United Synagogue agreed to take over the Beth Hamedrash of which the Beth Din formed part.[11] Bernard Spiers was appointed a dayan in 1876 and before long Jacob Reinowitz, the original of Zangwill's 'Reb Shemuel,' began to serve as an unofficial dayan, succeeding (as the honorary officers of the U.S. said in 1890) in "wielding a powerful influence over the foreign element in the East End, an influence invariably exercised in the interests of peace and union."

After Reinowitz died, his son-in-law, Susman Cohen, was appointed in his place. (Cohen's son-in-law was dayan H. M. Lazarus — thus providing three generations of dayanim from one family). Spiers died in 1901 and Cohen retired in 1906. The Beth Din was busier than ever before and the East Enders insisted on any new dayanim being Continental rabbis of unquestioned stature — but the Chief Rabbi appointed two 'Englishmen' (Asher Feldman and Moses Hyamson). There was a furore, and finally Moses Avigdor Chaikin, minister of the Federation of Synagogues since 1901, was appointed a dayan in 1911. It was thus that the Beth Din developed the tradition of having at least one so-called 'foreign' member, who did not always play the same part in communal life with the U.S. as did his colleagues.

Other challenges confronted Hermann Adler. From the left-wing came the new theology propounded by Claude Montefiore in his Hibbert Lectures in 1892, developing into a movement out of which grew the Jewish Religious Union and the Liberal Jewish Synagogue. Even the middle-of-the-road establishment produced its signs of revolt in that major congregations, especially the newly-established Hampstead Synagogue, sought major concessions on matters of liturgy and ritual.

There was restlessness in the ministry too, especially over the Chief Rabbi's resistance to the idea of ministers assuming full rabbinical status. The Chief Rabbi, it was well said, had no rabbis over whom to be chief. Both Adlers followed the principle that one rabbi was enough for the community. If a minister sought a rabbinical diploma he had to go abroad to get it, and even then there was no guarantee that the Chief Rabbi would allow him to be called 'rabbi.'

The first U.S. minister to obtain a Continental hattarat hora'ah was Simeon Singer. His motive was not personal. He wanted to show that Englishmen "were competent to secure the Diploma from the greatest

of European authorities" and he did not seek to embarrass the Chief Rabbi in any way.[12] Hermann Gollancz, however, was more of a fighter. In 1897 he gained the rabbinical diploma in Galicia and insisted on his right to be recognised as a rabbi. For years he refused to be called to the Torah at Bayswater (where he was the minister) as a mark of protest, and he often spent Shavuoth in Leeds, where he could be certain of being called up as 'Morenu Harav.'

Gollancz's agitation, as he himself wrote, "gave rise to a storm in the hierarchical Chair which practically ended an anomalous and unsatisfactory state of affairs."[13] Eventually, in 1901, it was agreed that rabbinical diploma examinations could take place within Jews' College, presided over by the Chief Rabbi. No longer were Solomon Schechter's words quite so damning: "The Jewish Clergy . . . is rapidly losing touch with the venerable Rabbi of Jewish tradition, whose chief office was to teach and to *learn* Torah. With us the duty of learning (or study of the Torah) seems to be of the least moment in the life of the minister. . . . In his capacity as full Reverend, he is expected to divide his time between the offices of cantor, prayer, preacher, book-keeper, debt-collector, almoner, and social agitator. . . . Occasionally rumour spreads anent some minister, that he neglects his duty to his congregation, through his being secretly addicted to Jewish learning. But such rumours often turn out to be sheer malice. . . ."[14]

Ahad Ha'Am described Hermann Adler in 1900 as "the most influential rabbi in all Judaism." There is no doubt but that Adler's tenure of the Chief Rabbinate gave the office great prestige, though at his death in 1911 some vital problems remained unsolved. It may be this that Dr Redcliffe Salaman had in mind when he said: "Of them (the Adlers) it might be said that if their crest was 'an eagle stirring up her nest', their motto might have been 'let sleeping dogs lie'."[15] It is a clever comment but an unfair one. Hermann Adler held office during the greatest period of transition in the whole of Anglo-Jewish history and the fact that he had his failures as well as his notable successes was perhaps inevitable.

If we are to add the Adlers to any list of hereditary genius, we cannot omit the Gollanczes. Their lineage was not undistinguished and in England they became notable figures. Samuel Marcus Gollancz served the Hambro Synagogue for forty-five years; his eldest son, Hermann, succeeded Hermann Adler at Bayswater and was the first practising rabbi to be knighted; another son, Israel, who was also knighted, was a leading figure in the world of scholarship; and among other members of the family was the publisher, Victor Gollancz.

Samuel Marcus, born in Witkowo, in the province of Posen, was both an accomplished chazan and a rabbinic scholar (one of his certificates of competence was from Hirsch Hirschfeld of Wollstein, who was one of Nathan Marcus Adler's rivals for the position of Chief Rabbi in the 1840s). He came to England from Bremen in 1852 and remarked in his

autobiography, "I soon made myself useful in my congregation and in others."[16] This is an understatement. His family, as his son Hermann wrote, "in the course of time learnt what his congregation . . . never knew, namely the genius they possessed in their Chief Minister, the man who was a Hebrew and Talmudic scholar, an exceptionally fine writer (in composition and calligraphy) in Hebrew and German, a man of musical talent, an artistic designer, a carver by hand of objects in ivory and amber, specimens of which were on exhibition in the Museum at Bremen. . . . He came to England at a time when German was scarcely taken up as a subject of study. . . . He might easily have occupied the post of Professor in that department. . . . No public official was ever held in greater regard by high and low, by rich and poor, than he was. He had a broad heart, without the least tinge of fanaticism, and he was a favourite with the many. . . . He was, indeed, a *persona grata* with members of the various sections of the community, respected alike by the orthodox and 'reform,' by the foreign as well as the English element. . . ."[17]

Much can and must be said about his son Hermann Gollancz: or, one should say, Rabbi Professor Dr Sir Hermann Gollancz.[18] As a scholar, preacher, writer, and public figure he wielded an influence barely second to that of the Adlers. Born in Bremen in 1852, he gave his first sermon in his father's Synagogue at the age of 20, and then held ministerial posts at St. John's Wood, the New Synagogue, South Manchester and Dalston, and in 1892 he won an exciting election for the position of minister of the Bayswater Synagogue.

He was the first Jew to obtain the highest degree of the University of London, namely the Doctorate of Literature, and he subsequently became Professor of Hebrew at University College. Can there ever have been an Anglo-Jewish minister whose contributions to Hebrew, Oriental and classical scholarship were as many and as important as those of Hermann Gollancz? (Thirty major items, including a number of critical editions of texts, are listed in his bibliography). Nor has there been a minister with such a record of Jewish and general public activity and on such close terms with so many Church leaders and national figures.

Gollancz retired from his position at Bayswater in 1922, when he was made Emeritus Minister of the United Synagogue — the one and only time this honour has ever been conferred by the U.S. A remarkable and unusual book records every stage of his career. Compiled by himself and published in 1928, it is entitled:

PERSONALIA

The Story of a Professional Man's
Career told in Certificates, Testimonials, Congratulatory Messages,
Letters and Addresses, Reports and Presentations, etc.,
relating to
20

SIR HERMANN GOLLANCZ,
M.A., D.Lit., Rabbi,
Emeritus Minister of the United Synagogue, London,
Emeritus Professor of Hebrew in the University of London
University College

Reading it through, it is clear that, but for his age, he may well have succeeded to the Chief Rabbinate in 1911 when Hermann Adler died.

Sir Hermann's brother, Sir Israel Gollancz, was lecturer in English at University College and then at Cambridge, and subsequently Professor of English at King's College, London. He was a noted Shakespearian scholar and made a number of contributions to the study of English literature and philology. He was one of the founders of the British Academy, and its secretary from 1902 until his death in 1930, and he also had a hand in the establishment of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

In the view of the *Jewish Chronicle*, "the typical Jewish clergyman of the Emancipation era" and indeed "in many ways the representative Jew of that period" was Aaron Levy Green.

Born in London in 1821, he was officiating at the Great Synagogue at the age of 14. In 1838, when barely 17, he became reader at Bristol, where he gave occasional sermons in English. In due course he became such an eloquent and witty preacher that it was said of him, "He was certainly *the* minister who established in England the Jewish pulpit and made it felt to be a necessary adjunct of the Synagogue. There had been preachers before him, but when one heard some of them, one felt inclined to say 'Thank God we have no Jewish pulpit'. . . ."[19]

In Bristol he became involved in public work and participated in the struggle for Jewish emancipation: one of his first writings was an attack on Dr George Croly, who had opposed the admission of Jews to Parliament. He returned to London in 1851 to be second reader at the Great Synagogue, and he became reader at the Portland Street Branch Synagogue (later renamed the Central Synagogue) on its establishment in 1855. One of his successors at the Central, Michael Adler, wrote that: "The Central Synagogue owed its prominence in the community as much to the remarkable personality of its minister as to the social status of its worshippers."[20] His ministry developed into the kind of pastorate that Anglo-Jewry made distinctively its own, and his nephew, A. A. Green, said of him that it was he who, "more than any other man, created the position of the Jewish minister in this country."[21] He played a leading role in communal life — at Jews' College, to the library of which he left his books; in the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge, the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Board of Guardians, the prison and hospital visitation scheme, and in a number of other institutions.

He was a prolific writer. He was 'Nemo' of the *Jewish Chronicle* and in that capacity was particularly influential at a time when the *J.C.* was a great agent for the fashioning of Jewish public opinion. The history of the *J.C.* records concerning his contributions: "They were especially appreciated for their sly hits at the foibles of the leaders of the community; the style was racy but not undignified; and the author showed that even rabbinic learning could be worn lightly and used, not without effect and not without diversion, as a missile."[22] On religious matters he had liberal views and was often strongly criticised for them. Yet despite his attitude to orthodoxy, he was highly respected by the Adlers.

Like the Adlers and the Gollanczes, the Greens were prominent in the community's religious leadership over two generations. A. L. Green's nephew, Aaron Asher Green (born in London in 1860), shared his outlook in very many ways, and was in his turn the acknowledged representative figure of the Jewish ministry.[23] After holding posts in Sheffield and Sunderland, A. A. Green became minister of the Hampstead Synagogue in 1892, and a former pupil could testify that "he loved his flock and his flock loved him."[24]

A. A. Green was renowned for his quick wit, and memories of his effective repartee are still current in the community. But he was far from being merely a comedian. Within and far beyond the confines of his own congregation he carried out a great deal of welfare work. He was a frequent and popular lecturer on Judaism to Christian groups, and he also believed that young Jews should know something of the New Testament, though his attempt to introduce lessons on this subject into the syllabus of his senior class at Hampstead aroused tremendous controversy and had to be dropped. For some time Green was a regular contributor to the *Jewish Chronicle*, writing a weekly feature, 'In the Communal Armchair,' signed with the pseudonymn 'Tatler.'[25] He was more favourably disposed towards Zionism than were some of his colleagues: in 1898 he wrote that he was "an ardent Zionist, anxious to see Palestine once more in possession of our people."[26]

Green was especially concerned with the welfare of the provincial minister and with the role of the ministry as a whole. Speaking of the Anglo-Jewish concept of the ministry in 1923 he declared: "However greatly such a ministry as ours has ultimately justified itself, its necessity originally arose not as a sign of strength and growth in Jewish feeling, but as a sign of recognisable weakness and decadence."[27] And a few years later he said, in a lecture presided over by the president of the United Synagogue, that it would have been better for Jews' College to have aimed at producing rabbinically qualified ministers from the start.[28] It is significant that Green and others of his colleagues, for all that they are said to represent a certain type of concept of the ministry, recognised their limitations and the inadequacies of the kind of ministry which had arisen in Anglo-Jewry.

The first U.S. minister to obtain a rabbinical diploma — and hence by implication the first to try to narrow the gap between the pastor and the rabbi — was Simeon Singer.

Like many of his contemporaries, Singer, (born in London in 1848), was largely self-taught. After serving as headmaster of the Jews' College school and as minister of the Borough Synagogue, he became minister of the New West End Synagogue on its foundation in 1879. He became known as the most eloquent preacher in the Jewish community, and the three volumes of his *Literary Remains*[29] indicate that he had a considerable homiletical flair. He was a loved and skilful teacher, he was involved in a wide variety of Jewish and general public work, and was also — in the words of the *J.C.* — " a champion beggar — one of the most successful that the community has ever possessed."[30]

He set himself the arduous task of becoming equipped to pass — on the Continent, since it was not possible in England — the rabbinical diploma. He did not use the title 'rabbi' (though Michael Friedlander, principal of Jews' College, referred to him in an obituary tribute as "Rabbi Simeon Singer").[31] Singer's son-in-law, Israel Abrahams, wrote that Singer felt that the Jewish ministry in England "was drifting into an anomalous position. . . . The absence of the (Rabbinical) Diploma in the case of the great majority of English ministers . . . was a far-reaching evil. In the minister it tended to produce indifference to learning, and in the laity disrespect of the minister."[32]

Singer's great literary monument is *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, the publication of which in 1890 set the seal on the Adler policy of religious centralisation. Yet his religious views were often progressive and he advocated a number of innovations in the synagogue service. With A. A. Green and J. F. Stern, he associated himself with the Jewish Religious Union, established under the leadership of Claude Montefiore and Lily Montagu, though the three orthodox ministers soon acceded to pressure to withdraw. Singer's withdrawal came after an appeal by Samuel Montagu, (Lily Montagu's father), in a letter dated April 1903: and indeed his participation in the J.R.U. was his only major cause of controversy with his community.

Singer was not a Zionist though it was in his home that Herzl first expounded to Anglo-Jewry his idea for a Jewish State. He also criticised the Yiddish language (though he spoke it himself), but this did not prevent him from championing the cause of the Jewish immigrant.

In Morris Joseph we have a case of a minister who twice *nearly* served the U.S. — the first time, because his congregation did not join the United Synagogue until after his resignation, and the second time, because Hermann Adler vetoed his appointment.

Joseph was born in London in 1848. He was minister of the North London Synagogue from 1868–74 (North London was not admitted to the U.S. until 1878) and of the Old Hebrew Congregation, Liverpool, from 1874–82. He resigned from the Liverpool position to take a long

rest after a breakdown in health, and, moving to London, he was tutor in homiletics at Jews' College from 1887–93.

At the end of the 1880s, when the first moves were made to establish a synagogue in Hampstead, Joseph was among a number of Jewish intellectuals living in St. John's Wood. After Nathan Marcus Adler had refused to concede some of the major points which the Hampstead committee had desired to introduce into their new synagogue, some of the disappointed local residents started Sabbath afternoon services on radical lines, with Morris Joseph usually officiating. Many people felt that Joseph would be the right man to become minister of the new congregation. He, however, had expressed unorthodox views at the Sabbath afternoon services, especially concerning the restoration of sacrifices. The Chief Rabbi therefore refused to sanction his appointment, and in 1893 Joseph became senior minister of the Reform Synagogue, though remaining on good terms with Hermann Adler and the orthodox establishment.

For forty years (1887–1927) J. F. Stern was minister of the East London Synagogue. Perhaps the most renowned social worker among the Anglo-Jewish ministry, he is still often spoken of as "the Jewish bishop of Stepney."

Stern, born in Bedford in 1865, never laid claim to scholarship or eloquence, but he succeeded in building up a network of social service which benefited Jews (and gentiles) throughout the East End. He was an active worker for, and in many cases had a hand in founding, organisations such as the first Jewish orphan aid society, the Jewish branch of the Children's Country Holiday Fund, the Committee of Workers among the Jewish Poor, the Mile End Board of Guardians, and the Jewish Board of Guardians. He was a member of Stepney Borough Council and a well-known public figure in the district, receiving the C.B.E. in 1929 for his social work.

Stern's dearest love was the children of the Stepney Jewish School: he knew almost all of them and maintained contact with them long after they had left school. To the Stepney Jewish Lads' Club he was similarly devoted, and there are still many of his former protegés who recall him vividly and with affection.

Like a number of his colleagues, Stern had a rather lenient attitude to some aspects of Jewish practice, and there was something of a furore in the community when it became known that he had expressed a wish to be cremated after his death.

Francis Lyon Cohen, born in Aldershot in 1862, held ministerial office in South Hackney and then in Dublin, returning to London in 1886 to become minister of the Borough Synagogue. In the same year he became tutor in chazanuth at Jews' College. During his association with the United Synagogue Cohen involved himselfdeeply in visitation and educational work, and his memories of Aldershot led to his taking an

interest in military matters. He was an honorary officiating chaplain to the forces, organised Chanukah military services, and at the time of his death was chaplain to the Australian forces. He was also chaplain to the Jewish Lads' Brigade from its establishment until he left England for Australia in 1905.

Cohen was an authority on Jewish music. He wrote extensively on the subject, and contributed a large number of articles to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. With B. L. Moseley, he compiled a handbook of synagogue music and, with D. M. Davis, *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*, which to this day governs the musical tradition of the United Synagogue. It should be noted that it was at the Borough, during Cohen's ministry, that the first mixed choir was introduced into a synagogue belonging to the orthodox camp.

In 1905 Cohen became chief minister of the Great Synagogue, Sydney, and chairman of the local Beth Din, and held office for nearly thirty years. He became such a well-known religious leader and public figure in Australia that thousands of people turned out to attend his funeral, which was conducted by Rabbi Israel Brodie, who was then chief minister of the Melbourne Hebrew Congregation.

When the United Synagogue came into being, the first reader at the Great Synagogue was Simon Ascher, who was shortly to retire after forty years of service. (His letter thanking the U.S. Council for granting him a retirement pension is attached to the minutes of the first meeting of the Council, held in December 1870). Ascher had a fine tenor voice. Morris Duparc, secretary of the Anglo-Jewish Association and managing editor of the *Jewish Cronicle*, wrote of him: "He was a 'Master of Prayer' in the truest sense of the term. Disdaining the vocal pyrotechnics, of which some of our present-day Cantors are so fond, his intonation of the Services was so beautiful that he enthralled the worshippers. To such an extent was this the case that the Synagogue was thronged at the mid-day service on Yom Kippur Katon, not alone by City men, but also by others who foregathered from all parts of London in order that they might hear him render the Selichoth appointed to be read that day."[33]

Ascher's successor was Marcus Hast, who had been chief cantor in Breslau. Like Ascher, Hast served the Great for forty years. Hermann Mayerowitsch, in an essay on the chazanim of the Great Synagogue, wrote that Hast was "admired and revered by everyone" and added that he "inspired his congregation not by vocal feats of virtuosity, but by deep piety, extreme refinement of manner and by strict adherence to tradition."[34] Hast was such an accomplished Hebraist that Nathan Marcus Adler said of him to the first Lord Rothschild: "His Hebrew is *too* good!"

Hast was a prolific composer. His compositions, and those of J. L. Mombach, his choirmaster, form part of the repertoire of many English

synagogues today. In his major work, *Avodat Hakodesh*, he carefully recorded the Great's musical minhag, which still remains the United Synagogue pattern.

Hast's daughter, who was musically gifted in her own right, was the wife of Francis Lyon Cohen.

Many dedicated and able men have toiled in the vineyard of the Lord as 'religious founders and leaders' of the United Synagogue. They all deserve to be mentioned in a paper such as this. Limitations of space make this impossible, and I have had to content myself with making a selection (probably an invidious one) from among the notable figures who served in the U.S. ministry up to about the time of Hermann Adler's death in 1911, portraying in outline their life, work and outlook. I am well aware that I have probably left out some names which I ought to have included. I hope the opportunity will be taken by the U.S., perhaps in conjunction with the Jewish Historical Society of England, to commission a full history of the Jewish ministry in England. Perhaps this would be an appropriate project to launch in 1972, which marks the centenary of the birth of Hermann Adler's successor, Joseph Herman Hertz — a great leader and teacher in Israel, a man decisive and incisive, who gave firm, sometimes controversial, leadership to Jewry throughout one of the most momentous periods in the whole of Jewish history.

NOTES ON SOURCES

[1] I have limited myself to a selection of U.S. ministers in the period up to about the death of Hermann Adler in 1911. For the sake of the record I give here a list of the ministers of the constituent Synagogues in 1870:

CHIEF RABBI:
Dr Nathan Marcus Adler
GREAT SYNAGOGUE:
Reader: Revd Simon Ascher
Reader and Secretary: Revd Moses Keizer
HAMBRO SYNAGOGUE:
Reader: Revd Samuel Marcus Gollancz
NEW SYNAGOGUE:
Reader: Revd Abraham Barnett
Reader and Secretary: Revd Isaac Cohen
CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE:
Reader: Revd Aaron Levy Green
Reader and Secretary: Revd Samuel Lyons
BAYSWATER SYNAGOGUE:
Preacher: Dr Hermann Adler
Reader: Revd Isaac Samuel
Reader and Secretary: Revd Raphael Harris

[2] *East Anglian Times*, 6 July 1963, in a review of *The History of the Bayswater Synagogue, 1863–1963* by Olga Somech Phillips and Hyman A. Simons, London, 1963.

[3] *The Adler Family*, by Marcus N. Adler, London, 1909; and material in Adler collection at Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

[4] *Cup of Salvation*, vol. 1, no. 1, March 1846, ed. by D. M. Isaacs and Moses Samuel. Cf. *History of Jews' College*, by Isidore Harris, London, 1906, pp. iv–vi; *Jews' College, London*, by Albert M. Hyamson, London, 1955, pp. 15–16.

[5] *J.C.*, 9 January 1854.

[6] Sermon at joint anniversary service of Jews' College, the Jewish Religious Education Board and the United Synagogue, Great Synagogue, London, 23 March 1931.

[7] *Hermann Adler, Yeshivah Bahur, Prague, 1860–1862*, by A. Schischa, in *Remember the Days*, ed. John M. Shaftesley, London, 1966.

[8] *The Porcupine*, Liverpool, 8 May 1886.

[9] Some of the controversies in which Hermann Adler was involved centred around questions such as whether Jews were really patriots, whether Jews were tribalistic, whether Judaism was a missionary religion, etc.

[10] Different points of view are presented in *A Fortress in Anglo-Jewry — the Story of the Machzike Hadath*, by Bernard Homa, London, 1953, and *The London Board for Shechita, 1804–1954*, by Albert M. Hyamson, London, 1954.
[11] *Historical Sketch of the Beth Hamedrash*, by Philip Ornstein, London, 1905.
[12] *The Literary Remains of the Revd Simeon Singer: Sermons*, with Memoir of Singer by Israel Abrahams, London, 1908, pp. xxix–xxx.
[13] *Personalia*, by Hermann Gollancz, London, 1928, p. 25.
[14] *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd series, p. 196 (from *Epistles to the Jews of England*, published in the *J.C.*, 1901).
[15] Lucien Wolf Memorial Lecture, 1953, p. 10.
[16] *Biographical Sketches*, by Samuel Marcus Gollancz, ed. by Hermann Gollancz, London, 1930, p. 134.
[17] ibid., pp. xiv–xvi.
[18] *Personalia*, by Hermann Gollancz, London, 1928.
[19] *J.C.*, 16 March 1883.
[20] Michael Adler, *The History of the Central Synagogue, 1855–1905*, London, 1905, p. 14.
[21] *J.C.*, 24 March 1911.
[22] (Cecil Roth,) *The Jewish Chronicle, 1841–1941*, London, 1949, pp. 85–86.
[23] Raymond Apple, *The Hampstead Synagogue, 1892–1967*, London, 1967, ch. 4.
[24] Henrietta Adler, in *Sermons by the Revd A. A. Green*, London, 1935, p. 12.
[25] (Cecil Roth,) *The Jewish Chronicle, 1841–1941*, pp. 136–8.
[26] *Young Israel*, Jan. 1898.
[27] Dedicatory sermon, Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1923.
[28] *J.C.*, 10 Jan. 1930.
[29] ed. by Israel Abrahams, London, 1908.
[30] *J.C.*, 24 Aug. 1906.
[31] *ibid.*
[32] *Literary Remains*, *op cit.*
[33] *J.C.* Supplement, Jan. 1932.
[34] *Miscellanies* of the Jewish Historical Society of England, part 4 (Essays presented to E. N. Adler), pp. 91–2.

THE LAY LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE SINCE 1870

By Israel Finestein Q.C. M.A.

The three main figures in this story are Lionel Louis Cohen (1832-87), who was the principal founder of the United Synagogue; the first Lord Rothschild (1840–1915); and Sir Robert Waley Cohen (1877–1952). They were all descendants of Levi Barent Cohen (1740–1808), the merchant immigrant from Holland who settled in London around 1770. He became prominent in the City as a financier; in the Jewish community, as a founder and the first president of the Bread, Meat and Coal Charity and warden of the Great Synagogue; and in Jewish history as a great ancestor.[1]

He was the father-in-law of Nathan Mayer Rothschild, who founded a dynasty of his own in England, and of Sir Moses Montefiore. Sir Anthony de Rothschild (1810–76), the first president of the United Synagogue, was Levi Barent Cohen's grandson. The first two vice-presidents, namely Lionel Louis Cohen and Sampson Lucas (1821–79), were grandsons of his eldest son, Joseph.

These facts remind us how much the lay leadership of the United Synagogue was a family affair. It was an English institution, founded by recently emancipated Jews, accustomed by family tradition and historical circumstances to lead. They were a small group within the privileged membership of the uniting congregations. The rank of privileged member was not abolished until 1880, and even then without prejudice to the rights of existing privileged members.[2] The impetus towards union came from a few leading men, largely connected with the Great Synagogue and living in the West End, who controlled, or could vitally influence, the levers of communal power.

In the 1850's communal leadership was still deeply engaged in the struggle for political emancipation. The admission of a professing Jew to the House of Commons in 1858, in the person of Sir Anthony's brother, Lionel de Rothschild, marked the successful conclusion of that long campaign, and freed the way towards further constructive thinking within the communal scene. By the onset of the great immigration from 1881, the United Synagogue had taken root. Eventually its membership consisted largely of that immigrant stock. The leadership remained in the hands of the old families.

The immediate object of the founders was limited. It had two aspects. They wanted to rationalise the London Ashkenazi synagogal system, and to provide for future growth. The two parts of their plan were inter-related. That is to say that the saving of money, effort and goodwill through rationalisation of the system, would be of direct practical value in meeting future needs, including essential non-synagogal needs. Central control and planning were of the essence of the union. Against the background of the long-standing voluntary nature of Anglo-Jewish communal life,

the fact that the founders were able to secure the union on these terms is a mark of their capacity for leadership and their sheer practical ability.

Lionel Cohen was a man of astonishing industry and great intellect. He was a prominent banker, a trustee of the London Stock Exchange, and for many years a highly regarded member of the Conservative Party. For the last two years of his life, he represented Paddington North in the Conservative interest in the House of Commons, and was an acknowledged expert in the House on trade and finance. Anthony de Rothschild, like Cohen, was a warden of the Great Synagogue until 1870. In his manner, he represented, wrote the *Jewish Chronicle* on his death, "a plain old fashioned English squire".

Sampson Lucas, who succeeded to the presidency of the union on Rothschild's death, was a fellow-director with Rothschild of the Alliance Insurance Company. He died after only three years as president. The *Jewish Chronicle* described him as having "a cautious and calculating mind" and added that "his chief characteristic" was his "thorough English nature". In those self-conscious days, references to the ideal of the English gentleman were frequent in Jewish obituary notices.

Lucas' family had a long association with the New Synagogue. He was for many years a warden of the Bayswater Synagogue, the recruiting ground of so many honorary officers of the United Synagogue. He had not been uncritical of the idea of union. He was anxious to retain some degree of autonomy for the local boards. It was he who saw to it that each synagogue in the union should have its own budget. This was followed in 1886 by an arrangement whereby, instead of all expenditure being under the Council's control, a "final surplus" was declared for expenditure by each respective synagogue.

Lucas was succeeded by Lionel de Rothschild's son, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, M.P., who in 1885 became Lord Rothschild. The new president was a prominent Liberal in politics, who in 1886 became a Unionist in opposition to Gladstone's policy of Irish Home Rule. His departure from the Liberal Party increased the fashionability of Conservatism and Unionism in the politics of leading Jews. In 1870, all eight Jewish M.P.'s were Liberals. Five of them, including three Rothschilds, were members of the Central Synagogue. The remainder, including Sir Francis Goldsmid and Julian Goldsmid, were members of the Reform Congregation.

The old allegiance among Jews to the Liberal Party became less marked as the years of struggle for emancipation receded. The tendency towards Conservatism[3] reflected the social outlook of what might be termed the upper strata of Anglo-Jewish society.

Among the members of the first Council were Jacob Waley (1819–73) and Algernon E. Sydney (1836–1916). They were important allies of Cohen in formulating and presenting the terms of union to the Jewish community and to the Charity Commissioners. Waley was a notable conveyancer, formerly Professor of Political Economy at University College, London, and the first president of the Anglo-Jewish Association. Sydney was

appointed honorary solicitor to the United Synagogue at the first Council meeting. The following editorial reference in the *Jewish Chronicle* on Waley's death captures the spirit of the first post-emancipation generation of English Jews: "He showed that it was possible for an English Jew, while actively working for and identifying himself with the interests of the community, to exhibit broad sympathies; to take his place in the ranks of those who promote the culture of the age; to do service . . . to the country of his birth and the profession of his adoption; to be in every way a high minded refined English gentleman".[4]

Prominent among the first honorary officers was the Exeter-born Henry Solomon (1814–91). Among his titles to fame was that, with other commercial positions, he was chairman of the Ocean and Guarantee Corporation. Solomon was the Chief Rabbi's son-in-law and for 36 years, from its inception to his death, treasurer of Jews' College. A colleague of his on the first Council was Arthur Cohen (1829–1914), a cousin of Sir Anthony de Rothschild, and later the leader of the Commercial Bar, a notable Liberal M.P. and president of the Board of Deputies.

The men most actively associated in the venture of the United Synagogue were largely busy men in commerce or the professions. In the elections to the first Council, there were 'nomination lists' from the wardens of the respective synagogues in favour of selected candidates. This procedure presumably deterred some would-be candidates, and was strongly disapproved of by the *Jewish Chronicle*. Heavy canvassing was reported during the actual elections, especially at the Great Synagogue. On 9th December 1970, after the elections, the editor expressed surprise that "more preliminary excitement was not evinced in the election". The high degree of ability of those who initiated the United Synagogue and of many of their associates in the undertaking, had already been proved by their success outside the Jewish community. For those of them who belonged to the great ruling families, the added layer of traditional *noblesse oblige* further reinforced their position.

It was Lionel Cohen's idea that, from the start, all Council meetings should be open to the press. He was a frequent contributor to the *Jewish Chronicle*, often in unsigned articles or under a pseudonym. He sought the editor's aid in many communal issues, and his handling of publicity was masterly. The result was that from its inception the United Synagogue and its growth struck the imagination of the community all the more. For long, the leaders of the United Synagogue were treated by many as the repository of ultimate wisdom in the management of communal affairs.

"We regard the event", wrote the *Jewish Chronicle* on 16th December 1870 with reference to the first meeting of the Council, "as of the greatest communal importance and the commencement of a new era in our history". The point was that here was a new instrument in the hands of profoundly respected and highly self-conscious men, who were anxious to give to what was called English Judaism a distinctive character. It was not established merely to put an end to the recurring 'demarcation' disputes between the uniting congregations. The leaders were concerned with

future communal expansion, in numbers and geography, and wanted to prepare to meet it. They took for granted that a unitary system was good. Such a system facilitated forward planning. It also restricted the influence of self-centred or short-sighted local interests in favour of wider needs, synagogal, charitable and organisational.

There was in any event in the leadership of the United Synagogue an instinct for control. The founders created an 'established' synagogue. To some extent it was a conscious device to protect English Judaism against inroads from Reform. The provisions in the Deed of Foundation and Trust relating to the powers of the Chief Rabbi were crucial to the entire scheme. It is a paradox that men who were so imbued with the soundness of all things English, and who were so alive to English and Anglo-Jewish traditions, should have enshrined in the scheme the reference to "the Polish or German ritual". Perhaps this is in part explained by a conscious or unconscious analogy with the time-hallowed "Spanish and Portuguese" forms of what was still in some respects, the senior branch of Anglo-Jewry. However, a more significant object of the provisions was to provide constitutional safeguards against the intrusion of any practices from the reformed prayer book of David Woolf Marks or his synagogue.

A further and powerful influence working in favour of an established synagogue was England. Words like 'vestry', 'board', 'overseer', 'ecclesiastical' and even perhaps 'minister', were typically English and Anglican terms. Lionel Cohen from time to time in political speeches would point out the merits of an established church and warned against disestablishment. In these speeches he was loyal to the ideas of his party. He was criticised by his brother-in-law the Liberal politician, Samuel Montagu, who thought it was improper and impolitic for a Jew to enter into this particular argument.[5] So keenly was Cohen affected by the virtues of establishment that he included the kernel of establishment, namely the Chief Rabbinate provisions, into the draft scheme of the Act. It is not surprising that the Charity Commissioners demurred. "The tendency of opinion", wrote Sir David Salomons at the time, "is against state interference in religious matters. . . The omitted clauses are mainly provisions that so far as I know are neither granted nor desired by any great religious denominations of this country. In this respect the Established Church stands by itself".[6]

The provisions gave the Chief Rabbi the sole supervision and control of the form of worship and all matters connected with the religious administration of the United Synagogue. In conformity with the original agreement between the synagogues, those provisions were incorporated by the Deed, in default of being given legislative sanction. They helped to create a remarkable degree of uniformity, to which in any event the development of the Chief Rabbinate was conducive. Uniformity was further encouraged by Singer's Prayer Book, whose title, "The Authorised Daily Prayer Book" is Anglican and sounds mistakenly as though it had the sanction of Parliament.

This was the spirit of the early leaders of the United Synagogue, orderly, authoritative, and defined. The good sense and practicality of English government appealed to them as virtues, which in many respects they were. The machinery for financial control induced habits of economy. It was a case of good accountancy in the service of the Jewish community.

The size and growth of the United Synagogue appeared to justify the great amount of time devoted by its leaders to the details of its administration. The phrase 'a United Synagogue man' meant something. Among the leaders, a community of outlook and interest developed and was bequeathed. The tone and style which they gave to the United Synagogue persisted, and indeed may prove to some extent indelible. Benevolent despotism became the order of the day, tempered by democratic forms and a patrician sense of obligation. Admiring critics called it paternalism. In the fields of its choice, it gave constructive leadership.

The election of Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild to the presidency in 1879 was one of a series of events which ushered in a new epoch in the history of the institution. Lionel Cohen had been the driving force, throughout and he continued to be so until his death at the age of 55. He had encouraged and assisted the establishment of new synagogues in the outlying areas, created effective working arrangements with the Board of Guardians, of which he had been a founder, set precedents of conduct between local synagogal boards and the central organs of administration and enhanced the impact of the United Synagogue upon the communal scene as a whole. He remained a vice-president until his death, a position which has often in the United Synagogue been the effective office of power. To work "in the spirit of Lionel Cohen" became an ambition and a commendation.

Among his notable colleagues as vice-president was Sir Barrow Helbert Ellis (1823–87), a former member of the Viceroy's Council, and for the last eight years of his life chairman of the Council of Jews' College. Ellis predeceased Cohen by a few months. They were close friends, and Cohen was deeply affected by his death. Less than two years later, there died Asher Asher (1837–89) Cohen's principal lieutenant in the creation and development of the United Synagogue. Asher had been secretary of the Great Synagogue since 1866, and was the first secretary of the United Synagogue. He was a doctor of medicine of Glasgow University, a Jewish scholar and fluent Hebraist, whose special field of study was minhagim, and a gifted administrator with vision.[7]

In the 1880's there opened what may fairly be described as the age of Lord Rothschild. He was president for 36 years until his death in 1915. It was an age marked by increasing deference inside the United Synagogue to its lay head. In its earlier phase, the age coincided with the high point of Victorian England. The Queen's Jubilees somehow gave added prestige and influence within the Jewish community to the Jewish peer, who managed large segments of its life from his office in the City. Unlike Waley Cohen, who ruled from Woburn House and often ate there, Rothschild

preferred his own desk at New Court. By temperament and conviction, he favoured the widening scope and influence of the United Synagogue.

He was personally committed to the East End Scheme, to whose preparation and partial implementation he gave much labour. He did not bridge the religious and ideological gulf which, in spite of himself, divided him from the mass of the immigrants and from the chevroth. He was also much taken up with the transfer of the New Synagogue to Stamford Hill and the sale of the old site in Great St. Helens. That event classically illustrates the objects and performance of the United Synagogue. In spite of some local opposition, it was evident that the movement of population rendered the transfer most desirable, quite apart from the fact that in the City the synagogue was in constant and growing deficit. The transfer was delayed when a number of members in 1909 managed to raise funds to discharge certain pressing liabilities. However, the change was pressed by the United Synagogue. In addition to meeting the growing need for a large synagogue in the new areas, the transaction released considerable funds towards later synagogal development in London.

In these and other undertakings Rothschild was greatly assisted by Albert Henry Jessel (1864–1917), a nephew of Lionel Cohen and of the famous Master of the Rolls and himself a prominent leader at the Chancery Bar. Jessel was a particularly active vice-president, a tough negotiator, and an effective advocate at the Council and elsewhere of the policies of the honorary officers and sometimes of his own, where they might differ. He was a prominent figure in the Jewish Voluntary Schools Association, which he initiated.

Rothschild and Jessel were the main advocates of the election of Dr. Hertz as Chief Rabbi in 1913. Rothschild's support settled the issue, but Jessel's part in the controversies surrounding the search and selection, greatly assisted the passage. The opinions and personality of the new incumbent belonged to yet a new age. There is some irony in the fact that his appointment was sponsored by the old guard. Rothschild's son, the second Lord Rothschild (1868–1917), was a Zionist and the recipient of the Balfour Declaration.

The first Lord Rothschild's deep interest in the Jewish schools, especially the Jews' Free School, was more than a family tradition. He considered them to be a vital agency for assimilating the children of foreign parents into the Anglo-Jewish community and into English society. His antipathy to Yiddish sprang from the same source.

He was succeeded as president of the United Synagogue by his brother, Leopold (1845–1917), who died two years later. Leopold had been a close friend of Edward VII, who attended his wedding while Prince of Wales, He twice won the Derby. The new president was his son, Major Lionel de Rothschild (1882–1942), Unionist M.P. later treasurer of the Board of Deputies, and an opponent of Zionism. Leopold de Rothschild and his successor maintained the family tradition of devotion to a large number of practical good causes within and without the Jewish community.

The passing of Lord Rothschild provides a convenient occasion to examine a number of features of the United Synagogue which by that time had become deeply characteristic. There was an emphasis on forms, and a concern for the decorous. The men who wielded power in the United Synagogue, while desirous that the United Synagogue should live up to its declared aim of serving the Jewish community in many fields, were essentially practical men, in many cases with neither much time for reflection, nor much inclination or aptitude for thinking on issues broader than prudent administration in certain allotted areas. The status and burdens of the United Synagogue attracted their expertise. Thereby might they fulfil their Jewish duty, as well as possibly endow the institution with something of their own prestige. In particular, they did not necessarily feel that any obligation attached to them to promote Jewish learning.

A number of them were dedicated to the Jewish voluntary schools. Some of them had themselves been educated at one of the more fashionable Jewish academies. An increasing number had attended public schools. Lionel Cohen had been one of the initiators of the Jewish House at Clifton College. The horizons of the United Synagogue did not extend far into the fields of Jewish education, although a growing number of its synagogues had Jewish religion classes on their premises. Wise and sincere men, many of whom were prominent in educational and charitable efforts in Anglo-Jewry as well as in the administration of the United Synagogue, failed to give full weight to the proposition that Judaism was and must be much wider than the synagogue.

A fair illustration of their attitude to Jewish learning might be found in the relationship in the early years between the United Synagogue and Jews College. In 1878, the Council of the former debated a proposed increase of its annual grant to the College from £50 to £200. The advocates of increase urged that "the necessity for English Jews to have a number of efficiently trained and cultured ministers is everyday becoming more urgent... with the general change of the times, the social status, resources and wants of the Jews have likewise changed, and it is our duty to provide worthily for a new position and new requirements". The increase was approved by a majority, in the face of the vigorous opposition of Noah Davis (1823–1913), an overseer of the poor.

Davis was a member of the London Stock Exchange whose father, Mark Davis, had fought at Waterloo. Noah now strove against the communal tide. "Jews College", he declared, "is a luxury in which the Council cannot indulge". Among his supporters on that occasion were Sampson Lucas and Nathaniel de Rothschild, respectively president and vice-president. The issue was undoubtedly complicated by the then apparently serious financial position of the United Synagogue. It is fair to add that the opponents did not say that Jews' College should not be supported. They stated that its support should be general and that the United Synagogue should not adopt a special responsibility. The Rothschilds contributed.

However, one cannot escape the feeling as one reads the reports of such debates, that the importance of making adequate provision for the training of ministers and teachers for the community was not adequately appreciated, and not given its true priority. In 1881, the College moved from Finsbury Square to Tavistock House, Tavistock Square. It applied to the United Synagogue, the premier religious organisation in the Jewish community, for a contribution of £100 towards the building fund of £3,000, in addition to its annual vote of £200 to the College. The Council voted the grant by a majority of 23 to 17. Among those who voted against the grant were Nathaniel de Rothschild, now the president, and Noah Davis.

In February 1911 the Finance Committee recommended that the Council should terminate its annual grant to the College, which then stood at £200. The Council voted against the recommendation. The ground on which the recommendation was presented was the pressure on the financial resources of the United Synagogue.

Among the foremost advocates of the College at the Council were Charles Samuel (1821–1903), a wholesale clothier who was for many years from its inception an honorary officer of the United Synagogue and for 24 years a treasurer of Jews College, of which he was a substantial benefactor; and Sir Adolph Tuck (1854–1926), the noted art publisher and philanthropist, who succeded Samuel as treasurer of Jews' College in 1902, which post he held until his death. On Tuck's death, the *J.C.* commented that "no budget night of the olden days would have been complete without an amendment by Sir Adolph to the proposed meagre grant to the College".

Another and related topic is the whole conception of the Jewish minister in the minds of the leaders of the United Synagogue. The United Synagogue was content that the incumbents in its synagogues should be non-rabbinic pastoral preachers. That category of Jewish cleric had many virtues, particularly in the post-emancipation period. The idea of the Jewish minister, in the sense in which the term came to be used, was a product of the United Synagogue. It contrasted with the foreign-trained, or untrained factotum. It also contrasted with the rabbinically learned and somewhat remote, and usually foreign-trained, scholar-minister. The distinctive Anglo-Jewish clergyman came into being, of whom a number were men of high calibre and considerable influence.

The lay leadership feared that rabbinic training might involve the introduction of the outlook found among the immigrants from Eastern Europe, which was alien to them. In 1911, the *Jewish Year Book* made the point in telling fashion. "We appear", wrote the editor, "to be on the eve of an upheaval which may cause a distinct cleavage between English Judaism and the religious system represented by a number of Rabbis who are practically independent of and manifestly hostile to the English Rabbinate". Albert Jessel was in this connection, perhaps, the leading protagonist of what might be called the West, as well as the West End. He was described as "essentially occidental" in his upbringing and sympathies,

and as being "not in accord with the administrators of Jews College in their design to produce a high standard of rabbinical learning at the expense, as he thought, of English culture."[8]

Well before the end of the first half-century, the question of recruiting leaders for the United Synagogue became acute. The original novelty and challenge had gone. Wider opportunities outside the Jewish community presented themselves, especially to the old families. There was also a falling off in Jewish enthusiasm and religious attachment. Furthermore, the preoccupations of the First World War and the heavy loss of life within the strata from which the leaders had formerly come, depleted the ranks. Another factor which intensified the problem of recruitment was that a number of prospective office-holders had made their way into the Reform and Liberal synagogues.

In commenting on the death of Sir Benjamin Cohen (1844–1909) younger brother of Lionel, and like him president of the Board of Guardians, vice-president of the United synagogue and Conservative M.P., the *Jewish Chronicle* described him as "a member of an able generation which has now almost gone". The editor continued: "The work those men have done will endure but needs supplementing and adapting to the necessities of the new day. Yet we do not hear on the threshold the tread of the feet of the young men who will take up the great burden". "I maintain", said the Chief Rabbi, in reference to Sir Benjamin at the Bayswater Synagogue where he had been warden, "that the languid and half-hearted support given by our younger brethren to the cause of Judaism, its synagogue and charities, constitutes even a greater menace to Anglo-Jewry" than the then projected Liberal schism.[9]

In the years immediately following, the death of hardly any prominent figure in the Jewish community occured without the same point being made, with increasing force. When Felix Davis (1863–1916), a notable and particularly popular vice-president died, *Mentor* in the *Jewish Chronicle* wrote that the event "compels the question... will the United Synagogue find the needed recruits, ... the same earnest, fine-hearted, whole-souled men who will continue the work". In a memorable phrase, he asked whether the United Synagogue did in the past or did in the present encourage young talent "to see the greatness of the little work and the importance of the pettiness it has to compass". His answer was that it had not done so in the past, he doubted whether it did in the present and he urged the need to begin to do so now.

Within the old families the leaders did, in fact, strive to encourage the younger generation to accept the burdens. In 1913 there was appointed as treasurer a younger member of the Cohen family, who later became the dominant influence in the United Synagogue and the most influential layman in the Jewish community. It is of some interest that it was Jessel who invited Waley Cohen to take office. "The Council", he wrote to Cohen, "is not easily led (or driven) by the Honorary Officers as was the case when I was first elected on it 24 years ago . . . but the influence of the

present lot (of Honorary Officers) is higher than it has been for some years".[10].

Waley Cohen was a nephew of Lionel Louis Cohen and a grandson of Jacob Waley. He filled the vacancy left by the death of Carl Stettauer (1859–1913), the Bavarian-born leather merchant and a leading figure in the Hampstead Synagogue. Stettauer was a prominent member of the London County Council and an energetic chairman of the Russo-Jewish Committee at a critical period in the history of that Committee.

Before turning to the age of Waley Cohen, it is necessary to recall the changing composition of the United Synagogue. By 1920, most of the members of the United Synagogue were Eastern European immigrants or their children. This preponderance was reflected in the Council. The attitude of the leaders of the United Synagogue was that the immigrants and their families should be made to approximate in style and thought, as far as possible, to those of the English Jew. This is not the place for an examination of the inter-relations between the United Synagogue and the Federation of Synagogues, or of the special character or impact of the Machzike Hadath synagogue and community.

In 1890, Lord Rothschild invited the Sephardim and the West London Synagogue of British Jews to send delegates to the conference convened by the United Synagogue, to consider the appointment to the Chief Rabbinate. It would not have been possible in any later or earlier period for any such invitation to have been extended to the latter congregation. Neither invitation was accepted.

A similar latitudinarianism was shown over Claude Montefiore's membership of the Jewish Religious Education Board. His sister's husband, Henry Lucas (1842-1910), was president of the Board, which was founded under Lucas' aegis, in 1895. Lucas, brother of Sampson Lucas, and a member of the Chancery Bar succeeded Lionel Cohen as vice-president of the United Synagogue. He had been president of the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge, the precursor of the Jewish Religious Education Board, to whose progress he contributed much.

Montefiore was a member of the newly created Board, and Henry Lucas defended his brother-in-law's membership in the face of mounting criticism, arising from Montefiore's published 'left' religious views. Montefiore's retirement from the Board prevented a crisis. In 1903, Jessel and Felix Davis, after much agitation at the Council of the United Synagogue, retired from Montefiore's Jewish Religious Union.

Henry Lucas' son, Dr. Nathaniel S. Lucas (1884–1968) was likewise many years an honorary officer of the United Synagogue and president of the Jewish Religious Education Board. He followed in his father's tradition in these and other respects.

Sir Robert Waley Cohen applied his mind to an understanding of the conflicting ideologies within the community. He became vice-president in 1918 and president in 1942. It was a clash between personalities as well as policies, and was a kind of culmination of more than twenty years of

intermittent conflict. This particular manifestation of the conflict was echoed in tumultuous consequential debates at the Council. The lay leaders wanted to keep politics out of the synagogues, the Chief Rabbi wanted to bring the influence of the synagogue to bear upon the strengthening of Zionism at a crucial time in Zionist history. It was his conviction that Judaism was broader than religion in the sense to which they were accustomed.

The leadership of the United Synagogue was little touched by the revolution which took place at the Board of Deputies in 1917.[11] The non-Zionism, or anti-Zionism, of its leaders contrasted with the growing mood of the Council and of the membership and of local synagogues and boards. Lionel de Rothschild's chairmanship of the League of British Jews after the First World War was indicative, and inevitably provocative. In the Second World War, Waley Cohen, who was a vice-president of the Board, retired from the Board, together with a number of like-minded members of the old school. They believed that under the new Zionist dispensation at the Board there was nothing useful they could do there. They contended that the Board had been finally captured by the Zionists and had lost its independence. They continued to express their reservations over the idea of a Jewish State, and in particular their alarm at the strains between Zionist policy and the British Mandatory Government and their fears over what was called 'dual loyalties'. The Anglo-Jewish Association became at that time the principal forum for these sentiments.

For thirty years, until his death in 1952, Sir Robert's was the main personal influence in the affairs of the United Synagogue.

He was a man of many contrasts. Accustomed to big decisions on broad issues in commerce and industry, he was ever ready to study with meticulous care the detail of United Synagogue affairs. Always attentive to the mood of the Council, he would not be shaken out of his resolve by it. He was a strong man, with a great capacity to lead. To him, democracy in the United Synagogue was a method for more conveniently getting his own way. He was a man of action with imagination. He was not an observant Jew or much of a synagogue-goer, but he regarded the maintenance of traditional Judaism in Anglo-Jewry as desirable, even necessary. He was not a Zionist in the accepted sense, but his practical involvement in the building up of Palestine and the development of the Yishuv was substantial.

The rank and file of the United Synagogue and its Council and boards, were less prone than previously to accept policies formulated by the inner circle of leaders. The autonomy of local synagogues remained highly restricted. There was an ever-recurring conflict, of varying degrees of intensity, between the old style leadership and the new membership of the United Synagogue. Waley Cohen was able, with only few exceptions, to contain the conflicts within such limited compass that they tended to become rather personal issues, in which by his prestige, power and persuasion he was able to succeed without upheaval.

The most celebrated exception was with regard to the Chief Rabbi and his contradictory messages to the synagogues over Zionism in the closing months of Hertz' life.

Waley Cohen's communal career is in many ways the history of the metropolitan Jewish community. A number of his hopes remained unfulfilled, but his achievements were considerable, not least in meeting the special problems caused by evacuation and otherwise during the Second World War. As to what might be called his disappointments, perhaps the most noteworthy was the proposal, which he urged before and after the First World War, to remove Jews' College to Oxford or Cambridge. With the support, among other notable figures, of the president of the United Synagogue, he incorporated this plan in the initial scheme for the Jewish War Memorial, of which he was the principal founder, and which became the Jewish Memorial Council.

He was a graduate of Cambridge, as was the president. They believed that there was no better link between Judaism and the English spirit than to have the religious leaders of the community trained at a Jewish college in the atmosphere of one of the ancient Universities.

In the language of his biographer, Mr. Robert Henriques, Waley Cohen "always held that in the British and Jewish traditions there were elements peculiarly suited to each other." [12] His plan met with strenuous opposition, not least from the Principal of the College, Adolph Buchler, and came to nought.

Waley Cohen also believed in regional rabbinates, especially for London. Pilot schemes to that end were devised and lapsed. But for the outbreak of war in 1939, the plan might have prospered. He also mooted in vain the idea of a United Synagogue for the country as a whole. He deeply regretted the falling away among young people, of Jewish religious loyalty and the increasing indifference to Judaism. It is not easy to determine his own personal particular religious standpoint, or to discover the rationale in his own mind of his institutional attachment to orthodoxy. He regarded the future of the Jewish community as bound up with adherence to Judaism, and if one may hazard a guess, he regarded orthodoxy as more readily transmissible. He was clearly impressed and moved by the antiquity of the Jewish tradition, and had a reverence for the wisdom and the heritage of his predecessors in the leadership of the United Synagogue, with so many of whom he had family connections.

He presided over a vast expansion of the United Synagogue and played a decisive role in the inception and growth of the District Synagogue Scheme. He extended the influence of the United Synagogue into wider areas of communal life, developed the Jewish Memorial Council to the limit of prudence in the light of its resources, was co-founder with Nathan Morris of the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, created Woburn House, and appointed to the Beth Din and earned the respect of Dayan I. Abramsky.[13]

Waley Cohen was aided by a succession of able colleagues, from Albert Morris Woolf (1856–1925) of St. John's Wood and Samuel Moses

(1866–1934) of Hampstead, to Frank Samuel (1889–1954), who succeeded him as president, and I. W. Goldberg (1894–1969), both well-remembered figures.

He was called and acknowledged himself to be "the last of the Grand Dukes". He was irascible and self-willed, but he understood human nature. In particular, he was prepared to be venturesome in communal planning, and somehow found time for new thinking. In these respects, he was very much in the pattern of his uncle, Lionel Louis Cohen. Between them, they seem to me to personify the history of the United Synagogue. When Sir Robert died, it was universally acknowledged that his like would not again be seen. If the dominance of the old leadership became a thing of the past, the tradition of service, which was at its core, remained as an example.

NOTES ON SOURCE

[1] See Lord Justice Cohen, "Levi Barent Cohen and some of his descendants", Vol. XVI *JHSE Trans.* (1952); Lucien Wolf, *Essays in Jewish History* (ed. Cecil Roth), (1934) pp. 233–40; and the genealogical tables in (and generally) Hannah F. Cohen, *Changing Faces*, (1937) and Chaim Bermant, *The Cousinhood*, (1971).

[2] See Vivian D. Lipman, "Synagogal Organisation in Anglo-Jewry", Vol. 1, *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, (1959), pp. 80 etc., for a study of the gradual liberalisation of the system. Originally, while all members could vote, candidature for the Council was restricted to privileged members.

[3] Perhaps the most notable Conservative political figures among the honorary officers have been Henry de Worms (1840–1903), later Lord Pirbright; and Sir Isidore Salmon M.P., L.C.C. (1876-1941), chairman of J. Lyons & Co. Sir Leonard Franklin (1862–1944), banker and for some years treasurer of the Burial Society of the United Synagogue, was a well-known Liberal figure.

[4] See generally Howard Brotz, "Position of the Jews in English Society", Vol. 1, *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, (1959), pp. 94–113.

[5] See in particular *JC* 30.10. and 6.11.1885.

[6] *JC* 30.12.1870. The immediate object of his letter was to support the proposal that the clauses should be accepted by the synagogues, in spite of their deletion from the statutory scheme. This was striking support, as Salomons had long been the principal Jewish protagonist of the voluntary principle. However, abandonment now would have meant a serious departure from the agreed terms of the union.

[7] *Some Notes and Articles by the late Asher Asher M.D.* with a biographical sketch (in Hebrew) by David Kohn-Zedek and collected obituaries (1916). In its obituary, the *JC* commented that Asher "always placed religion above theology". This was also true of the organisation which he nurtured and of the habit of mind of its lay leadership.

[8] *JC* 5.1.1917. For an extreme critique of "an 'official' religion attached to the Synagogue" towards the end of the century, see Maurice Simon, *Jewish Review* Vol. 2 (1911) pp. 305–6. Israel Zangwill's article entitled "English Judaism" in the first volume of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1889) is a satirical but no less pungent commentary on the low place of Jewish study in what appeared to be the scale of values of Anglo Jewish society. Solomon Schechter was a noteworthy and more balanced, though far from reticent, commentator on this topic.

[9] *J.C.*, 19.11.1909.

[10] Robert Henriques, *Sir Robert Waley Cohen 1877–1952*, (1966), p. 179. See also G. J. Webber, *A Tribute to the late Sir Robert Waley Cohen* (1953).

[11] When officers of the Board, including the President, D. L. Alexander, resigned over the Zionist issue, the event was described by the *Jewish Chronicle* on 14.9.1917 as "the overthrow of the old system". It went on: " . . . (the event) responded to the well-defined feeling among the Jewish masses. . . . At a time when almost every hour shows the mischief and futility of entrusting the affairs of whole peoples to a few independent autocrats, there can be no revival of those discredited methods in English Jewry. . . English Jewry has been launched on the democratic flood". These exaggerated sentiments expressed the views of the redoubtable editor, Leopold Greenberg. This famous communal episode undoubtedly affected the power structure inside Anglo-Jewry, sharpened lines of division, and was a herald of further change. The United Synagogue could hardly in the long run remain unaffected.

[12] *Supra*, p. 17.

[13] " . . . regret was expressed in several quarters that the opportunity of the vacancy had not been seized for the purpose of appointing an English-speaking Dayan able to minister to the needs of the younger generation in East London": *JC* 27.9.1935. The vacancy was caused by the retirement of Dayan I. Hillman to Palestine. The appointment of Rabbi Abramsky, then at the Machzike Adath, was an act of statesmanship and courage.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LONDON JEWRY

by Vivian D. Lipman, M.A., D.Phil, F.R.Hist.S., F.S.A.

The story of the development of London Jewry is not only an Anglo-Jewish story: it is the story of the development of London over the three centuries in which Jews have lived there as an open community. In 1656, when Jews came into the open again in London, there were some 100 Jews in London: today, in Greater London, there are some 280,000. In the same period Greater London's population has increased from under half a million to eight million. Yet at no time in these three centuries have the Jews been evenly spread over the surface of London. They have lived predominantly in certain areas; their development has followed certain patterns.

Equally, their existence as citizens of London has been made possible by the fulfilment of certain roles, changing according to contemporary circumstances but clearly identifiable in the economic life of the metropolis; and they have fitted socially into certain pigeonholes in London's social framework, which again have contributed to conditioning their choice of residence. Finally, their pattern of settlement is related to the growth of London itself as an active metropolis, dependent for life and expansion on its means of communication. These topics are the subject of this lecture.

The sixteenth and seventeenth century Marranos in London had lived in the parish of St Olave, Hart Street, but from the first the mid-seventeenth century settlement was in the area to be associated with the community for the next two centuries. A list of Jews in 1660 gives three names in Duke's Place, eight in Creechurch Lane, and five families in Bevis Marks. The original settlement, which had comprised about 100 to 150 souls, had increased to nearly 1,000 by the end of the 17th century, by which time almost a third of the total were Ashkenazim. We can examine the precise location of the Jewish population in 1695 because of a house to house census taken in that year. There was an early tendency to concentrate: 70 per cent of the 750 Jews who can be identified from the returns lived in the five contiguous parishes of St James' Duke's Place, St Katherine Cree, St Andrew Undershaft, St Katherine Coleman and St Helen's. The City of London parishes were small (there were 110 of them within and without the walls, covered by the census) and the total area of the five was about 35 acres. The Jews formed almost 10 per cent of their 5,700 population, and in the small parish of St. James' Duke's Place, as much as 25 per cent. It is easy to see why Jews continued to settle in this area once the original choice was made, but not so easy to be sure why they chose it originally. This area of the City of London seems always previously to have been associated with foreigners. Nearby, off Mark Lane, was the Manor of Blanch Appleton, the only place according to Stow and Maitland where foreigners were allowed to settle in the 15th century; and the normal City rules (e.g. that only freemen

of the City could engage in retail trade) did not apply. Socially, the area was in the later seventeenth century a poor to middle class one: we know this because the 1695 census identified householders with substantial property. St. James' Duke's Place was the poorest of the five parishes (with less than 10 per cent of substantial householders) and the increasing concentration in this parish may reflect the growing immigration of poor Ashkenazim, as contrasted with the wealthier Sephardi merchants (See A.P. Arnold in the 1695 Census in *Misc. JHSE* VI).

During the eighteenth century the Jewish population of the metropolis increased to between 15,000 and 20,000 (P. Colquhoun, *Police of the Metropolis*, 1800, p.120). But the composition of the Jewish population was very different from the end of the seventeenth century. There was an influx of Marranos in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, due to the recrudescence of the Inquisition in the Peninsula; there was also a considerable immigration of Italian Jews and, in the second half of the eighteenth century, of Sephardi Jews from North Africa and the Levant. But the Sephardim became the minority of Anglo-Jewry in the eighteenth century because the immigration of Ashkenazim was so much greater. I estimate that by 1720, if not earlier, Ashkenazim began to exceed the Sephardim in numbers until, by the end of the century, the Sephardim were not more than 13 per cent, probably not above 10 per cent, of the total London Jewish community.

But this numerical inferiority was not paralleled by their relative economic and social position. We have some evidence at the middle of the century when, due to the controversy over the Jew Bill, the contribution of Jewish merchants to Britain's foreign trade was under discussion. In a paper in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, Mr Edgar Samuel has concluded that the Ashkenazim owned about a quarter and the Sephardim three-quarters of the wealth of the community so that wealth per head among the Ashkenazim was a twelfth that among the Sephardim. This ratio no doubt improved more favourably for the Ashkenazim during the second half of the eighteenth century, as some of the wealthier Sephardi families left the community, or more Ashkenazim gained wealth in commerce and finance, and the immigration of poor Sephardim from Holland, North Africa and the Levant proceeded.

Through the eighteenth century, while the main Jewish settlement remained in the eastern part of the City and the area immediately adjoining it to the east, there were two other developments. First, two small Jewish settlements sprang up in the West End, around Covent Garden and St. James', and in Southwark. These were largely groups of shopkeepers and craftsmen, with a few richer merchants: they formed the nuclei around which the Westminster, later Western Synagogue and the Borough Synagogue were formed. The second development was that the richest Jews, while retaining their main homes in or near the City of London, followed their Christian equivalents in acquiring country seats around London. The Sephardim settled particularly in the north-west: Aaron Capodose and Jacob Pereira at Stanmore; Joseph da Costa at Totteridge,

Joseph d'Almeida at Watford, the Mendes da Costas at Highgate. As Defoe put it "Jews have particularly fixed on Highgate and Hampstead for their country seats." The Ashkenazim who could afford such rural residences in the eighteenth century were fewer and they generally moved southwards: Moses Hart to Richmond and later Isleworth, the Franks family nearby on the Middlesex bank, and later the Goldsmids at Roehampton and Morden. Later in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century, there were even small colonies of upper middle class Jews in the residential villages around London: Canonbury, Islington, Hackney, Leyton, Highgate; and the Montefiores, of course, lived in Kennington on the south side of the Thames.

But one must emphasise that these developments were, in both the geographical and metaphorical senses, peripheral to the main London Jewish community. Until about 1825 or 1830 nearly the whole community lived in the City or the streets to the east. For the bulk of the community this was sheer economic necessity. The poorest — the hawkers, stall-keepers, small shopkeepers, old clothes dealers — naturally congregated in the proletarian purlieus of East London, from Bishopsgate to the Tower. This was the home of the street markets and old clothes exchanges, and the most profitable hunting-ground for street sellers, such as round the Royal Exchange or the Post Office, where the arrival and departure of coaches gave the bustle of a transportation centre. The wealthier merchants, whose businesses were in the City, lived nearby, because of the expense and difficulty of commuting. Some at least could perhaps have moved in the late eighteenth century to the fashionable squares of St James', Mayfair or north of Oxford Street. But they did not, and they remained within easy reach not only of their City offices (sometimes living above them) but also of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi synagogues on the eastern fringe of the City.

The move from the City and East End began about 1825 when Nathan Mayer Rothschild moved from New Court to Piccadilly, Moses Montefiore to Park Lane, and Isaac Lyon Goldsmid from Spital Square to Regent's Park. The upper middle class were not slow to follow the magnates. I have composed three lists, each of about 100 Jewish names and addresses of this group in 1827, 1836 and 1848. In 1827, virtually all lived in the City or East London; in 1836, a third had moved; in 1848 about seven-eighths. The reasons for this movement are to be found in the growth of London itself, and this in turn was due to the development of communications: the horse-bus; the railway, both surface and underground; the tram; and eventually the motor bus and motor car.

In 1829, with the first horse-omnibus, began the age of commuting to work, in which a man need no longer live within walking distance of his work but could choose his area of residence, whether within the central area, or in a suburb with a garden and fresh air, or even in a rural village or by the sea, and yet still travel daily to and from his work.

The result of this revolution in communications was, combined with the industrial and commercial development of the country of which London

was the centre, to increase the population of London in the 19th century by six times — from just over a million to 6·5 million, and to extend the diameter of the built-up area from 3 to 4 miles, to 18 miles. And, during the whole time, there was within the metropolis, a constant outward movement of residential population, so that fewer and fewer lived at the centre, and more and more in the outer areas.

Before the 1830s, there had been movement of residences from the City before to the West End, yet Jewish participation in it had been very small. After 1830, there was another factor at work: the desire of Jews to participate in the trends affecting the wider community. This was the age of emancipation, the age in which, more than ever before, not only the wealthiest but increasingly the middle class Jews felt themselves to be Englishmen. They followed their non-Jewish neighbours of equivalent social and economic status to more 'select localities,' as the phrase went, to the more spacious squares and terraces of Central London. Later, this imitation of the ideal of the English middle class as a whole led to the pursuit of the detached house and garden, and the inevitable search for it in the remoter suburb. The physical separation between social classes which this movement entailed, and which can be traced back to the 1830s, produced its problems in the social life of the Jewish community. It resulted in new types of institutions in the religious, educational and cultural fields. It was, for different reasons, responsible for the foundation of the Reform Congregation and later of the United Synagogue: the former because the new Jewish residents of Central London wanted, quite apart from questions of ritual, a 'neighbourhood' synagogue which neither the established Ashkenazi nor Sephardi congregations would then provide; and the latter because the problem of reconciling fashionable congregations in the centre and west with their parent congregations in the less fashionable East End could be solved only by a new form of union between them.

The first area towards which the Jewish middle class moved, as early as the 1830s, was Finsbury Square and Finsbury Circus. But it was Bloomsbury which in the 1830s and 1840s became *the* Jewish residential area for the upper and upper middle class, and also for some of the less affluent. It remained an area of residential quality and of considerable Jewish settlement throughout the nineteenth century, but by 1860 was being overtaken by the Bayswater area, west of Marble Arch. When the Bayswater Synagogue was founded in 1863 — significantly the same year saw the opening of the first underground line from Paddington to the City — almost half of its members were living in the area immediately north of Hyde Park, the elegant squares and crescents of Tyburnia, as it was then called. This was followed by further movement in the 1870s westwards along the north side of the Park and Kensington Gardens; and by the early 1870s a more popular residential area was opening in Maida Vale. This was a less affluent, but comfortably middle class, settlement.

A similar settlement was starting in North London. Middle class Jews from the City began to settle in some numbers in Islington from about 1840 and by 1861 it had nearly 1,000 Jews (about 5 per cent of London's

Jewish population) and during the 1860s Jews also moved into Canonbury and Highbury, to the north and east of the original settlement around Barnsbury where the North London Synagogue was opened in 1868. Jewish settlement in North London was to produce a solid middle class suburban community, in what was in terms of London's development, regarded as the typical middle class or lower middle class surburban area.

By 1880 not only Barnsbury, Canonbury and Highbury had Jewish communities but Dalston and Hackney further east were now also attracting Jewish residents. Finally, there were the beginnings of Jewish settlement in the north west, with the foundation of a synagogue in St John's Wood by 1875.

Thus by 1880 the upper middle class had already moved from the Jewish area in the City and East End, and the ordinary middle class were on the move. But the reservoir was still far from empty: and its area was extending eastwards with an outlier around Stepney Green, a colony with about 500 Jewish families by 1875.

The key to much of Anglo-Jewish history, as of English history in the nineteenth century, is the growth of the middle class. The character of English economic development, the growth of wealth per head of the population, the increase in demand for consumer goods, gave the opportunity for the expansion of a Jewish middle class which catered for these demands. And, as the percentage of the middle class in the London Jewish population increased, they responded to the contemporary middle class aspiration to move into the new middle class areas of residence. London was a particularly favourable area for the growth of a Jewish middle-class in the mid-nineteenth century because it was not only a great industrial city but a rapidly growing centre for the consumer and service trades — economic areas in which Jews found natural opportunities. By 1850, I estimate that about 5 per cent of the London Jewish population were upper or upper middle class and 30 per cent in the rest of the middle class; and that about one-third of the London Jewish population lived outside the traditional Jewish areas of the City and the streets to the east. This does not imply an exact equation between middle class status and residence outside the original Jewish quarter. There were Jews below middle class status who lived elsewhere in London than the East End and a fair number of the comfortably off still lived in the City and East End.

By 1880 this tendency to polarisation had become more marked. Of London's Jewish population, Joseph Jacobs estimated 14·6 per cent were upper or upper middle class, with incomes over £1,000 per annum (compared with my estimate of 5 per cent for 1850); and 42·2 per cent in the rest of the middle class, with incomes between £200 and £1,000 per annum (compared with my estimate of 30 per cent for 1850): in other words, Jacobs reckoned over half the London community to be middle class or wealthier.

Yet the 1870s also produced a new development at the other end of the social scale: London was the first city to have a sizeable Jewish industrial proletariat. This was partly due to the growth of artisan callings among

London Jews in the nineteenth century, replacing the earlier hawking, peddling and old-clothes dealing; partly due to the immigration of poor Jews from Eastern Europe in the 1860s and 1870s. As Morris Wintschevsky was to write of what he found on his arrival in 1879 "The workers I saw in London were a modern proletariat, factory workers or just hands... working with tens and hundreds of others at tailoring and carpentry, in waterproof factories, as clerks, book makers, watchmakers and at many other trades." (quoted by P. Elman, *Trans JHSE* XVII, 56 from E. Tcherikower, *Yivo Historische Schriften* II). As a result, it was in London that the first Jewish Socialist Trade Union was founded by Aaron Lieberman in 1876. This proletarian primacy in Jewish history of London over the cities of Eastern and Central Europe and also of the New World is due to the fact that London, more than Paris or Berlin, Warsaw or Lodz, was among all the cities in which Jews lived, ahead in its industrial development.

As a result of this development of the Jewish industrial proletariat in the 1860s and 1870s, the geographical distribution of the London Jewish population in 1880 was probably roughly the same, by percentages, as in 1850: two-thirds in the City and East End, and one-third elsewhere. But, because of the increase in the population from about 20,000 in 1850 to 45,000 in 1880, this masked both the absolute increase in the number of those living in the West End and the suburbs, and the increase in the number of Jews living in the East End resulting from a steady immigration from Eastern Europe during the 1870s.

1880 is the great divide for Anglo-Jewish history, because it marks the beginning of the great immigration, which transformed Anglo-Jewry. Socially, too, it marks the beginning of greater consciousness of the polarisation between rich and poor, between East End and West End. As Asa Briggs writes in *Victorian Cities*, "The contrast between East End and West End in London, which reflected what the *Quarterly Review* called 'the complete separation of the residences of different classes of the community' was the great contrast of the 1880s and 1890s — During the 1880s and 1890s the term 'East End' began to be used generally: it suggested a different world, an unknown world within the same city." Perhaps in Anglo-Jewish terms the contrast can be more accurately represented as between ghetto and suburb: between the densely populated Jewish quarter of first settlement and the more assimilated community elsewhere in the metropolis.

The story of the decades after 1880 is first of migration from the ghetto to the suburb, and then in the 20th century of the suburb taking over from the ghetto as providing a characteristic setting for Anglo-Jewish life.

The immigrant quarter of London was at its fullest extent of about two square miles by 1914, having spread through Spitalfields into Bethnal Green (which did not become a Jewish area until about 1897) and extending eastwards to link with its previous outlier around Stepney Green. There were certain barriers to its extension: a tough, inward-looking native community retained its hold on the purlieus of St Matthews

Church, Bethnal Green (the 'Old Nicol' of Arthur Morrison's *Child of the Jago*); and, south of Cable Street, the Irish labourers reacted physically against Jewish incursion. East London formed a Jewish immigrant area, comparable with those of other large British cities or indeed of every West European or American city with a Jewish immigrant population in this period.

The reasons for the concentration of Jewish immigrants in the East End have long been discussed. There are certain obvious local factors. It was an extension of the existing traditional Jewish quarter; it was close to the docks where the immigrants landed; it was in the part of London particularly associated with the immigrants' main occupations: tailoring, boot and shoe making, cigarette and cigar making, and the furniture industry. But there were other, more general forces at work. Louis Wirth, in his classic study of the Jewish immigrant 'ghetto' (based on a study of Chicago) recounts the story of medieval, renaissance and eighteenth century Jewish quarters, leading up to the nineteenth century 'ghetto'; and he shows how Jews have a natural tendency to concentrate in a particular quarter of the city, and do it voluntarily more often than by compulsion. This Jewish pre-history of the 19th century immigrant quarter is important for the assessment of the character of life in these concentrated Jewish settlements.

But there are other topographical forces at work which affect immigrants generally, be they Jews, Poles, Cypriots, Puerto Ricans or negroes. Indeed one can define them as factors affecting any group of working or lower middle class immigrants, since different factors apply to middle class immigrants like the German refugees of the 1930s. The latter go to residential suburbs: but the working class immigrant communities are always found in a certain type of location within the great commercial and industrial city. If we think of such a city as composed of concentric rings of development, with a central business district at its heart, there is an inner ring of old suburbs. This ring contains areas which are on the decline as residential districts, often due to development of uses like factories or warehouses; the character of the district has often deteriorated because it is cut across by railway lines leading to the central termini. The East Side of New York, the Chicago Ghetto west of the Loop, the Jewish quarter in the North East of the centre of Paris, all conform to this pattern, as does London's East End. Since London has grown outwards in the last 50 years, so the new ghettoes for more recent immigrants are a little further out. But Brixton and Notting Hill for negroes, Camden Town and Islington for Cypriots and Maltese, fulfils the same rule in contemporary London as did the East End for the Jewish immigrant between 1880 and 1914. It was the declining area, close to the centre, already honeycombed with factories and warehouses, suffering pressure on its residential accommodation from non-residential uses, that one would have expected to develop into an immigrant quarter — as it did.

There, with perhaps 125,000 Jews crowded into two square miles, with many streets 90, or virtually 100 per cent Jewish, there developed what

Lloyd Gartner has called "a community unto itself" with not only its own religious and cultural life, but its own social institutions and its own distinctive occupations and economic pattern. Yet, however large the immigrant quarter of the East End loomed in the general picture of London Jewry in this period, it was not the whole picture. The immigrant quarter carried within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. The very disadvantages of residence within it — the overcrowding, the lack of open space, the noise and congestion of the streets — impelled its residents as soon as they could to move outwards, even if only to adjacent Dalston. And the social and political dangers to Anglo-Jewry from so dense and noticeable concentration of immigrants led the communal authorities to organise dispersion of the immigrants to selected surburbs: Notting Hill, Poplar, Walthamstow, East and West Ham and New Cross. Finally, the immigrants themselves were intent on rising economically and becoming masters rather than employees, and success was symbolised by moving their residences out of East London to the surburbs. As Charles Booth wrote: "Dalston and Canonbury are the first steps upwards of the Whitechapel Jew". Further, the immigrant wanted to anglicise himself: and what better proof of anglicisation than to adopt the English middle class ideal of a house and garden in a suburb?

So, if 1880 to 1914 is the period *par excellence* of the immigrant quarter, it is equally the period of the rise of Jewish suburbia. The move from the Jewish immigrant quarter to the suburb has been described and analysed by countless sociologists, from Louis Wirth and Marshall Sklare onwards. What distinguishes London from American experience is that this process began earlier and the suburban communities had already developed. Thus their essential characteristics already had appeared before 1880 and were not substantially changed by the influx of subsequent immigrants. Further, the main axes along which Jewish suburban communities were later to develop were also (with one partial exception) already marked out even before 1880. One line of development was westwards from Bayswater to the opulence of the area served by the New West End Synagogue from 1879 — I say opulence advisedly since from its foundation right through till 1914 this congregation had consistently a higher annual income per male congregant than any other United Synagogue. The fashionable area extended roughly as far as the end of Kensington Gardens: beyond this area there was the Notting Hill community, founded as part of the dispersion movement from the East End and later Shepherds Bush; a suburban congregation was formed in Hammersmith in 1890, serving a wide area extending to Barnes and Fulham; and a congregation in Ealing dates from 1912.

The second main axis was northwards along the great highway first laid out by the Romans and known subsequently as Ermine Street, the "Old North Road" and Kingsland Road, Stoke Newington High Street and Stamford Hill Road. Jewish settlement moved northwards from 1860 to 1914, through Barnsbury, Canonbury, Highbury, Dalston, Stoke Newington and Finsbury Park. In the 1870-1914 period this was the

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London middle class and lower middle class area *par excellence*, although with enclaves of the upper middle class like Highbury New Park. It was an area of middle class piety and respectability, with at its less comfortable fringes, monotony — for Holloway Road is the world of Mr Pooter.

That the Jewish middle class should settle in North London rather than in the other great suburban area of South London is to be expected, bearing in mind the previous pattern of Jewish settlement, and the proximity of North London to the City and the East End, where the majority of Jewish suburban residents earned their living. By 1914, there were at least 20,000, possibly 25,000 Jews in North London, representing 10-15 per cent of London Jewry.

The third axis of development was in the north-west. Maida Vale represents the first substantial community in this region and in the 1870–1900 period was in its great age as a Jewish residential suburb. It was the Jewish suburb which came naturally to the minds of the novelists, like Amy Levy or Julia Frankau ('Frank Danby') in contrast with both East End and fashionable West End. It is Maida Vale, not, perhaps surprisingly, North London which presented this image of the Jewish suburb. It may be that Maida Vale made its greater impact on the novelist of the period because of the relative density of the Jewish population in the 1880s. There must have been nearly 2,000 Jews in the Maida Vale area — a limited area west of the Maida Vale thoroughfare, which had a total population of about 10,000.

I have classed Maida Vale in the north-western axis, rather than the Western, although the synagogue of the community was in Bayswater; and I have done so for two reasons. First, the Maida Vale community socially had much more in common with the later congregations of St John's Wood and Hampstead than with those on the north side of the Park at one end of the social scale or Notting Hill on the other. The second reason is that from 1890 onwards there was a tendency for Jews to move out of Maida Vale into the newer residential areas of the north-west. These were first, St John's Wood which had Jewish residents from 1850 and an organised community from 1875; Hampstead, an area with a cosmopolitan, intellectual and artistic reputation in the late Victorian period, where Jewish scholars and intelligentsia settled from the late 1880s, and where communal life was organised from 1890; and finally Kilburn and Brondesbury, where a synagogue was opened in 1905. The movement of population within London affected all classes and was not limited to the older and anglicised Jews. There was, for instance the little colony of Russo-Polish immigrants in the heart of London, in Soho. This was a compact Jewish community, mainly recruited direct from East London, with by 1914, over 3,000 Jews in the area where 300 children gave new life to the century-old Westminster Jews' Free School.

Nor was suburban development exclusively a middle class phenomenon. From 1870 to 1880 there began an increasing tendency on the part of the London working class to move to the suburbs as well. Just as in the 1830s and 1840s, omnibuses and railways enabled the middle class to commute,

so now trams and cheap railway fares combined with an increase in real income per head, and a consequent desire for higher residential standards, produced the working class commuter. Jews were naturally caught up in this movement: indeed, to some extent, they were pushed into it because the Jewish Dispersal Committee, under the leadership of Samuel Montagu, tried to move Jews from the congested East End to the suburbs and selected provincial towns. The United Synagogue joined in, through the Associate Synagogue scheme which was adopted in 1899 to help members of the 'industrial class' to run self-supporting synagogues in the suburbs. The Poplar, New Cross, East and West Ham congregations all came within this scheme. Another factor was the move of the furniture industry up the the Lea Valley to Tottenham and Walthamstow from 1903 onwards. Previously, some working class Jews in these areas had commuted to the East End on the Great Eastern and Great Northern lines: now they could move out from the East End and still be near their work.

If we take stock of London Jewry as a whole in 1914, there were about 180,000 Jews in Greater London. Some two-thirds of them lived in East London, which was like a great reservoir. As it emptied itself by overspill of both old and recent residents into Central London and the suburbs, it was always filled up again by fresh immigration. It is not easy to be sure about the distribution of the remaining third of London's Jewish population. I have worked out a rough distribution, based mainly on a classification of burial statistics by postal districts and also by comparison of figures of synagogue membership in the different areas. I estimate that just before the first World War there were 15,000 Jews in West and Central London, 25,000 in North London, nearly 10,000 in the north-west and nearly 10,000 south of the River. We can form some idea of the relative economic and social differences between congregations, so far as the United Synagogue membership is concerned, by comparing the average of contributions per male seat holder in the different congregations. On this basis, the richest groups were the congregations of the New West End, Bayswater and Central Synagogues — the extended 'West End'; then came the north-western congregations with Hampstead (which was as wealthy as Bayswater), St John's Wood and Brondesbury; and then the Northern suburban congregations with Dalston (i.e. Highbury), North London (Barnsbury and Canonbury), Stoke Newington and Hackney in that order.

Since 1914 the story of London Jewry has had three underlying features: the steady decline of the East End; the development along certain axes in the suburbs; and some return, particularly by older people, to the central areas. One would have expected in any case some decline in the number of Jews residing in Inner London — corresponding to the LCC area — and an increase in the Outer London areas such as Middlesex. This is because Inner London has been losing population since 1901, when it achieved its peak population of 4·5 million; and Outer London has been gaining — from 2·7 million in 1911 to 4·7 million in 1939. But the direction of movement in the case of Jewish settlement was clearly influenced by previous history. Jews tended to follow the same axes of settlement along which

they had previously moved, especially north-westward along the lines of the Edgware and Finchley Roads; and northwards along the line of Ermine Street. They also began to strike out east and north-east from the old East End, first to East and West Ham, then into Barking and Dagenham and later north-eastward into Ilford.

Movement was undoubtedly facilitated by the remarkable development of transport in this century. For instance, the extension of the Northern Line tube to Golders Green in 1907 was followed by the growth of a new suburb and the holding of Jewish services in West Heath Drive near the station in 1913, and by the building of a synagogue a few years later. Again, by 1924 the tube reached Edgware, converting this semi-rural village into a commuters' dormitory and bringing in a Jewish population able within a few years to found two synagogues, Orthodox and Reform in the 1930s.

On the other hand, by contrast with the period before 1914, the old area of first settlement in East London was no longer recruited by fresh immigration, The Eastern European immigration was largely halted by the first World War; and, when the Central European immigration came in the 1930s, it was a middle class immigration. The Central Europeans went direct to north and north-west London (Hampstead and Hendon especially) not to the East End. As a result of these factors, the East End declined both relatively and absolutely as an area of Jewish residence. Before 1914 it had accounted for two-thirds of London's Jewish population, By 1930, it had little more than one-third (85,000 out of 234,000). By the 1930s north and north-west London had replaced the East End as the main areas of London Jewish residence.

The process of dispersion was accentuated by the Second World War. The effects of bombing and, after the war, the conversion of residential areas to office, factory and warehousing, reduced the population of the Borough of Stepney to under 100,000 in 1951, a third of what it had been in 1914. Of these 100,000 not more than 30,000 were Jews, mainly old people. Since 1951 new immigrants have come into East London but they are not Jewish; and it is the coloured populations and certain other groups, such as the Cypriots, who form London ghettos in poor areas today.

Jews, on the other hand, have shared in the outward movement of population which has affected London's population generally. Nearly all the factors have favoured this outward movement. As pressure on space in the inner suburbs has increased, land values have risen and increasing house prices have forced the young married couples to move further out. The developing dormitory suburb and settlements have provided the required house and garden for these families but this expansion has been made possible, and their whole way of life has been influenced, by the motor car. It is not only that about 10 per cent of those who commute to work in the central area of London do so by car; and that of the 60 per cent who come in by rail, many have to use cars to get to the nearest station (by means endearingly known to transportation experts as 'park

'n ride' and 'kiss 'n ride' — according to whether the commuter drives himself and parks his car at the station or is taken there by his wife). But the whole way of life of this outer suburban ring, spread over hundreds of miles on the periphery of the metropolis, depends on the motor car for shopping, entertainment and visiting friends: and increasingly for driving to synagogue. Dr Krausz in his study of Edgware, a suburban community with a large number of young married couples and over half the heads of households in professional and managerial occupations, found that, while 72 per cent belonged to orthodox congregations, only 11 per cent refrained from travelling on Sabbath. That this was due to social habit rather than economic necessity is shown by the fact that 70 per cent did not work on Saturdays. We can contrast this with the attitude of the London Jews of the last century who thought it natural to walk two or three miles to a synagogue on Sabbaths, if there was none in the immediate vicinity. The motor car has thus not only made possible the geographical dispersal of London Jewry, but has influenced their whole way of life.

As a result of the process of dispersion in the 25 years since the end of the Second World War, Jews have moved ever outwards both in the traditional suburban areas of the north and north west and in the new Jewish suburbia of north-east London. Jews also have tended to move beyond London into settlements in an past the Green Belt. These centrifugal tendencies have been only compensated to a limited extent by the return of some of the older and wealthier Jewish households to inner areas such as St John's Wood and Marble Arch. This tendency to return has been limited because of the high cost of accommodation in these areas and the difficulty of providing homes suitable for families with young children.

These tendencies can be illustrated if we contrast the membership of the United Synagogue, area by area, in 1949 and 1969. For this purpose, I have added together the membership of all synagogues (Constituent, District, Affiliated) in nine geographical groups. Over this period, the membership of the United Synagogue increased from over 22,000 to nearly 30,000. Some of the areas retain a more or less constant share of the total membership over these 20 years. This was true of the Central area — New West End, Chelsea, Bayswater, Marble Arch, Great Portland Street — which retained about 6 per cent of the total membership of the United Synagogue, with increases in some congregations making up for decline elsewhere. The congregations of west and south-west London also retained 5 per cent of the membership and so did south and south-east London which also had about 5 per cent. As one might expect, the East End, even when we extend the definition to include East and West Ham and Barking, had its share of the total reduced from 11 per cent in 1949 to 6 per cent in 1969. North London's share of the membership also fell from 19 per cent in 1949 to 15 per cent in 1969. But these overall figures conceal an important shift of emphasis. The inner areas of North London, within the North Circular Road, fell from 14 to 8 per cent while the outer areas, byond the North Circular Road, actually increased from 5 to 8 per cent. Even more striking are the changes affecting north-west London. Throughout the period, it

had the largest share of the United Synagogue membership, rising from 46 per cent in 1949 to 50 per cent in 1969. But here again the overall figures do not show what was really happening. The inner north-west, within the Old County of London, actually fell from 10 to 8 per cent whereas the outer north-west — in former Middlesex — rose from 36 per cent in 1949 to 42 per cent in 1969. Finally, the north-eastern suburbs, Ilford and beyond, increased their share of United Synagogue membership from 7 to 13 per cent. This sector, which thus nearly doubled its percentage, showed a greater increase than any other part of London since the Second World War.

It can be argued that these percentages, because they are related solely to the membership of the United Synagogue, are not representative of London Jewry as a whole. To some extent this is true. The East End and North London are, for different reasons, under-represented compared with the north-west. I suspect also that the western and southern suburbs are also under-represented, because Jews who choose to live in these areas where organised Jewish life is more difficult to find, are less likely to belong to the United Synagogue than those who live in, say, Edgware. In that suburb Dr Krausz has shown that 60 per cent of the heads of Jewish households belonged to the United Synagogue. What the figures do show is, first, the continuance of the Jewish tendency to move along their previous lines of settlement (Dr Krausz said that 40 per cent of those moving into Edgware have come from other parts of north-west London) and, second, the extent to which the north-east has become a new Jewish suburban area. Here again transport has been the key to settlement because the real growth of the Ilford community (which began with a Federation of Synagogues congregation in 1927) dates from just after the Second World War, when the Central Line was extended to Gants Hill and brought Ilford within half an hour of the City.

Insofar as we can regard the north-eastern area as an outgrowth from East London, we can see the same lines of settlement persisting for nearly a century and ahalf, although the tendency is ever to move outwards. Yet, if the framework remains the same, the pattern changes. The American Jewish sociologist, Marshall Sklare, has analysed the pattern of Jewish settlement in American cities in terms of the areas of first, second and third settlement. These are the ghetto; then the inner residential area to which Jews move from the ghetto; and then the suburb, to which they move from the inner residential area. One can distinguish this pattern in London too: first the East End; then the inner area of north or north-west like Stoke Newington or Hampstead; and then the outer suburb like Edgware or Ilford.

But we cannot, as Marshall Sklare did, equate these stages of settlement with changes in the religious affiliation — identifying the ghetto with Orthodoxy, the inner suburb with Conservative Judaism and the outer suburb with Reform Judaism. In London Jewry, there is a basic homogeneity which, I think, contrasts with American experience.

In Britain, religious observance, particularly in relation to riding on Sabbath, has clearly declined. But, in spite of the growth of reform and liberal congregations in the suburbs since 1945, one cannot simply equate movement from the centre with movement from orthodox synagogal affiliation. The reason for the persistence of orthodox synagogal organisation is, I think, that it was the orthodox or traditional congregation which colonised the suburb first. It was they who founded congregations in Maida Vale or North London in the mid-Victorian period and established there a pattern of communal organisation to which the immigrants from Eastern Europe, who came first to East London and then out to the suburb, were progressively assimilated. It was thus the pattern of Jewish suburban life, established in Maida Vale or North London a century ago, which has increasingly spread its influence over London Jewry as a whole. Looking back over the last 100 years, we can see how the age of the ghetto has given way to the age of the suburb. Whether the suburb itself is turning for its Jewish residents into a social ghetto of another kind is a question I leave my audience to ponder.

NOTES ON SOURCES

The original material on which this lecture is based is mainly described in my *Social History of the Jews in England 1850–1950*, in the 'Rise of Jewish Suburbia' in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, Vol. XXI*, and in my article on mid-nineteenth century London Jewry in the volume presented to Sir Israel Brodie. This note therefore lists only sources for periods not covered by these three studies or not available when they were written.

For the distribution of London Jewry in the late seventeenth century see A. P. Arnold's study of the 1695 Census in *Miscellanies of the JHSE*, Part VI. For the eighteenth century, see R. D. Barnett in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (ed. V. D. Lipman) and Edgar Samuel in *Remember the Days* (ed. J. M. Shaftesley).

For the later period, reference should be made to L. P. Gartner *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870–1914*; also for Russo-Jewish immigrants in London in the 1870s, the articles by P. Elman and A. R. Rollin in *Trans JHSE XVII and XXI* respectively.

For social and economic information of the post-1945 period, see Dr Ernest Krausz's work, notably *Jewish Life in Modern Britain* (ed. Julius Gould and Shaul Esh) and in his Edgware study (a London Ph.D. thesis of which a summary has appeared in the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*). There is also some statistical information in *A Minority in Britain* (ed. M. Freedman) and in S. J. Prais and M. Schmool, *Jewish Journal of Sociology* IX, 149–74. For the most recent period, I have also relied partly on newspaper articles such as A. V. Sherman in *Commentary*, November 1960, pp. 390–403; or the *Jewish Chronicle* of 14 October 1955; and by Chaim I. Bermant on 10 July 1964; and also on United Synagogue membership statistics for every congregation annually from 1949 to 1969, kindly supplied by Mr S. J. Rosenberg.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF JEWISH EDUCATION

by Salmond S. Levin LL.B.

1870 was a year of deep significance for Jewry. It was the year in which was enacted the Act of Parliament, bringing into union the three 'City' Synagogues, the Great, the New and the Hambro', and their daughters, the Central and Bayswater, to pool their resources and to abide under a Chief Rabbinate. The Act prepared the way for the development of a vast network of synagogues, with tens of thousands of members, breaking new ground in their movement across the metropolis and beyond it, members for whom many services were to be provided, including religious education for their children.

It was the year of the famous Forster Education Act, to provide compulsory elementary education. The State, by this Act decisively entered the field of education, which hitherto had belonged to voluntary institutions. This led to important changes in Jewish education, because to the full-time education in Jewish voluntary schools there was added, over the years, part-time systems, developing in various ways and ultimately enfolding a majority of Jewish children.

1870 was also the year in which Charles Netter, French philanthropist, on behalf of the Alliance Israelite, opened the Mikveh Yisrael Agricultural School in Palestine. It was his answer to the challenge posed by the kidnapping of the Jewish child, Mortara, and his forcible conversion to Catholicism. What started as a vocational college using French as the language of instruction, was, in effect, the practical beginning of Jewish colonisation in Palestine, and the first step in a movement which led to the creation of Medinath Yisrael and the revival of Hebrew as a living language, profoundly influencing Jewish communities and their educators.

Before 1870 Anglo Jewry was a small community of some 50,000 souls, built up largely by immigrants from Germany and Holland. From that year until 1914, Britain received 120,000 Jews from Eastern Europe, fleeing from famine and persecution. What was at first a trickle became a flood, with the passing of the May Laws in 1882. The arrival of these people and their children provided a major problem in assimilation and education. The immigrants found a community with a maturely developed system of education. It had developed along identical lines with education of the wider community, which it had perforce to imitate to satisfy its own needs.

The Church led the movement for education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The little charity schools of the day, with 30-40 boys or perhaps 20 girls, gave the three R's, and offered apprenticeship to trades. The schools, often with distinctive uniforms, were strictly Church of England, Roman Catholic or Non-Conformist, and Jews were excluded.

The Jews had their own charity schools, which were part of the wider movement of education. The Sephardim had their Gates of Hope School,

opened in 1664, and Villareal School for girls, founded in 1731. Ashkenazim had their Talmud Torah, attached to the Great Synagogue, founded in the year 1732.[1] These schools were day schools, giving part-time to secular teaching and part-time to religious subjects.

By the end of the 18th century, however, charity schools had ceased to develop. They could not meet the challenge of the new industrial society. The aim now was to make education universal, and to ensure religious and political liberty. This greater freedom in education, however, did not give Jewish children exemption from lessons in New Testament. The new age presented Jews with a challenge, to provide education for the children of their community, many of them the offspring of illiterate, impoverished and unskilled immigrants, without trades to support them in this country.

The position became critical with the start of a missionary movement of some size, directed against Jews, which provided free schools for Jewish children. Parents sending their children to these schools came under the ban of Solomon Hirschell.[2] The London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews, in its twelfth Report, states: "Instead of their youth being bound apprenticed to handicrafts and trades, they are sent forth to gain their livelihood by the lowest description of traffic. One of the best means the Jews could employ to raise their nation from its present degraded state would be to give a moral education to their youth, and afterwards bind them apprentices to trades".

The lesson was not lost on Jews as the nation entered upon a new period of educational history, covering the years 1800–1870. It was an age of intensive development. Its chief characteristic was the emergence of the free schools, where teaching of vast numbers of children was based on the monitorial systems of Bell and Lancaster, a system made necessary because there was no teaching profession. Under the inspiration and guidance of Joshua van Oven, surgeon, communal worker, and founder of the Neveh Zedek, the Talmud Torah of the Great Synagogue became the Jews' Free School in 1817. The plan for this was submitted by Lancaster,[3] though the identity of the Talmud Torah, as an advanced class with its 21 nominated pupils, formed a distinct part of the school. Following a proposal by Moses Angel, the two were later merged.

Other Jewish voluntary schools followed. The Gates of Hope, Shaare Tikvah, was re-organised as a free school in 1823, and existed until 1885. The Villareal school became a free school in 1839, and continued to exist until 1923. The Neveh Zedek, which opened in 1806, moved to Norwood in 1863, and in 1876 merged with the Jews' Orphan Asylum, which had been founded in 1831. The Westminster Jews' Free School, founded originally by Solomon Gradits, in 1811 as a Talmud Torah for boys, was reorganised in 1820 and again in 1846, into free schools for boys and girls, which functioned until 1939. The Jews' Infants School was founded by Walter Josephs in 1841, and a branch of it, in Buckle Street, in 1867. These infants schools were feeders for the Jews' Free School. Three more schools were founded: the Stepney, in 1863 and the Bayswater (now the Solomon Wolfson), in 1866, both under the inspiration of the Adlers;

and the Borough in 1867. Mention should also be made of the West Metropolitan Jewish School, founded by the West London Synagogue, which existed from 1845 to 1897, for small numbers of middle class children. There were similar developments in the provinces: Manchester opened a school in 1838, and Liverpool and Birmingham in 1840.

We have been concerned hitherto with education provided by the public largely for the children of the poor. The middle classes were left to make their own provision. There had always been private rebbes in the community from Hanoverian times, and judging from the number of advertisements in the *Jewish Chronicle* from 1845 onwards, they were increasing all the time.[4] An interesting example appeared on 11 May 1860, which reads "Hebrew classes on Sunday and Wednesday by Headmaster of Jews' Free School, 17 Charlotte St." Apparently Mr. Angel did a bit on the side!

There were also a number of private schools run by leading educationists for middle class children. Among them was that of Hyman Hurwitz, in Highgate, founded in 1799; Solomon's in Hammersmith; Loewe's at Brighton; Cohen's school at Dover; Solomon Lyons' at Cambridge and Miriam Belissario's girls school at Hackney. There was a finishing school for young ladies in Dean St., Soho, run by the Misses Magnusson[5]. Dean Street must have been much more salubrious then, than it is now, otherwise the word "finishing" would have had quite another connotation!

Jews' College School[6] was founded by Nathan Marcus Adler in 1855. It appears to have been a twin school — one a "public school for the sons of our middle ranks" and the other for the training of ministers and teachers. In promoting the secular school, one wonders whether it was an exercise in Yiddishkeit, or rather an expression of the times, for the Chief Rabbi's terminology is very like that of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the *English Journal of Education* in 1861 where he wrote "That considering the growth in intelligence among the lower classes, owing to the impulse given of late years to education, public boarding schools for the education of the lower middle classes be established."

The entry of the State into the field of education ended the threat of missionary activity for the Jews, and after the Forster Act, no new Jewish day schools were founded for nearly sixty years. The existing schools continued to the end of the century and well beyond it, until some of them closed, as Jewish migration from their areas rendered them surplus to requirements. There were no proposals at that time to move them to the newer areas.

In 1870, the total roll of the Jewish voluntary schools was 5,687 pupils, and by the end of the century this had risen to 8,250. The Jews' Free School in 1870 had 1,600 boys, with 16 teachers and 13 pupil teachers; the girls, numbering 1,000, had 40 teachers and pupil teachers. By 1894, the Jews' Free School had some 3,600 pupils, ranging in age from 6 to 14 years, of whom about half were born abroad; the Stepney School attracted native-born children. Moses Angel was headmaster at the Jews' Free School for 58 years, until 1898. Israel Zangwill was a pupil there, and

later a pupil teacher imbibing atmosphere, and scenes which he was later to immortalise in his novels.

Moses Angel was of poor parentage, one of eleven children. He owed his education and start in life to the kindness of a patron. He was sent to H. N. Solomon's private school at Hammersmith, and from there went to University College, London. H. N. Solomon, who had been the first headmaster of the Jews' Free School, recommended Angel for that position on the death of the Rev. A. H. Henry. According to Angel, at the time of his appointment,[7] a government official of the day described the school as "a sink of ingorance". Her Majesty's Inspector, Matthew Arnold, described Angel as "a man of supreme educational ability — and that the school should therefore be granted government inspection, notwithstanding that Mr. Angel had no government teacher's certificate". Angel defended himself against this charge, pointing out that, though he had no certificate, he had trained 300 teachers! We do not know how many of them were certificated. At this time the school had no certificated teachers, and was obliged to employ one before being allowed government inspection and grant in the year 1853.

A great difficulty for Jewish voluntary schools was their failure to qualify for government grant. On 16 April 1852, the *Jewish Chronicle* wrote "There no longer exists any obstacle to prevent Jewish schools from participating in future grants for education. Jewish schools claimed to be included, and no objection would be taken to the inspection of such schools by H.M. Inspectors, to report in the case of Jewish schools, the secular instruction only;" it also noted that "The scriptures of the Old Testament will be required to be read daily in the Jewish Schools for which assistance is required."

Grants for denominational schools generally were available under the 1846 Scheme, but Jewish schools, to qualify, would have to read the Authorised Version daily, or become secular. The Board of Deputies and the Chief Rabbi lent their aid. There were difficulties to be overcome, including the insistence by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education (then the Education Department), on the admission to Jewish schools of non-Jewish pupils. The West Metropolitan Jewish School and the Manchester School agreed to do so. The Revised Code and the method introduced of payment by results further prejudiced Jewish schools, because Hebrew was not recognised for grant, and was relegated to Sunday morning teaching. The difficulties were gradually overcome, and all the Jewish schools were ultimately given inspection and grant.[8] The Jews' Infant School grant was £717,9.0. In 1891, the Jews' Free School obtained £3,295 of its budget of £15,000, by grants on the pass system. In that year, fees were abolished, in return for a ten shilling grant for a child in elementary schools. Under the Education Act of 1902, Jewish Voluntary Schools enjoyed the same status as all denominational schools. Nevertheless, the cost of running them fell largely on voluntary subscriptions, and fees so long as they were permitted.

Many of Angel's views were strange. "A boy should leave school at the age of 11, when he could earn four shillings per week, and not wait till he was 14, merely to cram his head and then earn the same four shillings a week". He educated children he said, who "were ignorant even of the elements of society; until they had been Anglicised and humanised, it was difficult to tell what was their moral condition, and many of them scarcely knew their names . . . Their parents were the refuse population of the worst parts of Europe . . . The population among whom his School was placed lived a quasi-dishonourable life." Not surprising indeed that these views caused resentment, and came to the attention of the Board of Deputies[9].

Jewish voluntary schools were largely provided by Jewish leadership, in the first place to combat missionary activities; secondly as an act of charity, and thirdly as a necessary process of Anglicisation. There was discussion from time to time, as to whether they should be abandoned in favour of Board Schools established under the Forster Act. A *Jewish Chronicle* leader of 22 April 1887 justified them, as a "process of Anglicising which has to be gone through, which cannot be done by the Board Schools." Again, on 8 April 1892, attention is also drawn to the matter in a letter to the *Jewish Chronicle*, proposing their abandonment in favour of the Board Schools. The schools survived, and in 1897 banded together to form a Jewish Voluntary Schools Association. Nevertheless it is clear that the attitude of the Anglo-Jewish leadership to them was negative. Jewish studies were of secondary importance.[10]

After 1870, when no more Jewish voluntary schools were opened, there remained the problem of the religious education of the ever-growing numbers of Jewish children in the East End, who could not gain entry to the existing Jewish voluntary schools. The schools of the London School Board moreover met with the opposition of Jewish working class parents, who were haunted by fears of missionary activities. Communal leadership turned to the provision of part-time religious education for Jewish children, the first form of which was directed to the needs of the children in the Board schools. A second form was the Talmud Torah, and thirdly, the classes attached to synagogues. In addition, there was the private enterprise cheder.

The first and most important test for the Board was the opening of the Old Castle Street Board School 1874. It failed to attract adequate numbers of Jewish children. On behalf of the Board, Sir Edmund Currie and the Rev. John Rogers sought the advice of Moses Angel. His solution to their problem was to appoint a Jewish headmaster, as a means of winning the confidence of Jewish parents. The advice was accepted, and Angel recommended Abraham Levy for the post.

Levy was born in 1848, eldest son of the Rev. Solomon Levy, Chazan of the Borough Synagogue. He was a pupil of the J.F.S., later becoming a pupil teacher and an assistant master under Angel, who recommended him for the headmastership of the Shaare Tikvah School, (Gates of Hope), of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation. Levy entered upon his

headmastership of Old Castle Street in 1874, the first Jew to be appointed headmaster of a non-sectarian school. He was at once encouraged by the Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge, the organisation providentially to hand, to establish religion classes for Jewish children on school premises out of school hours.

The Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge had been founded in 1860 by Barnett Abrahams. An Ashkenazi, born in Warsaw in 1831, son of a rabbi, he was greatly encouraged by the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Community. They provided him with a bursary to enter their Midrash for study in 1849. They also sent him to University College London, where he graduated. In 1851, at the age of 20, he preached at Bevis Marks and in 1854, no successor having been appointed to succeed Haham Meldola, the Sephardim made him a dayan of their Beth Din. Four years later he became headmaster of Jews' College School, in succession to Louis Loewe, who resigned the position to return to his school at Brighton.

Abrahams died tragically young in 1863 at the age of 32. He bequeathed three sons to Anglo Jewry, Joseph, Moses and Israel, who adorned the ministry and Anglo Jewish scholarship. His real interest was undoubtedly education, and he will be remembered, along with Levy, as the founder of our part-time system of education, the father of the Association, and its successors, the Jewish Religious Education Board, and the London Board of Jewish Religious Education.

It is interesting to note what Bresslau wrote in his revived *Hebrew Review*. He deplored the fact that there was "no articulate expression of any desire for Jewish scholarship". The brightest feature of the year in his view was the establishment of the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge. "If the Association proceeds gradually and steadily on the good work commenced, we predict it will ultimately confer a boon on Jewish Society in the Metropolis more extensive and more lasting than the best friends of the Association ever anticipated".

Barnett Abrahams, in the circular convening the inaugural meeting held in June 1860, wrote "The dearth of religious instruction in the community is unfortunately but too well known to all who have had the opportunity to observe the state of religious education. If one entertains the least doubt upon the subject, he can easily convince himself by taking a tour through the localities occupied by Jews on any Sabbath or Festival. He will there see that the whole day is by the vast majority spent in frivolous amusement; that no portion is set apart for religious meditation; and to aggravate the evil, no facilities for receiving religious instruction are afforded even to those who are religiously inclined. Impressed with the magnitude of this evil, and with the desirability of at least attempting to find a remedy, a few gentlemen have formed themselves into an Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge."

The object of the Association was to encourage "A manifestation of an interest in Jewish Culture and a desire to spread it." It distributed tracts and organised Sabbath classes and religious discourses, and it is interesting

to note that these tracts could be collected at the offices of the *Jewish Chronicle*. In 1890, the Association became the owner of the copyright of Singer's Authorised Prayerbook which passed to the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, and thence to the United Synagogue.

The Old Castle Street classes were the first project of the Association, in its capacity as an educational body. On 23 October 1874, the *Jewish Chronicle* reported the success of Levy's appointment, stating that there was a great increase in the numbers of Jewish children in attendance. The *Chronicle*, however, became critical, when in *Notes of the Week*, of 27 October 1876, it reported that there were 940 Jewish children at the school, that they received an excellent secular education but not religion, and asked "Will the Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge take it in hand?" At that time the hon. officers of the Association were Louis Nathan, president; M. H. Picciotto, vice president; David Benjamin, treasurer, and N. S. Joseph, hon. secretary.

Here then was the organisation after the Forster Act, which directed the part-time system of education in London Jewry, the part-time system which was to become the major educational pre-occupation of the community. to be joined later by other part-time organisations. Gradually the number of Board Schools, with classes established by the Association increased; Gloucester Street, Commercial Road in 1880; Chicksand Street, 1882 and seven such schools by June 1893. The resources of the Association were extremely slender, and it was helped by the London School Board forgoing charges for the use of its premises for these classes. The schools were in every respect Jewish schools, closing early on Friday for the Sabbath and, of course, for the Festivals. Dr. Lipman has described them as "synthetic voluntary schools".[11] At the end of the century there were, in all, 16 Board Schools in the East End with over 15,000 Jewish children, including the schools of the Association. In addition possibly up to 2,000 children were receiving part-time Jewish instruction in Church Schools.[12]

Criticism of the Association mounted: it was inadequate to the task and short of finance. As far back as 1881,[13] Dr. Hermann Adler urged the advisability of forming a Jewish education board, "that shall do for the educational organisation of the community, what the United Synagogue was doing for its religious constitution". The demand was renewed in 1889.[14] By this time Henry Lucas, a vice-president of the United Synagogue, had become president of the Association, and one could hope that major developments were in prospect.

Mr. Israel Finestein, in his Centenary lecture, "The Lay Leadership of the United Synagogue since 1870" states "The horizons of the United Synagogue did not extend far into the field of Jewish education, although a growing number of its synagogues had Jewish religion classes on their premises. Wise and sincere men, many of whom were prominent in educational and charitable efforts in Anglo-Jewry as well as in the administration of the United Synagogue, failed to give full weight to the proposition that Judaism was and must be much wider than the synagogue."

There has always been a certain ambivalence in the attitude of the United Synagogue to Jewish education. At times it has risen to great heights, and at other periods it has descended to the depths. It certainly helped educational progress in the community in 1894 when as a result of its initiative, the Jewish Religious Education Board was formed, and the Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge was merged with it. The principle was then laid down for the first time, that "It does seem reasonable that membership of a metropolitan synagogue shall involve the obligation to make some contribution towards the cost of teaching the principles of Jewish religion and Hebrew."[15]

The moving spirit was Nathaniel Louis Cohen, (father of Sir Robert Waley Cohen), whose communication to the Association was considered on 30 April 1894. It stated "That in order to ensure the satisfactory continuance and possible extension in the outlying districts of London as need might arise of the work of the fund. . . it is desirable to associate those metropolitan synagogue organisations which are in a position to assist with the provision of religious educational facilities for poor Jewish children attending metropolitan elementary schools."

A scheme was drafted by Cohen and others, referred to the Chief Rabbi, and submitted to the United Synagogue, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, West London Synagogue and the Federation of Synagogues. Henry Lucas addressed a letter to all these bodies, in which he said "It therefore seems essential, if the children are to be brought up as Jews and taught the simple ethical principles inculcated by the Jewish Religion, that steps should be taken by the representative Jewish Religious Organisations in concert to supply the want which the Committee submits, is urgently needed."

There followed a meeting of delegates of these synagogal bodies, and they agreed to contribute to the new Jewish Religious Education Board in proportion to the numbers of their seatholders, as follows: United Synagogue £650 per annum; Spanish and Portuguese £47; West London £120; Federation of Synagogues £38. On 31 January 1895, the scheme was approved by the Council of the United Synagogue and a tax of 5 per cent to cover the cost was imposed on the seatholders of constituent synagogues. It was expected that, with the growth of membership and synagogues, his contribution would automatically increase. In the year of it s formation, the Jewish Religious Education Board catered for 5,100 at various board schools at a cost, in that year of £1,700, (34p per child) and there was, of course, a deficit.

A further form of part-time education was provided for children of the working classes in the community by private enterprise chedarim.

No matter what provision was made for them, either by Jewish voluntary schools or by the Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge, there were still large numbers of parents who would not trust their children to them. They resorted to the cheder, which they had known at home in Poland.

The cheder system now flourished and at the end of the century there were about 200 of them in London, with a roll of about 2,000 children[16]. In Manchester it has been said that there were 46 private chedarim. They were the means at hand for the immigrants to control the religious life of their children, no matter what school they went to during the day. The condition of squalor and overcrowding that prevailed in the chedarim has been well described by the Rev. Sol Levy in the *Jewish Annual*, 1911. The children attended during breaks in the school hours and from 5.0 p.m. to 8.0 p.m. in the evening. They paid chedergelt, ranging from one penny to one shilling a week.

A veritable campaign raged against them, within the community and beyond. Gartner[17] has attributed this campaign to the fear in the community that the chedarim were a barrier to Anglicisation of the children. Moses Angel urged the Board of Guardians to take steps against them through the sanitary authorities. The *Jewish Chronicle*, which at first vilified them, soon came to the realisation that nothing could be done but accept them, and to hope for and encourage improvement. Indeed, from the mass of the people, good individuals came forward in London and the Provinces to improve these conditions and to take a new initiative.

This movement in London was joined by people associated with chevroth of the Federation of Synagogues, and out of it was born the important Talmud Torah movement. Great Garden Street was opened in 1881; Brick Lane Machzike Hadath, known as the Yiddish Talmud Torah, in 1894; Commercial Road, 1898; Redmans Road, 1901; Bethnal Green, 1906; Dalston, 1909. They catered for very large numbers of children, from 500 to nearly 1,000 pupils each.

Pride of place goes to J. K. Goldbloom's Redmans Road Talmud Torah, where the winds of change that blew with the new Zionism and Hebraism found a welcome. His Ivris b'Ivris (it did not start as Ivrit b'Ivrit) aroused great opposition. The experiment survived, with the support of Dr. Adler, the Beth Din and Rabbi Werner of the Federation of Synagogues. Within his own community, my father was canvassed to support a similar move, and he replied that he was most enthusiastic for Ivris b'Ivris, as long as it was not Averos b'Averos!

The Talmud Torahs were constantly facing financial difficulty. They were helped by Samuel Montagu, first Lord Swaythling, and ultimately were banded together in the Talmud Torah Trust, closely associated with the Federation of Synagogues, in the year 1905. Before their decline, they gave satisfaction to the parents of the East End, and even earned the respect of the Anglo-Jews; and it was from their pupils that recruits were found for teacher training and the yeshivoth.

Goldbloom may be regarded as the spiritual heir of Hyman Hurwitz, first Professor of Hebrew at University College, who 80 years previously had criticised the use of Yiddish as the medium of instruction in Hebrew education.

Goldbloom had his imitators and followers during the ensuing 20 years. There was J. S. Fox's Hebrew School in Liverpool; Nathan Morris in

Liverpool and Glasgow; I. W. Slotki and I. Wassilevsky in Manchester; Cohen-Lask and Vilensky in London and Lask in Leeds. Then there was Isadore Wartski, who was to become Senior Lecturer in Modern Hebrew at the School for Oriental Studies, London. When Wartski came to this country, he was befriended by my father, who continued to teach me Talmud and Rabbinics, while Wartski taught me Bible and Hebrew. Later Wartski joined Rumyanek in a small Ivris b'Ivris school, and I remember being examined there on an unseen Rashi by Dr. J. S. Fox. At the age of 13 I became a pupil teacher in Lask's Ivris b'Ivris Talmud Torah.

These men and their kind were typical of the Maskillim who came to this country from Eastern Europe. Moved by the new Zionism and the Hebrew revival, they sought to implant living Hebrew into Anglo-Jewry. Their cause did not flourish, because the climate and soil of Anglo-Jewry did not encourage the spread of Hebrew culture. Even today our Rabbinate is mostly not Hebrew-speaking but the message of these Maskillim lives on.

We have traced the development of two of the three branches of part-time public education after the Forster Act. It now remains to mention the third branch — the Union of Hebrew and Religion Classes, which were attached to the synagogues of the United Synagogue, and which came together in union in 1907. In the older areas of Jewish settlement, the spur to the synagogue class was the poor quality of the private teacher and cheder, and in the newer areas of development, the absence of any other means of Jewish education. The Union was, however, principally concerned with areas to the north and north-west of London, and closely followed the entry of the United Synagogue into the new middle-class areas. When the Union was formed, there were already 13 sets of synagogue classes meeting on Sunday mornings, with a total roll of 1,797 pupils. A few of them did meet on an evening or two during the week, but on the whole they deserved the soubriquet of "Sunday School".

Frank Lyons, president of the Union, who was a warden of the Hampstead Synagogue, held the view that "The poor were sufficiently well attended for religious education. The principal aim and care was that middle-class and well-to-do people should have provision made for them."[18] There were, however, some classes within the Union who were less affluent, and in respect of them, application was made to the United Synagogue for a grant-in-aid. Henry Lucas, a vice president of the United Synagogue and president of the Jewish Religious Education Board, replied "That the present circumstances of the finances of the United Synagogue made a grant impossible." At this time, the United Synagogue was giving to the Religious Education Board £700–£800 a year from the 5 per cent tax imposed in 1895.

From its very inception the Union was destined to struggle with what, after all, was its parent body for financial support, and there is much interesting, and sometimes amusing evidence on this score, bringing our more recent experiences to mind. The Hampstead Synagogue, in 1905, got a vote for education passed by the treasurers of the United Synagogue,

using the word 'miscellaneous' instead of 'education.' Matters came to a head, however, when the Bayswater Synagogue in 1907, boldly submitted a vote of £60 for 'Religion Classes'. The treasurers felt it necessary to draw the matter to the attention of the whole Council. Hitherto, they maintained, the cost of religion classes had been met from surplus account, or from collections and fees. The treasurers protested that the Council "had no control whatsoever over these classes, which are managed by committees co-opted by local Boards of Management, and have no statutory existence. The majority of the children" they argued, "were not U.S. children. It would be a matter of serious concern if these classes were made a charge on the budgets of these synagogues, or the costs to the United Synagogue might exceed £2,000 per annum. It could even be worse than that, because Bayswater Classes met once a week only, but other classes met more often."

The persuasiveness of Frank Lyons was rewarded by a grant to the Union by the Council in 1909 of £100, and grants were made annually thereafter. The argument about the quality of its education drifted on until, under the impact of World War I, the position was highlighted by correspondence and conversations between Robert Waley Cohen, Frank Lyons, Joseph Prag, Albert Woolf and Philip Ornstein, the secretary of the U.S.

Prag's lament on the state of the Union is worthy of mention: "It is only a supervisory body, and does not count for much. We have to consider what should be done to continue knowledge of our faith among the children . . . In this respect the religion classes as at present constituted are in some respects an evil, as they salve the conscience of the parents, while giving very little in the way of sound knowledge to the children. With these classes in existence, few parents now trouble to give their children lessons in Hebrew and religion. We are losing our idealism and are deteriorating into the most earthy of the population. Gambling, show and swank seem our outstanding characteristics, and children being brought up in this atmosphere makes Jews and Judaism not worth preserving".[19]

Prag wanted the synagogue classes reorganised and taken over by a committee of the United Synagogue, with increased hours of tuition and increased staffs; he wanted funds to be provided by an addition to the synagogue bill and by allocation of a portion of the burial funds. Robert Waley Cohen[20] doubted whether the children would attend longer hours. ("I confess that I do not know how, by spending more money, we could get better results in this particular direction".) He did instruct Ornstein to place on record in the files, details of a proposal for the reorganisation of the communal arrangements for religious education, to embrace the whole of the work at present being done by four or five other bodies.

It was said that Lord Rothschild was prepared to head such a committee, provided the U.S. supported it morally and financially. Robert Waley Cohen promised U.S. moral support and leadership only.[21] He did suggest a voluntary rate of contribution, and indeed, on 14 July 1920, the Council agreed to a voluntary rate of not less than five shillings per member per half-year for the Union, and for religious education in the voluntary schools.

There was also set up a voluntary education supervisory committee to act on behalf of the Council in supervising the Union, the members of which were: A. Eichholz, Dayan Feldman, the Rev. Sol Levy, Herbert M. Adler, Selig Brodetsky, Isaac Goldston, Augustus Kahn, Herbert Loewe, Maurice Simon and F. S. Spiers. One has to wait a further 17 years, until June 1937, for the Council to provide the Union clerical assistance and accomodation, the "Council to be reimbursed for the same."

The part-time system had continued its weary way, dogged by lack of funds, lack of skilled teachers and inadequate hours of instruction. If we can turn back for a moment to the Jewish Religious Education Board, we find that, to combat its deficits, it was obliged in 1908 to appoint a special committee to "Consider and report as to what further economy can be effected by the concentration of classes and standards, the committee to make further enquiries as to the possibilities of collecting voluntary subscriptions and fees." Among the members of the committee were the Rev. J. F. Stern, Augustus Kahn and Mrs. Eichholz. Their report[22] in 1909 makes sorry reading. To effect economies, classes should not be "less than 45 children". Pupils attending Talmud Torahs and Jewish voluntary schools should be excluded from J.R.E.B. classes, but not the cheder children, because their standard was so poor. In spite of their own problem, the committee was moved to recommend a grant to the Talmud Torahs. J.R.E.B. Pupils were only being taught on Sundays for two hours per morning, but payment for rent was for four hours, and "this should now be adjusted."

The Jewish Religious Education Board, unlike the Talmud Torahs, did not command the respect of the parents. Attendance at J.R.E.B. classes was only obtained by pressure, but in the case of the Talmud Torahs, it was the parents of the East End who insisted on attendance by the children for ten or eleven hours per week. Even as late as 1935 the J.R.E.B. was obliged to state "The year began in an atmosphere of concern and anxiety after the drastic reductions made in every branch of the work . . . There were no margins left for further economies."

This situation prevailed, notwithstanding the subvention which was made by the Central Committee for Education, set up under the Jewish Memorial Council in 1921. The J.M.C., established in 1919, was a brain-child of Sir Robert Waley Cohen. It ambitiously appealed for a vast sum of money to endow Jewish education throughout the Commonwealth and Empire, but achieved only a small portion of its objective. The J.M.C. was thereafter concerned to give grants to Jewish education while its Central Committee, under the directorship of Herbert M. Adler, provided inspection for Jewish classes throughout the country.

The last report of the Central Committee of the J.M.C. showed that, at June 1939, the rolls of the various educational bodies were as follows: Jewish voluntary schools had declined to 3,000 pupils; the J.R.E.B. had fallen to 2,893 pupils; the Talmud Torahs had declined to 2,636 pupils, and the Union had increased to 4,931, — a total of 13,486. This truly

reflected the social pattern of London Jewry, with the decline of the East End well under way, and the growth of the United Synagogue with its 58 sets of classes, in the newer parts of Jewish settlement. It revealed also a considerable increase in the numbers of children unattached to Jewish education and that in East London, the quality of life as well as numbers, was decaying.

World War II now cast its shadow over the land. From London alone some 14,000 Jewish children were evacuated into the country into Gentile surroundings and homes, with all the difficult problems attendant of keeping their religion and exposure to Christian indoctrination. The damage done to Jewish education at that time is incalculable, as well as the unhappiness that so many of the children suffered. One of its worst effects was to produce a generation of non-attached children, and also eventually, of non-attached parents. This is not to belittle, however, the tremendous efforts of the Jewish educational authorities, the Board of Deputies and United Synagogue through the Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Education, which had taken over responsibility from all the Jewish educational bodies.

The Jewish community was deeply moved by the fate of the refugee children from Europe, as well as by the needs of its own children. This resulted in a determination to restructure education in Anglo-Jewry. A blue print was prepared, and approved by the Joint Emergency Committee and the Chief Rabbi, Joseph Hertz, based on communal taxation to provide adequate funds. Could there be a new deal for Jewish education? Educational reform was to the fore. The White Paper of 1943 was followed by the Butler Act of 1944, for the reconstruction of education, which included a new agreement with the churches, giving more concessions to denominational schools.

Within the Jewish community, the Joint Emergency Committee had also taken over the Jewish Voluntary Schools Committee. The managers of some of these schools were now ready to hand over to the new Jewish authority. Plans were agreed for the pooling of their resources from the sale of sites and assets, for the erection of one great secondary school (now the J.F.S.), and a few primary schools. Similar provision was also made for provincial Jewries, particularly for Manchester. Prestige and stimulus to Jewish effort was given by R. A. Butler, when he addressed a large communal gathering, called by the Board of Deputies in January 1944. Well briefed, he had grasped the problems of the Jewish day school, as well as the part-time Hebrew school, and hoped that British Jewry would take full advantage of the Act.

So far as part-time education was concerned, there were many causes for its lack of success in this country. Nathan Morris[23] said "The whole system has been directed to juniors, to little children, and that we stupidly believed we could sustain the life of a community on the basis of an intellectual fare fit for infants . . . Hebrew, a strange and difficult language to the English-born child; Jewish history, with its baffling problems of space and time, and especially religion . . . can be taught with success only at

the age of adolescence; that is, just the age when the Hebrew school is abandoned by the mass of its pupils." Furthermore education was given at a time mostly when the children were tired, at the end of the day.

The challenge was: could it, if adequately financed and properly taught, solve the problems of the unattached child, the short hours, the late beginners and the early leavers, and take advantage of the new opportunity presented by the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen, and then beyond?

Within the establishment, the long-awaited communal conference for the reconstruction of education of Anglo-Jewry took place on November 25 1945. Jewish education was to be modelled on national education; a Central Council would be the Department of Education, and the London Board of Jewish Religious Education would be the local authority for the metropolis, with provincial bodies to act in their respective localities. Sir Robert Waley Cohen presided, and pledged a tax of 33⅓ per cent on United Synagogue subscriptions for the new Board.

On 26 February 1946, the United Synagogue Council approved the taxation proposals with acclaim, to be paid as from Passover 1946. Nevertheless, it is sad to read, in the first report of the new London Board, in May 1948, that "It was apparent that one of the main tasks was to overcome the serious financial crisis which had developed. The Board had to take unpopular measures to reduce staff." In fact, from the beginning the taxation system was highly successful and could have assured the development of religious education, on broad lines, including day schools for the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, the mood within the United Synagogue had changed. The idealism, bred of war, had evaporated, and was followed within the U.S. by a mood of disenchantment with the educational set-up. This was provoked in part by the failure of other synagogal bodies within the scheme to pay their share and led, in 1951, to the Council of the United Synagogue reducing the level of taxation for education from 33⅓ per cent to 25 per cent. Other measures followed, including the granting of relief from the religious education rate to synagogues in deficit, or to synagogues embarking on new building schemes, so that the effective rate ultimately became 17 per cent. Nevertheless, income from this source continued to rise. Had it risen on the basis of a 33⅓ per cent levy, the London Board and/or the United Synagogue could have played a major role in Jewish day school development.

There were those who felt that the challenges to the part-time system were too great to be overcome. It will be with us for a long time and should be run efficiently, but without the investment of large funds. Very little could be expected of Sunday Schools with a total of some 70 hours per year. They could point to the fact that the Talmud Torahs, before they were withdrawn from the London Board of Jewish Religious Education, were running short of pupils and costing large sums of money. In these circumstances, they should boldly have encouraged the further development of Jewish day schools, and joined a movement which was running strongly in the community.

In this form of education the community was returning to the pattern which was its norm before Forster's 1870 Act. Having mentioned the revival of some ninteenth century voluntary day schools, we must give credit where it is due. The pioneer of that return was the Jewish Secondary School movement, founded by Rabbi Avigdor Schonfeld in 1929. This movement of German Jews in North London, took its inspiration from Frankfurt orthodoxy and the educational ideas of Samson Rafael Hirsch, based on "Torah im Derech Eretz." It spread to North-West London, and was followed by the day school movement of Chassidic Jews, who also gave as much, if not more emphasis to Limudei Kodesh as Limudei Chol, stressing Rabbinica rather than Hebraica.

It was to be expected that Zionists would feel impelled to take an interest in this field, in view of their object to spread living Hebrew among the younger generation, to establish links between the young and Medinath Israel, and to persuade the Diaspora to assume responsibility for the development and safety of that State. And so, in due course, the Zionist day schools came into being. Anglo-Jewry avoided an open battle of educational trends because the Zionist schools linked up with the community and accepted the authority of the Chief Rabbi. In provincial Jewry the same day school movement was manifest, and in Manchester communal day schools promised by far to outstrip all other forms of Jewish education.

I have left to the last Anglo-Jewry's perennial problem — teacher training, because throughout the whole of our education history, this has baffled solution and the pattern has never changed. The shores of Anglo Jewish education are strewn with the wrecks of teacher training schemes proposed for over one hundred years, not one of which was successfully launched. At a time when there was great educational activity in the 1840's, the founding of teacher training colleges was an important feature, and in this field, the church was in the vanguard. The basic core of the profession was the certificated teacher, who had passed through a college or been a pupil in a *normal* school, and had sat for examinations. For very many decades the pupil teacher system worked alongside the training colleges, until, with the rise of secondary education, it gradually disappeared.

So far as the Jewish community is concerned, the poor quality of its teachers was a feature, from Hanoverian times onwards. We know of the monitorial system introduced by Lancaster in the Jews Free School. What developments were there from that time that might have created a tradition of teacher training in the Anglo-Jewish community?

On 13 August 1845, Nathan Marcus Adler shortly after his election, sent a circular to all the heads of congregations in the British Empire, putting forward a programme of educational establishments, and calling for the training of proper and efficient teachers. The *Jewish Chronicle*, on 11 December 1846, referring to the Chief Rabbi's plan for a teacher training seminary, said that it was like the gourd of Jonah which "came up in the night and disappeared in the night"; and referring to proper and efficient teachers asked "Are they to be found in England?" We have seen

that in the year 1852 there was not a single certificated teacher in the Jews' Free School. In 1883 the school was again criticised for having no native-born teachers. The Jewish voluntary schools did have their pupil-teacher training, and one reads from time to time of their successes in external examinations. The Jews' Free School boasted that it had become a veritable teachers' training college, and undoubtedly the school did supply teachers to the other Jewish voluntary schools. After a while, however, the upper stratum of the school, set aside for apprentice teachers ceased to attract them. The trainees preferred to go to outside *normal* schools.[24]

There is no evidence of sufficiency and in 1888, the *Jewish Chronicle* called for a teacher training centre; in 1891 (*J.C.* March 13), the Association for the Diffusion of Jewish Knowledge is blamed for the failure to obtain teachers, because their salary was only £10 per annum. In 1883, students of Jews' College were sent to the Borough Training College — the first training college in the country, founded by Lancaster in 1805. This plan, to send students outside Jews' College to other training colleges, also did not succeed.

The Association was at last prompted to make a constructive effort when, in 1893 it set up a very influential committee which included Dr. Hermann Adler, Sir Philip Magnus, Claude Montefiore, Israel Abrahams, Simeon Singer, F. D. Mocatta and Abraham Levy, to organise Hebrew and religious education for Jewish pupil teachers placed in training colleges[25]. (The 'Liberal' Jewish Religious Union was founded in 1902. There was as yet no split in the community which might have prevented any of these 'Liberal' gentlemen from serving on the committee). Among the colleges involved were King's, Stockwell, Cambridge, St. Gabriels and Leeds. During the seven years the committee functioned, they claimed that they had given Jewish education to 30 men and 15 women at these colleges.

The minute book of the Committee includes a report on teachers supply by Israel Abrahams, which is as valid for today as it was then. "The Jewish Board requires more teachers than the elementary schools do. The supply from the latter will not tend to keep even its present proportion to the needs of the former. Is it possible to create a class of teacher for the work of the Jewish Board?" Abrahams saw the point that part-time education cannot keep a full-time teaching profession, and is obliged to use *ad hoc* methods, amateurs and part-timers and untrained teenagers. There follows, indeed, the usual appeal to suitable young Jewish men and women to do two-to-three hours' teaching a week even though they were not desirous of adopting teaching as a profession. Abrahams draws the parallel with Sunday school teaching, but hopes they will take a teacher's diploma at Jews' College.

Of further interest is the report in *Young Israel* of 1898 of a conference in the Council chamber of the United Synagogue of the voluntary schools, synagogue classes, Jewish religious Education Board, Chedarim and Talmud Torahs, when one of the chief topics was teacher supply. Arising

from this meeting, there is an interesting comment in Young Israel: "Zionism has shown the way to conferences in the Jewish community".

In 1893 Abraham Levy asked Jews' College to arrange classes for Jewish studies for Jewish teachers at London board schools. The scheme did not prosper.[26] In 1912 a special committee was set up, owing to the failure of Jews' College to attract pupils. It was then agreed that "For systematic training of teachers . . . neither the machinery nor the training is available at the college". Teacher training was then transferred to the teachers training committee of the J.R.E.B., known in 1932 as the Jewish Higher Education Centre. In 1949 there was opened the joint faculty of teacher training of Jews' College and the London Board of Jewish Religious Education. After a number of years it failed. In 1951, the Council of the U.S. and of Jews' College appointed a committee to consider reasons for the failure of the College to recruit students. Thus many schemes have come and gone — higher centres, institutes of pedagogy, joint faculties, and training in other people's colleges.

The question remains, why did not the old Anglo-Jewish leaders give the community a small, maintained Jewish denominational college within the fabric of the national system? They could easily have created one, which would have come down to Anglo Jewry today. Was it a question of meanness, or was it their fundamental outlook that this would be something too Jewish, when what they wanted of Jewish education was anglicisation and the teaching of Jewish ethics. In the case of the Jewish voluntary schools in the nineteenth century Jewish studies were allowed to take a secondary place, particularly when government grant was paid by results; Hebrew was not a subject that qualified. Since World War II, however, Jewish voluntary schools and day schools have been coming into their own again, but this time with a positive motivation to Judaise rather than to Anglicise. In concluding the paper, I would use the words of the sage who said "What happens to the fathers, happens to the children".

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SYNAGOGUE ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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The scope of this paper is not, as the title might possibly suggest, worldwide or ranging the whole span of time. It is England during the last 100 years and more specifically Greater London, for that is where the United Synagogue has its being.

Necessarily this must exclude a good many well-known or listed buildings, notable either for their high standard of architecture, their historical associations or innovatory design. Sephardi synagogues such as the venerable Bevis Marks — or Lauderdale Road where, as with the Reform Synagogue in Berkeley Street the architects Davis and Emanuel introduced a new plan type, the Greek cross and dome. Provincial synagogues such as Singer's Hill Birmingham, Garnet Hill Glasgow, and Princes Road Liverpool, to name but three that epitomise Victorian stateliness, are omitted; so too are Plymouth and Exeter, the only surviving Hanoverian buildings, Eugene Rosenberg's Belfast Synagogue, one of the best of the moderns — and Tom Hancock's Carmel College, one of the most spectacular. I also exclude the Liberals, whose innovations affected orthodox layouts, and the multiplicity of stiebels (over forty in the Borough of Stepney until quite recently!), that have their own special character.

Accepting the parochialism of this view, let us try and put the achievement of the United Synagogue within its context, because it is an achievement for a religious minority to tax itself and produce unaided so many buildings.

Furthermore, you cannot build some eighty-three synagogues — Constituents District and Affiliated — some of them more than once on the same foundation, without making a collective statement of some kind. We can question the significance of that statement but there can be no doubt as to the generative zeal of an organisation with an output averaging nearly one synagogue a year for the last century.

Of the five synagogues of the Union, 'the Great' was the founder-father in the reign of William and Mary; those German and Polish Jews who had under sufferance, used the only existing synagogue in London, that of the Sephardim in Creechurch Lane, took a house in Duke's Place, Aldgate where, from 1692, they set up a separate congregation.

Apart from the importance of its foundation, this building was of little architectural significance. In all probability a large room was used, plain and poor in its furnishing, for unlike the prosperous merchants who supported the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, the Ashkenazi immigrants came to London almost destitute. The genesis of the mother synagogue of Anglo-Jewry was as humble as that of any immigrant chevra.

By the middle of George I's reign better things could be attempted. The German Synagogue, as it was called, was reconstructed in Broad Court, Duke's Place, entirely at the expense of Moses Hart. Little is known of its

origin but evidently it was a very considerable building undertaking. The cost (1722) was £2,000, which compares with the sum of £2,650 expended only twenty-one years earlier upon the new Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in Bevis Marks. The congregational accounts showed a further amount exceeding £75 spent on the Ark woodwork and gilding. There is also a small item of sixteen shillings for window tax, from which with a knowledge of tax rates then current one might perhaps deduce the glazed area at least, for unfortunately no pictures of this building survive. The intention must have been to erect a miniature copy of Bevis Marks, for Tovey in his *Anglia Judaica* (1738) compares the two buildings and writes, of Duke's Place, "though it is built after the same Model (it) is not half so big".

For forty-one years Moses Hart's synagogue stood unchanged, until it was no longer adequate. The formation of a splinter group (that founded the New Synagogue) prompted the Great to rebuild. A Christian minister wrote of it in 1766: "Now enlarged with an addition of building in brick that makes it as large again as it was before (it) has approached so near the Church of St. James, Duke's Place, that the congregations may be heard from each other." A contemporary engraving of St. James shows the close proximity of the two buildings but, disappointingly, all that we can see of the synagogue is an iron gate set in a high brick wall, giving entrance to the forecourt.

Although *The Annual Register* reported the ceremony of dedication in 1766 — to the accompaniment of Handel's Coronation Anthem — little is known of the new building's appearance. There is, to be sure, a print (drawn Scott, published Hogg) purporting to show the interior but it is in fact a poor copy, mirrored, of an earlier engraving by Picart of the Synagogue at The Hague; this apocryphal engraving is misleadingly entitled "The Jewish manner of Holding up the Law in the sight of the people, at Duke's Place, London." So this, the third building on its foundation, also passes without pictorial record and we are left with Charles Wesley's impression, after his visit a year or two later, that "the place itself is so solemn, that it might strike an awe upon those who have any thought of God."

The most important architectural event in its history was the further rebuilding of the Great that was completed in 1790. The new synagogue was intended to outshine all others. It accommodated over 500 men and 250 women and cost £12,402. 10. 5d. to build. A further sum of £2,000 was spent upon the furnishings alone: a new Ark, reading-desk and seating cost as much as the whole of the 1722 building. Evidently expense was no object, with such supporters as Abraham Goldsmid, who conducted the Dukes of Cumberland, Sussex and Cambridge to a service there in 1809. The occasion was marked by the publication of a satiric engraving, ascribed to Rowlandson, entitled *A Visit to the Synagogue*, and a newspaper unkindly reported the Princes as engaged in ogling beautiful Jewesses in the galleries.

James Spiller was the architect and in view of his later wrangles with the building committee of St. John's Church, Hackney, it is surprising that he designed the synagogue in two years, apparently without any serious disagreement. His design was exhibited at the Royal Academy. It was enthusiastically received: Remnant's *London* of 1793 refers to "a beautiful style of the simplest Grecian" whilst a later commentator describes the building (in 1834) as "brick with a roof supported by massy stone pillars . . . The utmost magnificence is exhibited. From the ceiling are suspended seven modern highly-finished brass branches of peculiarly excellent workmanship; indeed, the whole building is well worthy of inspection". "Very fine", was the verdict of Sir John Summerson, who thought it the only substantial contribution of the Jewish faith to the architecture of Georgian London.

Of the several views that call it to mind, Eastgate's line engraving of 1790 portrays an exterior of austerity but uneasy dualism, Pugin and Rowlandson's celebrated plate for the *Microcosm of London* dated 1809, the year of the Royal visit, faithfully records every detail of the contrastingly rich interior and captures its fashionable sparkle.

Repaired in 1852 by John Wallen, this was the building that stood in 1870, at the time the United Synagogue was founded, and lasted until 1940 when it was destroyed by enemy action. No alterations of any importance were made during its span of life, except for the lowering of the brass lattice screens to the women's galleries, in emancipatory times.

If one might dare to criticise a building that has been hailed justifiably as a major work, it would be to comment that, apart from such obvious Jewish accessories as the balcony screens, the central *bimah* and the layout of seating, there is very little synagogal content in the design. The Ionic colonnades, the flat panelled ceiling with lunettes inset where it coves into the wall cornice, the swags and niches and strictly disciplined treatment of the Ark, recessed into an apse with a coffered ceiling (against which the decalogue sits unhappily) — these features could have belonged to almost any Adamesque church. This was to be expected from Spiller, who can hardly be blamed for producing only an able composition, without managing to convey in architectural terms an atmosphere that he could not have understood fully.

The various rebuildings of the Great overshadowed smaller synagogue openings. Seceders from the Great (or German Synagogue as it was then called) formed a new congregation in 1707 called the Hambro', because its founders mostly hailed from Hamburg. In 1725 they built a synagogue in Magpye Alley, also called Church Row, Fenchurch Street. The Hambro' was a distinguished building, but its designer remains unidentified. No engravings appear to exist and there is nothing to indicate its external appearance. Fortunately, photographs of the interior were taken at the instigation of Delissa Joseph, architect of the (commercial) buildings later erected on the site, before the synagogue was demolished in 1892. They show a smaller but similar design to that of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, towards which this Ashkenazi congregation, perhaps because

of its initial differences with the Great, appeared to lean. The plan was orthodox, the *bimah* centrally placed and surrounded with moulded balusters; seating was provided for 218 men — quite small, less than half the size of the Great — and 55 women were accommodated on a gallery around three sides, carried on classic columns; the Ark was of carved natural hardwood. Several wealthy diamond cutters and traders belonged to the Hambro'; the synagogue was always richly furnished during its existence and some of its ritual objects have been loaned by the United Synagogue to the Jewish Museum, London.

Not long after the valedictory service held in the old synagogue, its memorial stone was placed in the entrance of the New Hambro', opened in Whitechapel (Union Street, Commercial Road); though larger, this was a poor building, meaner in quality and remarkable chiefly for the 'skying' of its Ark, approached by a considerable flight of steps. It seated 400 and cost £10 a seat; the architect was Lewis Solomon. Finished in 1899, the new synagogue had a much shorter life than its predecessor, losing in 1936 its separate identity by amalgamation with the Great.

The metropolitan synagogues multiplied themselves by schisms. In 1761 another group split off from the Great and formed the New Synagogue, at first taking over and altering the Hall of the Bricklayers Company, which had fallen on bad times. The entrance to Bricklayers Hall, sometimes called Buckler's (and later Sussex) Hall was situated in Leadenhall Street, and appeared in an engraving for the *European Magazine* in 1811 with an elaborate doorcase carrying an inscription in Hebrew. This was the home of the New from 1762 until 1838, when it moved to Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate.

In the last year of William IV's reign a competition was held for the design of the New Synagogue. Among those who entered was David Mocatta, to whom the building has sometimes erroneously been ascribed, but the selected architect was John Davies. His building, opened in 1838, was the latest major essay in the style of the English Renaissance, and was illustrated in Shepherd's *London Interiors*. In respect of size, ornamentation and elevational treatment this was a forward-looking building, anticipating the assertive synagogue exteriors of the late nineteenth century. Although internally it retained the traditional features and layout, detail is growing noticeably coarser and the cast iron balcony fronts and gasoliers look more Victorian than Georgian. Seating was provided for 410 men and 152 women.

Although completely removed just before the First World War to make room for the offices of the Shell Transport and Trading Company, the New Synagogue of 1838 is in essence still with us. By the munificence of Marcus Samuel, then in control of Shell's affairs, the synagogue was taken down and re-erected, almost stone by stone, at Stamford Hill in 1914 under the direction of his architect, Ernest Joseph.

In addition to the three City synagogues there were the Central, started as a West End branch of the Great, and the Bayswater in Chichester Place, Harrow Road.

Of these, the Central was the earlier, opened in 1855 at No. 43 Great Portland Street in a domed building that survived (in different use) into our century, after its closure in 1870, when the congregation transferred to a more ambitious synagogue in the same street designed by N. S. Joseph. The original building, by Mr. Clarke of Fenchurch Street, had a classical interior, the dome rising from four Corinthian columns, the Ark of damson-wood with gilt mouldings, Scagliola columns and marble approach steps. Its successor had a traditional layout with central *bimah*, was Moorish in detail, Gothic in feeling (for it had a soaring vaulted nave) and employed cast iron columns, a form of industrialised construction, to carry the galleries and roof. It cost £24,000 and seated 860, the largest number yet, men and women in almost equal numbers, and was not without problems of vision and hearing. The Central died a casualty of the Second World War, after which it was rebuilt to a new design.

N. S. Joseph had a hand also in the design of the Bayswater Synagogue, erected in 1863, although Edward Salomons of Manchester was the principal architect. A little smaller than the Central — 666 seats equally divided between the sexes — it had a good deal more genuine character and less Saracenic scenery. The Bayswater served as a model for several synagogues abroad and just managed to celebrate its centenary before being demolished to make way for the Harrow Road improvements.

The five Constituent synagogues as they stood in 1870, therefore comprised three classical buildings in the City, all by Christians, and two branches in the west, where the odd combination of Jewish architects, Moorish inspiration and English red brick with stone trimmings produced a comfortable Victorian background for family attendance.

Of the five, the City synagogues were unquestionably the most distinguished architecturally. The Great, the Hambro' and the New were good of their kind in their time, and as examples for the succeeding phase of synagogue-building were hardly equalled, never surpassed. The two daughter synagogues were not of the same standard.

All five buildings were spacious and dignified, traditional in layout; two of them were the result of architectural competitions. With the exception of the New, reconstructed on another site, all buildings have disappeared within the span of a century, so rapid is the mortality rate among synagogues.

1870 was a year that found Disraeli, at the age of 65, between Cabinets leading the Conservative opposition, a few Jews prominent in Parliament, at Court, and in professional, business and artistic life. Emancipation was a recent memory; Jews had come forward on a wave of liberal sympathy. It is amusing perhaps that the year that 'established' the United Synagogue followed the year of disestablishment of the Irish church. 1870 was a good year for liberal ideas — it saw the passing of the great English Education Act that led to the building of Board Schools throughout the country.

Architecturally what was happening? Greek Revival was over. Gothic Revival had reached its peak: Waterhouse's Manchester Town Hall is

dated 1868, Street's Law Courts in the Strand, 1874–82. Gothic was retained for churches owing to clerical influence, but public buildings were tending to prefer a Renaissance style — Sir Gilbert Scott's government buildings in Whitehall (Home, Colonial, Foreign and India offices) are 1860–75, Sir Charles Barry's Burlington House in Piccadilly had just been finished (1866), the Albert Hall (1868) and Albert Memorial (1862–72) were buildings of the moment.

In their religious buildings Jews withdrew from the battle of style. The Gothic revival was too closely associated with Christianity to be popular; about 1860, synagogues throughout Europe adopted oriental trappings. Jews were not exempt from the romantic escapism of the Victorian bourgeoisie; for them Spain under the Moors had been a golden age, idealised by scholars and historians alike. Men like Michael Sachs, the German theologian, raised Jewish self-respect largely by excavating, from the Jewish past, men and achievements to prove that Judaism went hand in hand with civilisation. Accomplishments in philosophy, literature, poetry and learning were emphasised. Beauty of form in the Moorish art and architecture of the synagogues of Toledo was admired and became a source of detail; G. E. Street had brought back from Spain impressions of *El Transito* and *Sta.Maria la Blanca.* The Jewish association with the Middle East led to interest in Byzantine forms and Saracenic detail, both freely dispensed in Victorian synagogues. Of numerous conjectural restorations of the Temple, that had an influence on design, James Fergusson's *The Temple of the Jews* was the last of three works he wrote between 1847 and 1878, based on archeological findings in Jerusalem, with the addition of a large dose of imagination.

Attention was also drawn to the more specifically Jewish areas of the Near East by Victorian artists. Delacroix, whose overwhelming experience was the discovery of Morocco, painted the Louvre's *Jewish Wedding* about 1840. A little later Sir David Wilkie was sketching Jews in Turkey, Palestine and Spain and exhibiting his work in London; David Roberts, too, travelled extensively and his topographical drawings of the Eastern Mediterranean countries achieved wide circulation through lithographic printing. Lord Leighton's much publicised Arab Hall of 1877–81 incorporated Saracenic tiles he had collected in the Middle East; the home-made versions that bore the name of Halsey Ricardo's partner, De Morgan, sold readily in a market created for orientalism.

The second influence on synagogue design of this period was a revival of the Romanesque, very early traditional basilican church style devoid of pointed arches, often combined with oriental detail.

Another characteristic, apart from style, was that synagogues became prominent buildings on the street, not discreetly hidden up alleyways like their predecessors, and their exteriors (which before had hardly been seen at all) received greater attention and became almost as assertive in their architecture as churches, sprouting towers, domes, colonnaded entrances and other important-looking features.

As to the architects employed, preceding generations of synagogue-builders had relied on non-Jews simply because Jews had not yet entered the profession. Probably Spiller was chosen for the Great by the Goldsmid brothers, whose leading position in the world of finance made them central figures in synagogal affairs. He was a friend of Soane, architect of the Bank of England, well-known in City financial circles and became surveyor to the Royal Exchange Assurance Company about 1790. In 1797 he was working on the designs for Benjamin Goldsmid's Roehampton villa. Similarly Davies, who won the New Synagogue competition, was the Rothschild's architect, having designed their original building in New Court.

By 1870 there was a choice of Jewish architects and although none of them were of the first rank nearly all the United Synagogue work up to 1914 went to Hyman Collins, Davis & Emanuel, N. S. Joseph, Delissa Joseph, Edward Salomons & Lewis Solomon. How far nepotism entered into the choice of architects is conjectural, but Chief Rabbi Herman Adler was brother-in-law to N. S. Joseph and his wife's nephews were Delissa and Ernest Joseph.

The Sephardim had some better men, but Mocatta retired early from practice; the Brandons, though at the peak of their careers, were lapsed Jews and that presumably disqualified them, whilst Ricardo, a mere boy of 16 in 1870, never did a synagogue, although I feel sure that if he had it would have been a memorable one. Collins, Joseph & Solomon founded firms that continued to serve the United Synagogue in the next generation.

Whilst the rebuilding of the Central Synagogue has been mentioned as if it were the last act before the Union of 1870, it was in fact preceded by the building of the Borough New at Walworth in 1867 and the North London, Lofting Road, Barnsbury (1868), although their congregations did not join the United Synagogue until later. Both buildings were designed by H. H. Collins and were Italianate, heavy and rather florid Renaissance — particularly Barnsbury — examples of Collins' inveterate dabbling in styles. Of his eight synagogues, three were built for the United Synagogue. St. John's Wood, Abbey Road was the latest and largest, seating 500: red brick Romanesque at front, a galleried interior with curiously fretted intricate detail, rich, well-lit and spacious. It opened in 1882, replacing the tin synagogue that had stood on the site since 1876.

All of Collins' buildings were closed by the United Synagogue during the past fifteen years, the two smaller for amalgamation purposes; St. John's Wood, though intended for demolition on the removal of its congregation to larger premises in the adjoining street, passed into the hands of the New London Synagogue and was sensitively restored and redecorated by Misha Black in 1965.

The East London Synagogue, Stepney Green, built in 1876, was the only essay for the United Synagogue by Davis & Emanuel; it came between their grander and better known buildings for other congregations, the winning competition design of 1870 for the Reform Synagogue in Upper Berkeley Street and the Sephardi branch synagogue of 1896 in

Lauderdale Road. Stepney has a Byzantine feeling to the interior with a great arch enclosing the pedimented Ark and rose window above it, a good sense of space for its 600 seats but the plainest possible exterior, situated on an unimportant street. The cost was a mere £6,400, one quarter of the contract figure for N. S. Joseph's Central Synagogue six years earlier.

In contrast to East End standards, the New West End, St. Petersburg Place, 1878 was built for a wealthy congregation who could afford elevations of Moorish magnificence by N. S. Joseph jointly with Messrs W. & G. Audsley, on whose winning competition design for Princes Road, Liverpool, (opened 1874) it was based. Within a red brick turretted envelope, blithely combining Romanesque, Byzantine and Early Gothic detail, are to be found horseshoe arches and calligraphic ornament in the form of Hebrew texts reminiscent of the fourteenth century *mudejar* synagogue *of El Transito.*

Nathan Joseph's fourth synagogue, that in Poet's Road, Dalston, 1885, perhaps reveals the moment of truth in his career for unlike the Bayswater and New West End, there was no collaborator and it is the worst of the designs attributed to him.

His nephew, Delissa Joseph, was the brightest architect to serve the United Synagogue, contributing by far the most interesting sequence of synagogues, starting in 1890 with Hammersmith and West Kensington, of the gabled facade and sham minarets, extended only six years later to double the seating capacity. It was followed in 1892 by Hampstead, Dennington Park Road, with a tower, not common to synagogues, and Romanesque detail in dark red brick. The unique octagonal domed interior comes nearer perhaps than any synagogue so far to the spirit of its time, that interlude between the Arts and Crafts and Pre-Raphaelite movements and the plunge into Art Nouveau. Hampstead was notable also for the combination of Ark, reader's platform and pulpit at one end of the building, greeted as the first adoption in London of the 'Continental' (liberal) grouping. This, too, was enlarged (twice) and lost the original wooden Ark with its fine sweeping steps for a misconceived improvement in marble, style *Georges Cinq.*

South Hackney, of which a drawing was displayed at the Royal Academy in 1897, Finsbury Park (1901) and the Romanesque S.E. London Synagogue, New Cross (1904) were Delissa Joseph's other buildings for the United Synagogue. Lewis Solomon's Stoke Newington Synagogue (Shacklewell Lane) of 1903 seated 750, large enough to absorb, as it did a few years ago, the Dalston and Barnsbury amalgamations. Brondesbury (1905) by F. W. Marks, Moresque with flanking towers and onion domes was another of the more noticeable buildings erected before the First World War.

In the first fifty years of the United Synagogue's existence a good deal of solid building had taken place. There had been a marked change in appearance, resulting from changing size, style and social standing of the

synagogue. Demand for increased capacity brought about experiments in plan form to improve vision and hearing from all seats.

It is interesting to note how the ratio of seats provided for men and women changed as time went on, reflecting the emancipation of women. The old synagogues of the City and East End mirrored the pattern of life in Eastern Europe where men studied the Law and attended synagogue whilst their wives were exhausted with housework and bringing up large families; in consequence very few women's seats were provided. In the West End, where Jews followed the church-going customs of the Victorian bourgeoisie, the wife had maids, and the proportion of women's seats rises to 75 per cent or even achieved parity with men.

Stylistically, it would be surprising that the oriental Sephardi world, not Central and Eastern Europe, was the dominant influence, were it not recalled that some of the pillars of the United Synagogue were generally unsympathetic to immigration from Russia and Poland. The immigrants in general did not feel at home in the *Englische Shools* of the Establishment. There they found men called 'Ministers', the very name an abomination imported from the church, with shaven chins and wearing canonicals and silken scarves instead of the all-enveloping woollen tallith a man could be buried in; synagogues furthermore, with top-hatted officers, well-heeled congregants listening rather than praying, leaving the vocal work to cantor and choir. There can be no doubt that in its Victorian phase, the United Synagogue succeeded in establishing itself as the church of the Anglican Jew.

Since form in architecture invariably follows function, the English synagogue was by the end of the nineteenth century ripe for the introduction of Reform plans from the Continent.

Traditional Judaism had a Rabbi who was essentially a teacher, and a Chazan who prayed with the congregation; for such, a central *bimah* had since the Middle Ages been the conventional arrangement, with a processional space between it and the Ark. The 'Minister' who preached at the congregation and prayed for them, a combination of Wesley and a Papal, intercessionary figure, was not known to Judaism until invented during the first half of the nineteenth century and first embodied in the layout of the Reform Temple at Hamburg, where the *bimah* combined with the Ark platform and a pulpit was thrown into prominence, the better to serve the new liturgy.

This combined arrangement became popular around the turn of the century and a good many orthodox congregations accepted the Reform innovation, not merely in plans for new synagogues, like Hampstead, but even to the extent of altering existing ones; Abbey Road Synagogue, for example, was originally built with a central *bimah*.

Just as none of the leading non-Jewish architects of the late Victorian and Edwardian period were ever employed, the best men of the reign of George V are noticeably absent from the field of synagogue design. This is somewhat surprising, since men like Sir Herbert Baker mixed in influential Jewish circles. Lutyens had a Mond, a Montagu and a Lebus

among his clients and a synagogue from Sir Edwin would have been welcome leaven in the neo-Georgian dross of the early twentieth century. Arthur Davis was building great banks, hotels and clubs from 1906 onwards yet the nearest his Jewish birth brought him to the design of a religious building was the little Armenian church in Kensington.

For the United Synagogue, the period between the wars, its third quarter-century was one of suburban settlement. Brixton, Effra Road 1921, by Cecil Masey, better known as a theatre architect, was one of the new synagogues, with pedimented pavilions flanking Tuscan-columned porch. Without attempting a catalogue of names, Dunstan Road, Golders Green (1927, by Messrs Joseph), Cricklewood, Walm Lane (1932, by C. J. Epril), Willesden (1934) and Hendon (1935) will help to fix the building type in mind.

Exciting, but disturbing things were happening in European architecture in which Jews played no small part. El Lissitzki, better known here for his graphic work — he rediscovered the painted synagogues of Eastern Europe — was leader of the Constructivist movement in post-Revolutionary Russia; his friends, Pevsner and Gabo had profound influence on the German, French and English modern movement of the late twenties and early thirties.

There was no hint of such influences, or of the Scandinavian design that permeated English public and church buildings of the middle thirties, in synagogues of the period. Perhaps it was too much to expect of a United Synagogue led by Chief Rabbi Hertz, who seemed to judge the nobility of a synagogue in terms of size, and Sir Robert Waley Cohen, who found the Temple Emanuel, New York "most beautiful" and whose architectural tastes were further revealed by his choice of Caen Wood Towers as a residence.

It was a poor time, productive of dull synagogues, shorn of Victorian ebullience but afraid to be uncompromisingly modern. The predominant style was half-hearted Georgian, sometimes indistinguishable from Post Offices, pubs or the more genteel picture palaces in which overflow services were conducted during the thirties. Inside there was light oak panelling, columns reduced to a minimum or done away with altogether, polite bits of stained glass in the upper parts of otherwise clear windows; the sort of synagogue that more often than not is painted pale blue and white internally. The general effect was rather gutless and hesitant; one wonders whether the promoters of these buildings were afraid to make a statement to the street, as did their confident Victorian fathers, because they were slightly ashamed of being Jewish, or so assimilated as to think this bad form.

Hampstead Garden Suburb, Norrice Lea and Dollis Hill, Gladstone Park were both admitted to the United Synagogue in 1937, rather a striking juxtaposition architecturally. The first of these embodied a period interior, with sentimental touches like its Dutch-style candelabra, behind a discreetly non-committal façade — epitomising the ghastly good taste of which John Betjemen wrote only four years earlier. Synagogues were not

alone in this, for Betjemen's remarks were aimed at a generality of buildings. Dollis Hill is still spoken about in hushed voices as an experience the United Synagogue would not like to repeat, yet with its cantilevered galleries, folded slab roof, absence of columns and striking wall treatment it was an uncompromising building, almost the only one that told the world Judaism was a modern religion and alive in England. Odd that it took a Gentile in the days of Hitler to make a synagogue wear the Star of David proudly and to give fresh form to its structure; he was the great engineer, Sir Owen Williams.

It is a pity that the opportunity was not taken to commission a synagogue from Erich Mendelsohn during his stay in this country, for this refugee from Germany was not only a master of modern architecture but also a Jew who cared deeply about the spiritual aspects of his work; his later buildings and projects in the United States did much to create the new synagogue architecture in which that country leads the world.

Since the Second World War there has been a spate of synagogue building, for new communities pushing out into the countryside, together with the consolidation of older established congregations in more popular areas of the metropolis. Two quite distinct lines of architectural thought have been followed.

Firstly there was the continued building of the large monumental synagogue on the street. This must be seen as a hangover from the prewar period, particularly in the light of development in the United States. One of the representative buildings was Edgware (1956), designed for 1600 congregants, too big if one is to judge by the wave of complaints that lifted its accoustic problems into a *cause celebre*, for Edgware triggered off the microphone controversy. It sits clumsily alongside the dual carriageway of a main road looking rather anonymous from the back: the bulk and finishes are so typical of community building during the immediate postwar period that one wonders whether it is a hall, or a swimming bath, or part of a technical college. It did at least break the neo-Georgian cycle and was in some degree courageous, despite the ridiculous limitation forced upon the architect (in the name of economy) that he design the building to receive steel roof trusses salvaged from a Festival building of the 1951 South Bank Exhibition.

The other three of this type that spring to mind are Marble Arch, part of the Great Cumberland Place scheme, (1962, by T. P. Bennett & Son) an empty shell behind an imitation Regency colonnade; the Central (1958 by C. E. Wilford) allegedly inspired by Venetian baroque and St. John's Wood (1965 by T. P. Bennett & Son) large, solid with Teutonic iron-work and a front carriage drive. All three were expensive, Marble Arch and the Central more than a quarter of a million pounds each and St. John's Wood four hundred thousand pounds. Their designs contribute nothing to architectural progress and, indeed, the first two are distinctly eclectic in external appearance. They are, however, very comfortable and lined with boardroom finishes, and designed by successful non-Jewish firms of commercial architects.

It is a little surprising that the United Synagogue could not have found a Jew to design even one of its three most ambitious post-war religious buildings. So many capable and talented co-religionists have been practising in recent decades that their employment might well have remedied the obvious defects of the three synagogues mentioned. Had a competition been considered, as in the past, that might well have thrown up as interesting a result as Coventry Cathedral, where incidentally two unknown young Anglo-Jewish architects (Tischler and Hildebrand) were placed fifth and highly commended out of 219 entries from all over the world.

The second, and much more hopeful development for the future of synagogue architecture in this country has been the emergence of fresh designs, with clean light modern lines for the outer suburban fringe communities. The lavish finishes of W.1 or N.W.8. could not be afforded here and it is a measure of their architects' success that interesting, even exciting buildings have resulted, often designed on very small budgets. Among them may be mentioned Harold Weinrach's very simply structured Woodford Synagogue, Essex (1954) set in a tree'd garden, David Stern's Kingsbury Synagogue, its plan based on the six-pointed star — a hackneyed motif but new in England and freshly treated. Each of these new synagogues has its own personality — at South Hampstead, Eton Villas, it is the interesting shape on a sloping site, clad in plain brick and concrete, at Muswell Hill, Tetherdown, the texture of the front, its sculptural approach.

Occasionally something has gone astray and modern architecture has become *modernismus*. A cartoonist in the *Jewish Chronicle* pointedly drew attention to what others had already noticed, namely that the end wall of the enlarged Finchley Synagogue, Kinloss Gardens bore a remarkable resemblance to the radiator grille of a Rolls-Royce car. The interior, however, is light, dignified and despite its 1350 seats, acoustically successful; designed by Dowton and Hurst and opened in 1966 this cost, with its basement banqueting suite and classroom block, in the region of £400,000.

One's first reaction to the mention of synagogue art is to dismiss it as a significant factor in English synagogues of the last hundred years. But some things should be said on the subject if only to show that there is a place for art in the synagogue, that the talent was available and that this is one of the lost opportunities of Anglo-Jewish architecture. A few prefatory remarks may perhaps clear up some misconceptions.

It might be thought that mention of art in connection with the synagogue begs the question of representational art. Let us grasp that nettle. Firstly, Jewish tradition does not present a unanimous verdict; indeed the further back one goes, the more decorated synagogues become. In archaeological times men, beasts and fishes as well as natural forms were represented in mosaic or fresco on synagogue walls and floors. Colloquially, one might almost say: the nearer to Moses, the more graven the image!

The vigorous folk art that decorated the wooden synagogues of Poland and Russia (pure Chagall) was largely representational, including living as well as inanimate objects. Animals — the lion for example — have appeared on ritual objects such as Torah mantles, breastplates and crowns, for centuries. Many celebrated Rabbis have sat for their portraits, including most incumbents of the English Chief Rabbinate since the Resettlement. Only during the last few hundred years have Western Jews had puritantical doubts about the practice; Aaron de Chaves' decalogue with figures of Moses and Aaron was in the original Sephardi Synagogue in Creechurch Lane and only removed outside after Bevis Marks was opened.

Art need not, of course, be representational, and those who think this restriction emasculating, may be reminded that William Morris produced the most wonderful designs out of fruit and flowers, that are still appreciated today. The century of the United Synagogue coincided with perhaps the least representational period in the history of art. Those who had qualms about the accurate portrayal of humans and other living creatures should have eagerly embraced abstract art. They lived through cubism, fauvism, constructivism, impressionism, expressionism, surrealism, pointilism, vorticism, yet there is little evidence in synagogues that such movements ever existed, despite the fact that Jewish artists were well represented among their leading members.

Lastly, for those who think the modern artist has little to contribute to Jewish liturgical art, there is the example of modern American synagogues where sculptor, painter, glassblower, graphic artist, fabric designer, metalworker and silversmith have made great and original contributions.

Yet art is noticeable generally by its absence from the synagogues under consideration, or is present merely at a banal level. There is, to be sure, inconsequential applied decoration of a repetitive nature: Greek frets, leaf designs and rosettes, for example. There are the stained glass windows, occasionally given out to someone other than the merchant who supplied them. In this field of design one had only to think of mediaeval Chartres or Matisse's chapel to appreciate the powerful assistance religious interiors can obtain from stained glass, yet how few synagogue examples of original design exist. Chagall's Jerusalem windows are almost unique. In North-West London, Abram Games has done a modern window; Hampstead originally had windows designed by the architect's brother-in-law, S. J. Solomon R.A. But they were replaced by more assertive Teutonic designs (by Sochachewsky) that are out of sympathy with the architecture. David Hillman's work at St. John's Wood and elsewhere is painstaking, whilst the brasher work of the Israeli artist, Nehemiah Azaz, is to be seen at Carmel College and slowly filling Marble Arch.

Windows apart, it is difficult to think of any artist of note who was invited to paint a wall, sculpt a piece of stone or metal, or fashion a ner tamid (hanging lamp), an Ark front, an Ark cloth or Torah mantle, a candelabrum or light fitting, a screen or grille, a ritual object. Benno Elkan's Menorah stands in front of the Knesset in Jerusalem. In English

synagogues such items for the most part have unhappily been tackled at the level of the builder's merchant or ladies guild during the past century.

The United Synagogue inherited some fine ceremonial pieces commissioned by its predecessors (particularly the Hambro') from leading silversmiths of the Georgian era, but notable objects produced after 1870 are hard to find. The New West End has a silver spice box imaginatively fashioned after one of its bulbous Assyrian tower domes — a pleasant echo of the traditional simulation of building features to be found in Jewish ritual objects such as Torah bells. For the most part, nineteenth century silver was imported and undistinguished; the Arts & Crafts movement, Art Nouveau & Art Deco seem to have missed the synagogue. A few modern pieces have, since the War, been commissioned from leading (non-Jewish) silversmiths Gerald Benney, Stuart Devlin & Leslie Durbin, by private individuals for presentation to synagogues but, as far as can be traced, their present whereabouts do not lie within the United Synagogue.

Rare Hebrew manuscripts and illuminated Haggadoth are highly prized but had anyone designed a prayer book for sale by the hundred? Chagall's Bible and Szyk's Haggadah are for collectors, not congregants. There has been very little attempt to re-interpret Hebrew calligraphy, except by Americans such as Ben Shahn. Of the private presses called into being by the English Arts and Crafts Movement, one of the more notable was the Eragny Press where Lucien Pisarro and his wife Esther Bensusan devoted the years from 1894 to 1914 to the production of beautiful books; one of the first was *A Book of Ruth and a Book of Esther.*

There is a great body of artists and craftsmen dedicated to book design and production and it is intolerable that the service of the synagogue prepared by ecclesiastical authorities should be a black beetle of a book; there must be room for beauty of type face and setting in contemporary terms. Had there been no Jewish artists available, the United Synagogue and its constituents could have gone, as they did for some of their most important building projects, to non-Jews, but there was an embarrassing wealth of talent within the community.

Solomon Hart, the first Jewish president of the Royal Academy, painted pictures of synagogues but never, as far as I have been able to trace, was he invited to work inside one. Simeon Solomon, the Pre-Raphaelite chosen by the discerning Victorian architect William Burges to decorate his own house, had no synagogue commission come his way, before the unhappy man's career collapsed. There was William Rothenstein, sneaking into the Machzike Hadath to paint worshippers wrapped in their prayer shawls; Mark Gertler, sent to the Slade on a Jewish grant, painting rabbis but relying on a few gentile patrons for support until he ended his life in a Hampstead studio. David Bomberg eked out a penurious living by teaching; how magnificently window glass would have glowed with his rugged landscape colours — imagine a Bomberg impression of the Wilderness! You will find them all in the Tate Gallery but not inside a synagogue.

Then there were the foreign-born Jews settled in England. It was left to convents and cathedrals to commission Sir Jacob Epstein. Were there no opportunities for him, or Hans Feibusch the mural painter, in Jewish community buildings? One thinks of Jankel Adler, Joseph Herman and Benno Schotz, of Meninsky and Wolmark and, just across the Channel, a whole school of Jewish artists — Pincas, called Pascin, Soutine, Kisling, Modigliani, Lipchitz, Mane-Katz, Zadkine, Chagall — most of them desperately in need of work — and Bakst, who created the much admired settings for so many of Diaghilev's productions. It is exciting to imagine what men of this calibre might have done, had only one or two synagogues had the courage to invite their collaboration: they would at least have enlivened the genteel Georgian school of design.

The great paradox of the situation is that Jews have been during the last 100 years leading art collectors, connoisseurs, critics, dealers, many of them props of synagogue committees. They were in a position to know and appreciate the work of their contemporaries. One has only to think of the Salamans, the Spielmanns, the Duveens, the Wildensteins, Berenson and Wittkower, or the Parisian dealer Bing, who supplied Sassoons and Rothschilds and was at the very heart of Art Nouveau.

Bischoffheims and Wertheimers surrounded themselves with beautiful things. Wealthy Jews patronised young artists: Sir Ernest Cassel took up the young Zorn and set him on his career, Ricketts and Shannon at one time were supported by Sir Edmund Davis.

Today, Jewish participation in all aspects of fine art is no less than it was and one wonders why none of this ever came back into the synagogue. If the purpose of Art be the creation of beauty, it deserves a place in religious buildings, for it has been said that the effort to express love for God through creating beautiful objects for his worship is as ancient as Judaism.

Many obstacles face any synagogue architect or artist. Rabbinical teaching lays no great store on the building; it is merely a place in which to worship and although there is some merit in size — it is good to worship the Lord in the sight of a multitude! — a room in a private house will do equally well. It seems much easier to sell a synagogue than to deconsecrate and close a church; the use to which it may later be put does not seem to matter. Former synagogues have been used for such purposes as a cinema, (Falmouth) a garment factory, (Maiden Lane), a church (Penzance), a scene-painter's studio and warehouse (Borough). There is no *mystique* attached to the building, once its congregation has gone.

The Anglo-Jewish clergy are not generally knowledgeable about their buildings. Things seem to be ordered differently in the United States. The well-known architect of the colonial period, Peter Harrison, received instructions from the Rev. Isaac Touro as to the design and layout of the Newport Synagogue, Rhode Island. The even better-known architect of the recent Beth Shalom Synagogue, Philadelphia was so inspired by his minister that he signed the designs "by Frank Lloyd Wright and Rabbi

Mortimer Cohen"! The Americans have a volume of literature on the subject and organisations that have made a study of synagogue design.

The lay leaders responsible for getting synagogues built tend to be wealthy but not necessarily cultured businessmen, chosen for their financial abilities, and those who donate to synagogue building include an element more concerned to perpetuate their own memory than to erect a monument to the glory of God.

English congregations have in practice grown and contracted with alarming speed; this religious minority has shown itself to be remarkably unsettled, fickle rather than faithful to a single place of worship; I speak in terms of attendance, not sentimental attachment. Many years of wandering in Biblical days accustomed the Jews to a portable religion: two staves were thrust through the sides of the Ark and it was carried away, the curtains were rolled up and the Tabernacle dismounted. The synagogue administrator of today faces the nightmare prospect of buildings ceasing to fill a need before they have even been amortised. The United Synagogue has been affectionately chided for being an ecclesiastical building society. As such, it is assailed on one side by the vociferous demands of young, under-provided congregations whilst on the other hand it struggles to maintain older shrinking congregations in overlarge buildings that are, maybe, full one day a year.

Against this background of administrative desire for economy, considerable mobility of congregants and, is it unfair to say, indifference on the part of ministers of religion, the quality of synagogue design must suffer. Comparisons are invidious but there does exist a Central Council for the care of Churches, there are advisory bodies on church design, architecture and liturgy is a live issue, the average parson is knowledgeable about the architectural features of his church. Yet we cannot even find a picture of every important synagogue that has been demolished.

Synagogue design today is a question of priorities. Should the main object be the creation of a special place, the beauty of which transcends ordinary places and a special atmosphere? Some would want a setting of quiet, of serenity, of space and of meditation, others would find religious inspiration in the huddled intimacy of the mellah, the joyous chanting of the stiebel. These spiritual considerations are too often forgotten in favour of comfortable seating, good vision and good hearing, no draughts, adequate ventilation and heating: a formula for theatres.

It is to the smaller and more modest synagogues that one looks for architectural progress, smaller because Judaism is a congregational form of worship, not a staged performance.

We should by now have abandoned building large pretentious synagogues on the street and reverted to the three-fold conception of prayer, assembly and learning — for social as well as architectural reasons. The resultant buildings will be a complex of which the synagogue will be a small but important part — a fusion of the East European chevra and the modern American synagogue group. The actual synagogue hall will use imagination of a different order to solve liturgical requirements, not least

of which are the accoustic and visual problems presented by a central *bimah*, The United Synagogue has the power to lead in developing a new architecture for social change in this country.

Lastly, whilst developing new designs, let us at least record anything of value before we pull it down. Georgian synagogues have been lost without trace; the Victorians are still with us. Systematic records should be made and kept. Jews don't care about synagogues once the congregation drops and non-Jews don't know about them and so they are little valued. Few are mentioned in Pevsner's *Buildings of England* and fewer still are listed buildings.

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES

John M. Shaftesley, O.B.E., B.A., F.R.S.A.

'Religious controversy' within the confines of Anglo-Jewish experience has, in terms of theology, never reached the traumatic heights of the great Reform divisions in Germany and America. There are two nodal points within the past century and a quarter, one the founding of the Reform Synagogue in 1840 and the other the establishment of the Liberal congregation in 1909. In numbers of adherents they have never made the sweeping progress that, for instance, Reform accomplished in the U.S.A., and for a long time in our day they have been estimated at about 10 per cent in all of the Anglo-Jewish community. A very recent spokesman for them claims the proportion should now be reckoned at nearer 20 per cent.[1] Be that as it may, the flow of religious life in the Anglo-Jewish community, while most certainly not free of the *Machlokot leShem Shamayim* —'controversies in the name of Heaven'— has been on the whole rather calmer than in other places. We may be able to attribute this to the force of environment, or, to borrow sociological jargon, adaptation to the host culture, where temperaments, if not tempers, are reputedly phlegmatic.

The forms of religious controversy in Anglo-Jewry have been more often administrative or personal than theological and they have arisen chiefly out of the structure of the community: a voluntary establishment whose religious head, to most of the Jews and to the outside world, has been the Chief Rabbi. Each Chief Rabbi has had his authority conferred on him by the terms of his appointment by the majority of the Orthodox community, and each in turn has had to contend with challenges to that authority, some of them along uncannily parallel lines.

It is popularly supposed that Jewish religious controversy did not begin in England until 1840, when the 'Great Secession,' as it has been called, occurred in the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London which led to the founding of a Reform congregation, with its own synagogue by 1842. There were other rumblings — and even alterations — well before this, in the preceding century, many of which are dwelt upon in various Anglo-Jewish histories, especially A. M. Hyamson's *The Sephardim of England* and Cecil Roth's *History of the Great Synagogue London* 1690–1940.

On the matter of the origins of the Reform congregation, I want to advance a new view. I suggest that for 130 years we have been blaming the Sephardim wrongly for the schism. Despite all the circumstantial evidence against the Sephardi 'rebels', who broke Rule No. 1 of their congregation, the real culprits were Ashkenazim. There were originally 24 secessionists, of whom one historian says 18 were Sephardim and six Ashkenazim, and another that 19 were Sephardim and five Ashkenazim.[2] Whatever the figure, I am suggesting that the tail wagged the dog.[3] The strength of the Ashkenazi reaction was far greater than might have been expected from

an internal dissension among the Sephardim, even if a few Ashkenazim came to the aid of the dissidents and even if, as is very doubtful, the full implications of Reform's toe-hold in England were at once realised. And why should Sephardim of all people, notoriously self-contained, particularly want, as was indicated, the example of the Hamburg Temple, established in 1818 on Reform lines? The bringing in of the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi to sign the 'warning' of excommunication, senior to the Sephardi Ab Beth Din — an act which, by the way, was an early acknowledgment that the Chief Rabbi was already more equal than his equals — was a piece of intimidation (in the best sense!) not really warranted by the smallness — one-quarter or less — of the Ashkenazi representation among the rebels.

Three of the Ashkenazim, however, were Goldsmids: Aaron Asher, Francis Henry, and Frederick David, the two latter being the sons of that powerful figure Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, ambitious financier and politician, prominent leader of the Jewish struggle for emancipation, about to be created the first Jewish baronet, and a very active member of the Great Synagogue. He stood solidly behind his sons and, I now suggest, was the *deus ex machina* of the whole affair. To take on the Goldsmids, even in the religious sphere, was no doubt a daunting prospect, and I am not surprised that the historians record that Solomon Hirschell, the Chief Rabbi, went into the matter with trepidation. On the other hand, he could hardly withstand the pressure on the other side of Moses Montefiore, who had begun his long presidency of the Board of Deputies in 1838 and already had crossed swords with Isaac Lyon Goldsmid.

Many years before, in 1822,[4] when he was 44, I. L. Goldsmid had been the chairman of a Great Synagogue committee set up to propose a plan to train some young men for the Jewish ministry. In their report they said they were "convinced that the small attendance in the Synagogue is, in some measure, to be ascribed to the present mode of reading the service; that it has led, and, if unchanged, will lead, to alterations which they most sincerely deprecate and which may be fatal to the dearest interests of the Jewish nation." That is an equivocal sentence. What changes had they really in mind? Goldsmid, whose views were affected now as much by political emancipation fever as by religion, made his thoughts much plainer a few years later, and a clue lies in the *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*. When these volumes appeared, much later in the century, the reviewer in the *Jewish Chronicle* naturally dealt with them at some length.[5] After making various references to the fight for Jewish emancipation, he concluded:

> "In 1830 Mr. Robert Grant [who was to promote a Bill for Jews on the subject; the Catholics had obtained emancipation in 1829] desired to be informed whether the Jews insisted on obtaining the privilege of sitting in Parliament, and if they would refuse all other privileges if this were not obtained. It was Mr. Montefiore's opinion that they should take what they could get. Mr. I. L. Goldsmid preferred to lose all rather than give up Parliament, and rallied the [Whig] party by a

dinner at his house, when Montefiore met Macaulay, Lord Holland, Robarts, Abel Smith, and Dr. Lushington. The Board of Deputies took Mr. Montefiore's view, much to Mr. Goldsmid's displeasure, and we see here what Mr. Montefiore thought was the beginning of the internal schism in our community. 'Mr. I. L. Goldsmid saying he did not care about the measure, and would establish a new Synagogue with the assistance of the young men; he would alter the present form of prayer to that in use in the Synagogue at Hamburg' ".

What is more, I. L. Goldsmid had his children with him, and when their opportunity came in 1840, his son Francis became the chairman of the Reform congregation.

The fact that the first ministers of the congregation, the Rev. Professor D. W. Marks and the Rev. Albert Löwy, were Ashkenazim I do not count as evidence, as it was notoriously difficult anyway to find Sephardi ministers for Sephardi synagogues themselves. But I do think it relevant that, according to the Rev. Professor Marks,[6] when Dr Nathan Adler entered on his office he sought some means of bringing about reunion, and he discussed conciliation in a personal interview with Sir Francis Goldsmid, who then presided at a Reform synagogue meeting which turned the idea down.

Latent animosity — in which he was not alone, of course — peeps out of the description by the Western Synagogue historian, the Rev. Arthur Barnett, writing in 1961,[7] of "Nathan Marcus Adler [Chief Rabbi at the time of the creation of the United Synagogue] who founded the Adler regime of ecclesiastical papacy, with its companion lay-rule of a benevolent grand-dukedom." The historian is unfair on two scores. Well before Dr Adler came to England, a communal oligarchy existed, however benevolent in intention, more or less self-perpetuating, and mirroring the general environment. It was only in 1836 that the Board of Deputies, which was founded in 1760 and was a very small body, formulated its first constitution and thenceforward slowly expanded in scope and membership. As for 'ecclesiastical papacy,' a phrase revived from time to time in current argument, not only with regard to the Adlers, who can blame the Adlers for their strong stand when we remember that the father came immediately on to a scene of violent Reform agitation, actively opposed to all he stood for, and the son came into definitive office in the period where, on the one hand, mass immigration brought into prominence the widespread chevra problem and, on the other hand, the ferment of an 'intellectual' rebellion which led to Liberal Judaism. The trouble then, as it has been with regard to each successor Chief Rabbi, is that *elected* Chief Rabbis have been criticised if not condemned for acting naturally as Chief Rabbis, backed by rules laid down not by themselves but by their community.

To allege, as has been done so often, that Dr Nathan Adler's attitude to alterations to the synagogue service was always governed by a Teutonic stiffness of mind — stigmatised as 'Adlerism' — is to misjudge the man. During the Reform storms, he issued a brochure in 1847, based on a full

inquiry into the conditions of the Jewish congregations in the Empire, entitled *Laws and Regulations for all the Synagogues in the British Empire*, in which, as Cecil Roth has observed, "without the slightest deviation from Orthodox requirements, a considerable part of what had been the demands of the Reformers was met, in fact if not in form."[8] But these did not lead to overtures for reconciliation by the schismatics. The Jewish press of the day was constantly exercised over the problem of reconciliation, but analysis of the pleas shows that they are very largely pleas for an acceptance of Reform.[9] When Nathan Adler died in 1890, the *Jewish Chronicle*, in a leading article, acknowledged that "he was willing to sanction changes demanded by communal opinion, as long as they did not absolutely conflict with orthodoxy. One of his last official acts was to concede slight modifications of the Synagogue Service at the request of the Hampstead Jews; and even those who deplored his inability to make greater concessions [the *Jewish Chronicle* at that time appeared to be among them] recognised that the grounds of his refusal were strictly logical."

Nathan Adler was in fact the first of England's modern Rabbis, suspect to ultra-orthodoxy because he was that uncommon person here 130 years ago, an Orthodox Rabbi, coming of a family of Rabbis, with a secular university education.

The Western Synagogue again figures in a sort of conflict with Dr Adler in 1874. Once more the 1961 history requires correction. The synagogue, which did not join in the United Synagogue foundation in 1870 and stayed independent, nevertheless contributed to the Chief Rabbinate Fund, accepting the Chief Rabbi's jurisdiction. The position of minister was vacant through the death of the Rev Moss B. Levy and the congregation had a list of five candidates to vote for at the annual meeting. Of these, four had already, as ministers elsewhere, had the Chief Rabbi's approval, and the fifth was a teacher at the Jews' Free School, Marcus Haines, who in the event was elected.

The history briefly and wrongly dismisses the election of the Rev Marcus Haines as "another example of the independent spirit of the Western Synagogue, which, while it was always desirous of paying due allegiance to the Chief Rabbinate, was not prepared to allow any intervention from outside in what it regarded as its internal affairs."[10] The evidence in the contemporary press points to a contrary conclusion.[11]

When the chairman of the general meeting introduced the business, he surprised the members by reading to them a strong letter of protest from Dr Adler, who complained that they had not first sought his prior clearance of all the candidates. The chairman acknowledged that the congregation had been remiss in omitting this important requirement, and it was also admitted that the Chief Rabbi was magnanimous in suggesting, as the meeting was already called and the list was before them, that they should in the circumstances go ahead with the election, and it was further accepted that if the Chief Rabbi refused to give his certificate of competency to the

first man elected, then they would choose instead the man who came second in the ballot.

The *Jewish Chronicle*, in a leader,[12] supported the Chief Rabbi and chastised the Western Synagogue, saying it had no right to break the rules to which it subscribed.

Throughout most of the century, it must be admitted, there were requests for what were variously described as 'alterations to the services' and 'modifications in the ritual', from the Provinces as well as London. Some of them were simply based on attempts to obtain more decorum at prayer, which in some quarters drew the retort of 'Gentile customs' (chukat hagoy). Most of the pleaders disclaimed Reform intentions and said they were seeking cures for the general apathy which afflicted so many congregations.

Perhaps the best summing up of the recurring dialogue is contained in a very long letter in the *Jewish Chronicle* 14 May 1869 by the pseudonymous 'Observator.' He lists "some of the most salient remedies" as follows:

"1. The hour of service to be later.
2. The length of the prayers to be reduced.
3. The occasional use of English, in lieu of Hebrew.
4. The prayers to be plainly read, in lieu of intoned.
5. The abolition of all money offerings.
6. The introduction of instrumental music.
7. The abolition of mitzvoth and calling to the Law."

A study of this list one hundred years later gives food for thought. "With every one of them carried out," goes on the writer, "it is still in my opinion doubtful if the result would be satisfactory even to the proposers of the changes; whilst to the many who, from various reasons, oppose all or any of them there is little chance of the modifications being acceptable.

"Now although I admit," he says, "that reform is needed, and needed much, I cannot help considering that it is not the service which is so much to blame as the worshippers themselves, who are ever ready to censure others, but often fail to stimulate by example a prayerful and befitting demeanour".

It was with caution, as befitted their position, that the Adlers, elder and younger, admitted in time some modifications. There were elements, indeed, among the Adlers' own supporters who preferred not to adopt the permitted alterations, and it cannot be said that today there are no United Synagogue congregations where extracurricular items — often to the irritation of the confused follower of the Singer *Authorised Daily Prayer Book* — are not interpolated in the services.

In the 1870s there was a sustained agitation for alterations, and one worthy, named Walter Josephs, supported by the *Jewish World*, a paper established in 1873, founded the Association for Effecting a Modification in the Liturgy of the German Jews. It was vocal, but never big. By 'German' it meant Ashkenazi. At that period, Jews of real German origin in

England were something of a reproach religiously to their brethren. Those who settled in the North, in Bradford, established a Reform congregation there, many left the Faith, and in the South, in London, they were singled out periodically for special obloquy by the *Jewish Chronicle* for their failure even to be interested enough in Judaism to join some synagogue.[13] It was through Bradford in 1881 that an argument was aired about having Christian singers in the choir at the consecration of the Reform Synagogue, and the case was recalled of a Christian choirmaster who was so exasperated at choir practice in a synagogue that he exclaimed: "*Herr Jesus, was war das für ein Shema Jisroel*!"[14]

The two chief landmarks in the agitation for modifications in the synagogue ritual are dated 1879 and 1892. Both issued from conferences called specially to study the case. If it is thought that the two Adlers had to be forced into concessions — which were, by the way, practical and not doctrinal — the files of the Chief Rabbinate (to which I had access through the courtesy of the Secretary of the Chief Rabbinate and the Secretary of the United Synagogue) are a corrective and show how accommodating they could be.

The 1879 conference was a lay gathering originating from constituent synagogues of the United Synagogue. Three delegates came from each of the Bayswater, Borough, Central, East London, Great, New, New West End, North London and St John's Wood Synagogues. The prime movers had been the Central Synagogue, in whose chambers the conference took place. Lionel L. Cohen, grandfather of the present Lord Cohen, presided, and Henry Kisch was appointed hon. secretary. The conference's report was printed and presented to the Chief Rabbi by the end of April 1880. On behalf of the conference, Mr Kisch wrote a very respectful covering letter toDr Nathan Adler, in which they sought his approval of their aspirations, recalling the modifications resulting from his *Laws and Regulations* of 1847, but acknowledging also that not all the synagogues might want all or the same modifications. Great Synagogue differences with some of the recommendations led to a rebuke by Mr Kisch in which he stressed acceptance of the unqualified authority of the Chief Rabbi. A copy of his letter is in the Chief Rabbinate files.[15] He underlines some phrases the more earnestly to emphasise the conference's deference.

"Not only," he writes, "are *all* the modifications recommended by the Conference *understood as being subject to the unqualified approval of the Chief Rabbi*, but every question connected with the *form of worship in each of the Constituent Synagogues and all religious observances in the Constituent Synagogues* are by Clause 3 of the Deed of Foundation and Trust placed *under the supervision and control of the Chief Rabbi.*"

Dr Adler had been in ill-health for some time, but his son Hermann had been appointed Delegate Chief Rabbi, and between them they studied the proposals, of which a number were accepted. One which the Chief Rabbi did not accept was the omission of the reading of the *Megilloth* on the appropriate Festivals. Those who delight in the reading of the *Megillah* in the synagogue will be ever grateful to Dr Adler for his decision.

Lionel Cohen, a man who did not easily give up, argued over some of the decisions, and Hermann Adler put forward further amendments which seemed to satisfy him. At all events, when the Chief Rabbi's reply had been considered by the resumed conference, Cohen was able to write to him: "Dear Dr Hermann" (this was Cohen's customary salutation), "*All* the recommendations and appendices were passed tonight just as your father sanctioned them," and another very respectful letter of acceptance was written from the conference to the Chief Rabbi by Henry Kisch. When one considers that procrastination is almost inevitably the companion of conferences — some would say also of rabbis! — it is pleasant to note that all these negotiations were settled in under eight months.

The alterations were not obligatory, simply permissive, and some of the synagogues did not adopt all of them. Vociferous minorities are not always a sure sign of a desire for change.

Two different comments on the alterations are instructive:

The *Jewish Chronicle*, in September 1882, editorially maintained that "The recent slight modifications have not had quite all the effect anticipated by sanguine folks. Many Chazanim take advantage of the omissions sanctioned by authority to indulge themselves more than ever in wearisome lengthening of the services by the idiosyncrasies of Chazanos". The paper counsels wardens to curb the Chazanim!

The Orthodox Jewish newspaper *Israelit* in Germany (edited by Rabbi Dr Lehmann, of Mainz) denounced the mild reforms as "undermining the very foundation of Judaism."

Whatever happened with these modifications, it was only twelve years later, in 1892, that another agitation, whipped up in the press for at least a couple of years, reached a climax. It was linked not only with the Chief Rabbinate but also with an allied controversy over the Rev Morris Joseph. The main controversy, about modifications, early in 1890, had spilled over into the general press, as witness reports in the *Manchester Examiner* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*.[16] An anonymous 'Minister of the United Synagogue' wrote an article in the *Jewish Chronicle*[17] (one of a series on the Rabbinate designed to support changes), which called in, in aid of modifications, the views of the Wilna Gaon, who, said this Minister, "dared to carry out his views in matters of religion, though they differed from the customs of his times." 'Synagogue Sunday' that year, when the elections of officers took place at constituents of the United Synagogue, was enlivened by the subject of modifications figuring on most of the agendas, 'caucuses' stirred up dilatory voters by sending carriages for them, and two well-known wardens, Ellis A. Franklin, of the New West End, and Henry Hymans, of the St John's Wood Synagogue, lost their honorary offices and consequently their seats at the United Synagogue Council, for being, as the *Chronicle* implied, [18] on the 'minority' Orthodox and not the 'progressive' side. The same paper had noted, in a patronising way, the formation of a committee to oppose changes, which committee it described as 'ultra-orthodox,[19] a description then coming into fashion. Much earlier, when the first mentions appeared of strong traditional opposition to the

new Reform, the term had been 'hyper-orthodox,' but this did not catch on.

Ellis Franklin made a spirited reply,[20] referring first to his 'Actaeon fate' in losing the election. I hope that this classical allusion was not lost on the New West End electorate of the time. It will be remembered that the unfortunate huntsman Actaeon, stumbling accidentally on Diana and her nymphs while they were bathing, was turned by the wrathful goddess into a stag and was promptly torn to pieces by his own fifty hunting dogs. Franklin deplored the use of 'ultra-orthodox' as a term of reproach. "Do the 'advanced liberals,' as they delight to call themselves," he wrote, "think that the 'orthodox' would not hail with as great satisfaction as themselves, any improvement in ritual, liturgy, or public worship? They are quite ready for it and prepared to assist in bringing it about — provided the final sanction be left to a duly appointed Ecclesiastical Chief."

Nathan Adler had not long since died and preparations were being made to appoint his successor. The arguments were thus also bound up with suggestions for limiting the authority of an incoming Chief Rabbi. Hermann Adler was elected with his rights and privileges confirmed, as far as the United Synagogue was concerned, as provided in the United Synagogue's Deed of Foundation and Trust of January 13 1871, with the exception, having the Reform secession of 1840 in mind, that the Chief Rabbi should on no account pronounce cherem against anyone. At every subsequent election of a Chief Rabbi similar rights and conditions have been applied, with the alteration, in 1948, before Rabbi Brodie's election, of a retiring age of 70 instead of a life appointment, on the initiative of Sir Robert Waley Cohen. On each occasion, too, a form of advisory body has been suggested or appointed, but Rabbi Brodie, soon after his appointment, said very simply that he would willingly consult the Advisory Committee, but he would make his own decisions.

The decisions of a Chief Rabbi are based — and this must be kept in mind when considering controversies — on certain specified privileges, of which the two most important in this context are, as printed in the 1948 electoral committee recommendations[21]:

(1) The form of worship in each of the Synagogues, and all religious observances in the Synagogues, shall be in accordance with the principles of orthodox Judaism, and all matters of religious administration of the Synagogues shall be under the supervision and control of the Chief Rabbi.

(2) No person shall be permitted to preach in any Synagogue of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth and Empire if the Chief Rabbi has notified in writing his objection thereto, nor shall any Minister (including Preachers and Chazanim) be in future appointed to any such Synagogue without the approval of the Chief Rabbi.

Among the Duties of the Office is "to grant certificates of his approval of the religious and moral fitness of candidates for the Ministry (including Preachers and Chazanim)."

The 1892 'modification' proposals followed much the same pattern as those of 1880. Dr. Hermann Adler had known of the impending requests and had discussed the contingency with Lord Rothschild before his appointment. It was the Central, New West End, Borough and Hampstead Synagogues who opened the ball this time. Dr Adler called a Conference of Preachers of the Provincial and Metropolitan Congregations under his pastoral charge to consider the proposals with him, the first such conference ever held in London.

Before the Conference, for its discussion, was a Report on the Rabbinate by the Council of the United Synagogue in 1891, which was ratified by the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, and in which the hope was expressed that "the question of Synagogue Ritual and Practice may be solved to the benefit and advancement of the religious wellbeing of the entire Community, and consistently with the maintenance of the traditional observances of our ancient faith."

The Preachers' Conference met for four days, and they had the benefit of the advice also of Dr Michael Friedlander, the learned principal of Jews' College. Dr Adler's reply was printed as a pamphlet: *The Ritual — the Reply of the Chief Rabbi*, in June 1892. "The following principle," he wrote, "has guided me in my decisions. I have given my sanction to those alterations which do not violate any statute (Din) of traditional Judaism, and which do not affect our statutory Liturgy. I have accorded my assent to these propositions in consequence of the communication you [the congregations] made to me, which was emphatically endorsed by your Ministers, that such modifications in the Ritual were earnestly desired by a majority of your members, who have expressed their opinion on the subject. . . . But it must be distinctly understood that the adoption of the suggestions sanctioned by me is entirely optional on the part of other congregations. . . ." Dr Adler lists the proposals of the synagogues and gives his reasons in each case for either assent or dissent. It should be stressed that the proposals of the synagogues, as before, were largely on matters of practice and not of theology.

During this same period the Chief Rabbi was meeting a more individual challenge, however. As I briefly mentioned a moment ago, the man whose cap was in the ring was the Rev Morris Joseph. Joseph had been minister of the North London Synagogue from 1868 to 1874 and then, until 1882, minister of the Liverpool Hebrew Congregation, returning to London through ill-health. He was a preacher of eloquence and a writer with some critical views on traditional Judaism.

In 1889 the birth-pangs began, severer than in most other cases, of the Hampstead Synagogue. Almost from the first, before anything solid was prepared, the question arose of modifications in the proposed services, such as the abolition of the duchan, the avoidance of the repetition of prayers, the Ten Commandments to be read on Sabbaths, more English for certain prayers, and girls' confirmation ceremonies such as were held at the Central Synagogue (Dr Adler had persuaded the Rev David Fay, at the Central Synagogue, to call them, not 'confirmation' services, but

simply 'special' services).[22] Reform was not intended, the second days of Festivals would be observed, and there would be no organ. The congregation would be under the ministerial guidance of the Chief Rabbi. The Hampstead story has been fairly told in the recent 75th birthday history, in 1967,[23] by the synagogue's minister, the Rev (now Rabbi) Raymond Apple, who touches on the split that occurred in the original committee because a faction had more radical ideas of revision and wanted an organ. The history restricts itself largely to the Hampstead Synagogue, of course, but there is more to be told about the breakaway movement.

While the original committee was still discussing ways and means, the dissidents, who have been, but should not be, confused with the Hampstead Synagogue, began their own 'Sabbath Afternoon Revised Services' at the old Town Hall in West Hampstead, conducted by Morris Joseph, with Algernon Lindo as organist, 22 February 1890.[24] Joseph prepared a 'modified' prayer-book for the 'Mincha' services, and in his inaugural sermon he justified breaks with the past to conform with the progress of man's thinking. He justified 'expediency' as an historical method from Moses onwards.[25] The *Jewish Chronicle*, commenting editorially in April 1890,[26] rejoiced that the Sabbath Afternoon Services had survived the ridicule which had first met them, and added: "We should bear in mind that the Hampstead movement is probably the first of its kind which has not gained external support by reason of exciting the *odium theologicum* . . . it is not without significance that the Rev Morris Joseph and Mr Israel Abrahams, who conduct the services, are on the teaching staff of Jews' College, an institution founded and maintained on strictly 'orthodox' lines."

The *Chronicle* was deluding itself. It had a tenderness for Israel Abrahams anyway, as he was one of its star writers since 1885, and in 1892 he began to contribute a famous literary causerie in its pages, signed by his initials, 'I.A.,' which went on for about 15 years. When, in 1892, the Hampstead Synagogue was ready, its committee (with important abstentions) proposed to appoint the Rev Morris Joseph as its minister. Dr Adler, to whom, as Chief Rabbi, the appointment was referred for confirmation, questioned Joseph personally and lengthily, but refused to give his assent. Joseph, in the course of a letter of self-defence published in the *Jewish Chronicle*,[27] stated:

"The Chief Rabbi declares me unfit for the ministry of one of his synagogues; *first*, because I have sanctioned the use of instrumental music at my Sabbath Afternoon Services; *secondly*, because I have publicly expressed a disbelief in the future revival of sacrifices, such disbelief being, in the judgment of the Chief Rabbi, opposed to the teachings of Scripture; and *thirdly*, because in several sermons . . . I have published views 'at variance with traditional Judaism' This is the head and front of my offending . . . . "

That may have been the 'head and front,' but what was not expressed was the pretty solid body behind it. Joseph fully realised what the position was and that the Chief Rabbi could not justifiably overlook the differences

between them. In fact, in his letter quoted above, Joseph had admitted that Dr Adler had no option but to inhibit him. What the historians to date have failed to develop is the full story of Morris Joseph's fallings away from Orthodoxy. At the annual meeting of Jews' College in April 1890, only two weeks after the *J.C.'s* apologia, it was reported[28] that "Mr S. S. Oppenheim said, with regret, that lately two of the teachers had not been acting up to the principle for which Jews' College had been established. In his opinion, and in that of many others, they were not fit to remain teachers. He hoped more care would be taken in future, that all the teachers should be good Jews.

"Dr Adler said that it would be best to speak plainly on this matter. Mr Oppenheim had alluded to two of the masters, the Rev Morris Joseph and Mr Israel Abrahams, on account of their connection with certain Sabbath afternoon services at the Hampstead Town Hall. Mr Oppenheim's observations could not apply to Mr Abrahams, who taught English and mathematics, and it was not for the Council to inquire into the religious principles of a gentleman, who gave instruction in these subjects. With respect to Mr Joseph, the case was different. The question raised by Mr Oppenheim did arise in regard to the teacher of homiletics, and it had exercised and occupied the attention and time of the Council. That body had unanimously resolved to inform Mr Joseph that he was called upon to teach his subject in accordance with the principles and rules of traditional Judaism, and they had received from him an answer that he would conform to the directions of the Council."

(Even this reply did not fully satisfy the orthodox critics of Joseph.)

A month or so later,[29] a "conference of seat-holders and others interested" in the Sabbath Afternoon Services was held. The chairman, Mr F. H. Harvey-Samuel, said that all doubts about the propriety of instrumental music at the Sabbath afternoon services had been dissipated by a sermon recently delivered by the Rev M. Joseph, and he went on to state with approval that men like the Rev Professor Marks, Mr F. D. Mocatta, Mr Claude Montefiore, and others had given the movement valuable support. The meeting was also addressed by Professor Marks, the Rev A. Löwy, also of the Reform Synagogue, and Oswald J. Simon, a passionate Reformer with an equally passionate yearning for conciliation with the Orthodox. Claude Montefiore, who was mentioned by the chairman, had far-ranging theological views, by then well known, which led him to the founding of the Liberal Synagogue later. He and Simon and Israel Abrahams had all been advertised speakers at the services.[30]

Heated controversy in the press over the Joseph episode included a defence of him by Oswald Simon in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*[31] on the grounds, said Simon, of theology. He was fully answered in the same journal by the Rev. Moses Hyamson, who, among other matters, put two points:

"If a gentleman refuses to read the ancient prayers, which express the sentiments of the major portion of the Jewish people of the present day, the Ecclesiastical authorities have, by the constitution of the United Syna-

gogue, as much right to inhibit him as the authorities of the Church of England have to inhibit a clergyman who refuses to read the Liturgy." And, "This authority of the Chief Rabbi, it must be borne in mind, is not a tyranny imposed from without. It has been voluntarily and deliberately accepted by the community."

The Rev Morris Joseph arrived at the logical outcome of his beliefs when he was appointed Delegate Senior Minister of the Reform Synagogue in 1893, when the Rev Professor Marks retired.

The thirty years or so which followed 1882 saw vast changes in the composition of the Anglo-Jewish community because of the mass immigrations of Jews fleeing from the persecutions of Russia and Rumania. From about 65,000 Jews in Britain in 1880, the figure rose to over a quarter of a million by 1914.[32] A greater part of the immigrants, working class and extremely poor, were religiously Orthodox, among them Chassidim, bringing their old traditions to the over crowded quarters of the East End and other 'ghettoes' in provincial cities. There were other strata, of course, including small elements of politically conscious Socialists, many of them a-religious, and there were also followers of the maskillim, who surrendered religion to Hebrew nationalism. The orthodox element, helped by some small German immigration, intensified traditional feeling, giving a new twist to the Anglo-Jewish scene. There had been over the previous hundred years a number of chevra-type independent synagogues, but now the chevras proliferated to a degree which, combined in many cases with insanitary premises and the practice of what were described as 'clandestine marriages' and the giving of religious divorces (Get) which had no backing in civil law, caused concern to the more middle-class settled community, who sought some way, for their own sakes as much as those of the incomers, of bringing order out of chaos. The chief result was the establishment of the Federation of Minor Synagogues ('minor' being a euphemism for 'chevra') in 1887, largely if not mainly through the efforts of Samuel Montagu, the local M.P. and a pillar of the United Synagogue. For reasons of cost and also because to so many of them Anglo-Jewish orthodoxy as represented even by the United Synagogue was almost akin to Reform, the East End chevra members were not likely to join the older-established body.

This last consideration affected some other, smaller groups of 'ultra-orthodox,' the Machzike Hadath, officially established in 1891, and, emerging from a secession from the Machzike Hadath, the Adath Yisroel, which was enlarged by affiliations into the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations in 1926. There have been sporadic controversies between all these three and the United Synagogue which should perhaps not be called 'religious' but rather 'procedural'.

At various times these controversies have appeared as challenges to the dominating position of the United Synagogue in relation to such questions as the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbinate, or the Beth Din or the Shechita Board or other vehicles of ecclesiastical supervision. 'Dominating' is not to be taken here in a pejorative sense, as, besides being by far the largest

body concerned, the United Synagogue has regularly borne the lion's share of the financial burdens involved in supporting such institutions.

Shechita as a subject has itself provided more than enough meat for controversy, well before the United Synagogue, including doubts by the ultra-Orthodox about the strength of the Beth Din's level of kashruth in relation to it, libel actions by dissatisfied butchers, and complaints by Jewish housewives about the too high price of kosher meat. There is a fascinating leader in the *Jewish Chronicle*, for example, calling for the breaking of the wholesale butchers' monopoly and a reduction in the 'meat tax' so that poor Jewish housewives can buy meat more cheaply and avoid buying trefa meat; the date of the leader is 1850! And in the 1950s we reached a pitch in England where a few Jews, apparently frightened by one of the recurring attacks — which to me are always for suspect motives — from outside the community, had ideas of inducing a campaign against the very practice of shechita.[33]

The Beth Din as understood as the Ecclesiastical Court of the Chief Rabbi has been subject to challenge, and other synagogal bodies have set up, or threatened to set up, their own Batei Din in rivalry to it. There are some Batei Din, not of the United Synagogue, which work in co-operation with the Chief Rabbi's Court, in London and the Provinces, and sometimes criticism has been deflected from the Chief Rabbi to the Beth Din for alleged faults. A letter in the *Jewish Guardian* in 1929,[34] in fact, asked what had happened to the Chief Rabbi, as so much authority seemed to have been arrogated to itself by the Beth Din, in public pronouncements on various questions, as to eliminate the supposed Ab Beth Din altogether. It was an odd accusation to make with regard to the pugnacious Dr. Hertz, who was certainly very conscious, and rightly, of the duties and privileges of Chief Rabbi.

No full history of the Federation of Synagogues has yet been published. There is a summary from the minutes of the early years by the Secretary, J. E. Blank, and a very brief book by Cecil Roth covering only the years 1912 to 1937.[35] When Samuel Montagu laudably brought together a number of chevras into the Federation in 1887, he caused the first Lord Rothschild, his cousin and rival in many spheres and at the same time president of the United Synagogue, to be elected also president of the Federation, taking for himself the title of chairman.[36] Lord Rothschild was apparently destined to be the 'link-man' between the two bodies, to reassure both sides, especially as it had been openly declared at the United Synagogue that Montagu's scheme was a patent attempt at rivalry. Montagu denied this, but the fears were revived when, at a very early meeting of the Board of the Federation, the word 'Minor' was dropped from the title. Rothschild also offended the choleric Montagu at a meeting of the United Synagogue Council, when he opposed a demand by the Federation for immediate representation on the Burial Board and the Shechita Board (representation on the latter would have meant a share of the annual surplus, which the Federation had as yet done nothing to merit), and when Rothschild, as chairman, justly reproved Montagu

during the debate, the latter rushed from the meeting, declaring "I will never again co-operate with your Lordship on any Committee".[37] Montagu then deprived Rothschild of the title of president of the Federation, demoting him to 'Honorary President,' while he himself assumed the presidency.[38] It was about ten years before the Federation obtained representation on the Shechita Board, and relations between the Federation and the United have been uneasy ever since.

The story of the Machzike Hadath has been told at length by Dr Bernard Homa in his book *A Fortress in Anglo-Jewry*[39] and it is also touched on in his further work *Orthodoxy in Anglo-Jewry* 1880-1940.[40] Dr Homa's book is that of a loyal partisan of the Machzike Hadath, with a formidable talent. A short factual account of the controversy on the Machzike Hadath's 14-year struggle from 1891 to 1905 to establish separate shechita outside the supervision of the Chief Rabbi is given in Vivian Lipman's *Social History of the Jews of England* 1850-1950. Their final compromise with the Chief Rabbi led to the secession from them of a diehard North London group, which became the Adath Yisroel, still refusing to accept any authority of the Chief Rabbi.

Both the Federation and the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations predictably appointed their own head Rabbis (at its beginning the Federation acknowledged the authority of Dr Adler) but the turnover at the Federation has been rapid not only in terms of principal Rabbis but also in rumours of Rabbis in more recent times. These have alternated or coincided with other suggestions of a separate Beth Din or of extended representation on the Chief Rabbi's Beth Din. This kind of demand, which in certain circumstances I think could be justified, is, however, from time to time linked with similar suggestions about alterations to the Board of Deputies' constitution, especially clause 43, under which the Board is obliged to consult, on certain religious matters, the duly constituted religious authorities the Chief Rabbi and the Haham. The alterations demanded are such as to expand the definition of 'religious authorities' to others besides these two functionaries.[41]

One such effort was made, in both respects, by the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations in 1929-30. It was suggested that the Beth Din should be enlarged, to be composed of four United Synagogue Dayanim, two Federation Dayanim, and two Union Dayanim.[42] The Chief Rabbi would be Ab Beth Din, extra to the four 'United' Dayanim. It is this sort of disproportionate demand that has aborted so many overtures: the United Synagogue at that time represented about 30,000 members, the Federation perhaps half that number, and the Union well under 2,000. Both the Federation and the Union at about the same time sought a change in the Deputies' constitution to enable their Rabbis to be included among the recognised authorities with the Chief Rabbi. They did not succeed, but at this very moment the 'right' is being emulated by the 'left' and we are witnessing an attempt to change clause 43 in the interests of the Liberal Synagogue. The thought processes are a little different, however, to the Adath the Chief Rabbi does not represent enough; to the Liberals he represents too much.[43]

The nineteenth century closed with one more religious conflict under way. Led by Claude G. Montefiore — the 'G' stands for 'Goldsmid,' by the way — it was to assume an intellectual rather than popular plane. Montefiore called it 'New Judaism', which identified it as Reform, and he wrote a series of articles on it in the *Contemporary Review*. He earned criticism for this from the *Jewish Chronicle*, which described Reform as "Judaism with the distinctive elements left out". Montefiore's reply, in 1882, explained his philosophy; "the only point in which [Reformers] believe themselves to differ from the various peoples in whose lands they live lies in their religious doctrines and rites" and "a religion bound up with and dependent upon a dead nationality is in their eyes a doomed anachronism." These two points together led, he said, to Reformed Judaism. Jewish mass opinion showed itself in East London when Montefiore made an unsuccessful bid to represent the district on the London School Board. His friend Oswald Simon put down the adverse vote to Jewish 'bigotry.'[44]

Claude Montefiore and the Hon. Lily Montagu, daughter of Samuel Montagu, Lord Swaythling, founded the Jewish Religious Union in 1902. At first it was thought to be an independent movement for the encouragement of Judaism, and the Rev Simeon Singer, the Rev A. A. Green, and the Rev J. F. Stern were all associated with it for a short time. They all resigned within the year. Montefiore had conducted its services with men and women sitting together, with himself hatless and without a tallith.[45] In 1909, when it added the words "for the advancement of Liberal Judaism" to its title, it was referred to in the press as a "new religion" and a "new sect" in Judaism; the Chief Rabbi called it "a menace to Judaism." A synagogue was acquired in 1911, and the movement changed its name in 1944 to the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, as, like Reform, it had acquired some further congregations. As an emergency measure in 1934, owing to the darkening political scene, especially the rise of Nazism, which was vitally affecting Jewry, Dr Hertz, the then Chief Rabbi, certified it as a synagogue for the purposes of the Marriage Act, although he added that he strongly disapproved their religious practices and principles and took no responsibility for the legality or otherwise in Jewish law of their ritual acts.

Dr Hertz was bitterly criticised in Orthodox circles, but I think that in this instance he was wiser than his critics and foresaw the course that Nazism was taking — a context in which 'Orthodox' and 'Liberal' for Jews were to become meaningless — the 'blackshirt' movement in this country was becoming a menace, and it was better not to start public discussion on the promotion of a Parliamentary Bill which would otherwise have to be necessary.

Like his forerunners, Dr Hertz, Chief Rabbi from 1913 to 1946, had his individual challenges. There was the case of the Rev Dr Joseph Hockman, minister of the New West End Synagogue, whose views, which were in collision with those of Dr Hertz, found expression in the Jewish and general press in 1915. Dr Hockman was not a pacific man himself

and some of his actions were not calculated to retain the sympathy of his congregation either. Three old friends, all members of the synagogue, have told me, for example, of how he came to the service one morning straight from his horse in Rotten Row, wearing his riding breeches, with the inevitable result of a row with his warden. On another occasion, when Dr Hertz had asked ministers if they would grow a beard, Dr Hockman, who already had a beard, shaved it off.

Dr Hockman had succeeded the late Rev Simeon Singer at the New West End Synagogue, and it appears that he found it difficult to live up to his predecessor's reputation, a not unknown state of affairs. His sermons bore the marks of incipient Reform, and his resignation was suddenly announced in the Jewish press in August 1915,[46] when he was 32, as he felt himself "unable to bring his views into harmony with the standpoint of the synagogue." Suspicious-minded readers of the *Jewish Chronicle*, like myself, would have noticed, however, the coincidence of a letter in that paper a fortnight earlier, under a pseudonym, attacking the United Synagogue, its Act of Parliament, its Deed of Foundation and Trust, and the Chief Rabbi, Dr Hertz. It called for a "crusade" [sic] "to rouse our community." Dr Hockman, after his resignation, explained his views — essentially Reform — to the *Jewish Chronicle*, and to the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* and the *Christian Commonwealth* as well, and the story was retold in the *Daily Telegraph*. During many weeks of correspondence he was defended by the Rev Morris Joseph, Oswald Simon, and, in a private letter, by Israel Abrahams, who, said Hockman, declared that "the United Synagogue is liable to become detrimental to a sincere Judaism." Opposing Hockman, among others, were Rabbi Dr Salis Daiches, the Rev Dr D. de Sola Pool, of New York, and Second-Lieutenant Herbert Loewe, of Exeter College, Oxford.

An anonymous correspondent, defending Dr Hockman, compared his treatment with that of Morris Joseph and blamed synagogue wardens in general for their authoritarian attitude to ministers as soon as they got into the box. Dr Hockman retired from the ministry, forestalling an anticipated broadside from the Chief Rabbi.

On the other hand, Dr Hertz, by increased contacts abroad, gave a new dimension to the Chief Rabbinate, and the international respect was increased after his famous 'Battle for the Sabbath at Geneva,' lasting over the years 1924 to 1931. In a paper delivered to the Jewish Historical Society of England in December 1931 Dr Hertz described all the circumstances in which he successfully led the opposition to the 'calendar reform' sponsored by a League of Nations Special Committee, which would have destroyed the regular seven-day-week cycle and led to a roaming Sabbath for Judaism and other religions.

Another minister, the Rev J. F. Stern, Emeritus Minister of the East London Synagogue, as recorded in the United Synagogue Council minutes,[47] earned a strong rebuke for preaching at the Reform Synagogue in 1928.

The latest episode in the catalogue of conflict with a Chief Rabbi will no doubt be in the minds of all who hear this paper. It is called 'the Jacobs affair' because it concerns Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs, and the controversy to which it gave rise has been expressed in the press in strident terms. Rabbi Israel Brodie, Chief Rabbi 1948-1965 and now Emeritus Chief Rabbi, and a K.B.E., and others have been accused of the supposed 'crime' of being 'fundamentalists' because they supported the traditional view of Biblical Law, which in some respects has been questioned by Dr Jacobs in what is claimed to be a more 'modern' interpretation but which has mostly been said by others before. The opportunity was also taken by some supporters of Dr Jacobs to cast in doubt the title of 'Chief Rabbi' as a conception unknown to Jewish tradition. This piece of reactionary semantics, which ignores the force of long accepted practice, implies that the Chief Rabbis of England are not therefore Chief Rabbis, and that their decisions, which include inhibitions on other Rabbis, are no decisions — from which it follows that every Rabbi is and must be his own authority. I think that is a fair summing up.

A full historical appraisal is, however, not yet practicable, as this controversy only occurred in the 1960s and still erupts from time to time. The danger of judging too close to events, or maybe of relying too much on press propaganda, is shown in a very recent summarising by an American social historian, Dr Lloyd P. Gartner, speaking at the Anglo-American Jewish Historical Conference in London in July 1970. After referring to North Atlantic religious movements and the United States' 'innovative role,' he said: "Several years ago a sharp controversy stirred Anglo-Jewry over the possibility that Conservative Judaism on the American model might be introduced. The opposition rested not only on religious grounds; the possibility was readily envisaged that the communal structure would break down, since one of its foundations was official Orthodoxy under a Chief Rabbinate."[48]

Sir Israel Brodie has, however, given a sober account of events in his book, published in 1969, *The Strength of My Heart*, where he reprints his "Statement to Rabbis and Ministers" of 5 May 1964.[49]

Dr Jacobs, who held an Orthodox ministry in Manchester, came to the New West End Synagogue as minister in 1954, a post he held till 1959. During this period, says Rabbi Brodie, "A number of times during his ministry . . . I felt obliged to speak to Dr Jacobs regarding his views which he had expressed on particular occasions which were inappropriate for a Rabbi." But he described his support of Dr Jacobs as "an act of faith." From 1959 to 1962 Rabbi Jacobs was Tutor and Lecturer at Jews' College, but, stated Rabbi Brodie, "That I did have misgivings in respect of the appointment of Dr Jacobs at Jews' College [of which the Chief Rabbi is president] is shown by my decision not to allow him to lecture on Bible studies — the subject on which Dr Jacobs was going astray."

Against Dr Jacobs's expectations, according to what he is said to have understood as a promise when he was appointed Lecturer, the Chief Rabbi refused to agree to his appointment as principal of the College when Rabbi

Dr Isidore Epstein retired in 1961. Dr Jacobs resigned, but his reappointment to the ministry of the New West End Synagogue, which was requested, was inhibited by the Chief Rabbi, who acted with unchallengeable authority, because of Rabbi Jacobs's declared views. Supporters of Dr Jacobs resigned from the New West End Synagogue and, with sympathisers, set up an independent synagogue in St. John's Wood with Dr Jacobs as their minister. They too thus followed the logic of their attitude.

It would be a mistake to believe that all the movements have been towards secession from the authority of the Chief Rabbi. There have been attempts at accession to his authority, some of them on the part of Sephardim who have either been tired of the long intervals when there was no Haham or wanted some other way of bringing about a desired "unity but not uniformity" in a divided community. The most important was during that active period of 1890, when it was necessary to elect a new Chief Rabbi.

Lord Rothschild received a long and important letter, unofficially, signed by F. D. Mocatta, Sir Philip Magnus, Alfred L. Cohen, Samuel Montagu, M.P. (president of the Federation of Synagogues), Herbert G. Lousada, and Alfred H. Beddington, who among them covered a wide spectrum of synagogue affiliation.[50] They asked Lord Rothschild to invite the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, the Federation of Synagogues, the West London (Reform) Synagogue, and other metropolitan and provincial synagogues to join with the United Synagogue in a Consultative Committee to consider "a comprehension of the English Jews under the guidance of one presiding Chief Rabbi, who shall be the Chief Spiritual Adviser of all the Jews residing in the British Empire" with "a certain latitude to individual congregations within well-defined limits to vary the present order of Divine Service in some details." Synagogues outside the United Synagogue would nevertheless retain their individual autonomy.

It needs no extra-sensory perception to see that this would invite some Orthodox opposition, the most prominent expression of it residing in a letter to Lord Rothschild signed by 136 members of the Bayswater Synagogue,[51] who said that the proposal would degrade the high office of Chief Rabbi and weaken its authority. Lord Rothschild and Samuel Montagu proposed and seconded respectively a resolution at the Council of the United Synagogue[52] to call the meeting to consider the 'letters' (a carefully placed plural, one would think), and they persuaded Charles Samuel to withdraw an amendment he had proposed giving the immediate 'go-ahead' for the Chief Rabbi's election. Surprisingly, Asher Myers, another member of the Council, opposed — unsuccessfully — the withdrawal of this amendment. I say "surprisingly" because, while this was faithfully reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*, of which Myers was editor, that same *Chronicle* had a short leader[53] praising Samuel's "prudence and wisdom" in withdrawing it! This illustrates a trend I have found in the *Chronicle* of those days in what I can only describe as the 'editor-owner syndrome.' Myers's fellow-owner at that time was Israel Davis, whose

views I imagine were at variance with Myers's. The leader columns[54] also subsequently regretted the turning down by the Sephardim and the Reformers[55] of the invitation sent by Lord Rothschild. Lucien Wolf at the same time made a proposal for a 'United Synagogue' for each section throughout the country, each to have its own 'Chief Rabbi,' but all to be federated by means of a 'Supreme Representative Council', whose nucleus might be the Board of Deputies, the Ashkenazim to elect a Supreme Rabbi and Beth Din for themselves.[56]

The election of Hermann Adler as Chief Rabbi drew, because of the heated debates which preceded it, an unexpected tribute — from our old Reform friend Oswald Simon. He wrote a special article on his first visit to the famous New Year overflow services for poor people and immigrants at the Jews' Free School, where 2,000 congregants was normal.[57] He wrote, "If . . . [the refugees] were encouraged in the belief that an English Chief Rabbi is not different from a Polish Rav, those who encouraged it would be parties to an act of retrogression and stagnation unparalleled in history. Every Russian or Polish born Israelite who has found his way to England and desires to remain must be persuaded that it is his duty to become part of us, not to be a dead weight round our necks. With this in view it is of supreme importance that the United Synagogue, who are recognising their duty to our brethren in East London, should represent the whole and undivided strength of the Anglo-Jewish community. Our new Chief Rabbi ought to be invested with an authority which signifies that he is the representative of the English Jew . . . We will not have an East End Judaism and a West End Judaism. But let us present the spectacle of a united house of Israel in England . . ."

One should perhaps not make judgments in an historical review, but I cannot help feeling that a lot of controversy in our community would have been avoided by a better knowledge by the public of the Chief Rabbinate, its powers and its functions, and of the steady and sober spirit, a mirror of its environment, which lies behind most of the progress of 'Anglo-Judaism.' It is an office still envied by thinking Jews in the U.S.A. and elsewhere; it is an office we may well need in the future when the subterranean dialogue, which is occurring between Israel and the Diaspora Jews, really comes to the surface. That will be the biggest controversy of all, and if we are to come through it with Judaism and Jewry intact we shall need a true focal point. When in 1948 I said that there is going to be a great danger of drift between us in the Diaspora and the Israelis I was strongly attacked by some English Zionists. I still stick to my view.

But first of course we must try to put our own house in order. I conclude with some words of a sermon delivered in Sunderland many years ago by the Rev A. A. Green, that redoubtable man who had the unenviable job of coming in on the heels of the Joseph controversy at Hampstead[58]: "If," he said, "the principles of Judaism were more intelligently enunciated, such things as synagogue services would right themselves in their own way in their own time."

NOTES ON SOURCES

[1] See statement by Rabbi John Rayner, chairman of the Council of Liberal and Reform Rabbis, in *Jewish Chronicle* (hereinafter referred to as *JC*), 5 March 1971, p. 21. However, an authoritative estimate has been given since this paper was delivered by Mr. Harry Landy, joint treasurer of the United Synagogue, when he spoke at a B'nai B'rith symposium in London on 17 November 1971. Using the official statistics on returns of membership of synagogues represented at the Board of Deputies of British Jews (of which he is also treasurer), he pointed out that the Reform and Liberal congregations formed 11½% of the Anglo-Jewish community.

[2] See *A History of the Jews in England*, by Cecil Roth (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964 edition), p. 257, Hyamson, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[3] Even Cecil Roth, the leading Anglo-Jewish historian of the twentieth century, in his *History of the Great Synagogue* (p. 254), accepts explicitly the view that this began only as a Sephardi matter. After referring to a sharp controversy in 1848 over the Great Synagogue's stringent conditions about the burial of Benjamin Elkin, a member who had hotly defended the Reform movement, he says: "Previous to this the controversy had been an *internal* affair of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. . . ." (my italics).

[4] Roth, *op. cit.*, gives the date as 1822 (p. 252), but James Picciotto, in *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (ed. Israel Finestein, Soncino Press, 1956, p. 362, but first published 1872-1875), gives it as 1821.

[5] See *JC*, 25 April 1890, p. 8.

[6] See *JC*, 27 June 1890, p. 15.

[7] Arthur Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[8] C. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[9] 24 January 1890, p. 13.

[10] Arthur Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–6.

[11] See *JC*, 10 July 1874, p. 237.

[12] *Idem.*, 17 July 1874.

[13] See, *e.g.*, *JC*, 8 February 1884, p. 12; 15 February 1884, p. 4; 22 February 1884, p. 5.

[14] *Idem.*, 22 April 1881.

[15] I here express my indebtedness to the United Synagogue and its secretary, Mr N. Rubin, and his staff for the facility afforded me to consult the archives in which this and other quoted letters are to be found.

[16] See *JC.*, 14 February 1890.

[17] 25 April 1890, p. 17.

[18] 16 May 1890.

[19] 18 April 1890, pp. 7, 8.

[20] See *JC.*, 23 May 1890, p. 5.

[21] Issued from the United Synagogue office, London, 5 February 1948, p. 4.

[22] See *JC*, 7 June 1889, p. 1 (advertisement) and p. 11.

[23] *The Hampstead Synagogue 1892–1967*, by Raymond Apple (Vallentine, Mitchell 1967).

[24] See *JC*, 20 December 1889, p. 17; 27 December 1889, p. 4; and 28 February 1890, p. 11. The original Hampstead congregation, on the other hand, was formally admitted the 13th constituent of the United Synagogue on Monday, 21 July 1890.

[25] See *JC*, 14 February 1890, p. 16, and 28 February 1890, p. 16.

[26] 11 April 1890, p. 5.

[27] See R. Apple, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26, and note 4, p. 106, with references to *JC*. Full references to the Joseph controversy are to be found in the *JC Index 1881–1890*, by J. M. Shaftesley.

[28] See *JC*, 2 May 1890, p. 14, and 16 May 1890, p. 8.

[29] *Idem.*, 23 May 1890, p. 7.

[30] *Idem.*, 20 December 1889, p. 17.

[31] Vol. V, "Authority and Dogma in Judaism," pp. 231 ff., 469 ff., 715.

[32] See *Social History of the Jews of England 1850–1950*, by Vivian D. Lipman (Watts, 1954), p. 103.

[33] This statement is based on private approaches that were made to me during that period, when I was Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

[34] 1 January 1929: "Where is the Chief Rabbi?", a letter by "Memor".

[35] Published by the Federation of Synagogues in 1937.

[36] Anglo-Jewish historians and other writers have almost invariably accepted uncritically the incorrect "fact" that Samuel Montagu was the first president of the Federation of Synagogues. Lord Rothschild was the first president, as I state, parallel with his presidency of the United Synagogue, and the full story emerges quite clearly from the several reports in the Jewish press at the time. Cf. *JC*, 20 January 1888, pp. 5 and 13.

[37] See *JC*, 7 December 1888, pp. 5 and 9, and 14 December 1888, p. 11, Cf. also the obituary of Dr Asher Asher, United Synagogue secretary, 11 January 1889, p. 6.

[38] *Idem.*, 14 December 1888, p. 12 (report of Spital Square Synagogue meeting), and 25 January 1889, p. 12.

[39] Published by Shapiro, Vallentine, 1953.

[40] Published by the Jewish Historical Society of England, 1969.

[41] Since this paper was delivered, clause 43 has been amended to permit consultation with the Reform and Liberal congregations' own religious leaders on religious matters *concerning them*. This, however, has offended Federation Synagogues and Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations' deputies, who have resigned in protest. (Both these bodies, incidentally, have also set up their own Batei Din.)

[42] There were protracted negotiations over these demands. The late B. A. Fersht, then secretary of the Council of the Jewish War Memorial, whose chairman was Sir Robert Waley Cohen, president of the United Synagogue, attended the discussions early in 1929 and wrote privately about the proceedings (I have been privileged to see his letter). He had received a summary of their demands from Mr Kestenbaum, leader of the Union's deputation of five to Sir Robert, and in the list it is quite plain that they asked for two Dayanim, whose salaries, however, they offered to pay. The estimates of the joint secretaries of the United Synagogue at the time of the membership of the Union were rather less than I have allowed.

[43] See note 55.

[44] See *JC*, 30 November 1888, p. 6.

[45] *Idem.*, 9 November 1951, p. 5.
[46] On this and the subsequent events referred to, the *JC* carried reports and letters to the editor over a long period from August 1915.
[47] Council meeting held on 17 July 1928.
[48] See *Migration and Settlement* (rapporteur, Aubrey Newman; published Jewish Historical Society of England 1971), "North Atlantic Jewry", by L. Gartner, p. 118.
[49] Published by G. J. George, London, 1969. See pp. 343–355.
[50] See *JC*, 25 April 1890, pp. 9, 11–13; 9 May 1890, pp. 9–10; and 6 June 1890, p. 7.
[51] *Idem.*, 9 May 1899, p. 10.
[52] The Council meeting was held on Tuesday, 6 May 1890 and reported in the *JC* on 9 May 1890, p. 11.
[53] *Idem.*, p. 13.
[54] *Idem.*, 13 June 1890, p. 5.
[55] For the Reformers' reasons, see reports of meetings of the West London Congregation of British Jews in *JC*, 2 May 1890, p. 11, and 27 June 1890, p. 15. The *JC* expressed the view that both congregations were wrong to refuse, in editorials on 13 June 1890, p. 5, and 20 June 1890, p. 11.
[56] *Idem.*, 4 July 1890, p. 5.
[57] *Idem.*, 19 September 1890, p. 8.
[58] *Idem.*, 2 November 1888, p. 14.

GROWTH AND CHANGE

by Dr Aubrey Newman, M.A.

As I was saying the last time I spoke in this series, and before I was interrupted — by Mr Finestein, Dr Lipman, and Rabbi Apple — the changes in the United Synagogue between 1870 and 1970 have been largely determined by the events which brought the United Synagogue to life. If, on the one hand, it did not spring full-grown from the brains of Lionel Louis Cohen and Asher Asher, rather developing from the events and trends of the previous generation or so, on the other it was not exactly a new-born squalling infant, since it obviously had certain trends, needs, patterns of development already built into it. It developed and changed over the years. Some of its early activities decayed and withered away, while others took on new life. But, essentially, during this hundred years, the institution remained recognisably what it had always to be, a group of synagogual bodies serving the needs of the Jewish community of London.

Within that framework, however, there are certain developments to which I would particularly wish to draw attention. To some extent they have already been alluded to in the three papers I have already mentioned, while there are others to which attention will be drawn by later speakers in this series.

One of the most important aspects was taken by Mr. Finestein as the keynote of his lecture, the cousinhood of the early leaders of the United Synagogue. This is, in fact, a vital, perhaps *the* vital, factor in the way in which the United Synagogue developed. It was not merely that all the principal officers knew each other, or even were related to each other; all of us, after all, have relations to whom, at any particular moment, we are not on good terms. Nor is it merely that all these leaders came from one particular group of society, although that obviously had a great deal to do with the sorts of assumptions these leaders made, when faced with certain sorts of problems. Obviously, however, when one of these leaders was faced with opposition and thereupon threatened that if he did not get his way, not only would he resign, but he would make sure that no-one from the family of which he was head would ever have anything to do with the United Synagogue again, this sort of threat would have a great effect upon the opposition.

But what I have in mind is much more subtle: for something like three-quarters of a century the leadership of the United Synagogue was in the hands of a group of people accustomed to meeting informally at social gatherings, as well as at the official meetings of the Council and the Executive Committee; in the hands of people who had certain basic assumptions about their sort of religious organisation; and in the hands of people accustomed to making decisions without the need to have those decisions questioned by others.

This is the period that had been described as the period of the 'Grand-Dukes', the era when the grand figures of Anglo-Jewry, or of London

Jewry, laid down the law for the benefit of their brethren. It was not a pattern without changes, for the historian of the United Synagogue can see — I can assure you that as this almost mythical being, I can see it very clearly indeed — that there are many changes of emphasis within that period; but this does present one of the essential factors to any sort of discussion of the changes within the United Synagogue in this first century.

The second aspect, to which also I must return, was that dealt with by Dr Lipman, the physical growth of London Jewry, the way in which not merely the numbers of Jews in the Metropolis have grown, but the areas of their physical distribution. In my first lecture, I made some comment about the numbers of members of the United Synagogue in 1870 and the numbers of Constituent Synagogues; compare that with the figures for 1970. This is a factor which inevitably dominates any discussion of the changes within the United Synagogue, for it is fundamental to its very being.

If, as I have suggested, the United Synagogue came into existence in order to provide adequately for the *religious* life of the members and would-be members of the main London Ashkenazi congregations, then one of the questions which must be discussed is the extent to which the United Synagogue has continued to fulfil this function. If, for the moment, I may dart ahead of myself, may I point out certain relevant facts. Undoubtedly one of the main impressions received from reading through volumes of Council minute books — or even long and careful abstracts of those minute books prepared by a research assistant — is the emphasis laid upon buildings and finance; the detail prepared for members about repairs, expenditures, and the possibilities of new buildings would seem, on first impression, to come from an organisation divorced from religion. Even such an event as a decision by the Council in 1939, concerning the holding of German language Friday evening services, a decision which involved a vote of no-confidence in its honorary officers, a decision followed by the resignation of its entire body of honorary officers, seems lost in a welter of detail about new buildings. And yet, over a period of years, these are the details about the possible opening of synagogues in Edgware, Norrice Lea and Wembley. These petty details concern, in fact exactly the same needs as the earlier discussions of 1866, 1867, and 1868, so that the growths of population in London which originally brought about the foundation of the United Synagogue, continue to exercise the collective mind of the United Synagogue generations later. The total problem and the sums of money mentioned may be, indeed are, much greater, but the individual problem, the question of finding a synagogue in which the layman can worship with his fellows, remains the same a century later.

The third aspect was, of course, that dealt with by Rabbi Apple, the question of the religious leadership of the community, not in the context of today's lecture the broader Anglo-Jewish community, but the London one; not in the context of today's lecture the Adlers alone, but the broader

one of the Chief Rabbinate. For although the Chief Rabbinate antedates the United Synagogue and, of course, has a much wider field of responsibility than the United Synagogue, inevitably the relations between the Chief Rabbinate and the United Synagogue dominate both institutions. And, indeed, tied in with that is the whole question of the status of the Anglo-Jewish ministry. For although I have neither the time nor, indeed, in this lecture the inclination to deal in detail with the Jewish ministry — I must, after all, be allowed to reserve some of my gems for elsewhere and also allow someone else the opportunity of giving a lecture — I was indeed amused to discover in a report on the status of the ministry and Jews' College in 1881, the statement that the ministry was to all intents and purposes not a job for a Jewish boy; so early has that particular *canard* been uttered!

It is, of course, no secret, and therefore no revelation, that relations between the holders of the office of Chief Rabbi and the honorary officers of the United Synagogue have not always been cordial. Part of this is to be explained in terms of a clash of personalities; on both sides persons of the highest integrity, with the greatest respect for their opposite numbers, felt that issues had been raised which involved fundamental problems of Judaism or in which there were at stake not only the prestige but the very existence of their respective offices. It is no part of my purpose, here or elsewhere, to go into exacerbating details of these disagreements or to discuss the relationships between any of the parties and thus, by inference, comment on the others. But what must be said is that, no matter how deeply the animosities might and indeed did go, I have seen no evidence of anything other than a desire to maintain truth and honesty of purpose.

What is equally striking is the honesty of those individuals within the United Synagogue called on to make recommendations on the occasions of vacancies in the office of Chief Rabbi. Again, even where, by the lapse of time, the decisions and the discussions concerning those decisions are no longer necessarily confidential, I do not want here to enter into details, but I hope that I may be allowed to say that tremendous care went into the search, not to find a man who would be amenable, but a man who would adequately fill the place. Nonetheless, it will become obvious that there were to be many times within the history of the United Synagogue when these disagreements put the institution under strain, so that it is, for example, as legitimate to discuss the history of the United Synagogue in terms of the periods of office of the holders of the Chief Rabbinate, as in terms of any of the honorary officers of the institution.

The first of the problems, however, that I would like to discuss here this evening arises out of some of the issues raised, directly and indirectly, by Dr Lipman. The growth of London Jewry, both numerically and geographically, presented in itself one of the vital forces compelling change in the United Synagogue. A slow steady growth in constituent synagogues and in population was replaced by a sudden explosion, and between 1880 and 1914, the Jewish population of London increased at least fourfold. This increase brought with it many problems, not least of which was the

problem of bringing these new inhabitants of the East End under the umbrella of the United Synagogue. For the most part they were unwilling, either for reasons of poverty or lack of sympathy, to join the established congregations comparatively near at hand, such as the Great or the Hambro'. And even though the United Synagogue tried every inducement to persuade them into its own organisation, these attempts almost invariably failed. The Executive Committee, for example, was invited in 1889 to draw up a scheme:

"For the provision of further Synagogue accommodation in the East of London.

"For the enactment of such alterations in the present conditions of membership of the United Synagogue as may be best adapted to the circumstances of the majority of the Jewish resident population.

"For the establishment of such Benefit and Provident Societies in connection with such place or places of worship as will be likely to conduce to the communal and social welfare of the Jewish population in the East of London".

The report was presented a year later, and illustrates both the strengths and the weaknesses of the United Synagogue's approach to the problem. It was motivated by a spirit of superiority, and despite the glowing sentiments of its closing phrase — "All Jews are Brethren" — there is little brotherly about it. The report solemnly recited all that had already been done:[1]

> "The foundation of a synagogue at Stepney Green; the reduction of the marriage fee, enabling weddings to be solemnised for the sum of 10/6d.; and the reduction in the cost of funerals, so that the amount now levied, except in the case of first class funerals, is confined to the bare outlay incurred without making any charge for ground or for establishment expenses. In enumerating the measures which have contributed to the benefit and elevation of the poor in the East, prominence should also be given to the operations of the Four Per Cent Industrial Dwellings Company of which the President of the United Synagogue is the Chairman, and which arose out of the Committee appointed by the Council in 1885 to consider the circumstances affecting the social conditions of the poorer classes of Jews in East London. Finally, the solicitude of the Council for the spiritual welfare of the Jewish poor has been manifested year by year in the provision at its sole cost of religious services both in the East and West Central districts of London."

The Report attempted to analyse the problem posed by the concentration of foreign Jews round the Whitechapel Road.

> "They may be divided roughly into two classes: the one, forming the vast majority, who are closely attached to the ceremonies and forms of their religion, as they have been taught to practice them in the land of their birth; and the other, perhaps more difficult of treatment, though far less numerous, who respect few of the observances of their faith, and who are Jews by birth rather than by practice."

The report also, however, pointed out that the changes in the East End " . . . were not entirely only among the new, poorer classes of Jew.

"The migration of the wealthier classes of the community to all parts of London, distant from the centres occupied by the poor, has naturally tended to widen the gulf which divides the richer from the poorer classes of the community . . . Moreover, concurrently with the removal and distribution of the wealthy classes, the residence and sphere of action of many of the Jewish clergy has necessarily been in some degree removed from the poorer Jewish quarters. Whilst bearing willing testimony to the devotion with which our clergy apply themselves to administering to the wants of the poor, it is obvious that these very circumstances have rendered it absolutely impossible for them to give to this portion of their duties as much time as formerly. It must also be remembered that the qualifications which have been required in selecting ministers attached to Congregations consisting almost entirely of English Jews, have not been those which would render them specially acceptable to or influential with the number of foreign Jews in the East of London, under the altered circumstances which have arisen during the last ten to fifteen years."

The solution envisaged was the establishment of suitable organisations in the East End, the provision of ministers to live on the spot, the building of a synagogue to take the place of "the many unsuitable and unsanitary places where they now resort for Divine Worship", and the organisation of a Provident Society to cover the cost of funerals and make payments during the shiva week.

There was no call here for dispersion of Jews; indeed the Report envisaged that they would continue to reside in the East End. But great emphasis was placed upon the recruitment of a minister,

"a gentleman who, through his intimate knowledge of the habits and customs of Polish and other foreign Jews, will possess the necessary qualifications for the combined office of Dayan and Preacher, and whose character will, it is hoped, secure for him the esteem and respect of those to whose requirements he ministers. The want of such an official has been sadly felt. There is an immense field for such a minister in the East of London, and the Executive Committee earnestly hope that they may succeed in securing the services of a gentleman who, while studying the necessities of the poor, will elevate their social condition by inculcating lessons of morality, health, and cleanliness, and will, at the same time, minister to their spiritual wants in times of distress and affliction".

The scheme went on to recommend the creation of a very large synagogue, containing over 1,000 seats in the body of the building. Of these, 100 — at a rental of five guineas a year — were to be taken by gentlemen who were in sympathy with the idea of the synagogue, but the report added — "it is likely that these seats will rarely be occupied by their owners, most of whom will probably reside at a distance." Many of the others would be 'Free', while the rest would be subject to a nominal charge. The building would have cost about £20,000 and it was felt that

since such a charge would be too great for the United Synagogue an appeal would have to be made to the community at large. The Report concluded:

"The Executive Committee trust that the foregoing Report will enable the Council to grasp the nature of the task which they believe lies before it, and that by the adoption of the Scheme an efficient contribution will be made towards a better provision for the wants of the mass of the Jewish population in the East of London. It is not pretended that the labours of a minister, however zealous and respected, nor that the erection of a Synagogue, even of the capacity of the one proposed, will supply all that is required, but if the Community will rally to the support of the Council, and if, as is earnestly to be hoped, the new place of worship is appreciated and frequented by the Jews in the East End, at least an important beginning will have been made in grappling with one of the most pressing questions of the day, in so far as it affects all classes of the Anglo-Jewish Community. The institution of the Provident Society is one capable of expansion, almost without limit, but the erection of more Synagogues in the neighbourhood sought to be relieved must necessarily be a matter of time, and can only be continued as the circumstances of the moment may seem to require. The main problem, to the solution of which the Executive Committee have applied themselves, is to attract the Jews of all classes in the East of London, whether foreign or native, within the fold of the body politic; to give them membership in the representative institutions of the Community; and thus to afford them in a way alike conducive to the welfare of these Institutions, and creditable to themselves, that share in the government and administration of the great Communal establishments which attachment to the Community should properly confer, and which it is believed the poorer Jews desire and would appreciate, so as to give tangible and living expression to the sacred maxim that 'ALL JEWS ARE BRETHREN' ".

The scheme was a non-starter; it was, for example, subject to considerable delays. Not until 1891, two years after the idea had been first mooted, was a meeting of interested parties called, and the speeches as reported in the *Jewish Chronicle* reveal an outstanding degree of non-enthusiasm. Lord Rothschild, opening the meeting, commented:[2]

"... there live in close approximation to each other a large number of coreligionists, with what are called minor Synagogues — some of them are good synagogues — of their own, who, through the migration of Jews to other parts of the metropolis, are not now so much in touch with the whole congregation as they were years ago; and it is our duty to improve their position in every way. Many schemes have been discussed in various forms on various occasions. The scheme of the Executive Committee of the United Synagogue, which is now before you, received, I may say, the rough approval of the Council. It would have been my duty to have presented the scheme to you some time ago, but other events of importance, such as the election of a Chief Rabbi, intervened. It has been thought advisable to call you together at this opportunity

and to ask your opinion of the scheme in its entirety, and in its details. I cannot conceal from myself the fact that the day is not far distant when a scheme of some kind will have to be carried out. But I cannot also conceal from myself that there is little or no enthusiasm for the present scheme; and if I want proof I have it in this empty room, and in the few who have come here. If the scheme had met with enthusiasm, if the large mass of Jews in the metropolis had thought the present moment suitable for carrying it out, they would have sent their representatives here to pick holes in the scheme. I regret to find that there is little enthusiasm for the scheme at the present time. The reason can easily be understood. Great events are occurring in our history, and the community feels that greater calls than the one now under consideration will come upon them at no distant period. However much they may feel the necessity of improving the position of the Jews in the East End, it is possible that this year, when so many appeals are before us, they do not intend to support the scheme. No scheme of this kind can be successful if it does not meet with the moral and financial support of the whole Jewish community. Even if a munificent donor came forward and provided the whole of the money, we should not have attained our object unless it had the moral support of the community."

Another of the Honorary Officers, Noah Davis, urged the need for action.

"We, who have given our time to the scheme, believe that the class of people we propose to benefit are only accessible through religion. The Shool is the centre of their religious and their social life, and they can only be approached through the Shool. The United Synagogue is ready to take on itself the burden of maintaining the proposed synagogue, but it has not the means of erecting it without the help of the community at large. If the community is wanting in approval the present scheme must drop, but we cannot stand with our hands folded and do absolutely nothing. Events are marching rapidly. The habits of the foreign Jews in the East End, if not a menace, give rise to serious reflections on the community as a whole. Our motives are not wholly philanthropic; our own personal interests are involved, for we will have to take care of ourselves in looking after them."

Another speaker attacked the Federation — "a cause of the most cruel mischiefs inflicted on the best and truest interests of our community", and its chief minister who went about "preaching doctrines calculated to wed our foreign brethren to practice I might almost describe as superstitious. The time has come to substitute for these people a proper form of worship, and to adopt other means to bring them into the body politic."

Needless to say, Samuel Montagu was not slow to reply to the comments being made by Lord Rothschild (one of his cousins), Sir Julian Goldsmid (a cousin by marriage, albeit a little more remote), and Benjamin Cohen, his brother-in-law.

There were many reasons for the failure of this grandiose scheme, — apathy in London Jewry, opposition in the United Synogogue, and not

least of all, opposition from amongst the Federation synagogues whose members' objections ranged from their distaste for Anglicised worship to their ambition of holding in turn synagogal office. There were many who pointed out that this was the only way in which Samuel Montagu could attain a leading position in the community without for ever being in the shadow of his cousin. Lord Rothschild was honorary president of the Federation; but it is equally true that he was completely out of sympathy with them and that it was Montagu, later Lord Swaythling, who dominated them, maintained them, and kept their collective heads above water.

The East End scheme for a large synagogue collapsed, and looking back on it, it is just as well that it did. It was not merely that it was too big — despite objections that in many cities on the continent there were synagogues even bigger — perhaps I might wonder how the preachers would have got on without microphones — but that it would have proved very speedily indeed to have been an enormous white elephant, a drain on the resources not only of the United Synagogue but also of the community as a whole, costing so much and representing such an outlay as to prevent the community and the United Synagogue pushing forward with other schemes that would have been much more desirable. We can also draw the moral that so long as the West End patronised the East Enders, there would be antipathy. But as soon as the immigrants moved up in the social scale, and moved out of the East End and became Anglicised, they grew attached also to the symbol of Anglicisation in the United Synagogue.

If I have spent so much space and time on this one theme it is because it illustrates the way in which the United Synagogue for once did not wait for the desires of a group to express themselves, but tried to go one step in advance, and in so doing tried to give a section of the Jewish public not what it wanted, but what the United Synagogue thought was good for it.

In the event the needs of these East End communities were met in part by an adoption of the East End scheme for a new Beth Hamedrash and Beth Din, in part by the Federation, but in part also by the scheme for Associate Synagogues, a scheme "to enable the Council to assist on some footing less reciprocally onerous than that of full constituent membership the establishment of self-supporting Metropolitan Synagogues distant at least two miles from Whitechapel", it being hoped by the two who made the initial offer that it should be connected with the memory of those who were associated with the Foundation of the United Synagogue. The distinction thus created between the Constituent Synagogues, who bore the full burdens and responsibilities of maintaining communal institutions, and those who felt themselves unable to bear such burdens was one which has been continued, with the adoption in the place of that scheme, of the District Synagogue and the Associated Synagogue schemes.

At the same time, however, that the United Synagogue was pushing forward with these schemes for extending the range of its buildings, it was faced with the need to close down some existing bodies. The Hambro' Synagogue had already been closed, only to be reconstituted elsewhere, the New Synagogue was to be rebuilt in Stamford Hill to serve the growing

needs there of suburbia. And, as I have already shown, the details of estate management that appear in the papers of the United Synagogue Council meetings reveal, in fact the extent to which the United Synagogue was throughout this century prepared to foster new congregations, but was unwilling to enter into new commitments without seeing where it was going. On at least one occasion, just before the war, the United Synagogue was forced to bail out a congregation founded by another organisation in North-West London, and take it under its wing in order to prevent a public scandal, owing to a failure by others to meet the strict financial standards laid down by the United Synagogue itself.

All this is, of course, inherent in the origins of the organisation. It is often said that the United Synagogue nowadays exists only to build synagogues; if this is said in derogatory tones, then the answer must be that it was in order to build them that it was set up in the first place. It must also be said that it is after all one of the first necessities to create within the fluid London Jewish community the apparatus of communal life, and the place of assembly must be one of the first outward signs of that communal life. Indeed, looking back on the first century of the United Synagogue, whatever else can be said about the institution this must also be pointed out. The vast mass of London Jewry looks to the United Synagogue to provide this framework in a way one might not have expected some seventy-five years ago. If the immigrants of the 'eighties and 'nineties have been assimilated into Anglo-Jewry, it is the United Synagogue that has done the bulk of the work.

But building of synagogues was not, and is not, the sole purpose of the United Synagogue, and even from the outset there were other activities. The emphasis might change down the years and decades, but the other activities are always present. An interesting point is the way in which the purpose of a building to be put up has changed. An early statement in the Council minutes records that it is not the purpose of the United Synagogue to provide mikveh facilities in London, that being best left to private enterprise — though it is interesting to see the number of times that the Council agrees to make a payment to the Bayswater mikveh, each time being careful to record that such payments should not constitute a precedent, and I leave it to the lawyers to work out how many times an unprecedented payment is to be made before it does constitute a precedent. But see how gradually the provision of schoolroom accommodation becomes part of the general work of the Council, reflecting as it does the gradual realisation that part of the task of the United Synagogue is to foster Hebrew education and classes. Even though I dare not say too much on this subject for fear that Mr Levin will either come down on me for pinching his lecture theme, or worse still, assume that I know something about it and ask for some additional information, nonetheless, it seems to me that this changing attitude towards religious education is an important instance of the way in which the United Synagogue has responded to changing circumstances.

Again, look at the way in which the United Synagogue has changed its *official* attitude towards the Zionist movement, culminating this year in the Israel Committee of the United Synagogue.

Another instance is the way in which there has been a changing attitude towards what I might describe as 'welfare'. The relief of the poor, the provision of matzoth, all the traditional welfare activities continue. But look at the new activities; look at the Visitation Committee covering hospitals and prisons; look at the support given by the United Synagogue to a myriad of appeals covering the needs of London and Anglo-Jewry. Look above all at the changing *attitude* towards welfare, best evidenced, I think, in an extract from the Treasurer's report for 1874:

> "As yet there does not appear, unfortunately, to be any diminution in the number of Charity Funerals, although with a view of placing Paid funerals more within the means of the poorer classes (by bringing into practice what are termed 'second class funerals') the charges have been considerably reduced, thus in many cases possibly obviating the necessity of recourse being had to charity, and promoting independence and self-reliance. It is to be regretted that so little aversion is shown by so many of the humbler classes to a Charity Funeral, and it is difficult to believe that the necessity exists for the number that have taken place. Of 800 interments, 421 . . . were charity."

Probably the most important changes, however, are those resulting from the interaction of two of the factors we have already mentioned, the increasing size and complexity of the institution itself, and the way in which the institution must always try and mirror the changing features of the community it serves. In my first lecture I pointed out how the United Synagogue had come into being at the same time as a new middle or upper middle class had emerged in Jewish life. The Cohens, the Rothschilds, the Montagus had all represented, so far as Anglo-Jewry was concerned, the emergence into communal life of a group of active vital men who had 'got on' in secular life and who wished to see their religious institutions brought equally up to date. Even more, they represented a continuation in Jewish life of a trait both among Jews and non-Jews in this country, the tradition of voluntary service, the feeling that one owed the duty of devoting one's efforts or a proportion of one's efforts to the community. One can see too that, in part, it represented also the continuance of the tradition of the shtadlan, both from the point of view of the individual concerned and indeed of the community as well, The tradition that made Lord Rothschild the nominal head, not merely of the United Synagogue but of the Federation as well, was obviously part of that. Yet even from the beginning there were more than merely hints of something else. When the United Synagogue was founded, there were initial disagreements over the part to be played by the ordinary seatholder in the various congregations; though for the moment the status of privileged membership was retained, and only a privileged member could become a member of the Council, all seatholders had the right to vote in the Council elections and by

1880 it had been recognised that the maintenance of this status was no longer defensible.

The date itself is, of course, highly significant, for thereafter there came the mass immigration which we have already discussed. Sooner or later that immigration, as we have also already discussed, had to be fitted into the structure of the United Synagogue. The numbers of synagogues grew from the five of 1870, into the ten synagogues of 1880, into the twenty of of 1914, into the fifty of 1939, and into the eighty-one of 1970, and each of them had to be represented on the various governing and representative bodies of the United Synagogue.

It is an understood fact of organisational life that the larger a governing body becomes, the less easy it is for that body to keep the conduct of essential business in its own hands. This is obviously a problem that the advocates of any sort of amalgamation ought to bear in mind, if they believe that any large representative body can keep effective control of day to day business or be anything other than a rubber stamp. The process of expansion during the years after the first world war was to convert the Council from being a small, oligarchical body controlling a budget of several thousand pounds a year into something much bigger, much more difficult to control, having a nominal oversight of a budget near enough to two million pounds a year.

Nonetheless, it is a remarkable enough feature that the United Synagogue constitution managed to retain an organisational structure which could cope with this enormous growth of congregations and individuals, and that is a fact that needs to be stressed over and over again. The mere existence of the United Synagogue has made possible a comparatively easy absorption of these vast masses into the life and pattern of Anglicised Jewry, but the cost was very great indeed. We have, for example, spoken about the cousinhood in relation to the leadership of the United Synagogue; almost equally imposing was the way in which, amongst the rank and file of the Council, surnames keep on recurring. Generations of members serve the United Synagogue, so that at one time it was possible to see at a meeting of the Council, father, son, and grandson all present, speaking, and voting. When the immigrant groups began to be absorbed into the Anglo-Jewish community, when the immigrant groups began to be concerned less about making their way in the world or moving into more salubrious areas, and more about playing their part in their congregational life, they also began to want to be able to hold office, not merely in their own synagogues, but to hold position and office in the wider organisation too. In their turn, they also represented the emergence into communal life of the active vital men who had 'got on' in secular life and who wished to see their religious institutions brought equally up-to-date. In consequence, the old hereditary membership of the United Synagogue Council came to be replaced by newer sorts of members, less likely to be automatically members of the Council or even office holders, just as involved in communal affairs as their predecessors, but in different ways and with different aims too.

This, of course, is shown in changes at the top. In a very real way many of the honorary officers tended in the past to choose themselves; it became almost inevitable in the age of the 'Grand-Dukes' that any particular individual would, in the course of time, become one of the honorary officers. But in the post-'Grand-Duke' age, this becomes much less possible.

And again, the changes in the size of the United Synagogue have thrown great additional burdens on the honorary officers at the time when the social and economic groups that have traditionally provided these officers have been replaced by new groups. I came across one batch of memoranda recently which showed very clearly how, during the Spring of 1942, Sir Robert Waley Cohen virtually lived every evening in the offices of the United Synagogue, carrying an immense burden of responsibility. Few of his predecessors were called on to give that effort; few of his successors could possibly afford the time to give that sort of effort. An office structure based on the idea that gentlemen of comparative leisure could devote a proportion of their time to communal affairs has had to face strains based on greater needs and different opportunities. At a different level, the same sort of problem has to be faced. Any organisation is dependent, in the last resort, on its full-time officials, and while it is as inappropriate here to comment on the salaried staff of the United Synagogue as it is to comment on the Civil Service, yet it should be pointed out that the traditions of long-service to the community are not only to be found in the honorary officers. Five full-time secretaries of the United Synagogue in a hundred years is but one aspect of this.

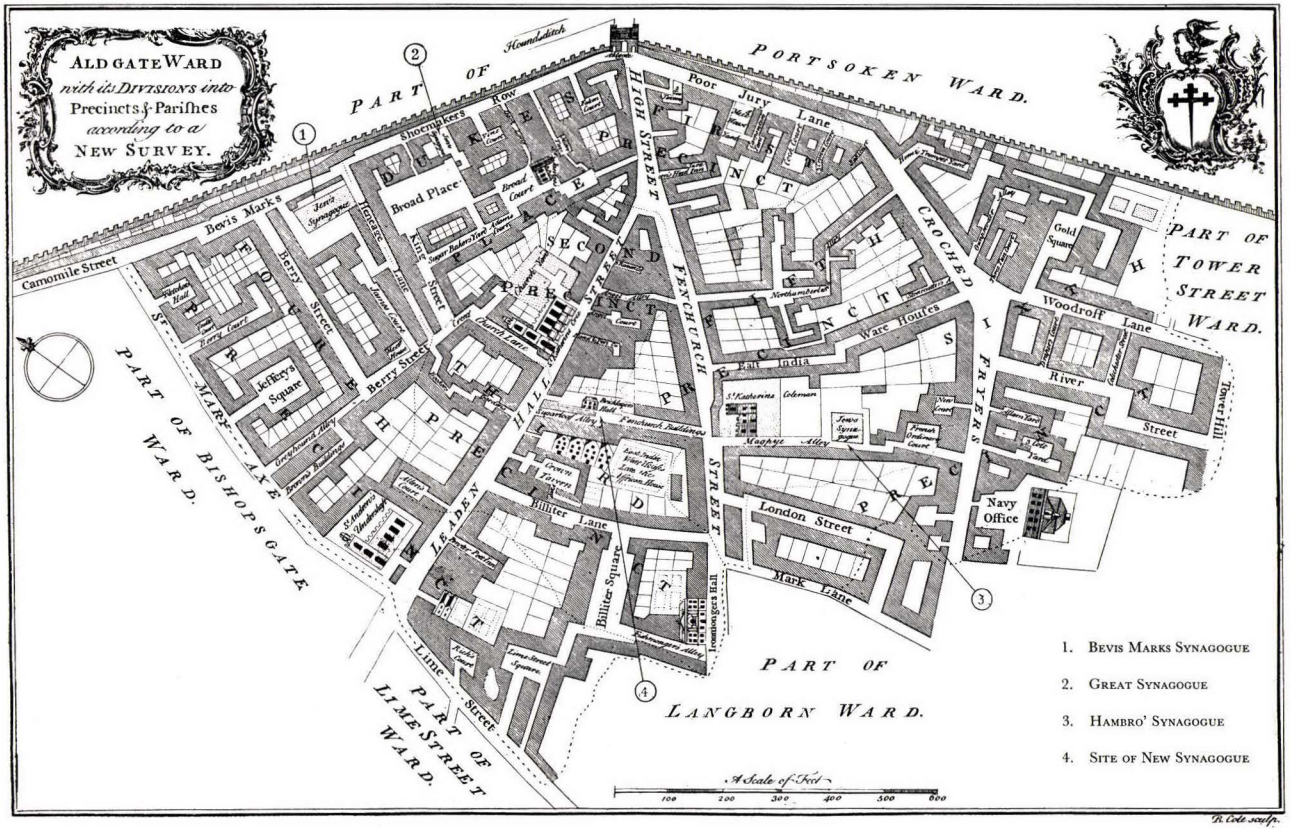
My lecture has been on the United Synagogue, its growth and change, and inevitably I have not covered every aspect of a century's expansion. It would seem too obvious to say that its full story would need an entire book. But what I have tried to show in the course of tonight's lecture is how growth and change inevitably go together. Institutions must change. They must reflect the changing needs and habits of the society they serve. One need not go back to the instances I have mentioned in relation to 'privileged membership' to see this; those who remember the long drawn out arguments over the extent of women's rights within the United Synagogue, paralleling closely the demands for women's suffrage in the national sphere, can see the point as clearly. It is impossible therefore to look back at 1870 and to try and keep the institution exactly as it was a hundred years ago.

We cannot be certain how Lionel Louis Cohen or Asher Asher would react now, a century later, to the way their brain-child has evolved. They would certainly be amazed at the size it has grown. But I think that they would not feel dissatisfied with the first century and would look forward in confidence to the second.

If the United Synagogue is to remain a living institution, it must then evolve and adapt itself to meet the changing needs of the community it serves. What I have tried to do this evening is to show in some way that it has evolved without in any sense being untrue to its fundamental purposes.

NOTES ON SOURCES

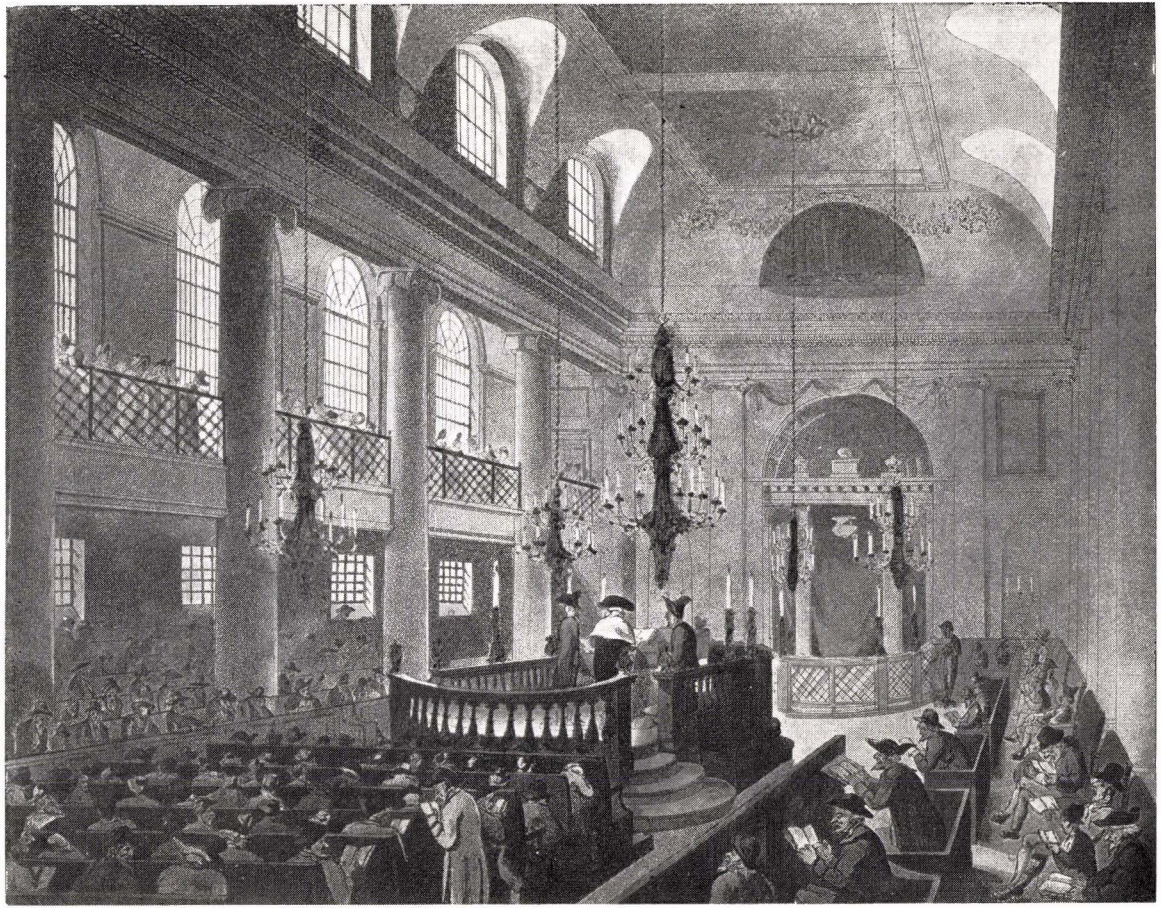
[1] Report dated 7 January 1890; discussed by the Council, 18 February 1890.
[2] *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 May 1891.



Map of Aldgate Ward showing the three City Synagogues.

Loaned by Dr. Vivian D. Lipman.

Plate I



Great Synagogue Interior 1809 *(From Ackerman's Microcosm of London)*

Plate II

Plate III



Central Synagogue Interior 1870 *Loaned by Edward Jamilly*

Plate IV



New Synagogue Interior 1838 *(Loaned by New Synagogue)*



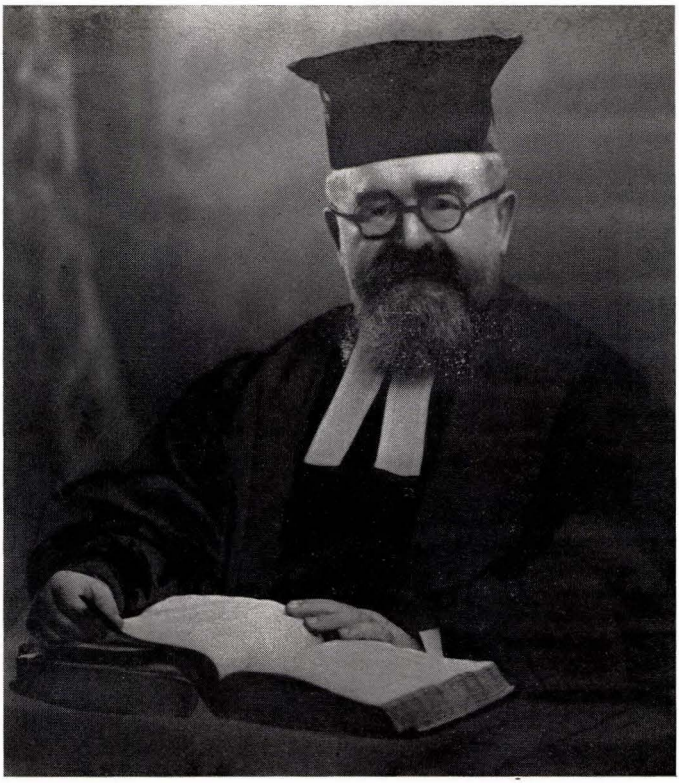
Hampstead Synagogue Interior 1892 *(Loaned by Rabbi R. Apple)*

Plate V

Plate VI



Chief Rabbi Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler. (Loaned by United Synagogue)



Chief Rabbi Dr. J. H. Hertz



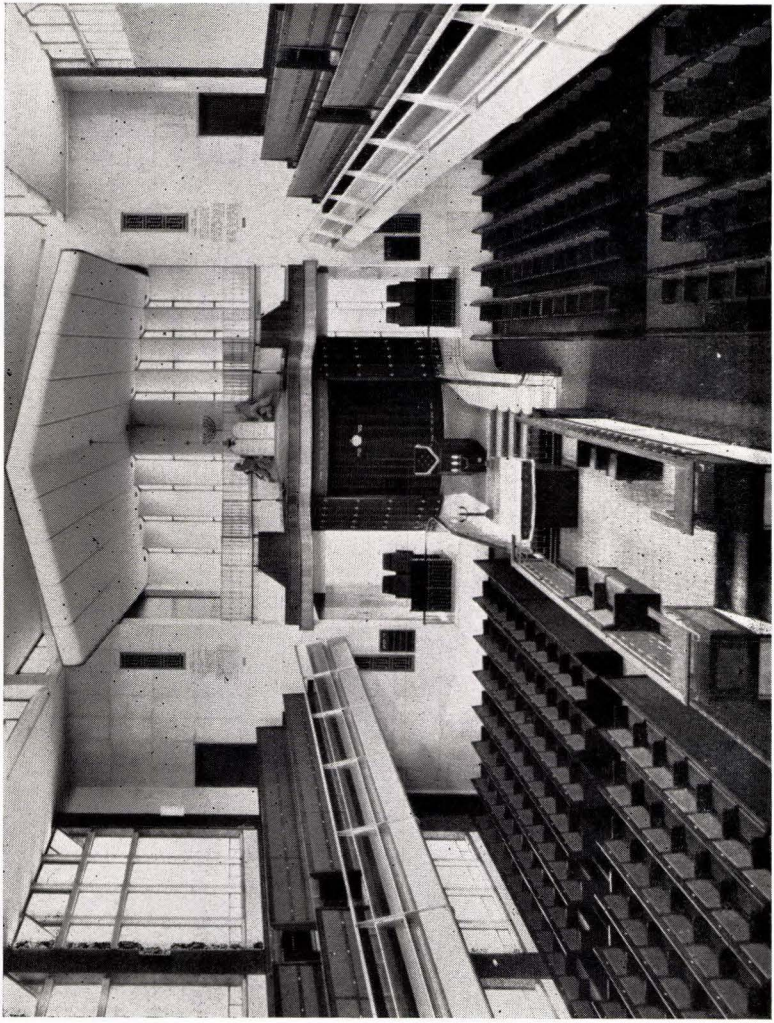
Asher Asher, Secretary of United Synagogue, 1870



Lionel L. Cohen *(Loaned by Edward Jamilly)*

Plate VII

Plate VIII



Finchley Synagogue - Interior of a Modern Synagogue

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CHAP. cxvi.

An Act for confirming a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the Jewish United Synagogues. [14th July 1870.] 1870.

17th Report, dated 26th February 1870.

WHEREAS the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, in their report to Her Majesty of their proceedings during the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, have reported that they have provisionally approved and certified (among other schemes for the application and management of charities) a scheme for the Jewish United Synagogues, and such scheme is set out in the appendix to their said report:

And whereas it is expedient that the said scheme, as the same is set out in the schedule to this Act, should be confirmed:

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Scheme confirmed.

1. The said scheme shall be confirmed and take effect.

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