

**Anglo-Jewry's Experience of Secondary Education
from the 1830s until 1920**

Emma Tanya Harris

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
For award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies
University College London
London 2007**

UMI Number: U592088

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U592088

Published by ProQuest LLC 2013. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Abstract of Thesis

This thesis examines the birth of secondary education for Jews in England, focusing on the middle classes as defined in the text. This study explores various types of secondary education that are categorised under one of two generic terms – Jewish secondary education or secondary education for Jews. The former describes institutions, offered by individual Jews, which provided a blend of religious and/or secular education. The latter focuses on non-Jewish schools which accepted Jews (and some which did not but were, nevertheless, attended by Jews).

Whilst this work emphasises London and its environs, other areas of Jewish residence, both major and minor, are also investigated. The provincial cities of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester, the towns of Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, Gravesend and Portsmouth, and the resorts of Brighton, Dover and Ramsgate, are examined.

This thesis endeavours to evaluate the Jewish schools' achievements, however limited they might initially appear. Student numbers, in general, remained small and the establishments faced constant financial distress. Nevertheless, what success they had illustrates the devotion of individuals to the task. The failure of others will illustrate not only a lack of financial support, but a failure to develop a wider commitment to the creation of a regulated system of Jewish secondary schooling. Any success emanating from Jewish institutions was invariably overshadowed by the non-Jewish schools with their renowned educational backgrounds, esteemed alumni, and a willingness to admit some Jews.

The history of Jewish secondary education in England is a crucial topic for a complete understanding of the ideas and aspirations of the Jewish middle classes in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This study seeks to place the world of Jewish

education within the context of Anglo-Jewish history in particular and within the wider context of England's educational history as a whole.

Acknowledgements

With thanks to Professor John D. Klier, my supervisor.

With special thanks to my friend and colleague,

Mrs. Lia Kahn-Zajtmann, for her continued support.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the following individuals:

Sarah Abbott, Library, National Archives, Kew; Liz and Tony Abrahams (Bedford); Rebbetzin Shoshana Angyalfi, Headmistress, Leeds Jewish High School for Girls; Melanie Aspey, Director, The Rothschild Archive; Ian Bailey, Archivist, Manchester Grammar School; Mark Bateson, Assistant Manager, Canterbury Cathedral Archives; Andrew Bennett, Archivist, East Sussex Record Office; Rabbi Michael Bernstein, Founder, Beis Shammai Grammar School (Stamford Hill and Chigwell); John Bever, Archivist, Manchester Grammar School; Anne Bradley, Archivist, Bristol Grammar School; Alison Cable, East Kent Archives Centre; Michael Carter, Centre for Kentish Studies; Charles Colquhoun, Clifton College; Graham Dalling, Local History Officer, London Borough of Enfield; Hilary Davies, Archives and Local Studies Assistant, City of Westminster Archives Centre; Mike Dowell, Archives Assistant, Devon Record Office; Alistair Falk, former Headmaster, King Solomon High School (Barkingside); Sue Fishburn, Head, Leeds High School for Girls; Stephen Freeth, Keeper of Manuscripts, Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section; Frank Gent, Sussex Archives; Jeff Gerhardt, Archives Assistant, Haringey Libraries, Archives and Museum Service, Bruce Castle Museum; Alison Gill, Information Officer, Greater Manchester County Record Office; Jo Greenbury, Housemaster, Polack's House, Clifton College; Mrs. K. Greenhouse, Headmistress, Beis Chinuch Lebonos School

(Stamford Hill); Josephine Halloran, Archives Assistant, Devon Record Office; Fabian Hamilton, Member of Parliament for Leeds North East; Kirsty Hancock, Team Administrator, Communications and Development Office, The Girls' Day School Trust; Jonathan Harrison, The Library, St. John's College Cambridge; Penny Hatfield, Archivist, Eton College; Francine Healey, Bury Grammar School; T.W. Hildrey, Senior Master, Merchant Taylor's School (Sefton); Ruth Hobbins, Liverpool Record Office; Sonia Hope, Information Librarian, The Women's Library; Sarah Jillings, Curator, Jewish Museum, London; David Jones, Perse School; Paul Jordan, Brighton History Centre; Clive Lawton, former Headmaster, King David High School, Liverpool; Marion Leggett, Librarian, Brighton and Hove High School; Susan Lord, Curator, Manchester Jewish Museum; Nigel Lutt, Operations Manager, Bedford County Record Office; Mairi Macdonald, Deputy Head of Archives, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust; Margaret McGregor, Archivist, Bristol Record Office; Patricia McGuire, Archivist, King's College, Cambridge; Beverley Matthews, Senior Librarian, Tonbridge School; Simon May, Archivist, St Paul's School; Eliza Newton, Archives Assistant, Devon Record Office; Jonathan Oates, Borough Archivist and Local History Librarian, Ealing Local History Centre; Jenny Paul, South Hampstead High School for Girls; Carole Pemberton, Development Secretary, Manchester Grammar School; J.R. Piggott, Keeper of Archives, Dulwich College; P.Pollak, School Archivist, The King's School, Canterbury; John Plowright (Repton); Amy Proctor, Senior Information Officer (Enquiries), London Metropolitan Archives; Don Rainger, Administrator, Manchester Jewish Museum; Jo Robson, Archivist, Manchester Archives and Local Studies Unit; Edward Rogers, Senior Archivist, Hackney Archives Department; Fred Rogers, King Edward's School, Birmingham; David Rose, Librarian, City of London School, Rabbi Jeremy Rosen, former Principal,

Carmel College; Gary Rust, Records Officer, Bedford County Record Office; Chris Seward, Headteacher, Davenant School; Caroline Shaw, Assistant Archivist, Rothschild Archive; Catherine Smith, Archivist, Portsmouth Grammar School; Eddie Smith, Archivist, Westminster School; Sue South, Archivist, Bradford Grammar School; Linda Spencer-Small, Redlands High School for Girls, Bristol; Bryan Stokes, Archivist, King's College School; Jackie Sullivan, Archivist, Roedean School; John Sylvester, Secretary, Old Bedfordians Club; Bob Thomson, Local History Librarian, Harrow Local History Collection; Dalia Tracz, Assistant Librarian, Mocatta Library, University College London; Darren Treadwell, Archive Assistant, People's History Museum; Jeremy Ward, Archivist, Manchester Grammar School; Yvonne Wattam, Assistant Librarian (Local Studies Collection), Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland; Anne Wheeldon, Archivist-Public Service, Hammersmith and Fulham Archives and Local History Centre; Ann Wheeler, Archivist, Charterhouse; Dominic Whitehead, Special Collections, John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester; Richard Wildman, School Archivist, Bedford Modern School; Mandy Wise, Special Collections, University College London, Chris Woodhead, Leeds High School for Girls.

And the British Library staff of the Newspaper Library (Colindale), the Maps Library (St. Pancras) and the Sound Archives (St. Pancras), and the Staff of the National Archives.

With very special thanks to my parents, Sharon and Mark Harris, for their love and moral support throughout my life. It is to them that this thesis is dedicated.

**DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS,
SHARON AND MARK HARRIS
WHO ALWAYS BELIEVED IN ME,**

**AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF
MY GRANDPARENTS,
ALEX COLIN
AND
EVA AND SOLOMON (SID) HARRIS**

Table of Contents

Abstract of Thesis	2-3
Acknowledgements	4-6
Dedications	7
Table of Contents	8
List of Charts and Tables	9
Glossary	10
Chapter One: Introduction	11-38
Chapter Two: Definitions	39-65
Chapter Three: Historical and Statistical Perspective	66-96
Chapter Four: Boys' Education in London and its Environs	97-147
Chapter Five: Boys' Education in the Provinces	148-194
Chapter Six: Girls' Education in London and the Provinces	195-221
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	222-229
Appendix I: Pupil Lists	230-289
Appendix II: Example of School for Working Classes	290-291
Appendix III: School Tables	292-300
Appendix IV: Maps	301-303
Bibliography	304-352

List of Charts and Tables

Chart A: Sample of Fathers' Occupations (taken from 4 admission registers)	
1860-1920	41
Chart B and Corresponding Table B: Number of Jewish Boarding and Day	
Establishments 1830-1920	72
Chart C and Corresponding Table C: Ages of Pupils (9-18) Attending Jewish	
Boarding Schools 1851-1901	74
Chart D and Corresponding Table D: The Location for Jewish Establishments	
1830-1920	94
Chart E: The 3 General Centres for Jewish Schools	95
Chart F: Hackney Downs School: Fathers' Occupations 1876-1907	144
Chart G: Entry to Hamburg House/Polack's House 1878-1918	182

Glossary

- Ashkenazi* (pl. –m): Jew(s) originating from northern and central Europe
- Boarding school: A school providing living accommodation for some or all of its pupils
- Chasidim* (adj. *Chasidic*): Jewish religious movement that was founded in Eastern Europe in the late eighteenth century
- Cheder* (pl. –im): A private elementary Hebrew school which often took place in the teacher's home
- Elementary school: A school which provided education for boys and girls between the ages of five and twelve (or fourteen)
- Haham*: The title given to the religious head of the Sephardic community
- High school: Another term (used in Britain) for secondary school
- JSSM: The Jewish Secondary Schools Movement was established in 1929 by Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld.
- Melammed* (pl. –im): An elementary Hebrew teacher
- Private school: A school which is controlled, both financially and managerially, by a private body and mainly accepts fee-paying pupils.
- Public school: (England and Wales) A private, independent fee-paying secondary school where students often board during term time
- Sephardi* (pl. –im): Jews(s) originating from Spain, Portugal and North Africa; the so-called 'Oriental' Jews. After 1492, many settled in France and the Low Countries.
- Yeshivah* (pl. *Yeshivot*): A male religious seminary for advanced Talmudic learning

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

In the twenty-first century, Anglo-Jewry benefits from a significant number of Jewish schools¹ covering a range of both religious practice (from *Chasidic* to Progressive), age (from pre-school to secondary school) and sex (separate and mixed). Jewish schools feature in the capital city, London,² the main Jewish provincial centres of Birmingham, Gateshead, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, and the resort towns of Bournemouth and Westcliff. There are over forty Jewish secondary schools spread throughout England, in London and its surrounding areas, and also in Liverpool, Gateshead and Manchester, serving a total Jewish population of 267,000.³ It was in the mid to late twentieth century when Anglo-Jewry saw the rapid rise of such establishments following the introduction of the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement (JSSM) by Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld (1880-1930) in 1929.⁴

¹ For an assessment of the future of these establishments, see "The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-Based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education" (London, 2001). This report was published by the Institute of Jewish Policy Research.

² Within the area of Greater London, Jewish schools are located in the London boroughs of Barnet, Brent, Camden, Enfield, Hackney, Harrow and Redbridge.

³ This figure is taken from the Board of Deputies of British Jews website: <http://www.bod.org.uk> "In April 2001, for a historical first time, all UK censuses, England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, included a (voluntary) question about religion which allowed those Jews who wished to, to self-identify as Jewish. Some 267,000 people did so." The figures include: 150,000 for Greater London, 23,000 for Greater Manchester, 2,700 for Liverpool and 1,600 for Gateshead.

⁴ Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld envisaged a Jewish secondary school, in which Anglo-Jewry could take pride, which would be attended by Jewish boys and girls where the purpose would be to educate them in secular and Hebrew subjects so as to produce loyal Jews and British citizens. The Jewish Secondary School was opened at Beaulieu Villas, Finsbury Park on 17th September 1929. Three months after the establishment, Victor Schonfeld passed away. For more details, see Naphtali Lipschutz, In Memoriam: Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld (London, 1930). His son, Rabbi Dr. Solomon Schonfeld, took over and, despite many pitfalls, created a successful group of schools, both primary and secondary. For a complete history, see David Kranzler and Gertrude Hirschler, eds., Solomon Schonfeld: His Page in History (New York, 1982). For further histories on the schools, see also Miriam Dansky, Rebbetzin Grunfeld: The Life of Judith Grunfeld, Courageous Pioneer of the Bais Yaakov Movement and Jewish Rebirth (New York, 1994). The Schonfeld Papers (MS 183) are housed at the Hartley Library, Special Collections, Southampton University.

Israel Finestein begins his portrayal of nineteenth century Anglo-Jewry by noting that his work is about

... changing times. More particularly it is concerned with people's differing responses... Many factors which transformed society at large in Britain operated no less upon its Jewish constituent. These included the progress of the new sciences; the extension of industry and commerce; the expansion of population; the rise of new or hugely expanded towns, large urban concentrations, and the widening social and economic divergences between rich and poor; the emergence of new and quicker means of transport; and the advancing political, social and religious influence of the middle classes.⁵

This thesis too is about changing times. It will address how changing approaches to secondary education were reflected within the broader framework of the British educational system. It will set the study in the context of both social change within Anglo-Jewry and educational change within society at large, taking into account traditional loyalties and newfound allegiances towards the host country. Between the 1830s and 1920, Anglo-Jewry was witness to a wide variety of secondary school experiences which included blends of religious and secular education, of competing languages and educational approaches. As will soon become evident, the educational diversity reflected the contrast between the new 'acculturated English' Jew and the more traditionally-minded Jew. The thesis provides a detailed account of educational practice (i.e. classics versus modern; chapel attendance versus exemptions) and also considers contemporary educational theory, particularly within a social context (i.e. as a means of social control). The period covered by the thesis was one of significant educational expansion. Reactions to industrialisation and the needs of the empire led

⁵ Israel Finestein, Anglo-Jewry in Changing Times: Studies in Diversity 1840-1914 (London, 1999), xv. Hereafter Finestein, Anglo-Jewry.

to a sea of changes in the curricula adopted by the public schools and the establishment of many grammar schools, many of which were founded to accommodate the children of the middle classes. We shall define terms and explore these themes more thoroughly in subsequent chapters as they follow the history of the expansion of the English educational system which formed the background to the experiences of the Jewish middle classes. Whilst much previous historical analysis has focused on the early *Sephardic* charitable foundations and the nineteenth century communal voluntary schools,⁶ this work will discuss notable establishments of the secondary variety, both Jewish and secular, which have only ever been treated fleetingly or glossed over completely. Frequently, historians have failed to do justice to the importance of this subject.

The English education system underwent major changes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as its central focus shifted from an education that was almost exclusively for upper class boys to an education that became accessible to all classes and both genders. These pupils were usually educated at home by tutors before entering one of the prominent public schools.⁷ These schools were training grounds for the next generation of political and financial leaders, where they developed the connections that would aid them in life. After a curriculum inclined towards the classics, these pupils would enter either the universities of Oxford or Cambridge. In this early period, upper class daughters were educated in the home; their schooling was different to that of their brothers. Their education catered towards their future lives as wives and mothers. The changes which the English education system endured were prompted by the arrival of the Industrial Revolution which caused successful

⁶ Example of secondary sources include: S. Rothstein, "The Evolution of the Birmingham Hebrew National School", in Zoe Josephs, ed., *Birmingham Jewry – More Aspects 1740-1930* (Oldbury, 1984), 129-137.

⁷ Some upper class pupils would be completely home-educated.

men who had risen to the higher echelons of the middle classes to seek upper class educational opportunities for their sons, and later, to some extent, their daughters. They wanted their offspring to gain status through their education. For the newly prosperous, these secular educational options were, in the main, unavailable to them in the early part of this period. Some Jewish individuals, therefore, saw the opportunity to create their own establishments before admittance to non-Jewish schools became widespread. They used the growth and popularity of the seaside resort to establish private schools, a demand which continued due to “falling journey times... and convenience of travel, and in some cases by falling transport costs.”⁸ For the latter, the Jewish middle classes took advantage of government acts which encouraged, through a number of avenues, the admittance of Non-Conformists.⁹ With the rise of their profile in the host country, Jews boldly entered public schools, helping to establish Jewish Houses for their sons.

The thesis spans the period of the 1830s through to 1920 in order to illustrate the rising profile of the secondary experience for Jews in England, before the creation of the JSSM. The choice of the 1830s is governed by the introduction of the first known Jewish private ‘secondary’ institution. Finishing at 1920 is important as it marked the end of an era – when all these Jewish institutions, with a few exceptions, had ceased to exist as preferences for non-Jewish schools triumphed, due to convenience, locality and prestige and before the emergence of a new style of Jewish educational establishment. This period will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, but suffice it to say, during the research phase, it became apparent that we were

⁸ John K. Walton, The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914 (Leicester, 1983), 21.

⁹ Two of the most important government Acts of this period were the Taunton Act (1868) which approved of pupils’ withdrawal from religious instruction and the University Tests Act (1871) which opened both Oxford and Cambridge to members of all religions.

dealing with two distinct periods, the 1830s-1881 and 1881-1920, the former being the beginnings of emancipation, whilst the latter built on the earlier period.

Education was valorised in the Jewish tradition. It is, therefore, not surprising that an impressive amount of research has been done on modern Jewish educational systems throughout the world.¹⁰ What is extraordinary, however, is that the topic of secondary education remains one of the most unexplored. Many histories have been written regarding the establishment and continuation of the Anglo-Jewish community since the readmission of the Jews to England in 1656. Prominent historians provided detailed analyses on various periods of Anglo-Jewish history.¹¹ However, the historical narrative of Anglo-Jewry's secondary educational experience has not been fully explored in these classic works. This work aims to give this topic its page in Anglo-Jewish history. It will focus on the introduction of Jewish secondary education from its origins in the 1830s until the early twentieth century.

¹⁰ There are a number of works devoted to traditional Jewish educational entities as follows: Isidore Fishman, The History of Jewish Education in Central Europe, From the Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1944). Hereafter Fishman, History. André N. Chouraqui, Between East and West: A History of the Jews of North Africa (Philadelphia, 1968), 133-5, 204-13. This book focuses on education in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco in the nineteenth century. Judah Pilch, ed., A History of Jewish Education in America (New York, 1969). This work discusses education from the colonial period to the mid-1960s. Elias Schulman, A History of Jewish Education in the Soviet Union (New York, 1971). Schulman researched Yiddish and secular schools. A.F. Landesman, A Curriculum for Jewish Religious Schools (New York, 1922). Aron Rodrigue, French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925 (Bloomington, 1990). Other historians, such as U.Z. Engelman, A.I. Schiff and Z.E. Kurzweil, should also be mentioned here.

¹¹ Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England (Oxford, 1964). Hereafter Roth, History. The history only extends to 1858. Albert M. Hyamson, The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community 1492-1951 (London, 1951) Hereafter Hyamson, Sephardim. Albert M. Hyamson, A History of the Jews in England (London, 1928). Hereafter Hyamson, History. V.D. Lipman, A History of the Jews in Britain Since 1858 (London, 1990). Hereafter Lipman, History. The schools of the Jewish middle class are mentioned in passing. V.D. Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950 (London, 1954). Hereafter Lipman, Social. Lloyd P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914, 3rd edition. (London, 2001). Hereafter Gartner, Jewish. Todd M. Endelman, The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002). Hereafter Endelman, Jews.

Methodology (with bibliographical essay)

As Harold Pollins noted, “the research methods that one uses partly depends on the data available”.¹² Indeed, the problem of writing a ‘comprehensive’ thesis is hampered by the material which is unavailable. As John F. Travis commented, “the evidence is extremely fragmentary, so the picture pieced together can at best be only a partial one”.¹³ When the research for this study began, it was clear that very few studies focused solely or extensively on the history of Jewish secondary education in England. Indeed, most were works of commemoration rather than interpretation.¹⁴ For instance, Lippa Rabinowitz, Philip Skelker, Thelma Chadwick et al., and Hyman Klein have all written articles or short works on schools that they either headed or attended.¹⁵ Judith Samuel included in her book on the Jews of Bristol, the history of the Jewish House at Clifton College.¹⁶ Stephen Brook, in his 1996 book, briefly discussed most of the secondary (and primary) schools that were in existence at the time of writing.¹⁷ Historians, such as Harold Pollins, Todd M. Endelman and Israel Finestein, mention briefly the education of the middle classes with references to private Jewish day and boarding schools and non-Jewish day schools.¹⁸ Many historians, including Bernard Steinberg and Steven Singer, only provide the examples

¹² Harold Pollins, “Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain”, *Research Papers*, 2 (1991), 1.

¹³ John F. Travis, *The Rise of the Devon Seaside Resorts 1750-1900* (Exeter, 1993), 1.

¹⁴ These were mainly short works but they contain much valuable material, usually unavailable elsewhere.

¹⁵ Lippa Rabinowitz, “Manchester Jewish Grammar School”, in *Jewish Education* (London 1981/2) 48-9. Philip Skelker, “King David High School, Liverpool”, in *Jewish Education* (London 1983/4), 20-1. Thelma Chadwick, Zoe Josephs and Dodie Masterman, *Minerva or Fried Fish in a Sponge Bag: The Story of a Boarding School for Jewish Girls* (West Midlands, 1993). Hereafter, Chadwick, *Minerva*. Hyman Klein, “An Experiment in Jewish Secondary Education, conducted from 1938-44” (Portsmouth, 1944) and “A Principal’s Plan for a Jewish Evening Grammar School” (Liverpool, 1946).

¹⁶ Judith Samuel, *Jews in Bristol: The History of the Jewish Community in Bristol from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Bristol, 1997), 152-6, 160. Hereafter, *Jews*. She also briefly mentions Jews who attended Bristol Grammar School on pages 86 and 91.

¹⁷ Stephen Brook, *The Club: The Jews of Modern Britain* (London, 1996).

¹⁸ Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England* (London and Toronto, 1982), 91. Hereafter Pollins, *Economic*. Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), 96-7. Israel Finestein, *Anglo-Jewry in Changing Times: Studies in Diversity 1840-1914* (London, 1999), 40-1, 98.

of University College School and the City of London School.¹⁹ If other schools are mentioned, it is merely a fleeting note. With the appearance of Gerry Black's valuable history of the Jews' Free School (London) in 1998, one would have been mistaken in presuming that this work would then have produced a new wave of literature on secondary education. An interesting article appeared in the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England. Malcolm Brown's discussion of the Jews in Gravesend details the existence of a private Jewish boarding school whilst Israel Finestein's recently published book devotes a chapter to Anglo-Jewish attitudes to Jewish day-school education between 1850 and 1950 where he examines financial aid and the opposition to Jews' College School.²⁰ Yet, the paucity of historical analysis on this subject remained.

This research began by focusing on specifically Jewish schools in London and its environs. As Geoffrey Alderman points out "British Jewry in the nineteenth century was dominated by London".²¹ However, it became evident not only that provincial Jewry were enthusiastic about such education but that a number of non-Jewish schools throughout England accepted Jewish boys and girls. It would have been difficult to choose only one particular area since Jewish children were educated throughout the country and thus it would have given readers a one-dimensional impression.²²

¹⁹ Bernard Steinberg, "Jewish Schooling in Great Britain", in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, 6 (1954), 54. Steven Singer, "Jewish Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Early Victorian London Community", in The Jewish Quarterly Review, LXXVII, 2-3 (1986-7), 166. It is worth noting that University College School is not the most vital school to mention. Whilst the Jews were able to take advantage of its opportunities, they did not have to overcome difficult hurdles to be admitted.

²⁰ Malcolm Brown, "The Jews of Gravesend before 1915", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXV (2000), 119-140. Israel Finestein, Scenes and Personalities in Anglo-Jewry 1800-2000 (London, 2002). Hereafter Finestein, Scenes.

²¹ Geoffrey Alderman, Modern British Jewry (Oxford, 1992), 28.

²² Originally, it was envisaged that part of the discussion would be devoted to Scotland. Asher Asher (1837-89), physician, was the first Jew to enter the medical profession. He attended both Glasgow High School and the Hebrew Higher Grade School. The former and the National Archives of Scotland were

The research methods employed for this work reflect the data available. A large number of archives, schools, record offices, civic centres and libraries were contacted with varying degrees of success. Some were initially contacted by letter but when this proved unsuccessful, emails were sent and/or downloadable forms were completed. When the thesis was in its early stages, it was envisaged that this work would discuss the introduction and progression of secondary education until the present day. I came across many barriers, most significantly the one created by present and former head teachers who either did not respond and/or would not agree to be interviewed.²³ Particularly upsetting, as I am a product of an orthodox Jewish educational background, was the lack of enthusiasm from the growing number of orthodox and ultra-orthodox schools in the country.²⁴ However, it did provide a way to scale down the period of study. Even more problematic was that non-Jewish schools also seemed unwilling to discuss their attitudes towards Jewish pupils. I was told by one archivist, who wishes to remain anonymous on this point, that one particular school in the North of England may have had a policy against Jews by deliberately imposing compulsory school on a Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, during

unable to help me with my enquiries. There seemed to be no available documentation on the Jewish school.

²³ I am grateful to the following people who agreed to be interviewed: Rabbi Jeremy Rosen (former Principal, Carmel College), Rabbi Michael Bernstein (former Headmaster, Beis Shammai Grammar School, Stamford Hill and Chigwell), Mrs. K. Greenhouse (Headmistress of secular studies, Beis Chinuch Lebonos School, Stamford Hill), and Rebbetzin Shoshana Angyalfi (Headmistress, Leeds Girls' High School). I also spoke to Fabian Hamilton (MP for Leeds North East) who discussed the possibility of establishing a Jewish secondary school in Leeds. I am also grateful to Mr. Clive Lawton (former Headteacher, King David High School, Liverpool) who allowed me to join his class Introduction to the History of Education at Jews' College (now known as the London School of Jewish Studies) and also discussed his Liverpool experience with me which was of particular value as it is a Jewish school that admits non-Jewish pupils. I am also grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Tony Abrahams who agreed to discuss the family history.

²⁴ Many of the headteachers/principals are men who may have been unwilling to speak to me for a number of reasons. They may not have wanted to have been interviewed by a woman. This could have been solved by the presence of other members of staff at the interview or if a female member of staff was interviewed instead. A telephone interview could have been organised (as was carried out with Rebbetzin Angyalfi) or they could have returned the interview questions (sent with the initial letter of introduction) answered accordingly. These headteachers/principals may have preferred not to allow anyone into their private enclave delving into their past and present history. One cannot rely on the press to provide all the answers.

the nineteenth century. This is, of course, an unconfirmed report as neither I nor the archivist has any proof that this affected Jewish pupils or if this policy was actually carried out but, as the school in question did not respond to my communications, it leaves the research with unanswered questions.²⁵ It left me with the realisation that the study would have to focus on fewer schools than was previously hoped but that this obstacle would not hamper the conclusions (as a variety of schools were examined as evidenced in Appendices I, II and III), but would help to provide a detailed (even though not complete) assessment of the Jewish experience.

There are a number of points to mention at this juncture. First of all, some schools (e.g. Christ's Hospital²⁶) are unable to employ an archivist because of budgetary considerations and staffing resources. On some occasions, part or all of the archival material has been transferred to a central location (e.g. Christ's Hospital's documentation, prior to the school's move to Horsham, is held at the Guildhall Library and Archives). Secondly, some schools hold present archives but send their past archival material to a special collections unit (e.g. University College School at the Special Collections, University College London²⁷ and Bedford Modern School at the Bedford and Luton Archives and Records Centre). In many cases, I was referred to the London Metropolitan Archives.²⁸ Thirdly, schools have different types of archival facilities. Some are systematically categorised which assisted the process of finding useful material (e.g. King Edward's School, Birmingham). Others, however, are packed into cupboards or on shelves in no particular order (e.g. Leeds High

²⁵ Even if this policy was carried out, it would seem unlikely that any negativity discovered from the past would still exist today and, therefore, would only be considered as an interesting addition to Jewish educational experience in the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Thanks to Tony Hogarth-Smith, Administration Officer at the school, for this information.

²⁷ Interestingly, University College School did not respond to my request for assistance but I discovered the available material on the UCL Library website.

²⁸ This was the case for many London archive centres which held no information relating to the Jews in these respective areas.

School for Girls). Fourthly, a few archival references only deal with the Jewish intake during the mid to latter part of the twentieth century (e.g. Bury Grammar School). Finally, it is important to note that the material available varied from school to school. Some non-Jewish school archives contained little or no information on Jewish pupils (e.g. Roedean School, Davenant/Whitechapel Foundation School, and Leeds Grammar School for Boys) even though they were accepted on the roll, whilst others (e.g. the City of London School) have small files of documents dedicated to the Jewish experience.²⁹ Some school archives (e.g. Manchester Grammar School, Eton College and Clifton College) have complete collections of registers, letters, school magazines, biographies and memoirs, school minutes and school histories whilst others are incomplete.³⁰ School registers provided important data which, in some instances, helped to identify Jewish pupils more clearly (e.g. during one period, Birmingham's King Edward School identified the Jewish pupils with the letter 'J'; South Hampstead High School for Girls noted the reason for some of its pupils being exempt from Scriptures (and sometimes Singing) because the pupils concerned were Jewesses; Manchester Grammar School's note of a pupil's previous school included both Manchester Jews' School and Tivoli House School).³¹ Other schools (e.g. Leeds Girls' High School) did not possess registers and, therefore, other material (e.g.

²⁹ Incidentally, much of the 'Jewish file' at the City of London School dealt with Jewish pupils after the Second World War.

³⁰ School histories were also located at the British Library, University College London's library and the Institute of Education library. Such histories often ignore the admission of Jewish pupils or treat them cursorily as, e.g., success stories (such as Simon Marks, co-founder of Marks and Spencer, in James Bentley, *Dare to be Wise: A History of the Manchester Grammar School* (London, 1990), 9-10).

³¹ See Appendix I, section C, for list of pupils, at non-Jewish schools, who have been identified in this way. Incidentally, pupils with distinctive Jewish names feature in the lists. It is possible that some of the pupils, in Appendix I, were not Jewish and, unless there are other clues to their identity, it is difficult to state categorically. Joseph Jacobs noted that "In England... Puritanism has caused the adoption of biblical names by dissenters to some degree, and we thus find among the ancestors of Mr. John Bright the name of Martha Jacobs which has caused him to be credited, quite erroneously, with possessing Jewish blood in his veins." (*Jewish Chronicle*, 752 (24 August 1888), 10a.) On the other hand, I was also provided with a list of surnames of current Jewish pupils at Leeds' Girls' High School. Names such as Armstrong, Bickler, Delroy and Reynolds are not typically Jewish names. Their religious affiliation is only known as they are asked to provide such information on entry. Thanks to the Administrative team for this data.

school magazines) was used to identify Jewish pupils by their name. Thus, the pattern of systematic inclusion into this thesis has been when the student can be identified as Jewish³² from the following criteria:

- (1) If a pupil was specifically noted as Jewish in the school register,
- (2) If the pupil had a distinctive Jewish surname³³
- (3) If the pupil's previous school had been a Jewish one³⁴
- (4) If the pupil, in later life, became a well-known member of the Jewish and/or host society³⁵

School minutes proved to be elusive at many schools. Where accessible, they were often unindexed which meant ploughing through much useless material. Institutional histories, biographies and memoirs were used for background history; the histories rarely mentioned Jewish entry (unless, e.g. the issue of chapel worship was discussed

³² Bernard Susser commented that "there are many definitions of a Jew, based on religious and racial considerations as well as on social and cultural associations... those who regarded themselves or who were regarded by others as Jews, irrespective of religious practice or parentage". Bernard Susser, The Jews of South-West England: The Rise and Decline of Their Medieval and Modern Communities (Exeter, 1993), 27.

³³ However, there are drawbacks to this as Graham Dalling noted in his discussion on Census returns. "Unusually, the surname, forenames and occupation will lead one to draw the conclusion that a particular family was probably Jewish... Old Testament forenames were popular among English conformists. Certain surnames which at first sight appear to be Jewish may in fact be nothing of the sort." Graham Dalling, "Early Jewish Settlement in Edmonton, Enfield and Southgate", in Heritage No. 4: An Historical Series on the Jewish Inhabitants of North London (London, 1993), 14. There is, of course, the possibility that some pupils may be overlooked as parents chose to change the surnames.

³⁴ There were, however, occasions when there is evidence to suggest that non-Jewish pupils were accepted at these schools. As Finestein commented, the Jewish Chronicle (in 1844) was delighted that the Rev. Isaac Henry Myers' Temple Cottage School in Ramsgate was accepting Christian pupils. (Finestein, Anglo-Jewry, 44.)

³⁵ The latter may have been mentioned in Who Was Who or the Dictionary of National Biography to name but a few of the dictionaries/encyclopaedias that will be discussed shortly.

or a pupil became famous³⁶) whilst authors of biographies and memoirs sometimes discussed their Jewish counterparts.³⁷

The archival information noted above only focuses on the inclusion of Jewish pupils in non-Jewish schools. All the Jewish schools discussed, in subsequent chapters, no longer exist and they rarely left behind any documentary evidence. No registers and few minute books have been located.³⁸ They were, in the main, private establishments and, as Margaret E. Bryant clarifies, any discussion on educational history is not complete without discussing private establishments. She notes that

nothing has done more to distort the understanding of the history of education than the neglect and undervaluing of the contribution of the private schools.

While this may be due partly to difficulties of documentation, for such schools and teachers rarely left records let alone archival collections, it is also ideological, for to give value to private enterprise in education is often unacceptable. The development of the concept of secondary education in London and its environs cannot however be understood without some

³⁶ Examples of institutional histories which mention Jewish pupils include: (1) James Bentley, Dare To Be Wise: A History of the Manchester Grammar School (London, 1990), 9-10, 130 notes Simon Marks (1888-1964) and Israel Sieff (1889-1972), the founders of Marks & Spencer, (2) M.C. Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years (Buckinghamshire, 1968), 106-7, 156, 167-8 discusses the Jewish House. Where archival material was unavailable, institutional histories were read for background knowledge (e.g. the Merchant Taylor's School).

³⁷ Examples of memoirs, from non-Jewish pupils, which mention the inclusion of Jewish boys at their schools include: David Lisle Crane, Letters Between a Victorian Schoolboy and His Family 1892-1895 (West Yorkshire, 1999), 7, 326n; Neville Spearman, Memoirs of an ASP: Douglas Young-Jones (London, 1965), 33-4. A few early twentieth century novels discuss Jewish boys in non-Jewish schools including Arnold Lunn's Loose Ends (London, 1918) which describes the admittance of a Jewish boy, Geldstein, into a House at the fictitious Public School, Hornborough. Geldstein's non-Jewish roommate, Maurice, wrote to his mother "The house doesn't like Jews, and if they see you about with a Jew it does you no good." p18. This novel will be discussed later. Autobiographies were also consulted but often the secondary schooling took place after 1920. For example David Daiches, Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood (Edinburgh, 1956), 8 and 11. He attended George Watson's Boys' College "which took boys from infancy right up to university entrance". He was at the senior school in the late 1920s and remarked that very few Jewish boys attended.

³⁸ Examples include: LRO - 296/HGS Liverpool Hebrew Higher Grade School; LMA - ACC2999/A1/4 Minutes of the Aria College Joint Committee Meetings; MALS - MF3010 Manchester Jews' School; PLSU - MS 157/23-4 Aria College.

systematic study of this crucial contribution, which serviced an economy through several discernible periods.³⁹

In these circumstances, other archive sources held valuable material on the Jewish schools. For instance, the Census returns (1841⁴⁰-1901), held at The National Archives⁴¹ (NA) were used to try and trace those Jewish schools which were located in residential homes. The reason these returns are so valuable as a source of information

is that they list every person present in a household on the night of the census... They are very much more complete than other records, as the making of the returns was compulsory.⁴²

The Census was a useful administrative tool which gathered data on households, detailing the name of the head of the household, the names of all the other occupants, and their relationship to the head. All occupants' ages and place of birth are given, the latter not provided in the 1841 Census.⁴³ As the returns were only conducted decennially, there were drawbacks. First of all, some of these privately-run Jewish schools were short-lived and may not have been in existence during the period of the returns.⁴⁴ Secondly, pupils may have attended erratically and for short periods, or may simply not have been in attendance on those days as it is possible that they returned home at the weekends, arriving back at school on Monday morning. (The dates of the Censuses indicate that the data was processed covering the period Sunday night

³⁹ Margaret E. Bryant, The London Experience of Secondary Education (London, 1986), 128. Hereafter Bryant, London.

⁴⁰ The Census returns began in 1801. However, the first detailed return took place in 1841.

⁴¹ The NA was formerly known as the Public Record Office (PRO).

⁴² Murray Freedman, "Leeds Jewry: The First Hundred Years" (1992), 22.

⁴³ The age of the pupil was useful for identifying school types as noted in Appendix I, section A. The place of birth helped to identify from where the schools attracted their clientele (e.g. local, national, British colonial or other foreign climes).

⁴⁴ For instance, Rev. Meyer Mendelssohn provided Jewish instruction for students attending Mansion House School between 1863 and 1867.

through to early Monday morning.) The returns may also have been held during a Jewish festival when the pupils, for the most part, would have returned home.

The NA also holds the Records of the Companies Registration Office (BT31)⁴⁵ and the Board of Education Full Inspection Reports (ED27 and ED109). Records of the Companies Registration Office, which were created by the Board of Trade (covering the period 1844-1970), hold some key information on a number of Jewish institutions, including Tivoli House School (1913), Milton House (1907) and Minerva College (1904)⁴⁶ detailing the need to register these institutions on a sound commercial footing showing their continuing success into the early nineteenth century period. Other school records for the Jewish schools have not been located. The Board of Education Full Inspection Reports were consulted for many non-Jewish schools (e.g. Perse Grammar School, Cambridge (1904 and 1910), Harrow School (1911 and 1920) and Roedean School (1906 and 1912)⁴⁷). A majority of them rarely, if at all, mention Jewish pupils specifically or even refer to any religious aspect of the curriculum (with the noted exception of Davenant/Whitechapel Foundation School (1906, 1910 and 1919) which even notes that the Jewish pupils received their detention on Sundays instead of Saturdays!⁴⁸). However, they indicate the type of secular education that the Jewish pupils were experiencing and their fathers' occupations.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ BT31 holds files of companies that were dissolved in 1856 or afterwards. An Act of 1844 enabled companies to acquire corporate privileges by the simple process of registration.

⁴⁶ For Tivoli House School, see NA – BT31/21183/126701; for Milton House, see NA – BT31/121/45/95255 and Minerva College, see NA – BT31/31905/82218. The only other school found in BT31 was Townley Castle School, NA – BT31/30310/233325 but this took place outside the years of this thesis in 1928.

⁴⁷ For Perse Grammar School, see NA – ED109/269 and NA – ED109/270; for Harrow School, see NA – ED109/4196 and NA – ED109/4197; for Roedean School, see NA – ED109/5999 and NA – ED109/6000.

⁴⁸ For Davenant/Whitechapel Foundation School, see NA – ED109/4013, p9 and 23; NA – ED109/4014, p6; NA – ED109/4015, p5. Interestingly, the school's archives were not extensive enough to offer any assistance.

⁴⁹ This data will be discussed in the next chapter on the middle and upper classes.

Some provincial archive centres only possess material relating to a later period (e.g. East Sussex Record Office hold late twentieth century material relating to Carmel House School, a junior school) whilst others (e.g. the Centre for Kentish Studies) had no records pertaining to Jewish education or any Jewish history in the area.⁵⁰

The archives of The Board of Deputies of British Jews, held at the London Metropolitan Archives, provide scant material on these schools.⁵¹ The archives do hold some interesting material on the problems regarding the public examinations set for Jewish Sabbaths and High Holy Days. The Education Committee of the Board worked hard to provide alternative arrangements for Jewish candidates.⁵²

Oral testimonies (which are located at the Jewish Museums of London and Manchester and at the National Sound Archives unit of the British Library) have proved surprisingly unhelpful.⁵³ Many of the interviewees were born in the twentieth century and their educational accounts are beyond the years of this thesis.⁵⁴ They

⁵⁰ The school records held at the Centre for Kentish Studies include voluntary and controlled schools, the vast majority being elementary. Secondary schools, many of which were established comparatively recently, only figure occasionally, as most remain independent of the Local Education Authority.

⁵¹ The archives are catalogued as reference ACC/3121.

⁵² The material held only indicates Jewish candidates attending non-Jewish schools. I found no references to the Jewish schools discussed here.

⁵³ The broad titles that I searched through are as follows: Living Memory of the Jewish Community, Family Life and Work Experience before 1918, Millennium Memory Bank, Artists' Lives, NLSC: Book Trade Lives, London Museum of Jewish Life Oral History Interviews and the Manchester Jewish Museum. Rosalyn D. Livshin, "Aspects of the Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester 1890-1930", unpublished M.Ed thesis, University of Manchester (1982), 11-12 noted that "often it is only through oral history that one can reach people, who have left behind few official documents and who are, therefore, gravely under-represented in public archives. People, for example, who may have never served on any committee, or been active in any public institution, or who may never have done anything 'famous', but whose lives are as important a commentary upon the past as the lives of the well known and renowned". What is interesting in this research is that autobiographies/biographies etc. were of more value as 'famous' people discussed their educational backgrounds or others noted it. It was useful to understand the type of families that were drawn to the education on offer and yet it only provides part of the jigsaw. Many, as Livshin wrote, were not famous but, in this case, the oral testimonies have not provided any further evidence of secondary education during this period and, therefore, have not provided further clues to the class status of children immersed in such education.

⁵⁴ For example, Manchester Jewish Museum Tape No. J324 Abraham Heilpern: Born in 1916, he attended Manchester Grammar School from the age of 11. Interestingly, he commented that, whilst, on the whole, there was no antisemitism, one master was openly antisemitic.

rarely discuss their parents' formal education if there was any to mention. As I have previously noted, I was extremely lucky to meet three former and one current head teachers of Jewish schools in order to gain their perspective of the current Anglo-Jewish experience (which would have been especially useful had I continued to research the latter part of the twentieth century, but invaluable for understanding the state of Jewish education from those in the know).⁵⁵ I am particularly grateful to Mr. Anthony Abrahams and his wife, Liz, who welcomed me into their home and discussed his famous family's educational history in Bedford and pointed me in the direction of South Hampstead High School for Girls where his mother, Ruth Bowman, was a pupil.⁵⁶

The use of the Jewish press was particularly important for their reports of school events (including prize giving ceremonies and successful examination records) and lists of advertisements offering school places with details of the school curriculum, which became more informative with the availability of external examinations.⁵⁷ Advertising was considered as "the very breath of business".⁵⁸ There were a number of Jewish newspapers that covered this period.⁵⁹ As David Cesarani observed in his history of the Jewish Chronicle, "for long stretches of its one hundred and fifty year history, the Jewish Chronicle held a monopoly of the Jewish press in Great Britain."⁶⁰ Using such a primary source extensively without consulting other newspapers is, indeed, controversial and yet, as Cesarani remarked, the Jewish

⁵⁵ Rabbi Jeremy Rosen's views on Jewish Houses were particularly interesting.

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Mr. John Sylvester, Secretary of the Old Bedfordians Club, who put me in touch with Mr. and Mrs. Abrahams.

⁵⁷ External examinations at the secondary level, for both grammar and private schools, were established by the College of Preceptors after 1850 and by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1857 and 1858. In 1853, the Indian Act opened appointments in the Indian Civil Service to competitive examination. The Home Civil Service, limited in 1855, opened in 1870.

⁵⁸ PLSU – MS 148/445 Letter dated 31 August 1910 from Philip Goldberg to Isidore Berkowitz.

⁵⁹ The Jewish Chronicle was read on microfilm at the Jewish Studies Library at UCL. All other newspapers were consulted at the Newspaper Library in Colindale.

⁶⁰ David Cesarani, The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991 (London, 1994), ix. Hereafter Cesarani, Jewish.

Chronicle “lived up to its title ‘The Organ of Anglo-Jewry’, a position of privilege that carried with it the burden of public duty”⁶¹ and “helped the literate, thoughtful members of Anglo-Jewry in mid-Victorian Britain to orientate themselves as Jews in relation to the dominant culture”.⁶² The Jewish Chronicle has been consulted and quoted to a great extent as it spanned the largest portion of this period and includes major discussions on middle class education, including many heated articles and correspondence on public school education, plus the majority of Jewish schools, which are discussed here, were most likely to advertise in its pages rather than in other publications. Despite this, other well-known Jewish newspapers are also cited. These include the Voice of Jacob, which ran between 1841 and 1848 as ‘a fortnightly publication for the promotion of the spiritual and general welfare of the Jews’ and the Jewish World, which was published during the period 1873-1920 as ‘a journal of middle-class Anglo-Jewry’.⁶³ A number of short-lived Jewish newspapers were also consulted. These include The Jewish Tribune (1920) ‘a bi-monthly organ of the Jews of Russia’, The Jewish Guardian (1919-20), The Jewish Standard (1890-1)⁶⁴ ‘the English Organ of Orthodoxy’, the Hebrew Observer (1853-4), ‘a weekly journal – religious, literary and general’, and The Manchester Jewish Telegraph (1908), ‘a weekly organ: news, literature and humour published every Sunday’.⁶⁵ Editorials and leading articles were an intended attempt to shape Anglo-Jewish opinions and

⁶¹ Cesarani, Jewish, ix. In 1844, the Jewish Chronicle became known as the Jewish Chronicle and Working Man’s Friend. In 1855, it merged with the Hebrew Observer to become the Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer, a name it retained until 1868. For a complete history of the Jewish Chronicle, see Cesarani, Jewish. The Jewish Chronicle was even “sold in the West Indies from an early stage”. School advertisements attracted pupils from as far afield as Kingston, Jamaica. Cesarani, Jewish, 29.

⁶² Cesarani, Jewish, 45.

⁶³ Anne Kershen, “Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth: Men of their Times?”, in Geoffrey Alderman, ed., Outsiders and Outcasts: Essays in Honour of William J. Fishman (London, 1993), 113. The Voice of Jacob provided early editorials on the establishment of a training college for the ministry. See the Voice of Jacob, 12 November 1841, 4, 30b; 26 November 1841, 5, 34a-b, 7 January 1842, 8, 59a-60b, 21 January 1842, 9, 68b-69b, and 4 February 1842, 10, 75b-76b. It also mentioned some of the educational establishments discussed in this thesis.

⁶⁴ Two volumes of The Jewish Standard were unavailable for research.

⁶⁵ The Manchester Jewish Telegraph was published in Yiddish. I could not find any references to the schools discussed in this thesis.

“defined the parameters for debate on communal and other issues”⁶⁶ which readers provided in the form of letters.⁶⁷ Advertisements, on the other hand, were simply trying to draw readers’ attention to the offered education. Obituaries were often placed in the Jewish press of teachers whose schools, more often than not, were not admired or commended whilst they were still alive and yet the gratitude and praise filled the eulogy.⁶⁸ These newspapers are an important part of Anglo-Jewry history and although each publication obviously provided its own opinions in the editorials, they do present useful data through these different mediums within their pages. However, these papers mentioned above do not provide much data on provincial set-ups. The local and national press were useful sources for editorials and news items but I did not find advertisements for the Jewish schools within their pages.⁶⁹

With regard to secondary sources, the use of Anglo-Jewish histories has been previously discussed. In addition, there is a wide selection of sources on the history in England. Dorothy Marshall’s history of industrial England and Norman McCord’s detailed analysis of British History were vital background reading, whilst histories on female education and social classes provided specific detailed discussions.⁷⁰ One of the most useful introductory histories to English education is the well-illustrated

Social History of Education in England by J. Lawson and H. Silver. J. Stuart

⁶⁶ Cesarani, *Jewish*, ix.

⁶⁷ Major issues include the admittance of Jewish pupils to public schools and the issue of public examinations taking place on Fridays and Saturdays.

⁶⁸ For example, *Jewish Chronicle* 1399 (24 January 1896), 9b: Miss Ellen Pyke was “a well-known and honoured figure from the Jewish scholastic world... [who]... devoted herself to the profession of teaching”.

⁶⁹ Examples of local and national press consulted include *The Times* (1788-present), *Yorkshire Observer* (1899-1903; 1909-1956), *Liverpool Daily Post* (1855-1904) and *Manchester Courier* (1825-1916) and *Manchester Guardian* (1821-present). For further publications, see Bibliography.

⁷⁰ Dorothy Marshall, *Industrial England 1776-1851* (London, 1973) and Norman McCord, *British History 1815-1906* (Oxford, 1991). History of women and their educational experience: Margaret E. Bryant, *The Unexpected Revolution: A Study in the History of the Education of Women and Girls in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1979); June Purvis, *Women’s History: Britain, 1850-1945* (London, 1995); Social classes: Alistair J. Reid, *Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850-1914* (London, 1992); W.D. Rubenstein, *Britain’s Century: A Political and Social History 1815-1905* (London, 1998) and Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds., *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940* (Manchester, 1999).

Maclure's Educational Documents, England and Wales 1816-1967 is a valuable tool which reveals the workings of the British government and its Educational Acts.⁷¹

Other important works on this subject include those of Margaret E. Bryant, John Roach and W.B. Stephens.⁷² The usage of dictionaries, encyclopaedias and bibliographical lists has been important where school registers, in particular, were unavailable.⁷³ These sources often merely note the educational background of Jews (e.g. Hertha Ayrton at Madame Hartog's school and Amy Levy at Brighton High School for Girls) as a point of fact and very rarely are any further details, apart from the name of the school(s), given. What these sources do show in great detail are their familial background and the careers they established. As previously mentioned, biographies of both Jewish and non-Jewish pupils, who attended non-Jewish schools, are interesting for their slant on Jewish entry.⁷⁴ County directories, such as Kelly's, Bear's and White's, were also an important source. They included descriptions of individual towns and villages including amenities, such as schools,⁷⁵ and street listings of people (which were often street by street, house by house lists of all householders as people did not have to pay to be included). The street listings are of

⁷¹ J. Lawson and H. Silver, Social History of Education in England (London, 1973). J. Stuart Maclure, Educational Documents, England and Wales 1816-1967 (London, 1968).

⁷² Secondary sources for English education include: Margaret E. Bryant, The London Experience of Secondary Education (London, 1986); John Roach, Public Examinations in England 1850-1900 (London, 1971) and W.B. Stephens, Education in Britain 1750-1914 (London, 1998).

⁷³ Examples include: Matthew, H.C.G. and Hamson, Brian, eds. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 61 Vols. Oxford, 2004. (For a discussion of Jews in this publication, see Michael Jolles, "Jews and the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography" in Jewish Historical Society of England Newsletter, 11 (2005), 1-5. Hereafter Jolles, "Jews". He notes that "The Oxford DNB has presented a most welcome, valuable, wide ranging and authoritative contribution to Anglo-Jewish biography". Jolles "Jews", 5. Who Was Who 1897-1916 (London, 1920); Who Was Who 1929-1940 (London, 1941); Who Was Who 1941-1950 (London, 1964); Who Was Who 1951-1960 (London, 1964); The Jewish Encyclopaedia. 16 vols. (London, 1905); Encyclopaedia Judaica. 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971-2); Asher Tropp, Jews in the Professions in Great Britain 1891-1991. London, 1991. Ruth P. Goldschmidt-Lehmann, A Bibliography of Anglo-Jewish Medical Biography. Jerusalem, 1988. Dictionary of British Educationists (London, 1989). Details of teachers and school founders (e.g. Leopold Neumegen) also feature in these encyclopaedias.

⁷⁴ Another example is Frank Foden, Philip Magnus: Victorian Educational Pioneer (London, 1970), 13-22.

⁷⁵ These directories do not give any indication of size, status or financial conditions of the schools.

particular value as they detail those who lived close by, often noting a popular area for the establishment of private boarding schools. Whilst the Census returns carry more detailed information about individual households than do the directories, the latter has the advantage of appearing on a more frequent basis than the former.⁷⁶ The Jewish Year Book, which was established in 1896, was, according to Anne Kershen, “a valuable addition to the library of Jewish publications” which was provided to “its, assumedly middle and upper class, Jewish readership”.⁷⁷ Its late start precludes the incorporation of many of the Jewish schools discussed here.

Over the years, Anglo-Jewish historians have researched personalities and provincial cities for the Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England.⁷⁸ Other Anglo-Jewish historians have focused on provincial cities for inclusion in their histories including Cecil Roth (Bedford, Birmingham, Bristol, Canterbury, Cheltenham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Portsmouth), Patricia L. Bell (Bedford), Lawrence E. Levy (Birmingham), Judith Samuel (Bristol), Dan Con-Sherbok (Canterbury), Murray Freedman (Leeds), Joseph Buckman (Leeds), Ernest Krausz (Leeds) and Bill Williams (Manchester).⁷⁹ Bernard Susser focused on the

⁷⁶ For detailed discussion on directories, see Gareth Shaw and Allison Tipper, British Directories: A Bibliography and Guide to Directories Published in England and Wales (1850-1950) and Scotland (1773-1950), 2nd edition. London, 1997.

⁷⁷ Anne Kershen, “The Jewish Year Book, 5657 (1896): A Defence of British Jewry?”, in The Jewish Year Book: An Annual Record of Matters Jewish, 5657 (1896-1897): A Centenary Facsimile of the First Jewish Year Book (London, 1996), xvi. Hereafter, Kershen, “Jewish”.

⁷⁸ Examples of articles on personalities: Naomi Cream, “Revd. Solomon Lyon of Cambridge 1755-1820”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXVI (2001), 31-69. Leonard Hyman, “Hyman Hurwitz: The First Anglo-Jewish Professor”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 232-242. Ruth Sebag-Montefiore, “A Quest for a Grandfather: Sir Philip Magnus, 1st Bart., Victorian Educationalist”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXIV (1997), 141-160. Alexander Carlebach, “The Rev. Dr. Joseph Chotzner”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 261-273. Examples of articles on provincial cities: Malcolm Brown, “The Jews of Gravesend Before 1915”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXV (2000), 119-140. Israel Finestein, “The Jews in Hull, between 1766 and 1880”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXV (1996-8), 33-91. Malcolm Brown and Judith Samuel, The Jews of Bath, in XXIX (1986), 135-164.

⁷⁹ Cecil Roth, The Rise of Provincial Jewry: The Early History of the Jewish Communities in the English Countryside, 1740-1840 (London, 1950). BCRO - CRT 130 BED/268 Miss P.L. Bell’s Bedford Jews 18th – 20th Centuries; BCRO – CRT 170/9/16 Patricia L. Bell’s Bedford’s Second Jewish

South-West of England.⁸⁰ It is also important to mention unpublished theses, although they, like oral testimonies, proved unhelpful.⁸¹ I did, however, manage to secure a copy of Bee Korn's fascinating thesis from the Perse School, in Cambridge,⁸² but discovered, as with many of the theses noted in the bibliography, that the period of discussion was not the same as for this thesis and provided little or no relevant material but was merely useful for background reading only.⁸³

There are no exact or official figures of all Jewish pupils attending secondary schools between 1830 and 1920. It would be an impossible task to collate for reasons that have already been explained.⁸⁴ However, Appendix I provides lists of Jewish pupils who attended Jewish boarding schools, other Jewish schools, non-Jewish schools and a sample of those who were educated at home. These charts have been created using Census returns and registers, not to mention memoirs and encyclopaedias (as discussed earlier). With the data available, mainly from school registers, one column in the table will sometimes show the father's occupation, thus indicating the type of families who send their sons to a particular school. (This will be discussed further in the next chapter.) This will not be conclusive, by any means, as many registers do not show the father's occupation but the type of families who sent their offspring to these schools is noted in other sources (such as the Board of

Community, 1787-1883 (1994). Lawrence E. Levy, Birmingham Jewry 1870 and 1920 (Birmingham, 1929). Judith Samuel, Jews in Bristol: The History of the Jewish Community in Bristol from the Middle Ages to the Present Day. Bristol, 1997. Dan Con-Sherbok, The Jews of Canterbury 1760-1931. Canterbury, 1984. Murray Freedman, "Essays on Leeds & Anglo-Jewish History & Demography" (Leeds, 2003). Murray Freedman, "The First Hundred Years" (York, 1992). Joseph Buckman, Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrants in Leeds 1880-1914. Manchester, 1983. Although there is no discussion of education, Buckman provides a full account of the immigrants in the Leeds tailoring trade. Ernest Krausz, Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure. Cambridge, 1964. Bill Williams, The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875. Manchester, 1976.

⁸⁰ Bernard Susser, The Jews of South-West England: The Rise and Decline of Their Medieval and Modern Communities (Exeter, 1993).

⁸¹ Theses were mainly available at the Institute for Education, University College London or the British Library.

⁸² Thanks to David Jones, at the Perse School, who supplied me with a copy of the thesis.

⁸³ As an example, Korn spoke to former pupils, who attended between the years 1916 and 1950.

⁸⁴ Reasons previously explained include identifying who is Jewish and the exceptionally difficult task of gaining access to archives at non-Jewish schools.

Education Reports which indicated the class in life from which the pupils were drawn). There was also the difficulty in categorising the different schools. These are tabulated in Appendix III as Senior/Secondary Jewish Institutions, Jewish Institutions Providing Senior/Secondary Education in a Mixed School (i.e. both elementary and secondary), Classes/ Instruction for Jewish Boys and Girls (who attended secular schools) and Jewish Houses in Public Schools. The final type of source that has been utilised is maps. Using such a source as historical evidence offers the reader visual aids at a glance.⁸⁵ Appendix IV will survey the geographical issue, indicating the provincial localities where a number of schools were established in close proximity – a clear example of the need for the creation of a regulated system.

Content

This thesis is organised in the following way. Chapter 2 will deal with the difficulties of definitions. It will identify the target population for this thesis. It will indicate the problems that arise from using the terms 'Jewish community' or 'Anglo-Jewry'. This thesis will explore the emergence of the middle classes (Jewish and non-Jewish), their movement into the professions and their resultant aspirations for suitable education. Without an understanding of the evolution of the English middle classes, it is impossible to appreciate the changes that took place in the educational needs of the Jewish middle classes during the period under examination. The study will take account of the impact of industry and empire on the development of the school curriculum. It will also consider the changing face of the Jewish middle class as a result of patterns of immigration during the 90 years covered and debate the processes by which they altered. The terms used, by historians, throughout the last

⁸⁵ Ordnance Survey maps (25") were the primary source.

few decades to describe Anglo-Jewry's transformation are acculturation, Anglicisation, and assimilation. Having explained the terms by which the Jews approached English culture and society, and their own Jewish identity, it will be necessary to define what is meant by 'Jewish secondary education', the term used in this chapter for convenience but this research has actually looked into two identifiable and distinct categories – 'Jewish secondary education' and 'Jews in secondary education'.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed historical background of the Jews against the backdrop of its host society. It will briefly discuss the origins of Jewish education in England after the Resettlement of 1656 and explore the rise of Jewish elementary schooling. This chapter will give an overview of the English educational history, focusing on middle class opportunities and their effects on Anglo-Jewry. Government Acts, such as the Taunton Act (1868 Report of the Royal Commission known as the Schools Inquiry Commission) which discussed the issue of the rights of withdrawal and the University Test Act (1871), which removed the difficulties in the way of a Jew becoming a scholar or a fellow in an English university, will be included.

Chapter 4 will focus on boys' education in London and its environs (e.g. Edmonton, Maida Vale), whilst Chapter 5 will concentrate on boys' education in the provinces (e.g. in the North West of England, i.e. Manchester and Liverpool, the South West, i.e. Bristol and Exeter, the South East, i.e. Brighton, Dover, Ramsgate, Gravesend and Portsmouth, and East Anglia, i.e. Cambridge). These two chapters will focus on Jewish and non-Jewish establishments located in these areas. Chapter 6 will concentrate solely on girls' education in London and the provinces. These chapters will discuss the geographical localities and the schools' level of development.

Conclusion

This thesis arises from a growing personal dissatisfaction with the paucity of published literature available on the topic. By the end of the twentieth century, there was an abundance of studies on Anglo-Jewish history, although as David Cesarani commented, this had not been the case sixty years ago.

Prior to the 1960s, Anglo-Jewish studies were almost entirely the preserve of gifted amateurs or part-time historians who combined busy professional lives with research and writing. Cecil Roth was the doyen and virtually sole exponent of professional Jewish studies in Britain. The monopoly position of enthusiasts in the Jewish Historical Society of England, clustered around Roth, remained virtually unbroken until the welcome intrusion of the American-born and trained Jewish historian Lloyd Gartner. His study, The Jewish Immigrant in England, published in 1960, catapulted modern Anglo-Jewish history onto a new level of accomplishment and vastly broadened its scope. Over the succeeding quarter of a century, a variety of historians and social scientists added to the literature on Anglo-Jewry in the modern period.⁸⁶

Bearing this in mind, it is now imperative that more specific, rather than general, histories are published on the many aspects of Anglo-Jewry which remain untapped. An example of this, noted earlier in this chapter, is the secondary education of the Jews. As Isidore Fishman noted, back in 1944,

The active part which the Jews have played in the development of their educational system has hitherto failed to receive the recognition which it

⁸⁶ David Cesarani, "Introduction", in David Cesarani, ed., The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry (Oxford, 1990), 3. See later in this chapter for a full discussion of secondary sources.

undoubtedly deserves. The reason lies probably in the fact that few studies have so far appeared dealing with this important branch of Jewish culture.⁸⁷

Building on the work of the historians mentioned in this chapter, this work will attempt to provide a crucial analysis of the types of secondary schooling available to the youth of the Jewish middle-classes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. What follows is a survey which predominantly discusses London and its environs due, on the one hand, to the fact that more primary material was made available and, on the other hand, to the abundance of secondary schools, both Jewish and non-Jewish, that catered to the needs of the middle classes. At the same time, the thesis also provides a study of a number of provincial centres, including Manchester, the second major centre of Jewish settlement, Liverpool, Leeds,⁸⁸ and Birmingham.⁸⁹ It will endeavour to focus on a number of smaller towns and resorts, including, for instance, Dover, Brighton, Canterbury, Bedford and Gravesend (Kent). Israel Finestein recently wrote that his work was “not a history of Anglo-Jewish education but an examination of attitudes”.⁹⁰ This thesis will attempt to combine an analysis of both history and attitudes. It will show that Jewish secondary education was not uniform, even within the types created for this work. It is important to remember that this thesis will only be discussing the initial stages of Anglo-Jewry’s experience of secondary education. Indeed, the novelty of the Jewish educational enterprises must be taken into account. Whilst it is unfair to criticise these initial efforts since they were entering uncharted waters, it is a valuable exercise to comment fully on their shortcomings,

⁸⁷ Fishman, *History*, 7.

⁸⁸ The Leeds community developed later than the others and therefore that history, although at the moment only discussing girls, will focus on the latter part of the nineteenth century.

⁸⁹ The study of the provincial centres is as detailed as possible with the archives that were made available. Whilst it is not ideal for a study to only focus on one or two schools in each centre, it does show that Jewish pupils were evident in secondary schools within these localities. To clarify, very detailed studies of a centre were impossible where access to school archives was unavailable. Whether there was reluctance from schools to show their policies towards Jewish pupils is unclear.

⁹⁰ Finestein, *Scenes*, 52.

demonstrating why they failed to produce concrete and lasting results, whilst showing the character, variety, innovation, and, not least, the dedication of their staff.

The thesis will note important factors that affected the changes in the educational experience beyond movement into the middle classes. These include demographic and vocational changes, changes in the size of the population, how as well as improvements in transport (i.e. road and railway) the growing London Jewish population, for example, could afford to send their children to the 'healthy' areas of resorts such as Brighton. Dorothy Marshall has noted that "the era of travel had arrived. This, in itself, was a social revolution" which allowed greater mobility between places for those who could afford it.⁹¹

This thesis is a social history discussing important themes in the educational decisions that affected the Jewish middle classes. It will be a systematic study which explores the introduction of secondary education for Anglo-Jewry's middle class and endeavours to provide a comparison between London and the provinces.⁹² The study will establish the motives of the founders of the Jewish secondary schools (noting the different types of institutions available) and evaluate the achievements of such schools. It will also assess the impact of changing Anglo-Jewish attitudes to education and their entry to non-Jewish schools, incorporating the attitudes of the said schools and its current pupils to these new recruits, and assessing both British and Jewish attitudes to female education in a male-dominated domain. This study will place 'Jewish secondary education' and 'Jews in secondary education' in the context of both social change within Anglo-Jewry and educational change within the host

⁹¹ Dorothy Marshall, *Industrial England 1776-1851* (London, 1973), 11.

⁹² It will also discuss the *Yeshivot* although, as Gartner notes, "...no *Yeshivah* for advanced Talmudic study took firm root in this period, although the *Ets Hayyim* (Tree of Life) in London struggled hard and did survive. Largely due to the efforts of immigrant rabbis in the provinces, little *Yeshivot* opened modest premises in Manchester and Liverpool and maintained an unsteady existence." Gartner, *Jewish*, 240.

society, taking into account new government and university Acts, and the introduction of specific examinations.

The following questions are raised. To what extent were attitudes towards religion and education changing as the structure of society changed? As an editorial in The Jewish Tribune commented, in 1920,

Among English Jews, patriotism increased after their emancipation, when through the medium of the schools and literature they partook of the common culture of the country. This patriotism grew with great rapidity, and gave wonderful results in the first generation of the new British citizens.⁹³

Were the Jewish schools viable in an increasingly acculturated community? Why were schools of this specific type unable to attract communal financial support? Did the forces of modernity overcome the desire for separate religious education? Finally, the thesis will ask what effect these schools had on the middle classes. It is hoped that this study will contribute to a full understanding of the educational choices that were made available to them. The chapters which follow are, in part, a memorial to the numerous Jewish educational institutions which have ceased to exist, and, in many cases, have vanished from the collective memory of Anglo-Jewry. The aim of this thesis is “to tell the story, (blemishes and all), of the men, women and children who contributed” to this historical adventure.⁹⁴

It is hoped that this study will promote discussion and stimulate further research into a subject that is both exciting and challenging. This thesis does not intend to right the wrongs of the past nor does it intend to answer all the questions posed by secondary educational history. What it hopes to do is to enrich the existing histories relating to Anglo-Jewry in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which

⁹³ The Jewish Tribune, 7 (1 May 1920), 7.

⁹⁴ Black, J.F.S., 6.

have, to this day, failed to discuss the extent and significance of this educational experience.

Chapter Two: Definitions

This chapter will present definitions of disputed terms (such as middle classes, acculturation and Jewish education) and show how they will be understood in the context of this thesis.

Middle Classes

The Taunton Report of 1868¹ indicated that there were more than 10,000 private schools in England. “The General Register Office estimated that there were some 3,000,000 persons in ‘the middle and higher classes’... On this basis, the number of children in the middle and upper classes, aged 5-20, was estimated at 974,258. It was this section of the community for whom secondary schools existed.”² But what is meant by the middle and higher classes; how does this correspond with the definitions of the Jewish middle and higher classes? Is it, in fact, possible to clearly identify these classes? Were the Jewish secondary establishments created specifically for them and, in fact, were the non-Jewish schools they attended specifically intended for these classes? The Jewish Chronicle suggested that “the middle and higher classes... get their children educated either at home, in boarding schools, or in day schools, all supported by the payments of the pupils”.³ Whilst Lipman observed, “to some extent, there would have been overlapping of the lower ranges of the middle class by the higher grades of working class or artisans”.⁴ Lipman observed that

¹ This report’s official title is the Schools Inquiry Commission.

² Stuart J. Maclure, Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day (London, 1968), 90. Hereafter Maclure, Educational.

³ Jewish Chronicle, XVI, 269 (10 February 1860), 4b.

⁴ Vivian D. Lipman, “The Rise of Jewish Suburbia”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1968), 79.

The Anglo-Jewry of 1850, though containing a number of recent immigrants, was, in the main, a community of some standing; the bulk of its members was of families settled over fifty years, due to the most marked period of immigration having been between 1750 and 1800; and an appreciable proportion – perhaps an eighth – coming from families settled in England for over a century and a half.⁵

Lipman pointed out, in London, the higher class were the stockbrokers, merchant bankers and merchants whilst the upper middle class consisted of the manufacturers, the wholesale merchants, shippers and contractors and the lower middle class was made up of small manufacturers and retailers.⁶ Chart A below revealed the most recurrent occupations of fathers, as revealed in four admission registers, whose offspring attended four non-Jewish schools in London and the provinces between 1860 and 1920.⁷ The chart suggests that all three classes, as identified above, are represented as follows – merchants (upper middle or higher classes), manufacturers and jewellers (upper middle and lower middle classes).⁸ This is only part of the problem that is faced in identifying those who were educated in secondary schools. The other part of the problem lies in the schools that accepted all classes and considered themselves as classless.

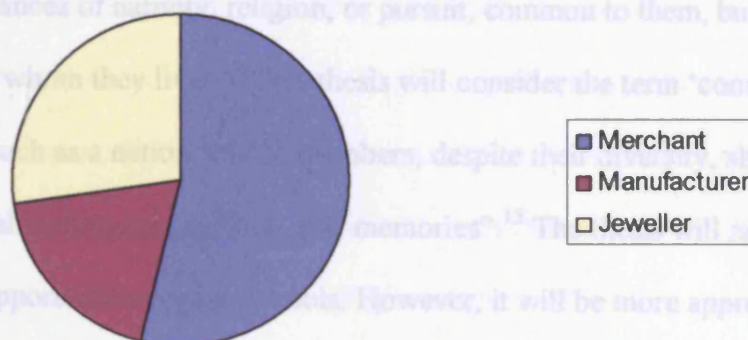
⁵ Vivian D. Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950 (London, 1954), 9. Hereafter Lipman, Social.

⁶ Lipman, Social, 27-8.

⁷ The admission registers of Manchester Grammar School, King Edward's School (Birmingham), South Hampstead High School for Girls and Hackney Downs School. For sources, see the pupil lists in Appendix I (section B) for King Edward School, Birmingham (1870-83), the Manchester Grammar School (1862-79), Hackney Downs School (1876-1919) and South Hampstead High School for Girls (1886-1900).

⁸ Other occupations include moneylender, stockbroker and solicitor.

Chart A: Sample of Fathers' Occupations (taken from 4 admission registers) 1860-1920



Norman McCord notes that “there are serious problems in identifying a coherent middle class within nineteenth century [British] society”.⁹ What is the middle class? Who fits into this group? Would it not be more appropriate to use the term middle classes? As R.J. Morris observed, the “‘middle classes’ (plural) was by far the most common usage, denoting the unity of the class and the large number of divisions of status and other kinds within it.”¹⁰ In the Introduction, I have used the terms ‘Jewish community’, ‘Anglo-Jewry’ and ‘middle classes’. There is no uniformity among scholars as to the use of these terms. For the purposes of this study, I have applied Todd M. Endelman’s definition of ‘Anglo-Jewry’ to this study. He indicated that “it is conventional to use the term ‘Anglo-Jewish’ to refer to Jews in Britain as a whole, including Jews in Scotland and Wales, even though they were not, in a strict sense, ‘English’ Jews”.¹¹ This study has not made the mistake of using the term ‘Anglo-Jewry’ interchangeably with ‘Jewish community’ as the latter should be taken to mean a group of Jews located in a particular area of the country where Jews

⁹ Norman McCord, *British History 1815-1906*, (Oxford, 1991), 99. Hereafter McCord, *British*.

¹⁰ R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester and New York, 1990) 12.

¹¹ Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley, 2002), 12. Hereafter Endelman, *Jews*.

have established schools and synagogues. The Oxford English Dictionary describes a community as “often applied to those members of a civil community, who have certain circumstances of nativity, religion, or pursuit, common to them, but not shared by those among whom they live”.¹² This thesis will consider the term ‘community’ to mean “groups, such as a nation, whose members, despite their diversity, share common political institutions, symbols and memories”.¹³ The thesis will note whether ‘community’ supported the Jewish schools. However, it will be more appropriate to consider the pupils in this thesis in class terms to divide the community and understand exactly who was educated at these schools. Historians have written variously about the ‘middle classes’, the ‘middling class’, the ‘upper middle class’, the ‘lower middle class’ and the ‘professional class’, thus creating confusion as to how to define the identity of this group. Nor do such terms accommodate groups of bankers, and financial entrepreneurs, such as the Rothschilds, who were part of what became known as ‘The Cousinhood’, and who “cannot be accommodated within merely middle-class status”.¹⁴ (Incidentally, Chaim Bermant, one of the most important historians of ‘The Cousinhood’ describes, in his book of the same name, this group as ‘middle class’, although later he discusses the term ‘landed gentry’¹⁵ although they were also known as “the aristocracy of Anglo-Jewry in the nineteenth

¹² The Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd edition, III (Oxford, 1989), 582.

¹³ Guido Bolaffi, Raffaele Bracalenti, Peter Braham and Sandra Gindro, eds., Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture (London, 2003), 45.

¹⁴ McCord, British, 101. The Rothschilds were part of an exclusive group known as ‘The Cousinhood’. This was “a compact union of exclusive brethren with blood and money flowing in a small circle [of Goldsmids, Rothschilds and Montefiores] which opened up from time to time to admit a Beddington, a Montagu, a Franklin, a Sassoon, or anyone else who attained rank or fortune”... (Chaim Bermant, The Cousinhood: The Anglo-Jewish Gentry (London, 1971), 1. Hereafter Bermant, Cousinhood.) Although small in number, their education holds significance especially with regards to home education (see Appendix I, section C). Obviously, their education witnessed no constraints from a monetary perspective.

¹⁵ Bermant, Cousinhood, 4 and 119. “...a gentleman to be recognised as such had to own land, and lots of it. ...in the nineteenth century various members of the Cousinhood... had acquired country seats, but they were hardly more than mansions surrounded by extensive parks... But in the second half of the century the Rothschilds moved into the country... Between 1850 and 1880 they virtually bought up the Vale of Aylesbury... By the time their acquisitions were complete they owned some 30,000 acres of Buckinghamshire and a good slice of Hertfordshire”.

century”.¹⁶) Pollins believes that the term ‘middle class’ should be divided into lower middle class (i.e. shopkeepers and small-scale manufacturers) and upper middle class (i.e. financiers and professionals).¹⁷ This may be, in fact, the simplest way to describe those under discussion here. Indeed, Martin Pugh suggests that “we cannot speak of a cohesive middle class at all; for the term covers everyone from merchants to small shopkeepers and farmers, the professions, financiers and manufacturers”.¹⁸ However, between the period 1840 and 1880, David Englander believes that

The Jewish middle classes were, in the main, made up of shopkeeper and petty traders with a family income of £100 to £1000 per annum. Half of London Jewry, according to the calculations of Joseph Jacobs... were of the middle classes; more reliable estimates, based on the census of 1871, suggest that between a third and a quarter of Manchester Jewry can be so classified.¹⁹

If one inspects the pupil lists in Appendix I where the father’s professions have been noted, both the lower and upper middle class, according to Pollins’s definition, are represented.²⁰ Whilst these lists certainly are not representative of all the occupations (as only a few registers were made available – hence the gaps and small numbers), it does show that the inclusion of a variety of backgrounds, encompassing the expanse of the middle classes, were attracted to the non-Jewish schools.

Overall, the picture, as represented from the available school registers, is similar with entries mainly for merchants, jewellers, manufacturers, brokers and

¹⁶ Sharman Kadish, ‘A Good Jew and A Good Englishman’: The Jewish Lads’ and Girls’ Brigade 1895-1995 (London, 1995), 5. Hereafter Kadish, *Good*.

¹⁷ Harold Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England*, (London and Toronto, 1982), 88. Hereafter Pollins, *Economic*.

¹⁸ Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain 1870-1977* 2nd edition (London, 1999), 101. Hereafter Pugh, *State*.

¹⁹ D. Englander, “Anglicised not Anglican: Jews and Judaism in Victorian Britain”, in G. Parsons, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain*, vol. 1, 242.

²⁰ Only a few of the registers noted the father’s professions: the Manchester Grammar School between 1862 and 1879; Birmingham’s King Edward School between 1870 and 1883; the Hackney Downs School between 1876 and 1919; and the South Hampstead High School for Girls between 1886 and 1900.

clothiers. The register for Manchester Grammar School indicates merchants, brokers and clothiers. More than half of the fathers, who sent their sons to Birmingham's King Edward School, were jewellers. Others were merchants and brokers, with a few in the tailoring or other trades. South Hampstead High School for Girls mainly attracted merchants (including timber, tobacco, diamond and feather). For Hackney Downs School, fathers' occupations mainly consisted of merchants, travellers and manufacturers. Endelman refers to these families, who sent their sons to local non-Jewish schools, 'as ordinary middle-class families',²¹ "those beneath the haute bourgeoisie of finance on the social ladder".²² In the 1904 report, the Perse School, Cambridge, noted that a majority of their pupils hailed from the following backgrounds: professional and independent, merchants and bankers, and retail traders, whilst the 1910 report also noted the inclusion of clerks and commercial agents.²³ With the arrival of the Education Act of 1902, middle class children were joined by the working classes as scholarships were granted to successful examination candidates, entitling them to free education at grammar schools.²⁴ Some working classes may have previously been in attendance at both Jewish and non-Jewish schools as will be discussed in later chapters where a few schools were described as 'classless'.²⁵ Even bearing this point in mind, a majority of the schools discussed in this thesis were fee-paying and, therefore, out of reach of the working class pupils. The fees were often a

²¹ Endelman, *Jews*, 97. He mentions University College School, City of London School, St. Paul's School, Manchester Grammar School and Birmingham's King Edward.

²² Endelman, *Jews*, 100.

²³ NA - ED109/269

²⁴ For example, by 1909 the Hackney Downs School's "intake now changed dramatically, and within two years more than one-third of pupils were wholly or partly exempt from fees". Gerry Black, "Hackney Downs Schools", *The Jewish Year Book* (London, 2001), 55.

²⁵ The Jews' Hospital, located in Mile End, was established in the nineteenth century for working class boys and girls to be apprentices under the care of the Board of Guardians. See Appendix II for a list of pupils as noted in the Census returns. It is interesting to note the ages of these pupils (mainly 9-15) which is a range similar to the schools established for the middle classes. However, the main purpose of the Jews' Hospital was to apprentice the pupils.

contentious matter which may have indicated that they were attracting pupils from less wealthy backgrounds. In 1853, Mr. Neumegen

having reason to believe that the Public are led away by the impression that the charges in his establishment are immoderately high, he begs to inform them that... it will be found that the terms of his establishment are not higher than those of any other respectable establishment.²⁶

Dr. Loewe noted, in an advertisement for his 'Establishment for the Education of Young Gentlemen' in 1854, that he could receive "2 or 3 young gentlemen into his establishment at reduced terms".²⁷ Does this indicate that he was aiming towards the lower middle class as the upper middle class may well have shunned his establishment and others like it in favour of the non-Jewish schools that they were able to attend? According to Finestein, Loewe "announced that in his school there was no 'distinction of social classes'".²⁸ Does this mean that working class²⁹ pupils attended? This is unlikely as, on the one hand, working class pupils would have been more useful in employment and, on the other hand, the fees, however reduced, would have been a deterrent. He was, more likely, referring to the different elements that constituted the middle classes.

McCord refers to the broad social term 'middle classes', as do other historians, which he concurs does not solve the problem of identification. It does, after all, suggest different meanings. On the one hand, this term suggests that there are disparities within that particular class by the term 'classes' but its use avoids using break-points (i.e. lower middle and upper middle to indicate where one class ends and another begins as some straddle between a higher or lower strata due to their

²⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 14 October 1853, X, 2, 16a.

²⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 5 May 1854, X, 31, 267b.

²⁸ Finestein, *Anglo-Jewry*, 41.

²⁹ The working class was the social stratum that consisted of those who earned their wages as manual workers.

economic means) or smaller classifications (such as the professional class as identified by Rubenstein as “those persons who earn their livings by selling their specialised knowledge to clients who require them, receiving their earnings in the form of fees or salaries rather than in rent or profits”³⁰). On the other hand, to some extent, it is necessary to use this term as it alleviates the problem of narrowing the definition by putting them all into this broad, general term which encompasses a more wide-ranging classification. As Rubenstein states, the middle classes “include everyone in business or professional life below the millionaire class but above a lower income level which separates them from the working classes”.³¹ However one must bear in mind that, those at the lower end of the class may straddle the boundary between middle and working class. Indeed, differences of income and status present the historian with extremes within one occupation and, therefore, within a class too. As McCord commented,

by 1880 the professions in Britain were more clearly demarcated and more firmly established than ever before. Not of all those who were accorded professional status were rich. Some teachers or doctors, or lesser officials in central and local government service, earned incomes no larger than those of many skilled wage-earners.³²

From the material available, there are a number of ways in which the pupils can be identified and, therefore, placed into a particular class:

- (a) School Registers – These sources were sometimes able to provide the fathers’ occupations and, therefore, their class, as discussed above.

³⁰ W. D. Rubenstein, Britain’s Century: A Political and Social History 1815-1905 (London, 1998), 286. Hereafter Rubenstein, Britain’s.

³¹ Rubenstein, Britain’s, 288.

³² McCord, British, 338.

(b) Biographies/memoirs etc. – These works indicate family background which assists with the identification process, although, as with (a) above they do show the vast difference in the middle classes who are represented here. The following examples were famous individuals who contributed to both the Jewish and/or non-Jewish communities. Hannah Floretta Cohen (1875-1946) was educated at Roedean School, a public school for girls which “aimed to attract daughters of the upper class”.³³ Her father was a stockbroker and MP, who was a descendant of Levi Barent Cohen, an Amsterdam merchant, whose children formed the backbone of ‘The Cousinhood’.³⁴ Hertha Ayrton (1854-1923) was educated at her aunts’ Jewish private school in north-west London. She was “the third child of an itinerant Jewish watchmaker, a political refugee from the Tsarist pogroms in his native Poland”.³⁵ Amy Levy (1861-1889), “born into a comfortably middle class family with deep roots in England”,³⁶ was educated at Brighton High School for Girls.³⁷ Indeed,

In many ways the family exemplifies what historians report about Anglo-Jewry at the time. Native Jews, especially those who, like the Levys, were upper middle class, lived much like non-Jews, having become overwhelmingly English in manners, speech, deportment, and habits of thoughts and taste.³⁸

³³ Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London, 1981), 40.

³⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 12 (Oxford, 2004), 425-6. Cohen was a philanthropist and civil servant. Hereafter, *Oxford DNB*.

³⁵ Hester Burton, *Barbara Bodichon 1827-1891* (London, 1949), 208.

³⁶ Linda Hunt Beckman, *Amy Levy: Her Life and Letters* (Ohio, 2000), 1. Her mother’s ancestors had arrived in the early eighteenth century. Hereafter Beckman, *Amy*. Sharona Anne Levy commented in her PhD that Amy was born into a “wealthy Jewish family”. Sharona Anne Levy, “Amy Levy: The Woman and Her Writings”, unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford University (1989), 5. Hereafter Levy, “Amy”.

³⁷ *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, VIII (Jerusalem, 1904), 56-7. Hereafter, *The JE*. *Oxford DNB*, 33, 553-555. She was a novelist and poet.

³⁸ Beckman, *Amy*, 13.

Her sister, Ella, attended the London North Collegiate School.³⁹ As Christine Pullen commented, their parents “were sufficiently enlightened to ensure that their daughters received the same educational opportunities as their sons”.⁴⁰ Sir Hermann Gollancz (1852-1930), eldest son of Rabbi Samuel Marcus Gollancz, minister of the Hambro Synagogue, attended the Jews’ College School.⁴¹ Both Herbert Felix Jolowicz (1890-1954), the son of a silk merchant, and Redcliffe Nathan Salaman (1874-1955), whose father was a wealthy ostrich feather merchant, were educated at St. Paul’s School.⁴² This thesis is not necessarily discussing pupils who remained at school until they were eighteen. On the contrary, middle class families often had businesses. They wanted their sons to be educated (possibly with foreign languages) in order to carry on the business. For example, Rufus Isaac, who “came of Jewish middle class stock”, was educated at “a Jewish preparatory school, a London day-school” and at the age of 14 spent “a few years on the Continent ‘for languages’, and [was]... fitted to commerce life as Jew and man of business”.⁴³

(c) Type of schools attended – Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall noted that “for many middle-class parents, their childrens’ inheritance should be their education and religious principles”.⁴⁴ Some of the wealthier families, as tabulated in Appendix I (Section C), were home educated. All of them, without exception, are members of ‘The Cousinhood’. ‘The Cousinhood’’s monetary options knew no bounds and they were able to employ tutors and governesses. For the most part, the middle classes had a number of options. They took advantage of the availability of the non-Jewish

³⁹ Beckman, *Amy*, 18.

⁴⁰ Christine Pullen, “Amy Levy: Her Life, Her Poetry and the Era of the New Woman”, unpublished PhD thesis, Kingston University (2000), 2.

⁴¹ *Oxford DNB*, 22, 707-8. *The JE*, 39. Gollancz was a rabbi and Semitic scholar.

⁴² *Oxford DNB*, 30, 426-7. Jolowicz was a jurist. *Oxford DNB*, 48, 684-5. Salaman was a geneticist.

⁴³ Stanley Jackson, *Rufus Isaacs First Marquess of Reading* (London, 1936), 2. Especially popular for continental education was Brussels which will be mentioned in a later chapter.

⁴⁴ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London, 1987), 21.

grammar, independent and private schools or helped to set up Jewish Houses in public schools. The public schools “drew their students overwhelmingly from the upper middle classes: only at Eton, Harrow, and one or two other schools did more than insignificant numbers of students come from aristocratic backgrounds”.⁴⁵ Corinth House, the Jewish House run by Ivan Nestor-Schnurmann, at Cheltenham College “attracted Jewish boys of good family and intelligence”.⁴⁶ Salmond S. Levin noted that “there were also a number of private schools run by leading educationists for middle class children”.⁴⁷ In other words, these were schools which were attractive to ‘better-off families’⁴⁸ who could afford to pay the fees. To categorise the middle classes in terms of income, it is possible to suggest that this thesis refers to those who could and were willing to pay the fees. The fees were an attraction for a middle class clientele, even those with more limited resources who would still have been keen for their offspring to be provided with suitable education. The names of schools often indicated the type of pupil it hoped to attract. The words ‘superior’, ‘select’ or ‘high-class’, not to mention specific references to the ‘middle-class’ or ‘young gentlemen/ladies’ or, indeed, ‘the sons/daughters of gentlemen’ hoped to invoke widespread interest in these circles.⁴⁹ School advertisements, aimed at Jewish pupils, were very specific as to the type of students they hoped to attract. One advertisement claimed “this school is intended to afford to boys belonging to the middle classes, such a sound and liberal education as shall be to prepare them, as far as possible, for the following professions and trades: mercantile, manufacture, engineering,

⁴⁵ Rubenstein, *Britain's*, 288.

⁴⁶ M. C. Morgan, *The First Hundred Years* (Buckinghamshire, 1968), 106.

⁴⁷ Salmond S. Levin, “The Changing Pattern of Jewish Education”, in Salmond S. Levin, ed., *A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life 1870-1970* London, 1970.

⁴⁸ Finestein, *Anglo-Jewry*, 40.

⁴⁹ Examples include: Philip Abraham’s Selected Educational Establishment, Rev. Spier’s Superior Day School, the Middle Class Jewish School that would eventually evolve into the Jewish High School for Girls and Mrs. Simmons’ High-Class Educational Home for Girls.

architecture, civil service, pharmacy, medicine and the Law”.⁵⁰ Other schools also offered education for “those intended for mercantile pursuits”,⁵¹ or, whilst providing the Hebrew instruction, had made arrangements for pupils to attend the local grammar school. Rev. J.H. Cohen, of Sussex House, announced that

In order to maintain the standard of conjoint secular teaching and Hebrew and religious instruction... [he]... has completed arrangements whereby his pupils will be enabled to attend the Brighton Grammar School (directly opposite Sussex Houses), an establishment which has always been pre-eminently successful in passing candidates of the various University and Civil Examinations.⁵²

Other advertisements, especially for the small Jewish establishments, noted that the pupils would receive instruction for the external examinations that had been made available to them. The pupils of Gloucester House (Kew) were “prepared for the various public examinations”, as were the pupils of Tivoli House Academy.⁵³ Rev. R.I. Cohen revealed that his “pupils will be... prepared for passing Oxford and Cambridge local examinations...”⁵⁴ (These examinations and the curricula will be discussed in the next chapter.) Suffice it to say, in the words of Marshall, who discussed this subject in term of ‘men of business’ who

had long been aware that something more in tune with the practical realities of life was necessary for the sons of men not born to rule. The fact that many of them were not members of the Church of England, and were therefore

⁵⁰ Jewish World, 413 (7 January 1881), 7a. This school was a private fee-paying non-Jewish school.

⁵¹ Jewish World, 135 (10 September 1875), 7a.

⁵² Jewish World, 345 (19 September 1879), 7a. Similarly, Mr. Barczinsky, of Wellesley House School, indicated, on the same advertisement page, that he had “made arrangements that will enable him to send any of his pupils to attend the classes of Brighton College, thus providing them with Public School teaching without depriving them of a Jewish home”.

⁵³ The Jewish Standard, III, 94 (10 January 1890), 11. Jewish World, 345 (19 September 1879), 7a.

⁵⁴ Jewish Chronicle, 379 (21 March 1862), 1c.

excluded from the endowed schools and from Oxford and Cambridge, had stimulated their thirst for education. Because they believed that the purpose of education was to fit men to become useful members of society, the emphasis of their teaching was to be scientific rather than classical... They were also to be taught to apply their knowledge to the practical world of industry.

Accordingly they were to be instructed in chemistry, geology, mechanics, astronomy, geography, and to have some knowledge of mineralogy, electricity and optics... Nor were literature and foreign languages to be ignored...⁵⁵

(d) The location of the schools attended – Pollins noted that “an approximate idea of the development of the more affluent part of the middle class is obtained from two indices: the type of education their children received and the district of residence”.⁵⁶

The investigation was clearly based on three areas:

(i) London and its environs is the widest section of discussion. In Appendix III, the school tables (Sections A-C), indicate the movement of the middle classes.

Endelman commented that,

in the 1830s and 1840s, well-to-do families moved northward to Finsbury Square and Finsbury Circus and westward to Bloomsbury and Marylebone. Then, in the 1860s and 1870s, fashionable families pushed further west to Bayswater and areas north of Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens. More ordinary middle class families tended to disperse northward, to Islington, beginning in the 1840s, then to Canonbury and Highbury in the 1860s, and then north-westward, in the 1870s, to St. John’s Wood, Maida Vale, and West

⁵⁵Dorothy Marshall, Industrial England 1776-1851, (London, 1973), 128-9. Hereafter Marshall, Industrial.

⁵⁶Pollins, Economic, 89.

Hampstead. Less affluent middle class Jews moved to Dalston and Hackney, starting in the 1870s.⁵⁷

In fact, Jewish schools followed a similar cycle. They were established in Bloomsbury during the 1850s and 1860s, in St. John's Wood in the late 1860s, Maida Vale from the 1860s through to the 1890s, Bayswater and Hampstead in the 1860s, Hampstead and Canonbury during the 1870s and 1880s. The Jews in Dalston, however, did not follow this cycle. As 'a resident in Dalston' commented in a letter to the Jewish World in 1875, "in the whole of North London – a district well populated by Jews, we have not one public Jewish school to which we can send our children".⁵⁸

(ii) The main provincial centres of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Birmingham where Jewish elementary schools were established, a few Jewish secondary schools and, most interestingly, where Jewish pupils attended non-Jewish establishments.

(iii) The health resorts of England, specifically Ramsgate, during the period of the 1840s through to the 1880s, and Brighton, 1850 to the 1890s. By the end of the century, their popularity decreased and Jewish private schools ceased to exist in these areas. Brighton

was a... creation of the fashionable world... What placed Brighton securely on the map of fashion was the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1782. His Royal Pavilion was completed in 1827... With the coming of the railway in 1841 it began to attract a very different section of the public. The railway was a great leveller. It brought the coast within the reach of ordinary people.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Endelman, Jews, 94-5.

⁵⁸ Jewish World, 131 (13 August 1875), 3a.

⁵⁹ Marshall, Industrial, 55.

Perhaps, this is a reference similar to that of Endelman's 'ordinary middle classes'.

Ramsgate was also a celebrated location, "for the salubrity of its air".⁶⁰

For the purposes of this thesis, I have used the broad term 'middle classes' to encompass a majority of those categories that have been discussed above but it is clear that it is virtually impossible to categorise the pupils into neat sections. This reflects Pugh's contention that "the middle classes comprised a series of social layers, some of which overlapped with the classes above and below them".⁶¹ Indeed, the reader must be aware that, by using the term 'middle classes', I am suggesting a hierarchy of status within the confines of a 'middling' expression. What is clear is that, within this broad grouping, common expressions were found in their views on the educational ambitions for their offspring which shaped the early history of Jewish secondary education in England. As Rubenstein noted, "the nineteenth century was the century of the middle classes, who now came into their own as the most dynamic element in society".⁶² We must not, however, forget the working classes whose entry into secondary schools, be they Jewish or non-Jewish, will be clearly noted.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, XV, 165 (12 February 1858), 1c.

⁶¹ Pugh, *State*, 101. According to Rubenstein, *Britain's*, 288, there has not been any clear delineation to suggest that 'The Cousinhood', whilst being wealthier and home-educating some of their offspring, should be considered as anything other than part of the middle classes. He considers whether the Rothschilds are middle class or part of the upper classes even though 'they certainly remained active businessmen'.

⁶² Rubenstein, *Britain's*, 288.

⁶³ It is noteworthy to mention the 'Jewish Working Lads' Brigade', the Jewish youth organisation, which was founded early in 1895. Whilst this was not an educational institution, it does go some way to explain how the working class children, aged 12 to 16 or 18, were 'taught' in the nineteenth century. Kadish, *Good*, 12, indicated the founder's aim. Colonel Goldsmid hoped the brigade would "instil into the rising generation, from earliest youth, habits of orderliness, cleanliness, and honour, so that in learning to respect themselves they will do credit to their community". Kadish, *Good*, 38, also noted that "the uniformed youth movements had a double agenda: social work and social control. They provided a medium for working class youth to escape their squalid surroundings, at least briefly, and to expand their horizons. The Brigades inculcated self-discipline, leadership, punctuality, obedience and hygiene, morality, thrift, social responsibility, self-help and numerous other such desirable aims". These aims preserved the social order and perpetuated the English class system which was, in a way, similar to the Jewish schools for the middle classes – creating Jewish middle class Englishmen and women. The title of Sharman Kadish's work on the Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade succinctly notes "a good Jew and a good Englishmen". Her work placed the movement "in its right context as an integral part of English Jewish and British social history". Kadish, *Good*, xvi. This phrase is so clear for this work as it encompasses every form of educational experience discussed – the twin-curriculum

Acculturation and other social scientific terms

Social scientists have applied terms, such as acculturation and assimilation, to explain how groups adopted new cultural patterns. They analyse the term acculturation “in the context of immigration, where the cultural and linguistic practices of the dominant culture exercise a powerful normative influence upon newcomers” whilst enculturation refers to “the [conscious] process of learning and incorporating basic cultural roles, knowledge, and beliefs, generally during childhood”.⁶⁴ Throughout the last few decades, historians have debated the processes by which Anglo-Jewry changed; they have used terms such as acculturation, anglicisation and assimilation. The differing educational options that were open to the Jewish middle classes during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be explained through the ideologies of acculturation, anglicisation, assimilation and socialisation. In her thesis, Rosalyn Livshin commented that, for her research,

The term acculturation... is used in the sense of the picking up by a minority group, of the culture and cultural characteristics of the surrounding majority. This is not synonymous with assimilation, which implies a total submersion into the majority group, but is more akin to what the established Anglo-Jewish community called Anglicisation, that is the adoption of English habits, social behaviour and customs, while retaining a different religion.⁶⁵

As will be seen, the Jewish middle classes are represented by each ideology and, in some cases, by more than one ideology, depending on the educational choice they

displayed in the Jewish schools, the religious instruction offered to those attending non-Jewish schools, either as boarders, who resided at a Jewish House located at a public school, or day pupils, who attended non-Jewish schools and resided at a Jewish home where religious instruction was provided.

⁶⁴ Craig Calhoun, *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (Oxford, 2002), 3 and 143. This term could be viewed as parents consciously wanted their children to be educated at non-Jewish schools, mix with culturally-different pupils and attend the Chapel services. (This did happen, especially at the public schools, but it was not common.)

⁶⁵ Rosalyn D. Livshin, “Aspects of the Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester 1890-1930”, unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manchester (1982), 2-3.

made. What this section will clarify is that these different aspects of education that, when collated together, cannot be pinned down to one process as highlighted by Steven Singer. He explained that

A minority of these parents sent their children to the various private, Jewish boarding schools existing at the time... which taught both secular and Jewish subjects. However, most of the community's more prosperous members did not send their children away from home but had them taught, either at London's private day schools or, in the case of the very wealthy, by personal tutors... Children educated at such institutions [i.e. the private day schools] were usually taught some Jewish subjects after school by private tutors.

Despite growing secularisation, the great majority of the prosperous members of the community were not willing at this time to cut off their sons completely from contact with Judaism and Jewish observance by sending them to non-Jewish boarding schools. There was, however, an increasing minority of Jewish families who saw nothing wrong in having their children educated at such institutions.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, by examining each category of educational institution, this section will attempt to form a coherent understanding of how the middle classes educated their offspring in terms of these ideological terms. Let us take each category in turn.

1. The **Jewish private fee-paying school** (that will be discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 as a majority of the **senior/secondary and 'mixed' schools**) – These schools' secular nature and religious content provided the pupils with a tangible identity in their process of development. Their shape was inherently tied to what was happening

⁶⁶ Steven Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian England 1840-1858", unpublished PhD thesis, Yeshiva University (1981), 288-290. Hereafter Singer, "Orthodox".

in the host society. From this definition of the schools, acculturation deals with the adoption of the wider community's social habits without abandoning its own background. The additional element to the curriculum of preparing pupils for public examinations (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6) epitomised the role of these schools as providing a secular education which would allow them to compete for university places and in the workplace with their non-Jewish counterparts. Steven Singer, in his thesis, wrote that each Jew "could be accepted in the modern secular world and yet retain his specific Jewish orientation".⁶⁷ In fact, this clearly represents the Jewish schools, especially the ones for boys, which shared a commitment to common educational goals. (Some of the girls' schools continued to emphasise 'feminine accomplishments' - see Chapter 6). In his discussion on the acculturation of the Jewish middle class, Todd M. Endelman voiced the opinion that

Their willingness to desert or refashion ancient patterns of life and thought was motivated in some cases by the conscious belief that Jewish traditions were outmoded and that the values and institutions of European culture were necessary for survival and success in the modern world.⁶⁸

Also exploring the term 'acculturation', David Feldman remarked that it "denotes an accommodation to non-Jewish standards that was less complete than assimilation, in which Jewish religion or culture was not renounced".⁶⁹ They needed institutions which could serve as the portal by which they could transfer their charges to the secular world of business or university, but they would still consider themselves to be Jewish. The protective environment of a Jewish home appealed to those who wanted to maintain their children's knowledge of Judaism. As will be observed, the next

⁶⁷ Singer, "Orthodox", 2.

⁶⁸ Todd M. Endelman, The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society (Philadelphia, 1979).

⁶⁹ David Feldman, Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture 1840-1914 (New Haven and London, 1994), 5. Hereafter Feldman, Englishmen.

educational option hoped to do more than just maintain their religious beliefs. They wanted to inspire their pupils to continue this education, not only after their (completely secular) school day (i.e. Hebrew instruction classes), but also to embark on a career in Rabbinitics (at the rabbinical colleges and their attached schools) and preserve their own knowledge as they develop to adulthood.

Before moving on to the next option, it is also important to mention that some of these schools were highlighted by a ‘foreign’ element – that of the nationality of the founder (e.g. Dr. Louis Loewe, born in Silesia; Leopold Neumegen, born in Posen) and, sometimes, members of their staff as well.⁷⁰ Aubrey Newman remarked that

These [German] immigrants proceeded to integrate themselves into the life of the community, contributing not only to its economic life but to its political and cultural life as well.⁷¹

Not only did they want to ingratiate themselves into the community, but “the local citizens were just as prepared to accept them”.⁷² Todd M. Endelman pointed out that

The immigration from Central Europe in the Victorian period... was largely (although not exclusively) middle-class in character – in part, a reflection of the social and economic transformation of German Jewry that occurred in the nineteenth century. Those who arrived at this time came with greater resources – a secular education... At a minimum, they could read and write German; in many instances, they were literate in other European languages as well. A very small number had attended university and acquired professional training.⁷³

⁷⁰ The founders became British naturalised subjects. See references in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

⁷¹ Aubrey Newman, “German Jews in Britain. A Prologue”, in Werner E. Mosse et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom (Tübingen, 1991), 35. Hereafter Newman, “German”.

⁷² Newman, “German”, 35.

⁷³ Todd M. Endelman, “Settlement in Victorian England”, in Mosse, Second Chance, 38-9.

Their knowledge of languages, which came naturally to them and was becoming part of the modern teaching curriculum (moving away from the Classics) would stand the children in good stead for, e.g., joining the family business in the commercial world.

2. Hebrew/Religious Instruction Classes, Rabbinical Colleges (and their attached schools) and *Yeshivot* – According to Julius Carlebach, “...the intervening factor was Englishness. Orthodoxy had to be adjusted to meet the demands of Englishness, and this often required some rational compromise”.⁷⁴ As this thesis will show, Hebrew instruction, and the schools attached to the rabbinical colleges, petered out as is evidenced by the noticeable lack of advertisements in the Jewish press. As the nineteenth century progressed, secular education became visibly stronger in the curriculum, outweighing the amount of religious education provided. The Jewish Chronicle revealed that

Parents are conscious that for the success of their children in practical life these must acquire an amount of knowledge for which Hebrew is not an appropriate vehicle. Consequently they are frequently anxious to see instruction in this department curtailed, and not rarely begrudge it the few hours still devoted to it.⁷⁵

However, the introduction of *Yeshivot* in London (1903), Sunderland (1905), Manchester (1911), Leeds (1912) and Liverpool (1914) suggests an interesting change for the direction Hebrew/religious instruction had followed during the nineteenth century. This can only be identified as an attempt at Judaisation to bring about a return to the religious practices whilst the next option allowed, as in the Jewish

⁷⁴ Julius Carlebach, “The Impact of German Jews on Anglo-Jewry – Orthodoxy, 1850-1950”, in Werner E. Mosse et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom (Tübingen, 1991), 406.

⁷⁵ Jewish Chronicle, 499 (8 July 1864), 4b.

schools, a secular and religious education but the overriding difference being that the surroundings were not Jewish.

3. Non-Jewish Schools and Jewish Houses in public schools – The Jewish World commented that “among English Jews, patriotism increased after their emancipation, when through the medium of the schools and literature they partook of the common culture of the country”.⁷⁶ Parents sent their offspring to non-Jewish schools to rid them of any disagreeable peculiarities or characteristics they may portray and create feelings of fellowship with non-Jewish youth. Confronting English culture (i.e. the culture of the majority society) did not necessarily entail complete integration or assimilation. There were a number of ways to confront it but still cling to a Jewish identity. There are two categories of pupils here. On the one hand, those who accommodated themselves into the mainstream of the school participating in all school activities (formal and informal). In other words, assimilation can be described as “intermarriage, conversion, or the denial of connection with and separation from other Jews” and thus merging completing within the host community (which in this particular context would be the school itself).⁷⁷ This could certainly refer to those pupils who attended Chapel services, thus blending into the whole system of the school without seeking exemption. (For these pupils, the introduction of the Jewish Houses at public schools was deemed unnecessary as the aim was to assimilate completely into school life.) The Jewish Guardian lamented that

...Jews who enter them [i.e. the public schools] must conform to their Christian surroundings and attend service in Chapel. Too many parents submit to this harsh and degrading condition without protest, thus encouraging a

⁷⁶ Jewish World, 7 (1 May 1920), 6.

⁷⁷ David Sorkin, The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780-1840 (New York and Oxford, 1987), 6.

practice that must inevitably produce results on the religion and character of their children.⁷⁸

Assimilation is the ultimate point where Jewish identity has ceased to exist. Paula E. Hyman suggested in her various steps towards assimilation that “the end point... is the dissolution of the minority by biological merger with the majority through intermarriage”.⁷⁹

On the other hand, some took advantage of the Hebrew instruction (see above) or the residential option of Jewish Houses which provided a Jewish home within a non-Jewish environment, the latter allowing for acculturation but not forcing a complete assimilation. The attendance of Jewish pupils at non-Jewish schools, apart from those who completely assimilated as previously mentioned, displayed the mid-point of Hyman’s suggested steps “with the integration of minority-group members into the majority institutions... with the attendant weakening of minority institutions”.⁸⁰ As this thesis progresses, the reader will observe the decline of the Jewish private schools as increasing numbers of non-Jewish schools admitted Jewish pupils and exempted them from religious instruction.

One term that has not been covered in these educational choices is anglicisation.

Many historians of Anglo-Jewry, such as Gerry Black, refer to this ideology but it is used in terms of an attempt to teach

⁷⁸ Jewish Guardian, 1, 10 (5 December 1919), 4a.

⁷⁹ Paula E. Hyman, Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women (Seattle and London, 1995), 13. Hereafter Hyman, Gender.

⁸⁰ Hyman, Gender, 13.

The pupils to adapt to English usages in speech, in manner, in mental attitude, and in principles, in such a way as to enable them to integrate successfully into the wider community...⁸¹

The types of schools, as noted above, were not ‘agents of anglicisation’⁸² (as indicated by the terms used) although Abraham Benisch (1811-78) “saw anglicisation, which he attributed to education in non-Jewish schools, eroding Jewish attachments at both ends of the social spectrum”.⁸³ The founders of the Jewish schools did not intend to mould good Jews and good Englishmen in the sense of anglicisation (to teach them how to speak English and learn English manners) but made a concerted effort to provide an education that combined secular and religious within a Jewish environment. The schools, whilst aiming to create Jewish Englishmen and women, were not directly trying to rid these pupils of their religious beliefs – in fact, the opposite was true. The pupils at Jewish schools experienced a full religious curriculum whilst those at non-Jewish schools were either exempt from religious instruction, attended Hebrew/religious instruction classes or resided at Jewish Houses where their religious instruction was catered.

This section has shown that there is no one single ideological term that can be attributed to the diverse educational options available to the middle classes. It has conveyed the view that each choice provided various alternatives in terms of how parents desired their offspring to grow into adulthood. In other words, Jewish schools, providing both religious and secular education, suited some whilst other preferred non-Jewish institutions with or without the opportunity for religious study. This thesis

⁸¹ Gerry Black, *J.F.S.: The History of the Jews’ Free School, London Since 1732* (London, 1998), 123.

⁸² Kadish, *Good*, xvi.

⁸³ David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991* (Cambridge, 1994), 48. Dr. Abraham Benisch was editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* between 1855 and 1868.

suggests that there can be no sweeping generalisations – it is, therefore, impossible to indicate that all middle class Jews assimilated or acculturated in terms of their educational experience. To summarise: the new educational needs of the Jewish community were met through these two processes since “in a majority of cases, religion was still a part of the educational system, if only small or weak” whilst there were also cases of total abandonment of Judaism.⁸⁴

Jewish Education

Up until now, the term ‘Jewish Education’ has been used as a general term. In 1931, the Jewish Chronicle printed an article describing the ‘modern Jewish student’. The author, Norman Walsh, wrote that there are a

hundred and one divergent types which fall into the category of the ‘Jewish Student’. Free thinker, religious fanatic, nationalist, assimilationist, all are types, all find themselves represented in the general term the ‘Jewish Student’.⁸⁵

This observation highlights a potential problem with the terminology used in this thesis. As a rule, the term ‘Jewish education’ has been used to describe diverse types of education. For some, the instruction of the Hebrew language and/or religion was the key to describing the term, as it was deemed to be of the utmost importance.

The necessity of instruction in Hebrew in our schools is so obvious and self-evident that it would be a waste both of time and space to debate it. The holy tongue is so intimately connected with Judaism, its traditions and observances, that to neglect its study in our educational establishments, would at once argue

⁸⁴ Feldman, Englishmen, 5.

⁸⁵ Norman Walsh, “The Modern Student”, Jewish Chronicle, 3225 (30 January 1931), iiiia-iva.

a guilt indifference to religious instruction, which, if truly comprehended, is the basis as well as the soul of education.⁸⁶

Indeed, the term 'Jewish education' referred to Hebrew instruction in a variety of forms. These included the traditional elements of study from a religious perspective (e.g. the study of the Hebrew language or text at the early *Sephardic* institutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) to the modern strain of religious versus secular (e.g. the Jewish secondary schools of the nineteenth century where education included both secular and religious studies, and also the religious education transmitted within non-Jewish schools, such as public schools). For the latter group, the division is noteworthy. On the one hand, there were schools dedicated to Jewish pupils where religious and secular education was taught. On the other hand, such education was also to be found in the form of Jewish Houses at public schools (such as Clifton College). For this latter group and also for Jewish pupils who became day-scholars at non-Jewish schools, it will be more pertinent to use the category 'Jews in secondary education' rather than 'Jewish secondary education'. However, it is the extent to which the education is 'Jewish' that is at issue. Since the readmission of the Jews into England, 'Jewish education' has been seen to play a crucial role. At first, the phrase indicated any basic religious education that was imparted to the children. Over time, 'Jewish education' came to represent other forms of community-sponsored education: it might provide Jewish children with a full secular education and a mere token form of religious studies and thus be 'Jewish' only by the fact that it was provided to Jewish pupils; other schools were created for the purpose of providing a religious background for the children to follow as they grew up. It is not possible to generalise as to what was taught as there were no guidelines for teachers to follow. Each school

⁸⁶ Jewish Chronicle, IV, 45 (11 August 1848), 634b.

was unique, with differing values and varying ideas as to what proportion of the school day was devoted to 'Jewish education'. At each juncture, the term will be explained thoroughly in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the various types of 'Jewish education' that were available during this period. This section has used the term 'secondary education' in a cursory fashion. The Regulations for Secondary Schools 1904 recorded that

the term 'Secondary Education' will be held to include any Day or Boarding School which offers to each of its scholars, up to and beyond the age of 16, a general education, physical, mental and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction of wider scope and more advanced degree than that in elementary schools.⁸⁷

The earlier Report of the Royal Commission, known as the Schools Inquiry Commission (The Taunton Report, 1868), discussed the education of secondary school pupils as three elements (First, Second and Third Grades), depending on the wishes of the parents. The First Grade kept the pupils at school for the longest period, until the age of 18.⁸⁸

One class is identical, or nearly so with those whose sons are in the nine schools that have already been reported on by a previous Commission; men with considerable incomes independent of their own exertions, or professional men, and men in business, whose profits put them on the same level. This class appears to have no wish to displace the classics from their present position in the forefront of English education; but there is among them a very strong desire to add other subjects of instruction... to keep classics, but to

⁸⁷ Maclure, Educational 157. The term 'secondary education' was first used by Matthew Arnold in 1859. Arnold referred to this term to describe schooling beyond the age of 11 or 12. W.F. Connell, The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold (London, 1950), 243-4.

⁸⁸ The Fisher Education Act of 1918 made secondary education compulsory up to the age of 14.

cultivate mathematics more carefully than at present, to add modern languages and natural sciences...⁸⁹

There was also the desire of the professional men, such as the clergy, medical men and lawyers, to keep their offspring at school for the longest time. These were men who, having received cultivated education themselves, “are very anxious that their sons should not fall below them”. The Second Grade of education appeared to end at 16 for parents who

on the one hand... could well afford to keep their children at school two years longer, but intend them for employments [or] on the other hand... whose position in life makes them require their boys to begin at 16 wholly or partially to find their own living.⁹⁰

The Third Grade of education, which stops at the age of 14, belongs, for example, to the smaller tradesmen and the superior artisans. As is evidenced from the Census returns, the Jewish schools educated students between the ages of 9 and 18 – mainly the ages of 10-15 (i.e. the second and third grade of education) – whilst the non-Jewish schools provided both first and second grade of education.

⁸⁹ Maclure, Educational, 92-3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

Chapter Three: Historical and Statistical Perspective

Introduction

The nineteenth century was a significant period for Anglo-Jewry's middle and upper classes. In 1833, the first professing Jew gained entry to the Bar "which offered social prestige, access to judicial appointment, and political advancement to many of its members".¹ In 1835 Jews received the right to vote and in 1845 the passing of a Bill allowed the Jews admission to municipal office. In 1837 Moses Montefiore was knighted, in 1857 Sir David Salomons was elected Lord Mayor of London and in 1858 Baron Lionel de Rothschild took his seat in Parliament. It was also an equally important age for education, especially that of secondary education. Events played their part in the framing of the middle classes' educational experience. In 1851, Morris Lissack observed that "Judaism and the Jews have... reaped a goodly share of the benefits and advantages which this moral revolution has conferred, and is still conferring, upon mankind".² The Jewish middle classes certainly took advantage of the opportunities that opened for them. The establishment of University College London in 1826 was an important marker for the Jews. The university had the power to confer degrees without the involvement of religious tests. The 1850s saw the introduction of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations for boys (and for the girls in the 1860s³) which Jews were not prevented from entering although difficulties did arise. In 1871, the University Test Act finally abolished the religious tests that had stood in the way of a Jew becoming a scholar or a fellow in an English university. By

¹ Phyllis S. Lachs, "A Study of a Professional Elite: Anglo-Jewish Barristers in the Nineteenth Century", in *Jewish Social Studies*, 44 (1982), 125.

² M. Lissack, *Jewish Perseverance or the Jew, at Home and Abroad: An Autobiography* (London, 1851), viii. Hereafter Lissack, *Jewish*.

³ See Chapter Six where girls' education is discussed fully.

1878, women could take London degrees. This is the setting for this chapter and those that follow.

Educational Provision

Before the 1870s, well-to-do families did not send their sons to public schools, partly because of schools' unwillingness or constitutional inability to admit non-Anglicans and partly because of the parents' reluctance to educate their children in a Christian atmosphere. In such a school they would be unable to observe the dietary laws and celebrate the Jewish Sabbath and festivals and would be required to conform outwardly to established religious arrangements, such as attendance at chapel and house prayers, instruction in the New Testament, and observance of Christian holidays. Moreover, as long as Jewish social and occupational aspirations remained limited in scope, a public school education offered few advantages. Affluent Jewish parents educated their sons at home, sent them to Jewish boarding schools (such as Leopold Neumegen's at Highgate and later Kew, or Louis Loewe's at Brighton and later Broadstairs in Kent) or day schools willing to accommodate Jews (such as St. Paul's and University College School, and Manchester Grammar School and Bradford Grammar School in the provinces). This pattern began to change in the 1870s. Many Jewish parents now found the Christian character of public school education less objectionable, while many schools became willing to open their doors to Jewish students and to exempt them from chapel attendance and New Testament instruction.⁴

⁴ Todd M. Endelman, Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History 1656-1945 (Bloomington, 1990), 77-8. Hereafter Endelman, Radical.

This section will introduce the next three chapters as they focus on the secondary schools available to Jewish boys and girls. It will consider the education from a historical perspective by considering the establishment and development of the schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries making specific references to the introduction of local examinations for secondary school pupils and the admission of Jewish pupils to various independent and public schools⁵ and also to universities which had direct implications to the Jewish establishments. The chapters have been divided as follows: Chapter 4 will concentrate on boys' education in London and its environs; Chapter 5 on boys' education in the provinces and Chapter 6 on girls' education in London and the provinces focusing specifically in the period of the establishment of a range of girls' public schools. All three chapters will consider, amidst the various forms of secondary education three main categories – First of all, the private Jewish boarding and day schools that existed in competition with one another, be they secondary or a combination of elementary and secondary institutions (referred to in this study as 'mixed'). Secondly, the independent and public schools that accepted Jewish boys and girls at various stages of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, private tutors who educated their charges in the latter's home.⁶ As early as 1842, the Voice of Jacob observed that

The means of education are either in a private academy, a public or endowed school, or under a private tutor. A private academy, if conducted under the superintendence of an able and conscientious principal, affords no doubt the

⁵ The Clarendon Commission investigated a number of schools between 1861 and 1864. The non-Jewish schools discussed in this thesis will be referred to as independent and public as is indicated in the Commission's report. Public schools include St. Paul's School (London), Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, and Rugby. Public schools were boarding except for St. Paul's. Independent Schools include The King's School (Canterbury), Manchester Grammar School, Bedford School, King Edward's School (Birmingham), and Repton School. Public schools were also independent.

⁶ In fact, private tutoring was popular in the eighteenth century for families who could afford to pay for such tutelage.

best opportunity of promoting that desirable end, a good education; the pupils in such establishments not being generally too numerous, and their progress a sure and only means of enhancing the credit and reputation of the school, the principal is consequently in a manner propelled by the additional power of self-interest, to exert his energies and devote his entire attention to secure every possible advantage to the pupils under his care. Parents believe in sending their sons to what is generally called a boarding school, that they have thereby discharged their duty, and afforded them the best means of a liberal education...⁷

What will become evident is that an 'educational service' emerged within Anglo-Jewry of individuals committing themselves to the education of the middle classes in the various guises (as will shortly be discussed) whilst an 'educational system' was materialising in the host society of schools developing under the guidance of government acts and other external forces.

As there were no communal institutions to educate their young (unlike the working classes who were catered for in 'voluntary' schools), it was left to the individual to be enterprising. As there was no cohesion between the Jewish schools and no standard was set as to the subjects taught and in what form, the schools were at the mercy of parental choice. As John Roach explained, there was "no external standard to guide them, no external reward to expect, and [they were] very much at the mercy of opinion in their own locality"⁸ and, as W.B. Stephens rightly pointed out, some of the schools were

⁷ Voice of Jacob, 10 (4 February 1842), 75b-76a.

⁸ John Roach, Public Examinations in England 1850-1900 (London, 1971), 40. Hereafter Roach, Public.

Owned and run by individuals entirely for private profit. These varied greatly in the curriculum offered... some providing a sound education, many an indifferent one.⁹

It must, however, be pointed out that

It is impossible to make a general judgement on the private schools: a few were excellent, with modern curricula, while thousands must have been quite awful... Each private school set its own standards and responded only to market forces...¹⁰

There were a plethora of Jewish establishments which must be identified and characterised as follows:

1. Senior/secondary institutions providing both secular and religious education for pupils aged 9/10 and above)
2. 'Mixed' institutions providing both secular and religious education for pupils aged 4 and above (i.e. at both elementary and secondary level)
3. Classes providing Hebrew and/or religious instruction for boys and girls who attended non-Jewish secondary schools
4. Rabbinical colleges and their attached schools providing both secular and religious education for boys intended for a rabbinical career
5. *Yeshivot*, or seminaries for boys, which provided a more in-depth instruction in religious subjects
6. Jewish Houses, or boarding houses, established at public schools which specifically catered for the needs of Jewish boys

⁹ W.B. Stephens, *Education in Britain 1750-1914* (London, 1998), 45. A number of middle class categories were discussed but this was the most comparable with the Jewish schools.

¹⁰ David Ian Allsobrook, *Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle Class Education in Mid-Victorian England* (Manchester, 1986), 3-4.

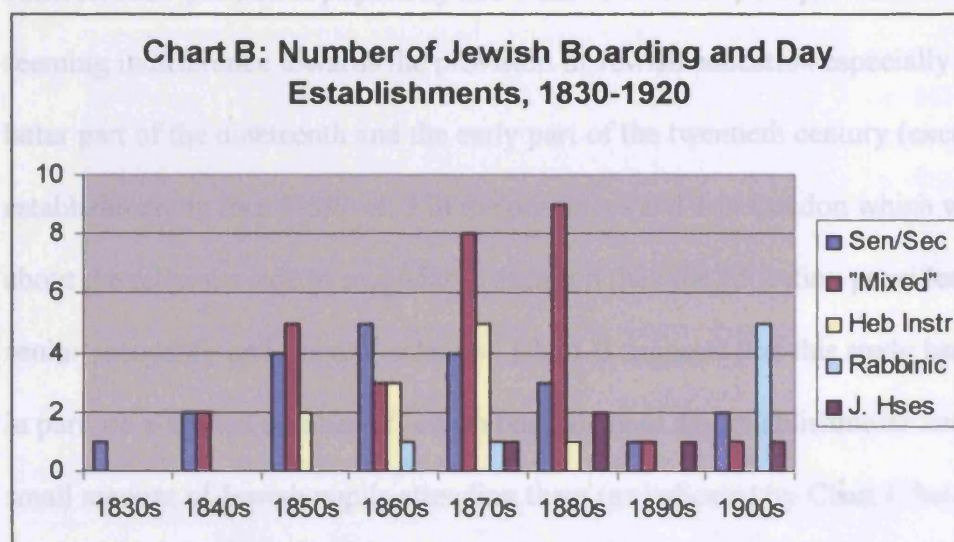
The senior/secondary and “mixed” schools have been differentiated by the type of education provided and the age range served. There are often exceptions within these categories (e.g. the founder’s children were younger than the pupils but still educated with them [e.g. 3 of Louis Loewe’s children were educated at his school at the time of the 1861 Census. Pauline, aged 5, Frederick, 7 and James, 8, were surrounded by pupils aged 10-16¹¹] or all the siblings from one family would sometimes have been sent to the same school for convenience of boarding together [e.g. Leopold Neumegen’s Gloucester House in 1871 entertained 9 members of the same family. The Templeton children’s aged ranged from 4 through to 14¹²] but despite the lack of school records, there is sufficient material to confirm the existence of discernible groupings. Raphael Loewe suggested that “the need to secure a livelihood and support a family sometimes forced individuals into a professional niche other than that which they would have chosen”.¹³ In other words, the founders, often foreign-born (as discussed in Chapter 2), had to use their language resources to provide for their family in a position that may not have been compatible with their educational background. A majority of the above categories were private establishments which are often excluded from educational histories in favour of other forms to explain the progression of an educational system. In defence of these studies, pupil numbers, not to mention the amount of Jewish schools and classes created, were small as can be observed in Chart B and its corresponding table below, and often considered as negligible in the proportion of private institutions established. To put it into context with the wider

¹¹ NA – RG9/597/34/96/10-11; See also Appendix I, Section A.

¹² NA – RG10/869/19/158/33; See also Appendix I, Section A.

¹³ Raphael Loewe, “The Contribution of German-Jewish Scholars to Jewish Studies in the United Kingdom”, in Werner E. Mosse et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom (Tübingen, 1991), 439.

society, according to the Taunton Report of 1868¹⁴ “it was estimated that there were more than 10,000 ‘private’ schools – schools run by individuals for private profit”.¹⁵



**Corresponding Table for Chart B:
Number of Jewish Boarding and Day Establishments, 1830s-1920**

	1830s	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s
Senior/ Secondary	1	2	4	5	4	3	1	2
"Mixed"¹⁶	0	2	5	3	8	9	1	1
Hebrew Instruction	0	0	2	3	5	1	0	0
Rabbinic¹⁷	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	5
Jewish Houses	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1

Sources: *Jewish Chronicle*, *Jewish World*, *Voice of Jacob*

Table B

Chart B (and its corresponding Table) reveal that there were 22 senior/secondary establishments, 29 ‘mixed’ ones, 11 Hebrew/religious instruction classes, 6 establishments that for the purposes of this study have been referred to as Rabbinic which includes 6 *Yeshivot* and 2 rabbinical colleges, one with an attached secondary school and the other with the means to send its pupils to a local grammar school and 5

¹⁴ The report’s official title was the Schools Inquiry Commission.

¹⁵ J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day* (London, 1968), 90.

¹⁶ Two establishments, Edmonton House and Gloucester House, commenced prior to the 1830s in 1815 and 1821 respectively and, therefore, do not feature in Chart and Table B.

¹⁷ Rabbinic refers to Aria College, Jews’ College and 6 *Yeshivot* in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Ramsgate and Sunderland.

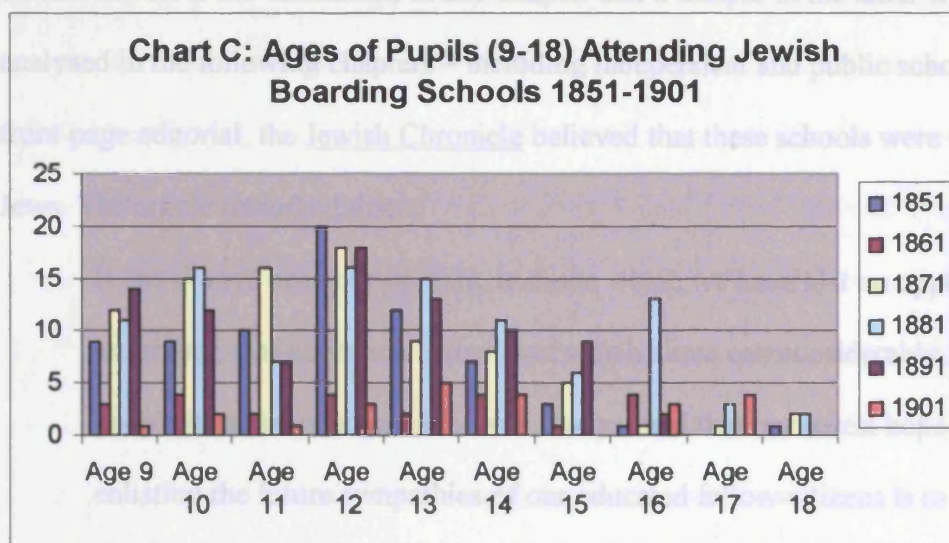
Jewish Houses located in public schools. It has been a worthy exercise to indicate the types and numbers of Jewish schools during the period under observation in order to consider their periods of popularity and wane. These numbers provide evidence of the seeming indifference towards the provision of Jewish education especially during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century (except with the establishment in four *Yeshivot*, 3 in the provinces and 1 in London which was more about the religious side to secondary education than the education provided by the senior/secondary and 'mixed' schools). Chart B suggests that this study has focused, in part, on a limited number of Jewish boarding and day establishments and, in fact, a small amount of Jewish pupils attending them (as indicated by Chart C below).

However, Chart B does indicate periods of popularity (e.g. 1850s-1880s for senior/secondary and 'mixed' schools and Hebrew classes; 1900s for *Yeshivot*) and decline (e.g. 1890s and beyond for the senior/secondary and 'mixed' schools).

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will demonstrate that the private schooling, whilst, in the main, unnoticed in the host society, was a crucial part of the Jewish educational experience. The Jewish schools (be they the secondary or 'mixed' option) were sometimes seen as a stepping stone – educating the pupil (in a higher form of education rather than only an elementary training) until aged 13 or 14 before they enter a non-Jewish school to complete their schooling before either going into business or entering university.

Advertisements invariably referred to a higher form of education as a "senior course of study".¹⁸ The ages of the pupils, in general, ranged between 9 and 18. As is noted by Chart C, Jewish pupils generally attended these schools between the ages of 9 and 16 with a few continuing until 18.

¹⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, 777 (15 February 1884), 14c. This phrase was used to describe the education provided by many establishments including Mrs A. Solomon at 'The Laurels'.



Corresponding Table for Chart C:

Ages of Pupils (9-18) Attending Jewish Private Schools 1851-1901¹⁹

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Age 9	9	3	12	11	14	1
Age 10	9	4	15	16	12	2
Age 11	10	2	16	7	7	1
Age 12	20	4	18	16	18	3
Age 13	12	2	9	15	13	5
Age 14	7	4	8	11	10	4
Age 15	3	1	5	6	9	0
Age 16	1	4	1	13	2	3
Age 17	0	0	1	3	0	4
Age 18	1	0	2	2	0	0

Sources: NA - HO107, RG9-13

Table: C

Charts B and C provide statistical analysis for the Jewish schools. They appear to be the most efficient method to illustrate such data. We are aware, from this chart, that the numbers of pupils were small; to differentiate between the sexes would create even smaller numbers and would serve no purpose except to note that more boys than girls were catered. These two charts point to the general pattern between 1851 and

1920. However, whilst this is not available in such detail for other forms of education, the overall picture would be incomplete without an examination of home education and non-Jewish schools that entertained Jewish pupils, both boys and girls, the former

¹⁹ The statistics for Chart C and its corresponding Table have been taken from the census returns; specific pupil details can be seen in Appendix I.

discussed before the conclusion of this chapter and a sample of the latter will be analysed in the following chapters – including independent and public schools.²⁰ In a front page editorial, the Jewish Chronicle believed that these schools were vital for the Jews. The article remarked that

It has always been our opinion, and one which we have lost no opportunity of enforcing, that education is the lever which alone can considerably elevate our people in social position. We have always held that our surest hope of enlisting the future sympathies of our educated fellow-citizens is to make ourselves more worthy of their friendship and respect, by raising up in the next generation a body of Jewish gentlemen, who shall be equal to their Christian fellows in intelligence and mental acquirements, no less than in pecuniary means.²¹

The overall statistics are based on the Jewish schools that are listed in Appendix I where census returns were available. In the absence of school registers, they are the most reliable way to chart the annual intake of pupils. It can be noted that pupils may have left/entered at a different time to the census. In any event, it provides us with an idea of the numbers of which we are discussing. It is possible that the numbers increased in the mid-range of the ages between 12 and 14, as they attended these high-class Jewish schools until such time as they had received a strong religious background and were highly prepared for the public or independent schools.

²⁰ If one was permitted to check the registers for every single secondary school in England, there is little doubt that one would find that at least one Jewish pupil had attended within the period of its existence. This chapter has not pursued such an avenue, for the reasons set out in the Introduction. However, what the following chapters will indicate is a large number of these secondary schools that admitted Jews. There are also individual examples of Jewish pupils who attended non-Jewish schools where they may well have been the only, or one of the few, Jewish pupil, e.g. Amy Levy at Brighton High School for Girls and Hannah Floretta Cohen at Wimbledon House (later known as Roedean School although at least two other Cohens attended. The Wimbledon House School News, 1 (1895), 36. One of these Cohens was Caroline Maud who married James Henry Solomon at the Bayswater Synagogue in 1897. The Wimbledon House School News, 7 (1897), 34.

²¹ Jewish Chronicle, VIII, 44 (6 August 1852), 346a.

Nonetheless, A. V. Kelly believes that, prior to 1870, there were only two clear types of education. On the one hand, the ‘elementary’ which “was very much a inferior variety” and

The public school system, oddly so called since it was a private system open only to those who could pay the fees demanded. This was the only form of secondary education available anywhere (and this in fact continued to be the case even after 1870). The second kind of education was known as ‘elementary’ education and was very much an inferior variety.²²

Whilst Kelly’s statement did not take into account private establishments (other than the public schools), the reader must understand that, before 1870, secondary education was a private affair with the upper classes sending their children to the public schools where the Classics dominated the curricula. Jewish pupils were not welcome at these institutions in the early part of the nineteenth century (although there are instances of Jewish attendance before exemptions to Chapel services and religious instruction were written into the regulations) and, therefore, had to use other means in order for their children to receive a decent education. The rising urban population and improved living standards brought an increase in middle class families also able to afford the fees that would provide their children with, not only the opportunity for home education, but also for private day and board schooling. Fees for public schools were expensive as the Jewish Chronicle explained. The total cost, including pocket-money and travel expenses, to send a pupil to Eton in 1877 was £275 10s.²³ This was incredibly higher than the Jewish private boarding schools but the cost reflected the

²² A. V. Kelly, Education Made Simple (London, 1987), 34.

²³ Jewish Chronicle, 457 (28 December 1877), 6a.

educational achievements of the school itself. In fact, the fees, during the 1870s, ranged between 36 and 120 guineas.²⁴

The English middle class desired secondary education that would provide a variety of new subjects such as technical, scientific and commercial subjects, not to mention modern languages, geography and history beyond the scope of an individual tutor. The only previous form of secondary instruction, a purely classical education at the public schools, was not regarded as beneficial for a social class which hoped their offspring would become an influential force in the future. This demand reflected the number of private institutions that spread throughout the country. Jewish individuals established private institutions which, unlike non-Jewish schools, did not operate within the political arena and, therefore, did not develop under government acts. The mid-nineteenth century Oxford and Cambridge local examinations shaped their curricula.

The two Public General Statutes (Oxford in 1854 and Cambridge in 1856) initiated the beginnings of the secondary school examination system where it specified that “it shall not be necessary for any person... to make or subscribe any Declaration, or to take any Oath, any Law or Statute...”²⁵ By the spring of 1858, these examinations, which became known as the Oxford and Cambridge ‘Locals’ or

²⁴ For example: 1872: Gloucester House – 36 guineas; Wellesley House – 45-80 guineas; 1879: Hereson House Academy – 100 guineas; Wellesley House – 60-120 guineas.

²⁵ This was the XLIII point of ‘An Act to make further provision for the good government and extension of the University of Oxford, of the Colleges therein and of the College of Saint Mary Winchester’ in A Collection of the Public General Statutes Passed in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: Being the Second Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1854), 621. In the summer of 1854, the College of Preceptors (est. in the 1840s) provided the first external examinations for middle class schools to be held in this country. Although the College performed a duty that was beneficial to the middle classes, it did not possess a prestigious standing necessary for a real initiative. The main contenders were the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

‘middle class examinations’, were launched.²⁶ The Cambridge Locals appealed particularly to the sons of professional men whilst the Oxford examinations to the sons of merchants and tradesmen.²⁷ Both universities created two examinations, one for boys under 15 and another for boys under 18. Part of the examination consisted of a test of “the rudiments of religion, suited to the character of the university and the age of the candidates’ unless parents objected”.²⁸ This was a positive sign for the Jews who would not be forced to take an unsuitable religious component in order to receive the full credit for the examination. As will be discussed in the following chapters, Jewish schools pounced on these examinations almost immediately offering special classes for preparation of these examinations. As Jewish schools opened, it took from five to ten years before they offered such classes (as the pupils were probably not old enough on entry). Although the content of the scripts was not an obstacle for the Jews, one major problem arose – sitting the examinations. Concerns were voiced as the difficulty surrounding their scheduling during the Sabbath or Jewish festivals proved prejudicial to the Jewish pupils. Over the years, this predicament was solved by the Board of Deputies of British Jews who took the matter in hand. The Jewish Standard, like other Jewish newspapers, published the announcement written by Lewis Emanuel, the Board’s representative, on the special arrangements that had been made for candidates of the Jewish faith.

In consequence of representations made to the Delegacy by the Board of Deputies. Candidates of the Jewish faith may take, on the Monday following the examination, the subjects set on Friday after sunset, or on Saturday, on

²⁶ Appendix III pinpoints the years that the ‘mixed’ schools proceeded to encourage their pupils to continue their education by preparing them for examination success and, therefore, being considered as partial-secondary institutions.

²⁷ Roach, Public, 99.

²⁸ Ibid., 79.

payment of the extra cost of preparing special papers, and of supervising the separate examination.²⁹

Two years later, the Jewish press again published a similar announcement from Emanuel. The Jewish World stated not only that the pupils could take Friday and Saturday examinations on the following Monday but that “they can have alternative papers for the papers on the Gospel, if due notice is given and a small payment made to meet the extra cost of preparing special papers, and of supervising the separate examination”.³⁰

There were also individual efforts to resolve this problem that was noticed in the pages of the Jewish press. In 1874, Mr. M. Mendelssohn commented on the liberality of the Cambridge examiners towards his son. Gratified, he revealed to the Jewish Chronicle that

The Cambridge Local Examiners at the Bristol Centre allowed my son [aged 14], in consequence of conscientious scruples, to change the hour of one of the subjects for examination, and arranged for him, exceptionally, to do his paper at ten in the morning instead of five in the afternoon, that day being Friday, and Shabbat commencing at 3.30pm.³¹

The Oxford authorities were also willing to compromise. S. Edwardes, secretary of the Oxford delegates, in response to a request from the Chief Rabbi to make special provision for Jewish pupils who were unable to sit their examinations due to the festival of Pentecost. Although they replied in the negative, they were hopeful for following years. Edwardes wrote

²⁹ The Jewish Standard, III, 105 (28 March 1890), 1c. The Jewish Chronicle had previously made mention of Lewis Emanuel’s intervention in 1887 (23 September) and 1889 (22 March), the latter asking for Jewish boys attending St. Paul’s school not to be excluded from examinations that were to take place on Saturdays.

³⁰ Jewish World, 1023 (16 September 1892), 1b.

³¹ Jewish Chronicle, 373 (19 May 1874), 100a. This must be Rev. Meyer Mendelssohn whose classes will be discussed in the next chapter.

I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know on what days next year at the end of May or in the early part in June the religious duties on whose behalf you write would prevent their attendance at our examinations.³²

This thesis not only examines the secular education received but also the religious instruction too. Some middle class families failed to give their children a Jewish education when sending them to non-Jewish schools. "Some parents, probably a minority, engaged a teacher to instruct their children one or two hours a week."³³ This is confirmed by the Jewish press that published very few advertisements for individuals offering Hebrew instruction for those attending such schools as University College School. Eight were identified between 1850 and 1880. This instruction would probably have taken place in a room in the teacher's home, although they were often willing to visit the pupil's home.³⁴ The lot of the private teacher should be lamented as, according to Morris Lissack,

Among professional men the lot of the teacher, and especially the private teacher, is the least enviable. Not only has he to struggle with peculiar difficulties, but the prospect he has before him is not very bright nor very cheering. He cannot expect to arrive at distinction or wealth... It may be taken, as a general rule that private instruction is only given during a part of the year. Add to this the frequent interruptions, owing to the indisposition or illness to the pupils, to their change of residence, to their travels, or to their disinclination to continue their studies.³⁵

For many, it was a way to increase their annual income. To add to the difficulties, the Hebrew instruction would be offered after the school day. There were many reasons

³² Jewish Chronicle, 372 (5 May 1876), 85b.

³³ Endelman, Radical, 96.

³⁴ This is similar to the description of Rev. Monash's Hebrew school which was installed in the sitting room. Louis Golding, Forward from Babylon (London, 1932), 27. Hereafter Golding, Forward.

³⁵ Lissack, Jewish, 133.

for teaching and opening schools, the main one being the monetary advantages. Mrs. Marion Hartog abandoned her early literary ambitions “in favour of the pursuit of educational ideals”.³⁶ There were, of course, the offerings of Hebrew/religious instruction but as ‘Jehudah’ lamented in 1874,

The children of the ‘better class’ obtain scarcely any at all. Not only are the more advanced branches of Hebrew altogether neglected, but I am pained to state it is becoming quite rare to find a Jewish boy or girl able to translate a simple Hebrew prayer, or a section of the Pentateuch... I maintain that there are numbers of Jewish youths in our midst who cannot even *read* [sic] the sacred tongue, and whose futile attempts to pronounce words of four or five letters are painful to listen to... Whence arises this neglect of all that is connected with the highest interests of Judaism? It springs from the fact that our community has changed, and is changing. Our fathers had higher notions of the importance of religious teaching than we entertain.³⁷

These classes were few in number but the Jewish schools must not be forgotten as they too provided Hebrew and religious instruction. The long-running, and probably the largest, schools of Henry Berkowitz and Samuel Barczinsky boasted their successful endeavours in this field when their pupils consistently came top in the public examinations for Hebrew. (This was, in fact, later when Hebrew was included in the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations.³⁸) ‘Jehudah’ implied that education for Jews had been more advantageous when Jews were not admitted to the public schools. He remarked that

³⁶ Evelyn Sharp, *Hertha Ayrton 1854-1923: A Memoir* (London, 1926), 14.

³⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 273 (19 June 1874).

³⁸ 1890 was “the first time that Jewish candidates were allowed to choose the Hebrew original”. *Jewish Chronicle*, 1094 (14 March 1890), 13b.

Secular instruction of a far higher class than that, which satisfied the community a generation ago, has become of such vital importance that Hebrew and religion have been thrust to the wall. Jewish children by hundreds now attend University College, King's College, the City of London School etc. The position they have won in these institutions, the prizes they carry off, and the other distinctions they achieve, are matters of just pride to the community. But not a little of it is obtained at the expense of Hebrew and religious teaching. So numerous are the subjects now taught in the higher schools, so keen is the competition, and so absorbing is the desire to gain distinction, that unless a lad is very well grounded in Hebrew before he enters, he has but little chance of making progress afterwards... If a Hebrew master comes to him twice or three times a week, he finds his pupil fagged and wearied.³⁹

The trend for Hebrew instruction waned but a few persisted in the late 1890s. Advertisements in 1897 appeared for Mr. R. Klein's lessons in all branches of Hebrew and Mr. Loris's offer of lessons in Hebrew, French and German.⁴⁰ A new avenue, however, appealed for the teaching of Hebrew and religion - the establishment of *Yeshivot*, in London and the provinces.⁴¹ As early as 1881, Rev. A.L. Green had observed that "England was not famous for its *Yeshivot* because Hebrew learning did not pay in this commercial country, and therefore it was incumbent upon them to do something more than educate their children solely in Hebrew and

³⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 273 (19 June 1874).

⁴⁰ *Jewish World*, 1247 (1 January 1897), 7a.

⁴¹ *Yeshivot* appeared in Sunderland, Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool. (The Judith Lady Montefiore College, Ramsgate, was established in 1866. When Moses Montefiore died in 1885, the College passed to the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation in London. Raphael Loewe, "Louis Loewe: Aide and Confidant" in Sonia and V.D. Lipman, eds., *The Century of Moses Montefiore* (Oxford, 1985), 115.)

Rabbinical teachings”.⁴² The London *Yeshivah* Talmudical and Rabbinical College, which was established in 1897, was

desired not only for those who intend to devote themselves to the vocation of Rabbis and teachers but for all who are eager to acquire a sound and thorough knowledge of our holy literature and religion. Special care will also be taken to impart to the students efficient instruction in classic and modern literature and science... ”⁴³

The Manchester *Yeshivah* was formally opened on 16 April 1911. At the opening, one of the speakers, Rabbi Yaffey commented on the decay of the Jewish religion in England. “They might speak the English language and have English habits, but they must retain the *Torah* and do their duty as Jews.”⁴⁴ In a way, this style of schooling was Hebrew instruction wrapped up differently and allowing for a larger number of pupils, so that “our children should have a true knowledge of Judaism”.⁴⁵ The *Jewish World* commented that, whilst secular education was important “to develop the intellect and make people clever”, religious education “cultures the heart and makes people good” and that “only by a combination of the two can we hope to approach the true ideal of education – knowledge and virtue...”⁴⁶ There was also the *Yeshivah Etz Chaim* which had been formed “for the purpose of giving poor children an advanced Hebrew education and a training in Talmud”.⁴⁷ In 1914, a Talmudic College, the *Yeshivat Torat Chayim* was established in Liverpool but in December 1917, it was transferred to Islington. It provided “higher education in Jewish learning and besides

⁴² Reported in the *Jewish Chronicle*, (1 April 1881) and quoted in Rickie Burman, “‘She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household’: The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life c.1880-1930”, in Gail Malmgreen, ed., *Religion in the Lives of English Women 1760-1930* (Kent, 1986), 248.

⁴³ *Jewish World*, 1269 (4 June 1897), 7b.

⁴⁴ *Jewish World*, LXXVI, 19 (5 May 1911), 22b.

⁴⁵ *Jewish World*, LXXVI, 13 (31 March 1911), 26a.

⁴⁶ *Jewish World*, L, 13 (24 June 1898), 245a.

⁴⁷ *Jewish World*, LXXVI, 1 (6 January 1911), 15a.

equipping a number of young men who have taken up secular careers, with a good knowledge of Judaism in general and Rabbinics in particular”.⁴⁸ Rev. A.A. Green wrote, in 1905, that “in no denomination does the religious training of children take a higher place than among the Jews”.⁴⁹ He believed that, in some ways, the religious training was being met partly by private tuition and in part by religious classes held at synagogues. The failure to mention the *Yeshivah* in London is interesting.

It became less complicated for parents to send their pupils to independent and public schools when they were exempt from religious instruction and also from singing lessons (see Chapter Six on girls’ education). School schemes indicated that provision of religious instruction would be given in accordance with the principles of the Christian faith under the regulations that were made by the governors. The next point would usually allow for exemptions. For example, point no. 37, in the Scheme of King Edward’s School (Birmingham) noted that

the parent or guardian of, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of, any scholar attending any school of this foundation as a day scholar may claim, by notice in writing addressed to the headmaster... of such school, the exemption of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson, or series of lessons, on a religious subject, and such scholar shall be exempted accordingly; and a scholar shall not, by reason of any exemption from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, be deprived of any advantage

⁴⁸ It remained there until 1927 when it moved to a house in Chatham Street. Bertram B. Benas, “A Survey of the Jewish Institutional History of Liverpool and District”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1953), 31.

⁴⁹ A.A. Green, “The Religious Training of Children Among The Jews”, in Thomas Stephens, ed., The Child and Religion (London and New York, 1905), 332.

or emolument in the school, or out of the endowments of this foundation, to which he... would otherwise have been entitled.⁵⁰

(Other schemes presented very similar wording.) School registers would use the distinguishing letter J for Jew (e.g. King Edward's School, Birmingham) to explain why exemption was being permitted or, as with South Hampstead High School for Girls, it mentioned in full "exemption from religious instruction and/or singing".⁵¹ King Edward School, in 1882, went even further in their exemptions.

It is ordered that the masters... be requested to avoid, in their religious lessons, the inculcation of any doctrinal, ecclesiastical, or critical opinions, which they have reason to believe would be regarded with disapproval by the parents of any of the scholars receiving religious instruction.⁵²

Whilst many Jewish boys would have been exempt, others may not have wanted it to be known that they were of the Jewish persuasion, so this circular covered their needs as well. Exemptions could also be seen in other avenues. For example, the deed of settlement for the Numa Hartog Scholarship (University College School) specified that

The examinations shall be purely and exclusively secular. No questions shall be set in any religious subject or in scriptural history, and no expression of belief or faith in any religious doctrine shall be required of the candidate; and no examination for this scholarship shall be held on the eve or day of the Jewish Sabbath.⁵³

In other words, no one should be disadvantaged by the content of the examination.

Jewish Houses were established at five public schools. The Houses symbolised what

⁵⁰ NA – ED27/4951 Governors' Reports 1878-1886 also provide this information on pages 8 and 9. KES – FM/G/Rep 1-6.

⁵¹ KES – 5/FHSB/Schol; SHHS Admission Registers (1879-1905) and Register of Pupils (1906-9)

⁵² KES – FM/G/R1

⁵³ UCL – UCS/B/1/1-2

was both good and bad about Jews being educated in non-Jewish environments. The Jewish Houses represented an attractive opportunity to those parents who wanted their sons to attend public school without being forced to sacrifice their religious observances during the school term.

There were, of course, advantages and disadvantages of sending pupils to the independent schools and public schools were often discussed into the Jewish press.

“There are no doubt very excellent public day schools in the metropolis, such as University College and King’s College Schools. And a large proportion of parents will always feel the great advantage to be derived from sending their boys to these institutions, for they will thus be enabled to devote to their children that personal supervision and intimate parental association which home training alone can supply.”⁵⁴ This is where the Hebrew instruction classes came into play and became a useful asset to parents who either did not live near to the school and thus the pupil had to board within a Jewish environment or the parents were simply unable to devote the time to train their children so would send them to these classes as ‘day’ pupils prior to them returning home. These non-Jewish schools were day establishments which allowed parents or guardians “the opportunity of superintending the religious education of the boys as they may think proper”.⁵⁵ For Philip Monash’s father, fictional characters created by Louis Golding in his novel, Forward from Babylon, it was a good “idea that Philip should acquire a gentile education, on the broad understanding that it should not overshadow Philip’s accomplishment in Hebrew lore”.⁵⁶ (As the father was a Reverend, he would be able to impart such knowledge to his son.)

⁵⁴ Jewish Chronicle, 487 (26 July 1878), 12a.

⁵⁵ UCL – UCS/A/1/1-5

⁵⁶ Golding, Forward, 21.

But there is likewise a section who are strongly impressed with the advantage to be derived by their sons attending at a great public school where they will be brought into contact with those with whom they will have to associate, either professionally or commercially, in after life... The great desideratum is that our youths should obtain the boon of a public school training without being at the same time debarred from the religious influence of a Jewish home.⁵⁷

The idea was created in the form of the Jewish Houses. Indeed, Rev. Monash hoped that Philip would gain a scholarship to Doomington School where

If he will be like Moishe Nearford I will not be displeased... Not only was he high in Doomington School but he went on to university where one respected him, G-d and Man. And yet a Jew is he, a perfect one.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, as with the falling away of the Hebrew instruction classes due to lack of interest for various reasons (including the “continual decline in synagogue attendance, home observance, Hebrew literacy and other fundamental hallmarks of Jewish knowledge and practice...”⁵⁹), “it was easy enough for Philip to plead homework when a tentative invitation in that direction was held out”. On the other side was Amy Levy. She wrote in a letter from her school in Brighton, “expressed discomfort about the attitudes the other girls have or might have toward her Jewishness”.⁶⁰ The appearance of novels, such as that by Arnold Lunn, expressed the view that Jewish pupils, boys in particular, were seen in a negative light. His novel Loose Ends was controversial and became the source of correspondence in the Jewish Chronicle. The

⁵⁷ Jewish Chronicle, 487 (26 July 1878), 12a.

⁵⁸ Golding, Forward, 84.

⁵⁹ Golding, Forward, 113. Many parents did not wish their offspring to be nurtured in an environment that was clearly similar to that of the East European *cheder*. The *cheder* “did not impart to the young people knowledge of the surrounding world, of the society in which they lived, its history and culture”. Artur Eisenbach, The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland 1780-1870 (Oxford, 1991), 42.

⁶⁰ Linda Hunt Beckman, Amy Levy: Her Life and Letters (Athens, Ohio, 2000), 35.

inclusion of Jews in his story did not place them in a good light. Maurice's roommate at the fictional Hornborough public school was Geldstein who was described as "just a little taller than Maurice. He had a loose untidy body... his nose, though not aggressively Jewish, could never have posed as Christian..."⁶¹ Another boy, who had been educated with Geldstein at a private school, was surprised as he did not think that the housemaster, Lenshaw, took Jewish boys. Another boy, Cluff, informed Geldstein that

Jews are so beastly unpopular at Hornborough... Yes, it's rather rough. After all, a Jew can't help being a Jew. He'd have been born a Christian, like other people, if he'd had a chance. That's what I always say, but... everybody isn't as reasonable as I am or the school would be a much jollier place for Jews. These other men will kick a poor Jew about, just as if the wretched blighter wasn't just as sick about being a Jew, as they are sick with him for being a Jew".⁶²

Lunn's father, Sir Henry Lunn, was deeply disappointed that the Jewish Chronicle correspondent suggested that the novel was "artfully insinuating and will set the schoolboy thinking how he can best rag his Jewish school-fellow" and defended his son commenting that

I can safely say... that the last thing he would wish to do is to encourage any sort of bullying or persecution. As far as his writings have any object beyond giving a truthful picture of school life, it is to discourage that kind of thing, particularly when based on racial prejudice, with which he has no sympathy whatever.⁶³

⁶¹ Arnold Lunn, Loose Ends (London, 1918), 24. Hereafter Lunn, Loose.

⁶² Lunn, Loose, 28.

⁶³ Jewish Chronicle (11 July 1919), 12a.

I somehow doubt that this appeased the readers of the Jewish press who were still reading correspondence that focused on whether the inclusion of Jewish pupils to public schools was a good idea as, by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, only two of the five Jewish Houses remained. The five Jewish Houses had been opened at Clifton (1878), Harrow (1880), St.Paul's (1887), Cheltenham (1891) and Perse School, Cambridge (1904). It was possible for the Jewish boys to observe the dietary laws, they received religious/Hebrew instruction offered, and the Sabbath and festivals were celebrated. The first Jewish House was not established until 1878 and yet Jewish boys had attended such schools prior to this. The Jewish Chronicle commented in 1868 that

The name of Jew is no longer a bye-word of scorn in the public school. It is a name of honour and respect. By good conduct, affectionate gentleness of manner, excellent home training, great genius, eminent talents, and assiduous industry, Jewish public school boys have gained an honourable, nay, even an illustrious, reputation, in the collegiate and academical arena.⁶⁴

Some memories provide a differing view. According to Charles H. Emanuel,

friendships at Harrow between boys in different houses were rare and were not even approved. Consequently we Jewish boys had few real friends outside our own walls, and we numbered but nine or ten youngsters. Hence we lost the complete advantage of public school life.⁶⁵

It would seem, therefore, that Jewish Houses were an unnecessary feature since prior to 1878 and after each ceased to exist, Jewish pupils appear in these schools. Rabbi Dr. Jeremy Rosen, principal of Carmel College (a Jewish boarding school established by his father in the 1960s) noted that it was more preferable to observe Jewish pupils

⁶⁴ Jewish Chronicle, 712, 6 (7 August 1868), 4a.

⁶⁵ Jewish Chronicle, 3624 (23 September 1938), 59b.

attending Jewish schools, although if they were sent to a secular school, then they should not be segregated. By doing so, we are creating an 'us and them' situation. He explained that

Polack's House is the worst of both worlds. If you are going to be in a non-Jewish environment, don't create a little ghetto in it. Either you create a Jewish environment which is a positive Jewish environment or alternatively you say look I'm going to live in a non-Jewish environment and I'll maintain my religious life.⁶⁶

In fact, Henry Berkowitz sarcastically commented in a 1915 advertisement for his Tivoli school, that it was "not a 'Jewish House' in a Christian school but a Jewish school in a Jewish house".⁶⁷ On the other hand, Nick Tarsh, the first Polackian to be Clifton head boy in 1952 believed passionately that the Jewish House "is the right arrangement - for Jewish children to have their own community in the house but to be able to play a full part in the life of the wider school".⁶⁸ Jewish Houses, indeed, "...had an important role to play in the preservation of Jewishness in the offspring of families from which some of the leaders of our religious community were recruited".⁶⁹ It was not enough to have exemption from chapel and be permitted to attend specifically dedicated services, but also to have the comfortable Jewish environment of a Jewish home.

An important Public General Act, the University Test Act (1871), was celebrated in the Jewish press as it was "a source of eminent satisfaction to our community, whose youth will be no longer debarred from enjoying the full harvest of

⁶⁶ Interview with Rabbi Dr. Jeremy Rosen (24 November 1999).

⁶⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2462 (4 June 1915), 6a.

⁶⁸ *The Times* (2 July 2005).

⁶⁹ Carlebach, "Joseph", 267.

their intellectual triumphs”.⁷⁰ The act allowed the benefits of further study at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham to become “freely accessible to the nation” as

no person shall be required, upon taking or enabling him to take any degree (other than a degree in divinity)... to subscribe any article or formulary of faith, or to make any declaration or take any oath respecting his religious belief or profession, or to conform to any religious observance, or to attend or abstain from attending any form of public worship, or to belong to any specified church, sect, or denomination...⁷¹

With this additional incentive for further education, this study has observed the decline of Jewish schools in favour of grammar, independent and public schools which were prominent institutions and would allow the Jewish pupils to mix with their non-Jewish counterparts prior to a university education.

The significance of the early part of twentieth century was the Education Act of 1902 which allowed local authorities to finance secondary education out of the rates. The result was an unexpectedly rapid development in this field, the establishment of many new local authority-controlled grammar schools, which “were to be the main route to higher education for children from poorer families” as they offered a proportion of ‘free places’ to scholars from the elementary schools.⁷² Such opportunities allowed pupils of the Jewish working classes backgrounds to attend. In 1907 a scholarship scheme made it possible for the clever children from poor backgrounds to attend secondary schools.

⁷⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 130 (15 September 1871), 10b.

⁷¹ The Public General Acts Passed in the 34th and 35th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Being the Third Session of the 20th Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1871), 1 and 2.

⁷² Norman McCord, *British History 1815-1906* (Oxford, 1991), 463.

The idea of educating children within the confines of the home was a luxury primarily for a certain class of person – those who were wealthy. If one examines the ‘home educated’ table in Appendix I, it provides examples of those who received such an education in the nineteenth century – their names indicate their class in life. A majority of them came from ‘The Cousinhood’ (discussed in Chapter 2).

It goes without saying that Sir Isaac [Lyon Goldsmid], who took so deep an interest in educational matters, saw to it that his own children had the best of teachers and so they were instructed in English literature by Thomas Campbell, the poet and Sir Isaac’s collaborator in the University College scheme; they learned Italian from Gabriele Rosseti, Professor of Italian at King’s College...⁷³

With the increase in independent and public schools during the period 1830 and 1869, “private education for boys at home declined throughout the period”.⁷⁴ Nathan Solomon Joseph (1834-1909), son of Solomon Joseph, a city merchant, “was educated at home under private tutors and from 1852 to 1854 at UCL”.⁷⁵ Another example of home education was Constance de Rothschild (1843-1931), daughter of Lady Louise and Sir Anthony Nathan de Rothschild, banker and landowner. In her memoirs, she wrote

My dear mother, who loved book-learning, and who longed to have well-educated and seriously-minded daughters, encouraged us in our studies... Dr. Kalisch, a German and a Jew, a very fine Hebrew scholar, and an exceedingly able man. His father brought him up in extreme orthodoxy, hoping that he might take his place in the Jewish ministry. In the revolutionary years of 1848

⁷³ Paul H. Emden, *Jews of Britain: A Series of Biographies* (London, 1943), 113-4.

⁷⁴ John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (London, 1973), 300.

⁷⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, XXX (Oxford, 2004), 733. He became an architect and social worker.

the young student, with others of republican tendencies, had to flee from Germany and seek a safe refuge in England, where he had introductions to the then Chief Rabbi, Dr. Nathan Adler, who soon recognised his abilities... We learnt not only Hebrew, but a great many other things besides from this extraordinary young student, all aflame with his passion for political and religious freedom and the love of fine literature... With Dr. Kalisch we read many works of Schiller and Goethe and learnt a number of poems by heart... Our master of English literature, Professor Brewer, connected with the Record Office, librarian to the then Lord Salisbury, was also one of the lecturers at King's College... Our French master, M. le Brun, was a very ardent grammarian, and took enormous pains in teaching us to write correctly and to build up our knowledge of the French language on a sure foundation.⁷⁶

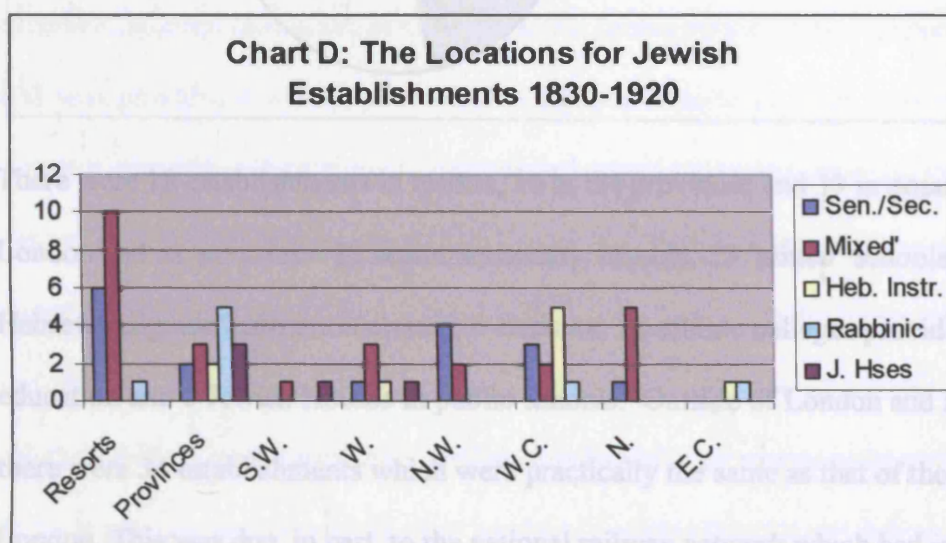
There was also the other side of the coin. Private tutors were also employed when "there was little enough that an immigrant could do about his own pronunciation of English, but if he was anxious for his son to make his way in the world he could have him educated."⁷⁷

Having discussed the types of schools, let us now turn to the geographical locations. What is evident is that there was a trend in the location. For example, it was most likely for Hebrew or religious instruction classes to open in West Central London as this was close to schools, such as University College School. The most

⁷⁶ Constance Battersea, *Reminiscences* (London, 1922), 30-2.

⁷⁷ Bernard Susser, "Social Acclimatisation of Jews in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Devon", in *Industry and Society in the South West* (Exeter, 1970), 65. Susser also commented that their children could also be sent to non-Jewish schools which accepted Jewish pupils. The curriculum "played an important role introducing the children to English culture" Rosalyn Livshin, "Aspects of the Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester 1890-1930", unpublished M.Ed thesis, University of Manchester (1982), 91. Livshin's words ring true, not only for the Manchester Jews' School to which she refers, but to all the Jewish schools featured as they copied the educational styles of the public schools and readily admitted as much.

interesting and, perhaps telling, was Madame Hartog's move from East Central London to North West London before finally settling in West London. She transferred to a different location for her family's needs but a move that would also satisfy the parents that she was aiming to attract. To simplify matters, the pie chart (Chart E) below indicates the proportion of Jewish schools/classes in the provinces, the seaports/resorts and London.



**Corresponding Table for Chart D:
The Location of Jewish Establishments 1830-1920⁷⁸**

	Resorts ⁷⁹	Provinces	S.W. London	W. London	N.W. London	W. C. London	N. London	E.C. London
Sen./ Sec.	6	2	0	1	4	3	1	0
'Mixed'	10	3	1	3	2	2	5	0
Heb. Instr.	0	2	0	1	0	5	0	1
Rabbinic ⁸⁰	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	1
J. Hses	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0

Sources: *Jewish Chronicle*, *Jewish World*, *Voice of Jacob*

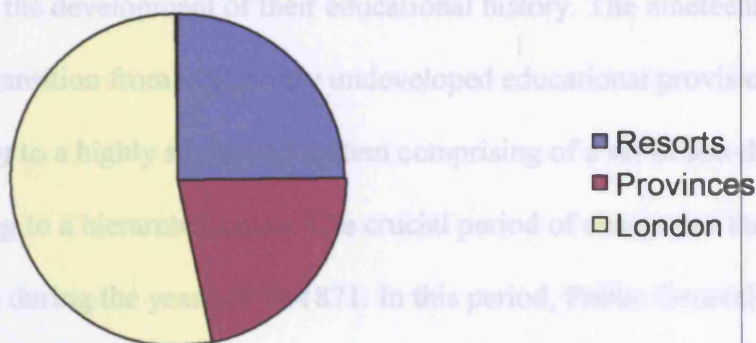
Table D

⁷⁸ Seaports and health resorts include Ramsgate, Brighton, Gravesend and Dover. The provinces include Liverpool, Bristol, Cheltenham and Sunderland. West London incorporates the areas of Kilburn, Maida Vale, West Kensington, Notting Hill and Bayswater. West Central London encompasses the squares of Gordon, Bedford, Russell and Red Lion. North West London incorporates Hampstead and Euston Road. North London contains Canonbury and Upper Edmonton. South West London includes Auckland Road. East Central London takes account of City Road and Houndsditch.

⁷⁹ Resorts refer to seaports and health resorts.

⁸⁰ As in Chart B, Rabbinic refers to Aria College, Jews' College and 6 *Yeshivot* in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Ramsgate and Sunderland.

Chart E: The 3 General Centres for Jewish Schools



There were 18 establishments in resorts, 16 in the provinces and 39 in popular London and its environs – 22 senior/secondary schools, 29 ‘mixed’ schools, 11 Hebrew/religious instruction classes, 6 *Yeshivot*, 2 rabbinic colleges providing secular education and 5 Jewish Houses in public schools. Outside of London and its environs, there were 34 establishments which were practically the same as that of those in London. This was due, in part, to the national railway network which had increased travel opportunities.

I have not created charts for the day and public schools as I was only permitted to consult the archives of a few of them and the picture would not be complete. Suffice it to say, Jewish pupils were discovered in schools ranging from London locations to the provincial cities of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Birmingham.

The discussion will, therefore, focus on the period between the 1830s and 1920, beginning with the first Jewish secondary school established in 1837 and concluding before the emergence of Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld’s Jewish Secondary School Movement (JSSM) which was mentioned in Chapter One. Discussions will focus on geographical locations, curricula and government acts, founders’ motivations

and financial concerns. What will become evident is that the Jewish schools made a limited yet crucial contribution to the Jewish experience; limited in the number of pupils but vital in the development of their educational history. The nineteenth century saw the transition from a relatively undeveloped educational provision at the start of the century to a highly structured system comprising of a set of sub-divisions arranged according to a hierarchal status. The crucial period of change for the middle classes took place during the years 1854-1871. In this period, Public General Statutes and Acts provided Jewish pupils with the means to experience more wide ranging forms of education. Both industrialisation and urbanisation had provided the middle classes with the desire for a broader based curriculum which included girls' education as well.⁸¹ The inequality of the educational system changed in the nineteenth century and this will be discussed in full in Chapter Six. Whilst the Jewish schools promoted religious beliefs on the one hand, they also embraced a secular curriculum that would provide a highly literate middle class workforce on the other. Some independent and public schools ensured a high class of education without interference of religious beliefs and even encouraged the establishment of Jewish Houses which catered for specific religious needs. The following chapters will encounter some of these schools.

⁸¹ As England was part of the British Empire, the Jewish schools entertained pupils from India, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Egypt. Whether the pupils were specifically sent to England for this education or transferred permanently to England is unknown. However, there were probably few alternatives if the parents desired their offspring to gain a Jewish, as well as a secular, education.

Chapter Four: Boys' Education in London and Its Environs

Introduction

Israel Finestein remarked that his book Anglo-Jewry in Changing Times was, indeed, “about changing times. More particularly it is concerned with people’s differing responses”.¹ This chapter, and the two following, are the responses by individuals to the establishment of Jewish and non-Jewish schools. This chapter will discuss the education of the Jewish boys in London and its environs; it will focus on Jewish schools (for the most part senior/secondary) that appeared in the nineteenth century, the teaching of Hebrew/religious instruction, and non-Jewish independent and public schools that caused the ultimate decline in these Jewish schools.

According to Chart D (and its corresponding table in Chapter Three), there were 9 senior/secondary schools in the London area. Six of them provided education solely for boys, one was the Middle Class Jewish School that educated boys and girls for two years (1878-1880) until it was redesigned as a girls’ school. These schools were located in West Central London (Bloomsbury in 1856 and 1867, Red Lion Square in 1878), North West London (St. John’s Wood in 1865, Maida Vale in the 1880s), and North London (Canonbury in 1871). There were fewer ‘mixed’ schools for boys, 5 in total spanning the wider London area. Seven Hebrew instruction classes opened between 1850 and 1880. There was two Jewish Houses located at public schools (i.e. St. Paul’s School and Harrow).

¹ Israel Finestein, Anglo-Jewry in Changing Times: Studies in Diversity 1840-1914 (London and Portland, Oregon, 1999), xv.

London and Its Environs

Before 1830, two Jewish schools had been created for middle class boys because there were no independent or public schools at that time that accepted Jewish boys. T.W. Bamford, whilst discussing public schools, makes a valid point that can be used for all schools, especially the Jewish ones, to explain their success rate. He commented that “a vital factor in the character of a school lay in the quality of the individual master”.² What we are about to observe are the long-established schools of Hyman Hurwitz (whose successor was Leopold Neumegen) and Henry Naphtali Solomon. These two schools were created in approximately 1799 and in 1815 respectively. If parents did not send their children to either of these establishments, they were educated at home. Some took exception to the fact that Hurwitz and Neumegen were ‘foreign’. Unfortunately, the census records do not go far enough back to see how popular they were then. However, later records suggest that their popularity waned. In 1851, the census returns suggest that Edmonton House, run by Solomon, catered for 29 pupils (between the ages of 9 and 18); in 1871, there were only 6 pupils and by 1881, 17 pupils.³ Gloucester House had a similar decline and, with the assistance of his wife, Belinda (and later daughter, Ada), Neumegen (who took over from Hurwitz) provided a school for boys and girls. In 1861, there were 7 boys (aged 9-16) and 3 girls (8-12) and in 1871, 5 boys (4-12) and 6 girls (8-14).⁴ When Neumegen died, his wife and daughter reinvented the school as a girls’ academy and it existed until 1933. (This school is discussed in Chapter Six but suffice it to say that the pendulum had swung in favour of Jewish girls’ schools whilst boys were more often than not attending independent and public schools.) For those

² T.W. Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools: A Study of Boys’ Public Boarding Schools in England and Wales from 1837 to the Present Day (London, 1967), ix.

³ NA – HO107/1703/1B/51/29-31; NA – RG10/1341/4/97/38-9; NA – RG11/1388/5/127/12-13

⁴ NA – RG9/460/3/54/32-3; NA – RG10/869/19/158/33

families seeking a truly Jewish environment for their children, these two schools were the ideal establishments. Pupils boarded in an environment which was an extension of their home life and also an establishment for secular learning. As in future establishments, especially in the provinces, it seems curious that these two educators did not have the foresight to combine forces to create a larger school that might have continued through the years and been a lasting memory to them. Jewish schools, in their totality, were always in competition with another – whilst the London area with its suburbs was a vast area, there would have been a suitable position for these two men to buy a larger property and combine forces for an institution that could have equalled that of University College School or City of London School. The Jewish schools had the added advantage of being able to teach religious instruction to its pupils that the latter schools did not offer (as seen below).

In the very early years of Solomon's educational career,
Some good substantial families of fine solid people, proud of their domestic and communal life and who were generously endowed with civic qualities of respectability and righteousness began to take up residence in the area north of Brixton. These were the likely people from whom Henry Solomon would have drawn some of his pupils. The need of an English education for the children of these middle-class Jews was becoming of prime importance, if they were to compete in an expanding, industrial society... Therefore, it is evident that there was a ready-made market for his services and he was in the position to exploit it... All Henry Solomon had to ensure was that his school should be of

good repute, and the supply of boys from these middle-class families would automatically follow.⁵

What is noteworthy is that, as will be discussed, he could not in any way have foreseen the availability of non-Jewish schools to Jewish pupils which would be in direct competition to his school. As Solomon was only at Brixton for a couple of years and there are no known registers and it was not in a census year, it was not possible to discover who was taught. The Solomon family moved, in 1825, to Wallborough House in Hammersmith where “the number of large residences in the district encouraged the growth of private, especially boarding schools, and the ‘good air’ which had been acclaimed was an added attraction”.⁶ One of his earliest and most celebrated pupils at Hammersmith was Moses Angel who would later become the headmaster of the Jews’ Free School. Angel’s obituary noted that

At the age of eight years he was sent to the boarding school of Mr. H. N. Solomon of Hammersmith, where practically all the children of well-to-do parents of a former generation were educated.⁷

Solomon’s school achieved a reputation for its high level of education. With the introduction of the ‘local examinations’ and other public examinations, not to mention the establishment of UCL, he “had the added incentive of raising his Hammersmith school to the level of such schools as Eton and Harrow”.⁸ Many advertisements throughout the years remarked on the schools’ educational standards being similar to that of public school status. Margery and Norman Bentwich revealed that Herbert Bentwich (1856-1932), British Zionist leader, lawyer and committee member of the

⁵ Jeffrey and Barbara Baum, “A Light unto My Path: The Story of H.N. Solomon of Edmonton” (1981),

⁷ Hereafter Baum, “Light”.

⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁷ At 14, he transferred to University College School. *Jewish World*, L, 26 (9 September 1898), 440a.

⁸ Baum, “Light”, 8.

Jewish High School for Girls, began his education at a private Christian school before being sent to Solomon's school.

During the fifty years he was head of the school at Edmonton, many boys, afterwards distinguished, passed through his hands, he was able to give his pupils a sane and broad conception of religion and citizenship. Herbert Bentwich stayed from 1866-69 – among his school-mates being Marcus Samuel [1853-1927], later the first Lord Bearsted, and the lawyer, Sir George Lewis [1833-1911, lawyer].⁹

Interestingly, in the 1880s, he started a movement to establish a fee-paying Jewish day school for the middle classes in north London (the areas served by the Dalston and North London synagogues). At first, he received over 200 applications but when it came to actually founding the school, he came across indifference in the community. He noted that

The want exists; the need is felt all that is lacking is the will to establish and carry on the work... It is the great middle class which is the backbone of the community; and to neglect its religious requirements is to give up all that is most promising and effective in our development.¹⁰

'Judaesus' began a correspondence with Bentwich in the Jewish Chronicle clearly stating that it was the responsibility of the middle class

To provide such teaching for itself. It is the duty of parents to have their children instructed in religious knowledge as well as in secular subjects, and if they neglect that duty the responsibility rests with them, and with them alone.¹¹

⁹ Margery and Norman Bentwich, Herbert Bentwich: The Pilgrim Father (Jerusalem, 1940), 12.

¹⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 798 (11 July 1884), 4b.

¹¹ Jewish Chronicle, 799 (18 July 1884), 5a.

If a school was required, then the residents should use their own resources to create one! By this time, as will be seen, many non-Jewish secondary schools accepted Jewish pupils and the need for a Jewish one was not felt.

Other Jewish pupils who attended Solomon's school included Matthias Levy (1839-1918), shorthand writer and historian, Dr. Lewis Oppenheim (1832-1895), Samuel Samuel (1855-1934), member of parliament, Sydney Algernon (1836-1916), communal worker and Henry Lewis Raphael (1832-99), economist and philanthropist. Some of his pupils were only educated by him until the age of 13 or 14 when their parents felt that they had received a sufficient religious grounding before entering a secular environment or one where religious instruction was taught but where they were exempt. One exception was John Moss Lawrence (d. 1888), industrialist and communal worker. He was present at the school during the 1841 census when he was 15.¹² A few pupils did attend the schools until the age of 18 but that was rare.

Many parents, however, preferred to send their children to non-Jewish secondary (independent and public) schools where the educational levels were notably high whereas a small number of pupils attending the Jewish schools could not attest to the high educational status. Nevertheless, as Baum and Baum remark, Solomon "was able to prepare pupils to university entrance standard over a wide spectrum of subjects". The school eventually closed when Solomon passed away and, sadly as with many of the Jewish schools, there was no successor to continue the reputation gained by him although as the census records suggest his reputation did not help him at this late stage of his career. Before he died, there were 17 pupils which, whilst one of the larger Jewish schools in 1881, was not able to compete with the successes of

¹² His obituary can be found in the Jewish Chronicle (26 October 1888).

University College School, City of London School or any other independent or public schools throughout the country.

In 1831, Solomon moved the school to Edmonton, a village six miles north of London. Diane K. Bolton remarked that

During the 19th century, especially in its early and middle years, Edmonton was noted for its private schools... Edmonton House, attended by 30 boys, was a Jewish school which was opened by Henry Naphtali Solomon in 1815 [in Hammersmith and transferred to Edmonton in 1838] and closed in the early 1880s.¹³

It is interesting to point out that many of the histories on Edmonton note that there were “an unusually large number of private schools” but the one that they all mention is Solomon’s.¹⁴ In fact, as the Rev. John Mills, observed that

The most estimable... in the metropolis is the establishment of Mr. Solomon, Upper Edmonton. Several teachers are attached to this school and in addition to the usual routine of English and Hebrew education the following are also taught – drawing, music, dancing, French, German, Spanish and Latin.¹⁵

By 1880, Solomon (1796-1881) had lived in Edmonton for over 50 years.¹⁶ He had taken “an active part in the affairs of the parish; he was a member of the Local Board for many years, and was much respected by persons of all shades of opinion”¹⁷ which gave him a distinct advantage over many of his counterparts in the same field, not to mention that he was also the first headmaster of the Jews’ Free School (London). The

¹³ Diane K. Bolton, “Edmonton”, in T.F.T. Baker, V History of the County of Middlesex (Oxford, 1976), 202.

¹⁴ Graham Dalling, Southgate and Edmonton Past: A Study in Divergence (London, 1996), 37.

¹⁵ MS 116/34 Rev. John Mills in British Jewish Publications (1853). This quote can also be found in John Mills, The British Jews (London, 1853), 303.

¹⁶ Jewish World (18 November 1881) and (9 December 1881). His father, R. Moses Eliezer Solomon, had also been a teacher. His school was located in Brixton.

¹⁷ Fred Frisk, The History of the Parish of Edmonton in the County of Middlesex, Containing Also Historical Accounts of Bush Hill, Southgate, Winchmore Hill, Palmers Green, South Mimms, and Hadley, Districts Formerly in the Parish of Edmonton (Tottenham, 1914), 75. Hereafter Frisk, History.

reason for his early successes was his understanding of communal needs. For more than sixty years, Solomon taught Jewish pupils who “numbered among every class of the community”.¹⁸ He was also London-born which attested to his school’s longevity – parents were unwilling to have their offspring educated by ‘foreign elements’ especially since they were trying to rid themselves of foreign peculiarities. Parents were also influenced by the opening of the Northern and Eastern or Eastern Counties Railway (now known as the Great Eastern Railway) which opened towards the end of the late 1830s.¹⁹ In 1851, the census returns revealed that 29 boys (aged between 9 and 18) were resident at Edmonton House situated at 94 Fore Street.

Fashionable residents increasingly settled in Fore Street during the 18th century... Fore Street was never wholly occupied by the rich. Increasingly, particularly south of Angel Road and Silver Street, the area came to be covered with small, overcrowded tenements and lodging houses. Much of Edmonton thus lost its exclusiveness and as prosperous traders moved in the gentry moved out... While some houses in Fore Street still had occupiers of independent means in 1851, others had been converted into boarding schools.²⁰

None of the pupils were born in Edmonton. A majority of them were London-born but there were a few from Birmingham, Greenwich (Kent), Brighton (Sussex), Gibraltar and Jamaica.

His school achieved a universal reputation and his pupils came from all over the world. He was held in high respect and regard by his pupils who were indebted to him for imparting his knowledge and enthusiasm enabling them to fulfil their own potential... In his own life he was able to combine his

¹⁸ The Jewish Encyclopedia, XI, 452.

¹⁹ Fisk, History, 18.

²⁰ A History of the County of Middlesex, V (Oxford, 1976), 137-42.

religious observances and his civic obligations without conflict and ardently desired that his co-religionists should aspire to this balance.²¹

In fact, many of the larger Jewish schools provided educational choices for pupils from abroad and, indeed, from all over England. Only one pupil appeared in the 1861 census as they had returned home for a Jewish festival. The pupil that remained was, David Palette, who hailed from Corfu. At 74 years of age, Solomon was still teaching as the 1871 census returns observed. 6 pupils, aged between 10 and 17, were resident. They hailed from Austria, Jamaica, Prussia and Manchester. Other schools, as will be noted, also provided education for Manchester-born pupils. This implies that there were no individuals who had taken the opportunity to establish a similar school in the Manchester area. The final time Solomon's school appeared in the census returns was in 1881 when he was 84! 17 pupils attended. Most of them had been born in Middlesex but a few came from abroad (Strasbourg, Lisbon, Canada and Constantinople).

Despite the school's early successes, the 1851 census

Reveals the presence of pupils of possible Jewish origin at other, non-Jewish, boarding schools; College House School, at the junction of Fore Street and Silver Street... had three such pupils. Matthias Barnett was aged eleven and was born in London. There were also two brothers, Antonio Englebach (aged nine) and William Englebach (aged eight) both born in London. Among the pupils at the Eagle Hall Academy in Southgate High Street was Philip Garcia, aged fourteen...²²

²¹ Baum, "Light", 22-3.

²² Graham Dalling, "Early Jewish Settlement in Edmonton, Enfield and Southgate", in Heritage No 4: An Historical Series on the Jewish Inhabitants of North London. (London, 1993), 18.

Interestingly, Edmonton never became a Jewish suburb, existing merely as an appendage of nearby Tottenham.²³ Not only did he face competition from the non-Jewish schools but also from the addition of Hyman Hurwitz's school which was taken over by Leopold Neumegen (1787-1875) at Highgate²⁴ and, in 1821, transferred to Kew. It survived until 1832 when Neumegen retired. However, due to some bad investments he made, Neumegen was forced to open another establishment which became known as Gloucester House. Neumegen's

Pupils were numerous, and for half a century his name was a household word in the Anglo-Jewish community. There was scarcely a family of any note whose members had not received at least a portion of their education at his school.²⁵

²³ Dalling, "Early", 22. See Tottenham Grammar School later in this chapter.

²⁴ Defoe, in his *Tour through England and Wales* "found Highgate a favourite retreat of wealthy Jews, who lived there 'in good figure', served by their own butchers and other tradesmen. He also heard that there was a private synagogue, which presumably was part of a house. Jewish residents, such as the Da Costas, probably led Hyman Hurwitz to open his school in 1802. A synagogue was adjoined Hurwitz's buildings but did not survive the school's closure."²⁴ A Jewish academy had been established at Highgate under Hyman Hurwitz (1770-1844), who leased no. 10 South Grove (Church House) from the antiquary John Sidney Hawkins. According to *The Times*, 18667 (20 July 1844), 10a, "he was held in the highest estimation for his great knowledge of biblical literature, and endeared to all who knew him by his unassuming manners and amiable disposition". It had approximately 100 boys in 1820 and there was thought to be nothing like it in England. Between 1810 and 1812, he leased the adjacent house (no. 9) for a girls' school which would be kept by his sister. This had a short-lived existence. Hurwitz was born in Posen. On arrival in England, Hurwitz "was quick to realise the importance of mastering English and strenuously applied himself to the study of it. He made such remarkable progress that very soon he obtained employment in a Gentile school, giving religious instruction to the Jewish pupils. His success and character must have been outstanding, for some of the parents joined together to set him up as the principal of his own seminary for Jewish boys." Leonard Hyman, "Hyman Hurwitz: The First Anglo-Jewish Professor", in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, XXI (1968), 232. He retired in 1821 but "it is presumed that he became a teacher of Hebrew for private pupils". Hyman, "Hyman", 232-3. He also wrote *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language* which was published in London in 1835. He was a pious, observant Jew. Many of their pupils were drawn from families of the members of the Western Synagogue. Hyman, "Hyman", 235. Leopold Neumegen describes him as "religious without bigotry, benevolent without ostentation and learned without egotism" whilst Joseph Barrow Montefiore, a former pupil, commented that "the pupils of the richer families objected to Hurwitz, who was a Pole and used to wear a tall Polish hat, and stride about the school-room with a cane ferociously stuck in his Wellington boots".²⁴ Although Hurwitz began his school earlier than the years chosen for this thesis, it is important to understand why he chose to establish a school, as the decision was one which continued time and again. "As his circumstances were not flourishing, he endeavoured to ameliorate them by the employment of his acquirements in Hebrew..." *The Voice of Jacob*, 79 (2 August 1844), 197a.

²⁵ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX, 238.

Neumegen, like Hurwitz, was born in Posen. He was “a traditional Jew and a widely respected communal figure”.²⁶ Neumegen provided an education including Hebrew, bible, classics and mathematics. As early as 1842, Neumegen’s curriculum included “English in all branches, Hebrew, French, writing, bookkeeping, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, the use of globes for the cost of 36 guineas per annum.” (The Latin and Greek languages were 1 guinea extra per quarter, possibly because he would have to employ a visiting master to teach these languages and thus the extra cost would need to be met.)²⁷ An advertisement in the Jewish press noted impressively that “all the Jewish students who have hitherto obtained academical honours in this country, have previous to their entering their respective universities, been educated” at Gloucester House.²⁸ If you note some of the pupils who attended the school, their career successes must be a reflection on the education they received at Neumegen’s. His school may not have been specifically secondary but some stayed on until they were 14 or 15 before they entered a London independent school (as will shortly be discussed) or, in fact, before they entered University College London which existed from 1826 and allowed Jews to take degrees. Some of the famous Jews who attended Neumegen’s school included James Joseph Sylvester (1814-1897), mathematician whose father was a merchant. He studied at Neumegen’s school between the ages of 6 and 12.²⁹ He entered London University at the age of 14.³⁰ A fellow student of Sylvester’s was John Simon. Sidney Woolf (1844-1892), lawyer, also followed a similar path and was educated at Neumegen’s and University College

²⁶ Israel Finestein, “Sir George Jessel 1824-1883”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 18 (1958), 249.

²⁷ The Voice of Jacob, 14 (1 April 1842), 100a.

²⁸ The Voice of Jacob, 25 (2 September 1842), 200b.

²⁹ See Karen Hunger Parshall, James Joseph Sylvester: Life and Work in Letters (Oxford, 1998).

³⁰ See Ox DNB, 53, 567; The JE, XI, 614-5 and The Times, (11 April, 1897).

London.³¹ Jacob Waley, (1819-1873), lawyer and professor of political economy,³² who “received his early education at the school of Mr. Neumegen, at Highgate” and Raphael Meldola (1849-1915), naturalist and chemist whose father was a printer, were also educated there. The latter attended Neumegen’s school between the ages of 7½ and 14.³³ He moved to Northwick College kept by his relative. Many of these pupils excelled not only in their higher education but also in Jewish communal affairs, a sign that early training in Jewish education was important for future leading members of the Anglo-Jewish community. Jacob Waley, for example, was president of the Jews’ Orphan Asylum and the first president of the Anglo-Jewish Association to name but a few of his communal achievements.

By 1861, an observer can detect the decline of this school. Only 10 pupils were recorded in the 1861 census. Three of them were his children.³⁴ Neumegen had, a few years early, placed a notice in the Jewish Chronicle expressing his concern about the fall in numbers. He pointed out that he had reason

To believe that the Public are led away by the impression that the charges in his establishment are immoderately high, he begs to inform them that although the comfort, diet and institutions of the pupils are, regardless of expense, most studiously and conscientiously attended to it will be found that the terms of his establishment are not higher than those of any other respectable establishment.³⁵

³¹ See Jewish World (18 March 1892).

³² See Bertram B. Benas, “Jacob Waley 1818-1873”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1958), 41-52.

³³ Ada Neumegen, “Early Years” in James Marchant, ed., Raphael Meldola: Reminiscences of His Worth and Work By Those Who Knew Him Together With a Chronological List of His Publications (London, 1916), 12. For a biographical sketch, see Jewish World, L, 20 (5 August 1898), 361c.

³⁴ NA – RG9/460/3/54/32-3

³⁵ Jewish Chronicle, X, 2 (14 October 1853), 16a.

By 1871 (and, in fact, in 1861 too), the shape of his school was evidently different. He was catering for boys and girls. On the one hand, this was to cater for a wider number of pupils; on the other hand, he now had more help from his wife and daughter. Although the school continued as a girls' academy, Gloucester House ceased to exist as an establishment in competition with non-Jewish schools. It began its existence in order for Jewish middle class pupils to provide an education that they could not achieve elsewhere. However, the establishment of University College School and City of London School did more harm to these Jewish schools and caused their decline.

As has been observed, these two Jewish schools educated a large number of pupils during the first couple of decades of their existence until their popularity began to wane. One of the main reasons for this change was the establishment of two London schools that would be the bane of Jewish schools and, in fact, Hebrew/religious instruction. University College School (UCS), founded as part of University College London (UCL which was then known as the University of London), was "the first public school in the kingdom to preach and practise absolute religious equality".³⁶ UCL, established in 1826, provided higher education

Without religious tests a modern university education for those of the middle classes who could not afford to go to Oxford or Cambridge or who were excluded from these ancient universities because they could not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles – Methodists, Roman Catholics and Jews were all excluded by the religious tests...³⁷

Pupils who wanted to attend UCL needed to be prepared for such training. The school, opened on 1 November, 1830 at 16 Gower Street (before joining UCL within its

³⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1884 (12 May 1905), 22b.

³⁷ F. Foden, *Philip Magnus: Victorian Educational Pioneer* (London, 1970), 15. Hereafter Foden, *Philip*.

walls³⁸), was “dedicated to the principles of toleration and non-discrimination”³⁹ and yet a correspondence between the Chief Rabbi and Alfred E. Turner, a member of the school council, appeared in the Jewish World. Turner wrote

I think you will be glad to learn that at a meeting of the council of University College School... it was proposed that the Saturday instruction at the school is to be discounted, except for Bible instruction of those pupils whose parents desire it. I... have long wished that this might be the case, knowing as I do how repugnant to the Jewish community this Saturday instruction is... ”⁴⁰

It is hard to envisage that this matter had ever become a matter of discussion at a school that had opened its doors, from its commencement, to provide opportunities for those children whose parents did not wish to send them to Church of England foundation schools which barred non-members of the Church of England (and also to prepare boys for entry to higher education at University College London).⁴¹ In fact,

This school had been established... to provide an efficient middle-class education for Jewish and nonconformist boys at moderate cost. The curriculum emphasised modern studies – mathematics, languages and science – which at the time were not taught in more traditionally organised schools for the middle classes.⁴²

As expected, a large number of Jewish pupils attended during this early period. In fact, between 1831 and 1898, at least 389 Jewish boys passed through its doors in Gower Street which included Moses Angel (1819-1898), the future headmaster of the Jews’

³⁸ UCS moved to Frognal in Hampstead in 1907.

³⁹ H.J.K. Usher, C.D. Black-Hawkins and G.J. Carrick, An Angel Without Wings: The History of University College School 1830-1980 (London, 1981), n.p.

⁴⁰ Jewish World, LXXVI, 11 (17 March 1911), 8b.

⁴¹ According to Foden, “[Alfred] Yarrow, whose Jewish upbringing was similar to that of the Magnus children, noticed that Jewish boys, though absent from the Saturday lessons, still carried off more than half the prizes offered in the school...” Foden, Philip, 18.

⁴² Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 36 (Oxford, 2004), 134.

Free School.⁴³ He was one of the first Jewish pupils to attend UCS. (At least six other Jewish boys were in attendance at that time according to the school register.⁴⁴) He entered at the age of 14 in 1831 (having received his early schooling at Henry Naphtali Solomon's boarding school in Hammersmith). George Lewis (1833-1911), solicitor (whose father was also a solicitor), was a pupil during the years 1848-50. A future chief rabbi, Hermann Adler (1839-1911), whose father was chief rabbi, was also educated at the school. Philip Magnus (1842-1933), educationist and politician, whose father was a tailor and wine merchant, attended the school between 1854 and 1858. (His brother, Laurie, also attended the school.) Lewis Solomon (1848-1928), architect whose father was a furniture dealer and silversmith, attended UCS in the early 1860s. (He had, like other Jewish pupils, attended Leopold Neumegen's boarding school in Kew.) These alumni examples indicate the importance of the existence of a school such as UCS that educated and trained future leaders of the Jewish community. The school continued to be a great opportunity for Jewish pupils and they flourished throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century as is evidenced by its alumni. Marion H. Spielmann, (b.1858), author and art critic, was a pupil at UCS from 1872 to 1876. Philip Joseph Hartog (1864-1947), chemist and educationist (who helped to found SOAS, the School of Oriental and African Studies) attended 1874-80. Edwin Otho Sachs (1870-1919), architect whose father was a merchant, attended between 1883 and 1885.⁴⁵

F. Foden remarked that schools, such as UCS, were

⁴³ See Appendix I for list of pupils. Taken from Temple Orme, University College School, London: Alphabetical and Topographical Register for 1831-1898 Supplementary to the First Issue 1831-1891 (London, 1898).

⁴⁴ See Appendix I. Many of the school's early records were destroyed during the Second World War. The archives were held at University College London which was bombed during this period.

⁴⁵ Sachs "became an internationally recognised expert on fire prevention and on opera house and theatre construction". A. Tropp, Jews in the Professions in Great Britain 1891-1991 (London, 1991), 88. Incidentally, his son, Eric, was educated at Charterhouse. Hereafter Tropp, Jews.

Models of a new type of secondary school destined to rise to great importance during the 19th century – a type intermediate between the great residential public schools and the old grammar schools. This meant, among other things, an emphasis on ‘modern’ studies, including mathematics, languages and science, none of which was taught in traditional schools.⁴⁶

The important point to make is that Jewish middle class pupils were able to partake of this education from its inception, and were able to continue their education further if they desired. The bottom line is that revised regulations and new government acts, as the reader will encounter later, were not needed for this establishment. A gap in the market, so to speak, had been noted by the fact that UCL had been founded as a ‘g-dless institution’. Not only should this school be known for its liberality (of acceptance and tolerance) but its existence should also be specifically remembered as representing middle class Jewish interests for those parents (whose wages were moderate but comfortable) who could not afford high quality private tutors for their offspring, as ‘the Cousinhood’ could. UCS was the catalyst that allowed the Jewish middle classes to move forward and embrace secondary education. It was also the channel through which the establishment of the Jewish schools, not to mention the Hebrew/religious instruction classes, commenced. By 1904, an advertisement for the school indicated that there was a “Hebrew class by Rev. Gerald Friedlander” held there – an even bigger blow to the remaining Jewish schools.⁴⁷

Before introducing the early Jewish efforts, this chapter will remark on the next independent day school which, like UCS, was an important addition to secondary institutions. The City of London School (CLS) opened in 1835 in Milk Street (near Cheapside). Like the UCS, it did not discriminate against pupils on religious grounds.

⁴⁶ Foden, Philip, 16.

⁴⁷ Jewish World, LXII, 22 (19 August 1904), 419a.

The general course of instruction included the English, French, German, Latin, and Greek languages, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, book-keeping, geography, and history. As will shortly be observed, the Jewish schools that followed tried to emulate this extensive curriculum but CLS remained a popular school for Jewish pupils. By 1851, there were 17 Jewish pupils out of 600 (2.8%); 9 out of the 17 received prizes (53%). The headmaster, the Rev. Dr. Mortimer⁴⁸ commented

That B. Abrahams, a Jew, who had formerly been a pupil of the school, had a few weeks ago matriculated at the University of London with the greatest honours, and that the Captain of their school, and most distinguished scholar of the present year, Mr. E.A. Hart, was also of the Jewish persuasion, remarked that these facts bore with them their own commentary, and that he hoped they would be duly appreciated in the proper quarters, for members of the Jewish persuasion attaining to such high and difficult honours, was an additional proof that there were among the Jews, men capable of fulfilling the most arduous duties appertaining to those rights and offices, from which he believed that they had been too long wrongfully kept back.⁴⁹

As revealed by the list in Appendix I, at least 3 Jewish pupils received prizes in 1852, 3 in 1854, 7 in 1866, 7 in 1873, 9 in 1876 and 16 in 1879. (The Jewish press did not always provide details of every prize winner, just examples.) By 1905, 23 pupils received prizes. (Some of these pupils accepted more than one prize.) According to the Jewish Chronicle, in 1881, 70 out of the roll of 700 pupils were Jewish (10%); 52

⁴⁸ CLS announced the establishment of the Mortimer Memorial Scholarship in the Jewish World. "The subjects, proposed for the first examination, are reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, English history, and modern geography. We hope that Jewish students will compete for the scholarship, as the CLS numbers many Jewish pupils, in whom Dr. Mortimer during his lifetime evinced great interest." Jewish World, 4 (7 March 1873), 3d.

⁴⁹ Jewish Chronicle, VII, 43 (1 August 1851), 339a-b.

out of 395 prizes were awarded to Jewish pupils (13.2%).⁵⁰ The CLS magazines indicate the individual prizes won which included the Mortimer English Prize, won in 1879 by Israel Gollancz (1863-1930).⁵¹ Gollancz's complete educational history was followed through the pages of the school magazine. In 1883, he won the Hollier Hebrew Scholarship at UCL.⁵² In the following year, at Christ's College (Cambridge), he had been elected to a Foundation Scholarship and a Travers Scholar.⁵³ In 1886, he was engaged as one of the editors of the Cambridge Review.⁵⁴ Having achieved a BA in 1887, he was appointed to a lectureship at Cambridge and was "engaged on an edition of the remains of Anglo-Saxon poetry".⁵⁵ His education in no way caused his religious beliefs to be diluted. In fact, in his communal work, he dedicated himself

Specially in the training and qualification of rabbis. To this he devoted himself on the council of the Jews' College, the Anglo-Jewish theological seminary of which he was a member for many years; the curriculum for the rabbinical diploma granted by that institution was to a large extent his work...⁵⁶

In October 1871, a huge blow befell those individuals who had established classes in the Gower Street area (which will be discussed shortly). The school revised its rules and regulations stating that

In addition to the preceding general course, applicable to the whole school, pupils, whose parents or guardians wish it, will be instructed at a moderate extra charge in drawing, and if a sufficient number apply to form a class, then in the Hebrew, Spanish and Italian languages.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 650 (9 September 1881), 7b.

⁵¹ CLS – The City of London Magazine, III, 21 (October 1879), 116. Hereafter CLS – CLM.

⁵² CLS – CLM, VII, 46 (October 1883), 181.

⁵³ CLS – CLM, VIII, 51 (July 1884), 151 and VIII, 52 (October 1884), 153.

⁵⁴ CLS – CLM, X, 65 (December 1886).

⁵⁵ CLS – CLM, XII, 72 (March 1888).

⁵⁶ Ox DNB, 22, 709. See also The Times (24 June 1930) and The Jewish Guardian (27 June 1930).

⁵⁷ CLS – The Revised Rules and Regulations sanctioned by the Court of Common Council

According to the school's historian, A.E. Douglas-Smith, "Hebrew, though short-lived, was the first of a remarkable series of linguistic experiments".⁵⁸ He believed its addition was to encourage prospective pupils which, as can be seen by Chart D, were possibly due to market forces. At least five Hebrew classes began in the 1870s. By the 1880s, their existence was minimal which would count for the lack of support at the school from parents. It did not work because the parents did not want their children to have such an education, hence the decline in the Hebrew instruction classes located outside the school walls.

Like UCS, this school was also popular with Jewish parents who willingly sent their children. One of the earliest pupils was Ernest Abraham Hart (1835-1898), medical journalist and physician whose father, Septimus, was a dentist, attended the school between 1848 and 1852. He became school captain and won many prizes, including the prestigious Lambert Jones scholarship.

This scholarship entitled the holder to a place at Queen's College, Cambridge, but, as a Jew, and therefore subject to the University Test Acts, Hart decided against university entry and secured permission to use the award to study medicine. He pursued his medical studies in London at St George's Hospital and at Samuel Lane's school of medicine in Grosvenor Place, where he won many more prizes.⁵⁹

Despite CLS and UCS creating a tolerant atmosphere for Jews to gain entry to UCL, they were still barred from the traditional higher places of learning, Oxford and

⁵⁸ A.E. Douglas-Smith, City of London School 2nd edition (Oxford, 1965), 69. Hereafter Douglas-Smith, City. In fact according to the school's other historian, Thomas Hinde, Carpenter's Children: The Story of the City of London (London, 1995), 30, the school committee heard that "the German and Hebrew classes... are in a very unsatisfactory state – there is a great want of discipline and good order in them... the boys appear to be making little or no progress in these departments". He was finally replaced by a German master.

⁵⁹ Ox DNB, 25, 568. See also The Times (8 January 1898) and the British Medical Journal (15 January 1898).

Cambridge. The 1871 University Test Act changed the character of educational advancement forever. Hart claimed to be “the first Jew who was ever admitted to a public school or was a ‘captain’ of a public school”.⁶⁰ Another early pupil was Joseph H. Levy (1838-1913), journalist and campaigner for individual rights. His father was a slop seller which goes some way to explaining the difficulties found in Chapter Two when trying to identify the classes into which the pupils attending secondary schools should be placed. With moderate fees, both the CLS and UCS were able to appeal to a wider range of Jewish families who wanted to better the position of the children. As Foden remarked, Philip Magnus’ father “was able to afford a sound if not expensive education”.⁶¹ Barnett Abrahams (1831-1863), another famous Jewish alumnus was Jews’ College head.

Abrahams received his early rabbinical instruction from his father and later from the chief rabbi himself, Nathan Marcus Adler. In 1849 Abrahams was admitted to the Spanish and Portuguese congregation’s theological college.

The elders defrayed the cost of his education at the City of London.⁶²

Here we see the importance of a secular education even to the orthodox members of the community (but this was not seen to be case by some as we will shortly observe when Jews’ College School was established). One should also note that the family were probably unable to pay for this type of education but the elders saw the need and its significance. Lewis Emanuel (1832-1898), previously a student at Rev. Myers’ boarding school in Ramsgate, also attended CLS. It is important to note that many of the pupils that have been mentioned attending either CLS or UCS attended a Jewish school prior to their acceptance at these schools (like Manchester Grammar School discussed in Chapter Five). It was vital for these pupils to receive a solid grounding in

⁶⁰ Ronald A. Goodman, *The Maccabaeans* (1979), quoted in Tropp, *Jews*, 27.

⁶¹ Foden, *Philip*, 14.

⁶² *Ox DNB*, 1, 123.

Jewish studies prior to entering a secular establishment. It was Lewis Emanuel who became solicitor and secretary to the Board of Deputies of British Jews representing the interests of Jewish pupils who could not take Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations on the Sabbath and Jewish festivals. Later pupils included Sidney Lee⁶³ (1859-1926 born Solomon Lazarus Lee), second editor of the Dictionary of National Biography and literary scholar, Lee Elkan Nathan Adler (b. 1861), lawyer and collector of Hebrew manuscripts, Arthur Pelham Collins (1863-1932), stage manager and producer at Drury Lane, Lionel Abrahams (1869-1919), Assistant Under-Secretary of State (1912-7), Samuel Gordon (b. 1871), novelist, and Charles Samuel Myers (1873-1946), psychologist.

The schools' continued successes provided an opportunity for individual Jews to notice a gaping hole in the pupils' education that was being ignored and neglected – that of Hebrew/religious instruction. As far as the Jewish press is able to assist on this matter, these instruction classes did not begin until the 1850s. (The earliest Jewish newspaper was started in 1841.) By this time, no individual had taken it upon himself to establish a Jewish school. The Jewish press was concerned by this as they did not feel that UCS and CLS were satisfactory schools! Such an education did not prevent pupils from being religious. In fact, many alumni were active members of the community. Lewis Solomon (UCS) “was active in religious and communal activities”; Charles S. Myers (CLS) “was active in Jewish institutions and cause” throughout his life and Lionel Abrahams (CLS) “was active in Jewish affairs. He was President of the JHS for many years, a member of the Board of Guardians and took an active interest in the Maccabaeans”. Philip Magnus (UCS) served the community as

⁶³ I contacted Mairi Macdonald, Deputy Head of Archives at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust (email correspondence 20 May 2005), to inquire whether there were any primary sources on his education. There is nothing in his papers (ER85) prior to his career after his university education, the majority of the dated material being from the 1880s.

chairman of the Jewish War Memorial Council, was Vice-President of the Jewish Board of Deputies of British Jews and of the Anglo-Jewish Association.⁶⁴

Individual Jews took it upon themselves to create Hebrew/religious instruction classes, at least four which were located close to UCS between 1850 and 1880 in Gordon Square, Southampton Street (Fitzroy Square), Great Coram Street (Russell Square) and one in Russell Square itself. To these individuals, their task was to prevent the complete assimilation of the next generation of young men who were educated in a secular environment. The instruction was primarily of a religious nature (languages were an additional subject), an example of which was created by Rev. A. Löwy (b.1816) whose pupils would be instructed in

1. Elements of the Hebrew grammar;
2. Translation and exposition of the Holy Scriptures and the daily prayers;
3. The principles of the Jewish faith;
4. Selections from 'Ethics of the Fathers'
5. History of the Jews
6. History of the Jewish literature⁶⁵

Rev. Löwy placed emphasis on various areas of Jewish education. Pupils resided at their teacher's home and, as Israel Finestein explained, these individuals "were eager to sustain and be seen to sustain, the nature of the Jewish community as a community of faith".⁶⁶ But at what cost – these classes could not be supported by Jewish parents who wanted to avoid being observed as detached from their non-Jewish counterparts. In fact, a majority of these individuals were foreigner-born (usually of German origin) which was also an unsuitable environment. Whilst learning a foreign language, such

⁶⁴ Tropp, *Jews*, 87-8, 30,42 and 50.

⁶⁵ *Jewish Chronicle*, XI, 5 (17 September 1854), 40b.

⁶⁶ Israel Finestein, "Jewish Emancipationists in Victorian England: Self-Imposed Limits to Assimilation", in Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Cambridge, 1992), 39.

as German (which was the medium of conversation in the family home), was important for a commercial career, it was deemed impractical in such an environment. Schools, such as UCS and CLS, did not offer religious instruction and, therefore, they did not need to ask for exemptions as in other schools which created a smoother passage through school. The Jewish Chronicle was adamant in the late 1850s that such instruction was terribly important for pupils attending UCS and others. The article read

Can nothing be done to kindle Jewish aspirations in the hearts of the promising youths attending our public Christian schools, to rouse in them Jewish feelings, to engender in them Jewish thought, to train in them Jewish habits, and to infuse into them Jewish associations?⁶⁷

In fact for a Jewish educational background, parents sent their sons to Jewish schools prior to their attendance at UCS and others. As has already been mentioned, Leopold Neumegen, Henry Naphtali Solomon and Rev. Myers' schools were popular. These London-based classes, few in number and only able to cater for a minority (12 at the most – see Appendix III) were not successful (due to the foreign element and the lack of time available for religious study after the school day). By 1874, the Jewish Chronicle lamented the lack of any Hebrew or religious education received by these pupils. The newspaper revealed that

Secular instruction of a far higher class than that which satisfied the community a generation ago has become of such vital importance that Hebrew and religion have been thrust to the wall. Jewish children by their hundreds now attend University College, King's College, the City of London, etc. The position they have won in these institutions, the prizes they carry off, and the

⁶⁷ Jewish Chronicle, XVI, 243 (12 August 1859), 4c.

other distinctions they achieve, are matters of just pride to the community. But not a little of it is obtained at the expense of Hebrew and religious teaching.⁶⁸

Whilst only noting schools in London, the Jewish Chronicle could not have failed to notice the increasing number of Jewish schools that had appeared especially since the Hebrew Observer had commented twenty years earlier that it had been vital for Jews in London to establish “a good school [as]... neither the City School nor the University College School come up to our notion of a really good school”.⁶⁹ They may have thought that these private or boarding schools were

Establishments of various degrees of pretension, but conducted by persons with little qualification for their work, beyond the means of opening and furnishing a house, and the power to draw up an advertisement.⁷⁰

Interestingly, all the Jewish newspapers had a great deal to say about the establishment of the Jews’ College School which will be discussed first and yet none of them gave praise, or in fact criticism, of the individual efforts that enabled Jewish children to experience a religious and secular education under one roof. The earliest schools were established in the provinces as is revealed in Chart B (Chapter Three). Early in the previous decade, the Voice of Jacob had discussed the importance of opening a training college for the ministry. It often mentioned the idea of the college for the training of a Jewish ministry, but it did not mention the inclusion of a school at first.⁷¹ In its second year of publication, it was delighted that “there appears every prospect of securing an excellent Jewish school...”⁷² The school itself, known as Jews’ College School, opened in 1855 in a house in Finsbury Square “then still the centre of

⁶⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 273 (19 June 1874), 11b.

⁶⁹ Hebrew Observer, 55 (20 January 1854), 235a-b.

⁷⁰ W.B. Hodgson, “On the Report of Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of the Principal Public Schools”, in Education Miscellanies, 12 (1869), 3.

⁷¹ The Voice of Jacob, 4 (12 November 1841), 30b; 5 (26 November 1841), 34a-b.

⁷² The Voice of Jacob, 8 (7 January 1842), 59a.

Jewish social and intellectual life” hence the popularity of UCS with Jewish parents.⁷³

One of its earliest pupils was Simeon Singer (1848-1906) who became minister of Borough New Synagogue. The idea had been to create a school with a solid foundation in their secular and religious education. There were differences of opinion within the community. On the one hand, Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid (1808-78) was unwilling to support the school. He believed that it to be based on narrowness and separateness. (This was the viewpoint given in the latter part of the century when Jewish Houses were created within the boundaries of a public school.) He

Considered it based on a system that had become obsolete and at variance with cultivated English thought in the nineteenth century... Instruments for carrying on the ministry of the synagogue are not found ready made. It was needful, therefore, to establish here... a college for training and forming into the required type a succession of enlightened and accomplished spiritual teachers. His recommendation was that the institution should be affiliated to University College, and that inasmuch as religious instruction should be localised, whilst secular instruction ought to be centralised, the Jews’ College should have a separate establishment for the teaching of Hebrew and theology, as well as for the practice of religious discipline; whilst for science, classics and faculty of Arts in general the pupils of the Jews’ College should attend the lectures at the University in Gower Street.⁷⁴

He did not want a reversal of all that the anglicised Jews had worked hard to rid. As we have already encountered, the Hebrew classes were reminiscent of the *cheder* style of education that had arrived with the East European immigrants in the eighteenth

⁷³ Margaret E. Bryant, The London Experience of Secondary Education (London, 1986), 236. Hereafter Bryant, London.

⁷⁴ Professor Marks, Memoir of Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid, I (London, 1879), 52.

century. On the other hand, the Hebrew Observer, during its short existence, explained

Nor will the school to be attached to the college, in our opinion, prove less beneficial than the parent establishment. It is quite true that there are some superior public schools in existence, equally accessible to Jew and Gentile. It is quite true that many Jewish parents avail themselves of the advantages held out by these schools; and it is equally true, that these schools prove excellent means for ridding the Jewish pupils of certain peculiarities deemed disagreeable... But, on the other hand, it is equally true, that the majority of Jewish parents do not send their children to those schools and that not always because they think that all advantages derivable from them are more than counterbalanced by the evils arising from school plans in which Hebrew finds no place, which scarcely allows for time for the study of a branch of knowledge so indispensable to a Jew...⁷⁵

The school was Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler's inspired effort to encourage Jewish parents to have their children educated in religious and secular subjects.

Parents must have been aware that his son, Hermann, had attended UCS and, whilst his argument would have been that this school was not yet in existence, they would surely have wanted to partake of the high quality education that Hermann had received. He did, however, realise that

Many parents hesitated to send their children to the college because they thought that too much Hebrew was taught there. This prejudice was answered by the fact that there were only two masters imparting instruction in Hebrew, whilst there were five teachers for secular education. It was a distinction of the

⁷⁵ Hebrew Observer, II, 53 (6 January 1854), 220a-c.

college that religious and secular knowledge went hand in hand, without weakening of contending against each other.⁷⁶

There are many more subjects to be covered on a secular curriculum that more specialist teaching staff are required, whereas with the religious instruction, a Rabbi or theological student have a more rounded knowledge of the subject and, therefore, fewer teachers are needed (especially when there are not a large number of students).⁷⁷ Despite his assurances, the school closed in 1879 because middle class Jews had moved westward and, as prior to the school's establishment, there was "a growing indisposition on the part of the community to send their sons to a Jewish day school, however excellently taught".⁷⁸ With the imminent closure of the school in 1879, a letter to the editor was sent to the Jewish Chronicle from 'An Islingtonian' expressing concerns that "there is no Jewish public institution within easy access to which we could send our children" at a time when the proposed removal of the Red Lion Square Middle Class School to the neighbourhood of Islington was considered.⁷⁹ 'S.H.' also commented to the editor that "the establishment of a good communal school..., where Jewish children could receive a sound education, combined with instruction in Religion and Hebrew", would be welcomed.⁸⁰ The community as a whole unit had failed to support the Jews' College School. The main reason for its failure was indeed its location as other Jewish secondary schools were successful despite their inclusion of Hebrew and religious instruction. A majority of the successful establishments were located in the seaports and resorts. (They will be discussed in Chapter Five.)

⁷⁶ Jewish World, 9 (11 April 1873), 7b.

⁷⁷ The Hebrew instruction was not satisfactory for M. Hyamson who was "also privately a pupil of the venerable Dayan Rev. Jacob Reinowitz". Jewish World, 1027 (7 October 1892).

⁷⁸ Bryant, London, 237.

⁷⁹ Jewish Chronicle, 537 (11 July 1879), 5b.

⁸⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 537 (11 July 1879), 5b.

Finestein commented that the school, whose foundation was an attempt to create a public day school like that of CLS, was, in fact, an unnecessary addition.

In view of the well-established Jewish private schools which by this time were a significant feature in the structure of the Jewish community. Adler realised the worth of those schools, but appreciated likewise that their fees rendered them almost exclusively the preserve of the affluent.⁸¹

The charge was £10 a year (but this was reduced to 6 guineas when families migrated to the west and west-central areas of the metropolis). It was considered unnecessary due to the issue of segregation but the Jewish private schools were also drawn on those lines! Social benefits of attending CLS etc. were outweighing the advantages of sending pupils. The downfall of the school is, in some ways, similar to that of the Jewish High School for Girls, although the latter existed until 1897 when it was announced that “it was not required in the neighbourhood”.⁸²

In direct competition with UCS was King’s College School (KCS) which was the established Church’s answer which included religious instruction on its curriculum. This instruction included the Church Catechism; Prayers and a Chapter from the Old or New Testaments every morning.⁸³ According to the school archivist, Bryan Stokes, there are no records to indicate the religion of any of the students. The school, however, was founded with a strong religious bias, although it was made clear that entry would be for all, regardless of religion, and there would be no discrimination. Stokes explained that the school has

No record of the religion of any of our students... Although King’s College London, and King’s College School (formerly its Junior Department) was

⁸¹ Israel Finestein, *Scenes and Personalities in Anglo-Jewry 1800-2000* (London, 2002), 57.

⁸² *Jewish World*, 1264 (30 April 1897), 10b.

⁸³ F.R. Miles, *King’s College School: Alumni 1831-1866 with Historical and Biographical Notes* (London, 1974), iii.

founded with a strong religious bias (the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and many other clergymen were amongst the founders, together with the King, the Duke of Wellington and others, and there always has been a strong theology faculty giving training for future C of E clergy) right from the first it was made clear that entry would be for all, regardless of religion, and there would be no discrimination.⁸⁴

Jewish pupils did, indeed, attend. Examples include (1842-5) Leopold David Lewis⁸⁵ (1828-1890), journalist, solicitor, author and playwright, who attended between 1842 and 1845 whilst Leopold Lionel Rothschild (1845-1917), one of Her Majesty's Lieutenants for the City of London and racehorse owner also attended. Other famous Jewish pupils included Leonard Lionel Cohen (1858-1938), banker, who attended between 1872 and 1875, Ernest Louis Franklin, banker and bullion merchant, who entered in 1873 and left in 1875 and Leonard Benjamin Franklin (1862-1944), MP for Central Hackney, between 1875 and 1878, Charles David Seligman (1869-1954) in 1882-3.⁸⁶ The difference between UCS and KCS seems self-evident. Fewer Jewish pupils attended due to the difficulties arising from the addition of religious instruction on the curriculum (despite the admission given by the school archivist). The names of those mentioned signify that 'the Cousinhood' and other more wealthy Jews (many of whom were merchant bankers) were more interested in this type of education. Other pupils included Edward David Stern, (1854-1933), attended from February 1866 until July 1873.⁸⁷ ; Stern is recorded in the College Calendar as having won the Lower V Mathematics prize in the autumn term 1872.⁸⁸ His elder brother, Herbert, also

⁸⁴ Email correspondence between the author and Bryan Stokes (12 May 2005).

⁸⁵ *The Times* (25 February 1890).

⁸⁶ F.R. Miles. *King's College School: Alumni 1866-1889 with Historical and Biographical Notes* (London, 1985), 49 and 85.

⁸⁷ *Ox DNB*, 52, 525; *Who Was Who 1929-40* (London, 1941), 1287-8.

⁸⁸ With thanks to the school's archivist, Bryan Stokes, for this information.

attended. A. Maurice Low (b. 1860), Anglo-American writer, was educated at KCL and Harry S. Lewis (b. 1861), author and communal worker, too.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, middle class Jewish children were attending a variety of private and independent, Jewish, non-denominational and Anglican institutions. Bryant commented that the West Metropolitan Jewish School for Middle Class Pupils (eventually known as the Middle Class Jewish School) was established in 1878 (out of the foundation of a school which had been attached to the West London Synagogue and opened in 1845 for poor children although it “was soon giving a superior kind of education for which parents paid”.⁸⁹) This establishment was intended for boys and girls (but eventually competition from non-Jewish schools caused the decline of the boys’ section and the school’s final incarnation was the Jewish High Class School for Girls which is discussed in Chapter Six).

Despite the addition of these independent schools populated by Jewish pupils, Jewish schools continued to open in London, be it for short periods. Mr Philip Abraham’s Selected Educational Establishment, established at 4 Gower Street in 1856, hoped to attract pupils who attended UCS with a combination of

The best features of the Public Schools, with the exclusive advantages of private tuition. The course of instruction includes all that is requisite to form the future Gentleman and Scholar. The number of pupils is limited to 12.⁹⁰ Philip Abraham (1803-90) was a professor of Hebrew, a ‘private teacher’ and a ‘teacher of languages’.⁹¹ By 1861, he was 57 years old and did not have any boarding pupils.

Northwick College was established by Abraham Pereira Mendes (1825-93) in 1865. This was a boarding school which allows the historian today to find, at least,

⁸⁹ Bryant, *London*, 235.

⁹⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, XIII, 81 (4 July 1856), 461b.

⁹¹ NA – RG9/103/12/14/34; NA – RG10/211/11/46/10; NA – RG11/0188/11a/9/11

some documented evidence. The census returns suggest that this was a small establishment catering for boys between the ages of 7 and 18. In 1871, there were 23 pupils (including some of his children), aged between 9 and 18.⁹² In 1881, there were only 11 resident boys, aged 7-15.⁹³ He wrote at least one Jewish history textbook that he presumably used in the college.⁹⁴ Two of his sons, Henry (1852-1937) and Frederick (b. 1850) became rabbis (in America). Mr. Rufus Isaacs KC,⁹⁵ Dr. Clifford and Mr. Isidore Spielmann⁹⁶ were leading English Jews who studied at Northwick College. A prize distribution was the opportunity for the chair, Rev. A.L. Green, to state his satisfaction of

The way in which the work of education was performed at Northwick College, and deplored the prevalent fashion of sending Jewish boys to Christian schools, until they had received a thorough Jewish training.⁹⁷

In fact, the course of instruction included a wide range of subjects, equal to any non-Jewish schools. The subjects were Hebrew translation and grammar, religious instruction, scriptural history, post-biblical history, Latin, French, German, Dutch,

⁹² NA – RG10/183/6/81/34-36

⁹³ NA – RG11/0160/6/54/21

⁹⁴ The textbook was called Jewish School Books No. 2: Post-Biblical History of the Jews (From the Close of the Scripture Annals to the Destruction of the Temple) and was published in London in 1873. It dealt with Judea under the Persians and Egyptians; Judea under the Syrians; The Maccabees; Judea under Hasmonian Rule and under the Herodians.

⁹⁵ There is some discrepancy as to Rufus Isaacs' education. According to C.J.C. Street, Lord Reading (London, 1928), 13, he completed his education in Brussels and Hanover. However, his son, the Marquess of Reading, wrote that Isaac was educated for a year at Mr. Barczinsky's (aged 4-5) before being sent to Mr. Kahn's school in Brussels. "After this early experience of foreign education his parents felt that it was time for him to attack the normal curriculum of an Anglo-Jewish school, in other words the usual English school subjects with an admixture of special religious instruction, including the teaching of Hebrew. He was therefore sent as a boarder to a school in Northwick Terrace, Regent's Park... Rufus spent some years... at Northwick Terrace, until at the age of almost 13 he was admitted in September 1873, to University College School". He remained there until 14 when he was sent to Dr. Keyserling's establishment in Hanover in order to learn German for his entry into the family business. Marquess of Reading, Rufus Isaacs First Marquess of Reading 1860-1914 (London, 1943), 14.

⁹⁶ See Ephraim Levine, "Sir Isidore Spielmann 1854-1925", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1928), 233-8.

⁹⁷ Jewish World, 10 (18 April 1873), 7d.

analysis, composition, geography, history, science, geometry, algebra, arithmetic, bookkeeping, music, gymnastics, swimming and dancing.⁹⁸

According to the Jewish World, the Great Ealing School was one of the “leading Jewish schools of England and probably of Europe”.⁹⁹ This school, a fee-paying boys’ school which lasted until 1908, was owned by a Jew in the final years of its existence.¹⁰⁰ The Times announced that the Great Ealing School was “to be let on lease to family, school or institute”.¹⁰¹ Rev. John Chapman became the school’s principal (and possible owner) in the 1880s and the school prepared pupils for all examinations (with notable successes detailed in the Jewish press).¹⁰² According to Jonathan Oates

The school took boys from, roughly, ages 8-18, at least this was the case in the early nineteenth century (as was the case in 1891) when Henry Newman was a pupil, and in the 1830s, lads went straight to University from the school.¹⁰³

By 1891, there were 39 pupils, although as Oates commented it would seem that, whilst many of the pupils were Jewish, some were not.¹⁰⁴ These pupils were drawn from London and its environs in the main, Birmingham and from abroad, Australia, Italy and Egypt (as other Jewish schools in the past).¹⁰⁵ At the prize day, under the presidency of Philip Magnus, it was noted that the Jewish pupils were taking their

⁹⁸ Jewish World, 278 (7 June 1878), 4c.

⁹⁹ Jewish World, L, 13 (24 June 1898), 248c.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. Jonathan Oates (email correspondence May 2005). Hereafter Oates (May 2005). The school’s archives appear not to have survived its demise in 1908.

¹⁰¹ The Times, 29585 (4 June 1879), 12c.

¹⁰² For example, Jewish Chronicle, 964 (16 September 1887), 11b: The school had successes in the Oxford and Cambridge Local examinations. Another example was Jewish Chronicle, 1142 (20 February 1890), 1c: “Among a total of 4921 boys and 4942 girls who were presented for the... College of Preceptors Examination, a pupil of Great Ealing School gained the 24th place, with Honours, in the First Division of the First Class, Certified for special distinction in Arithmetic, Euclid, French and Latin, and the first place in all England with Hebrew.”

¹⁰³ Oates (May 2005).

¹⁰⁴ NA – RG12/1030/22/106/9-11; Oates (May 2005).

¹⁰⁵ NA – RG12/1030/22/106/9-11

Passover vacation whilst the Christian boys were going home for Easter.¹⁰⁶ Ten years later, the Middlesex County Times commented that

It was too much to expect that under the changed circumstances of the present day, when the public schools absorbed so many of the best pupils, that the Ealing of the future would rival the Ealing of the past which was the case for all the Jewish schools, however high-class a status they possessed.¹⁰⁷

In fact, as the Jewish Chronicle commented,

For many generations this school has enjoyed a high reputation for educating boys for the universities, the learned professions and for commercial pursuits in all parts of the world. Under the present Headmaster more than 500 Certificates and Distinctions have been awarded to the pupils by the great examining bodies of this country.¹⁰⁸

Its reputation, as with other schools already mentioned, was not enough for it to survive.

Other small Jewish establishments included the Kilburn and Maida Vale Jewish High School for boys established in 1887. The school offered

Parents the means of securing for their sons a high-class education in English, Modern Languages, Classics, Hebrew and Religion, Mathematics, Science etc. Preparation for professional mercantile life and all public examinations.¹⁰⁹

Later in the nineteenth century, two Houses existed at public schools specifically catering for the needs of Jewish boys. (The first Jewish House was established at Clifton College in Bristol and this will be discussed in the next chapter.)

¹⁰⁶ Middlesex County Times, XXVII, 1359 (20 April 1889), 6b.

¹⁰⁷ Middlesex County Times, XXXVI, 1885 (24 June 1899), 6b.

¹⁰⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 1823 (11 March 1904), 5a.

¹⁰⁹ Jewish Chronicle, 942 (15 April 1887), 14a.

A full discussion of Jewish Houses and Jewish pupils at public schools will be discussed fully in the next chapter. However, the establishment of these two Houses will be revealed now. According to Harrow School's historian, Christopher Tyerman, 1869 was a turning point. The Conscience Clause allowed non-Church of England pupils to attend the school either as day boys or boarders. However,

Some wanted housemasters to have the right to remove boys who opted out of religious instruction... and Chapel services; others wished for a blanket exemption clause provided substitute religious instruction and observances were compulsory.¹¹⁰

In fact, when the school's governing body met in January 1874, the headmaster, Dr. H. Montagu Butler, informed the meeting that he had been corresponding with

Some gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion on the subject of the possible admission of Jewish scholars to the school but the governing body being of the opinion that the matter was not up for any immediate decision, no resolution was to come on the subject.¹¹¹

In the following year, a letter was received from a Mr. Mocatta but again no action was taken. By 1876, Dr. Butler was in communication with a Mrs. Waley who wanted her son to be admitted. Mr. J.F. Waley entered Harrow and was excused from afternoon prayer that took place at the close of the school day.¹¹² In 1877, another Jewish scholar, Mr. F.A. Davis, was also admitted with the same privileges as Waley. By 1879, discussions continued as to the number of Jewish pupils that should be admitted. Until 1880,

Harrow had a *numerus clausus* admitting only six Jewish boys, which was now increased to a full dozen. Those select six had up to now been quartered

¹¹⁰ Christopher Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School 1324-1991* (Oxford, 2000), 297-8.

¹¹¹ HS – Minutes of the Governing Body (Wednesday 14 January 1874).

¹¹² HS – Minutes of the Governing Body (Friday 4 May 1877).

with the (non-Jewish) drawing master [who had now retired], though they did observe *Kashruth* and *Shabbat*, being allowed to spend that day at home with their families. The new arrangement made it possible for the Jewish boys to receive religious instruction on Sabbath and Sunday and also to catch up on Sunday with lessons missed on Saturday.¹¹³

The census returns of 1881 reveal that there were seven scholars, all drawn from the London area and included three Beddington brothers, residing at Beeleigh House, the name given to the Jewish House.¹¹⁴ Their attendance at chapel was not made compulsory (unlike the Jewish boys who attended Rugby where “no provision is made for training them in the religion of the fathers, nay, even though they are not exempted from joining in the religious services of their Protestant comrades”.¹¹⁵) It was

Much more satisfactory that the Jewish house should be kept by a Jewish gentleman; it is eminently a subject for congratulation that it is to be kept by a person so well acquainted with the usages, tenets, and literature of our religion as Dr. Chotzner.¹¹⁶

In 1887, the governors decided to place the Jewish house on an equal footing as the other ‘small houses’ of the school. Some 40 to 50 Jewish boys entered the school between 1880 and 1892. Dr. Joseph Chotzner, (1844-1914), was the housemaster of the Jewish House between 1880 and 1892. The Jewish House, unlike the one established at Clifton College, lasted for a very short period. Many of the most talked

¹¹³ Alexander Carlebach, “The Rev. Dr. Joseph Chotzner”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 266. Apparently, in 1878, “if a boy boards in a master’s house, he must conform to all the religious practices of the place; but he lives with his family in the neighbourhood and is thus a day boy, he may be (upon request of his parents) excused not only from chapel, but also from lessons in religious subjects”. Jewish Chronicle, 462 (1 February 1878), 4b. Incidentally, Tyerman commented that twelve boys was the limit imposed on any small house. Tyerman, History, 322.

¹¹⁴ NA – RG11/1357/3B/101

¹¹⁵ Jewish Chronicle, 487 (26 July 1878), 12a.

¹¹⁶ Jewish Chronicle, 603 (15 October 1880), 9a-b.

about pupils attended after the demise of the Jewish House. (Nathaniel) Charles de Rothschild (1877-1923), banker, entomologist and conservationist, whose father was Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, the first Baron Rothschild (1840-1915), attended Harrow between 1891 and 1895. He

Looked back on his years there with much unhappiness... If I ever have a son he will be instructed in boxing and jiu-jitsu before he enters schools, as Jew hunts such as I experienced are a very one-sided amusement, and there is apt to be a lack of sympathy between the hunters and hunted.¹¹⁷

Another member of the Rothschild family to attend the school was Anthony Gustav de Rothschild (1887-1961), merchant banker whose father was Leopold de Rothschild (1845-1917). He was head boy at Harrow in 1905. The Jewish Chronicle announced with much pleasure that

Mr. Anthony de Rothschild, youngest son of Mr. Leopold de Rothschild, is head-boy of Harrow School. The position is a coveted distinction in any case, but never before has it fallen to a Jewish boy, who has not conformed to the ordinary religious exercised of the school, and who has availed himself of the generous concessions granted to the Jewish boys in the school.¹¹⁸

Edmund de Rothschild reminisced that “at Harrow, the Jewish boys were ragged a bit for not eating pork, but otherwise suffered from no special prejudice that I can remember”.¹¹⁹ He continued by remarking that

Our morning chapel consisted of a visit to the ‘Tin Tabernacle’, an ancient temporary building which served as the classroom of the Upper Shell. There

¹¹⁷ Endelman, Radical, 98.

¹¹⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 1905 (6 October 1905), 8b.

¹¹⁹ Edmund de Rothschild, A Gilt-Edged Life: Memoir (London, 1998), 35. Hereafter de Rothschild, Gilt-Edged.

we received instruction in our religion from Rabbi Berman, though none of us, I am ashamed to say, paid him serious attention.¹²⁰

Whilst Beeleigh House had an important part to play “in the preservation of Jewishness in the offspring of families from which some of the leaders of our religious community were recruited”, Jewish pupils attended both prior and after its existence.¹²¹ According to the school register, there were at least 24 pupils between 1892 and 1918, a majority of them continuing the tradition of pupils from the higher echelons of society.¹²²

The experiment was made of placing all of them [i.e. the Jewish pupils] in a separate house under the supervision of Dr. Chotzner. After some twelve years’ experience it was found more expedient to spread the Jewish boys among their comrades.¹²³

This was a polite way of stating how the House closed. In fact, the reason behind its closure was far more complex than that. Did the school close due to the unsanitary problems of the new house that Chotzner had chosen, was it “Dr. Chotzner’s fault that he was a foreigner, unused to English boys”,¹²⁴ (although he did speak “fluent English with a German accent”¹²⁵) was it that he was not made a member of the school staff, or was it that

After much earnest consultation and debate among the parents of the Jewish boys, it was decided, as a Jewish House had proved a failure, to obtain permission from the Headmaster of Harrow for a Jewish gentleman, intimately

¹²⁰ de Rothschild, *Gilt-Edged*, 35.

¹²¹ Carlebach, “Joseph”, 267.

¹²² James W. Moir, ed. *The Harrow School Register 1885-1949* (London, 1951); J.H. Stodgon, ed. *The Harrow School Register 1845-1925* (London, 1925).

¹²³ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 4, 1903.

¹²⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1386 (25 October 1895), 8a.

¹²⁵ Charles H. Emanuel’s recollection of Harrow School in *Jewish Chronicle*, 3624 (23 September 1938), 58a. Emanuel commented that “to put a foreigner in charge of a number of English schoolboys between thirteen and eighteen years of age was a mistake. The discipline in classes controlled by foreign schoolmasters is generally lax. Dr. Chotzner was not even a schoolmaster”.

connected with Cambridge University, and a man of well-known capabilities and Jewish sympathies, to come down to Harrow on Saturdays and Sundays, and on Jewish festivals.¹²⁶

The house Chotzner had chosen was not sanitarily sound and the governors came to the simple conclusion that

They were bound to decline to continue such a new house as a boarding house in the hands of Mr. Schotzner [sic], and that it must be left to the Headmaster to find a new Jewish boarding house master to fill the place vacated by Mr. Schotzner [sic] at Christmas or Easter next.¹²⁷

Years later, Chotzner finally broke his silence over the house's demise. He wanted to set the record straight. His 'term of office' was, indeed, a success and this was evident as

Most of the comparatively few boys who were members at my house at Harrow carried off year after year several of the most coveted prizes and distinctions, which the school offered annually to those of its *alumni* who fully deserved them.¹²⁸

In October 1895 Harrow School issued the following privileges for Jewish pupils (which were suggestions that had been made by Chotzner back in 1880):

- (1) Absence from school on Saturday
- (2) Absence from chapel on Sunday
- (3) Absence from chapel on Christian festivals, memorial services, etc.
- (4) Absence from school on Jewish festivals (1st day of New Year, 1st day of Tabernacles, 8th day of Tabernacles, 1st day of Pentecost) [what about the 2nd days and the 7th days? Were they going by the Reform way?]

¹²⁶ Jewish Chronicle, 1385 (18 October 1895), 7b.

¹²⁷ HS – Minutes of the Governors' Meeting (6 November 1888).

¹²⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 1386 (25 October 1895), 8b.

(5) Absence from school whenever New Testament or Religion is taught e.g.

Monday morning etc.

(6) Permission to go home for the Day of Atonement, and for part of the Passover

(when the latter falls during term)¹²⁹

In 1895, 16 did not attend chapel¹³⁰ and, as Albert H. Samuel commented, “we... are proving that it is possible for us to become members of Christian houses, and, nevertheless, maintain our Judaism”.¹³¹ Interestingly, the Board of Education inspection report of 1920 does not mention exemptions to religious classes simply commenting that “Scripture is taught throughout the school, New Testament on Sundays, Old Testament on Monday mornings” although there is no mention of Saturdays which could have been a later concession.¹³²

The conclusion of the ‘Jewish House’ was the unusual nature of its head not being Jewish. Mr Sankey

Never... did anything to make us neglectful of our religious duties, consulting the wishes of our parents as regards questions of food etc. and obtaining for us leave of absence from prayers, and exemption from work on Sabbaths and festivals.¹³³

The peculiarity of this house under Mr. Sankey’s reign is evident as parents did not complain about a Christian head and did not mind their sons being ‘separated’ from the counterparts. Mr. Sankey’s house continued until 1903 for “boys who do not conform to the religious observances of the school”.¹³⁴ The school had decided to

¹²⁹ Jewish Chronicle, 1385 (18 October 1895), 6b.

¹³⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 1385 (18 October 1895), 6b.

¹³¹ Jewish Chronicle, 1387 (1 November 1895), 15a.

¹³² NA – ED109/4197

¹³³ The author of this letter was Percy A. Harris, a pupil at Cheltenham College. Jewish Chronicle, 1385 (18 October 1895), 7b.

¹³⁴ HS – Minutes of Masters’ Meetings (29 January 1894).

close the house in 1898 but, apparently, did not inform Sankey until 1901. A letter, sent to Sankey, indicated that

The Governors are considering the question whether the Jewish House should or should not be continued when the times comes for you to give it up.

Supposing they should decide not to continue it, it would be well not to put down the names of any other boys for the house.¹³⁵

It should be noted that, a few years earlier, a number within the Jewish community communicated to the school their request for the closure of the school when Jewish pupils would simply enter regular houses.¹³⁶ The new regulations, set down, by the school in 1902, were as follows:

- (1) Absence from chapel, Sundays and other days
- (2) Absence from school during New Testament lessons
- (3) 'Exeat' for the Day of Atonement (The boys will leave early on the previous day, and will be expected to return in time for second school on the day following the fast.)
- (4) Absence from school on the Jewish *New Year's Day*
- (5) In the event of the festival of the *Passover* falling during term – a rare occurrence – the boys will leave school so as to reach home in time for *Passover* Eve, and will be expected to return in time for second school on the *Third* day of the festival.
- (6) The boys will assemble for a short service between 9 and 10am on the *Seventh* Day of the *Passover* festival.
- (7) So, also, as regards the festival of *Pentecost* (the first day), and the *First* and *Eighth* Days of *Tabernacles*.

¹³⁵ HS – Jewish House File: Letter to Mr. Sankey (8 December 1901).

¹³⁶ HS – Minutes of Masters' Meetings (16 May 1898).

(8) A short service, between 9.15 and 9.45am will be held every Saturday during term, and all Jewish boys will be expected to attend.¹³⁷

Charles H.L. Emanuel, secretary and solicitor to the Board of Deputies of British Jews, asked whether these regulations were, in fact, correct. He received an affirmative answer together with an additional regulation which did not appear in the Jewish Chronicle. "Jewish boys will have to do the usual lessons every Saturday and attend school on that day like other boys."¹³⁸ After everything that Jewish pupils had been through in order to gain acceptance on Jewish terms, their religious beliefs were being rubbed in their faces and, for those it mattered to, it must have been an absolute insult. A note, however, in the following week's addition implied that many concessions had been made and, noting the lack of any concessions being made at both Eton and Rugby (where Jewish pupils were in attendance), the readers should be grateful for the "liberal concessions" which "have been most carefully considered although the author does concede that "they are not ideal""!¹³⁹

In 1887, the third Jewish house was established. It existed for a mere four-year period before the founder created a Jewish house at Cheltenham College. In some ways, this short period could almost be seen as the founder's Jewish home catering for boarding pupils who attended St. Paul's School and could be instructed in Hebrew and religious instruction (similar to those established between 1850 and 1880 to provide such instruction for UCS pupils). The Jewish Chronicle announced its arrival.

Mr J. Nestor Schnurmann has received from the Governors a license to conduct his house, 4 Edith Road, West Kensington, as a Master's House for the reception of 10 Jewish pupils... Strictly limiting himself to this number, he is enabled to afford his pupils all the advantages and comforts of Jewish life,

¹³⁷ Jewish Chronicle, 1747 (20 September 1902), 19a.

¹³⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 1749 (10 October 1902), 7a.

¹³⁹ Jewish Chronicle, 1750 (17 October 1902), 18b.

and to give to each individual attention in regard to training, direction of studies and preparation of school work. Mr Schnurmann supplements the school lessons by assisting the boys in any branches of study in which they may require help, and also by giving instruction in Hebrew, German and shorthand.¹⁴⁰

There were, of course, more than ten Jewish pupils at the school. In fact, in 1887, there were 21 Jewish pupils (six of whom, including Alfred Emanuel, son of Lewis Emanuel, claimed prizes which amounted to 29% of the Jewish pupils).¹⁴¹ The house, however, provided a much needed addition - religious instruction was a subject that was becoming less and less important to Jewish parents as was evidenced by the decline in the Hebrew instruction classes (although, at this time, there were still a few Jewish schools in existence throughout the England). Jewish pupils received many school prizes over the years and were treated with respect. The Jewish Chronicle remarked that

The close of the school-year has brought many gratifying Jewish successes, but none more pleasing than the attainment of a prize at St. Paul's by the son of Dr. Herzl. In this connection I would like to say that the Headmaster of this great public school recently went out of his way to obtain the sanction of the Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board to a course which permitted some of his observant Jewish pupils to take on a Sunday papers which otherwise would have had to be worked at on Saturday. The invigilation was entrusted to the father of another of the Jewish pupils who holds a responsible position in

¹⁴⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 936 (4 March 1887), 1c.

¹⁴¹ Jewish Chronicle, 957 (29 June 1887), 13b.

the community. It is a welcome instance of kindly consideration, and it is a valuable precedent.¹⁴²

In fact it received “all its pupils with equal cordiality, whatever their creed... The successes of Jewish scholars... are the best return that Jews can hope to make or the school to receive, for the improved feeling at St. Paul’s”.¹⁴³ Included in the pupil intake was Redcliffe Nathan Salaman (1874-1955), geneticist and Jewish activist whose father was a wealthy ostrich feather merchant. He attended the school between 1886 and 1893 on the classical side [before transferring to the scientific side].¹⁴⁴ Such an prestigious education, as with other Jews discussed earlier in the chapter, he played an

Active part in Jewish life including the Jewish Board of Guardians, the Home and Hospital for Jewish Incurables... He was President of the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, of the Jewish Historical Society and of the Jewish Health Organisation... An Orthodox Jew who was a member of the Council of Jews’ College...¹⁴⁵

It was possible for Jewish families to send their children to non-Jewish schools where they would not be influenced by external pressures and lose their religious beliefs. In fact, as the reader has already noted, this was certainly not the case at the school mentioned. Other pupils included Herbert Felix Jolowicz (1890-1954), jurist and lecturer whose father was a silk merchant. He attended the school between 1901 and 1909.¹⁴⁶ Victor Gollancz (1893-1967), publisher and writer whose father was a jeweller, attended the school between 1905 and 1912. Apparently,

¹⁴² *Jewish Chronicle*, 2001 (9 August 1907), 7b.

¹⁴³ *Jewish Chronicle*, 2102 (16 July 1909), 6a.

¹⁴⁴ *The Times* (23 June 1955) and (24 June 1955).

¹⁴⁵ Tropp, *Jews*, 81.

¹⁴⁶ *The Times* (20 December 1954).

Victor's later attitude to St. Paul's (in Hammersmith, West London) was characterised by a benign indifference. The institution, the teachers and the pupils figure hardly at all in his recollections, which centre around his independent activities and his own inner life. Yet St. Paul's was remarkable and happy school, highly regarded by most of its ex-pupils, and it had a considerable effect on Victor's intellectual, if not his emotional, development... St. Paul's was outstanding academically: it gave him a first-class classical education, brought him into contact with peers brighter than the public school mean, and offered full vein to his developing political views.¹⁴⁷

He was admitted to St. Paul's as a Foundation Scholar which meant that his fees were paid for in full (although it should be noted that his attendance was not "dependent on gaining a scholarship. Although he later tended to play down the family's prosperity, his father's income varied between £500 and £1000 a year – far above that of the average professional before the First World War. St. Paul's annual tuition fees of £24 9s would have been easily affordable".¹⁴⁸) There were, of course, difficulties in his attendance at St. Paul's. Although he was excused from divinity classes, "there was the added burden of a five- or six-mile walk home on winter Fridays, as the Sabbath 'came in' at sunset... Even had he so wished, he could not have played games, as they were held on Saturday..." not to mention to fact that as he came top in his form he should have "automatically have been Captain of the school, but that position involved the reading of prayers, so as a Jew he was precluded".¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Dudley R. Edwards, Victor Gollancz: A Biography (London, 1987), 44. Hereafter Edwards, Victor.

¹⁴⁸ Edwards, Victor, 45.

¹⁴⁹ Edwards, Victor, 46 and 59.

Westminster School¹⁵⁰ entertained only a few Jewish pupils. Predominantly an Anglican school, this must have discouraged Jewish parents from sending their offspring to such a school when UCS, CLS, St. Paul's and Harrow were more willing to accept Jews on their terms. What is evident is that, like KCL, there were pupils from wealthy Jewish families. Ewen Edward Samuel Montagu (1901-1985), judge and intelligence officer, attended the school during the First World War. Sir Philip Montefiore Magnus (1906-1988), historian, came from a prominent family. His grandfather was Sir Philip Magnus (1842-1933), the educationist. Whether his school experiences influenced his future is unclear but suffice it to say that it probably does go some way to explain it. "In 1943, he married Jewell Allcroft... In 1951 by deed poll he added the name of Allcroft to his own and his domestic habits became those of an Anglican squire... His body was cremated [which is against the Jewish religion]." ¹⁵¹

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Jewish pupils were found throughout London schools.¹⁵² At the Central Foundation School for Boys, Selig Brodetsky entered the school in 1900 and remained there for five years. Continuing a growing tradition of Jewish captains at non-Jewish schools, he also became editor of the school magazine. Fortunately, Brodetsky's memoir provides an interesting insight into his school life.

¹⁵⁰ The City of Westminster Archives Centre has no documentation illustrating Jewish experiences of secondary education. The Westminster School archives are, apparently, too small to assist with my queries.

¹⁵¹ *Ox DNB*, 36, 136; *The Times* (22 December 1988) and *The Guardian* (22 December 1988). This point needs some clarification. Whilst orthodox and ultra-orthodox Jews cannot be cremated, progressive Jews, including Liberal and Reform, may be.

¹⁵² Only a small number of schools are mentioned to explain how widely spread Jewish pupils had become. It was also due to circumstances – as remarked in Chapter One, schools seemed unwilling or unable to provide any archives. According to the head teacher, the archives for Davenant School are not "extensive enough to offer any assistance". (Email correspondence between author and head teacher in May 2005.)

The Central Foundation School was only fifteen minutes walk from Dunk Street, where we lived, but it was outside the ghetto... Ninety per cent of the boys were Christian; the teachers, except for the German master, were all Christians. This one Jewish teacher was a very religious man... On Friday afternoons in winter, when the Sabbath began early, the Jewish boys went home in good time for the Sabbath. The school, like most secondary schools in England, was closed on Saturdays; and on Jewish holy days no Jewish boys attended... I tended naturally to mathematics and allied subjects, like astronomy and physics; but of course I took all the subjects taught at Central Foundation, chemistry, Latin, Greek, French and German, and I received distinctions in many of them in my long series of public examinations.¹⁵³

He continued to compliment the school suggesting that whilst it “was not a Public School... it had a good teaching staff, good laboratories for physics and chemistry, and good teaching in classical and modern languages, English and history...”¹⁵⁴

Whitechapel Foundation School was attended by Hermann Gollancz (1852-1930), the Goldsmid Professor of Hebrew at UCL.¹⁵⁵ It is important to note that, like pupils at UCS and CLS, he was not deprived of his commitment to the Jewish community. The school examiners’ reports (1891-1902) note a number of Jewish names of pupils who were entered for, and passed, public examinations.¹⁵⁶ The first inspection report by the Board of Education opens an interesting point, and as the report itself comments “the peculiar circumstances of the school”.

¹⁵³ Selig Brodetsky, Memoirs: From Ghetto to Israel (London, 1960), 41-2. Hereafter Brodetsky, Memoirs.

¹⁵⁴ Brodetsky, Memoirs, 47-8.

¹⁵⁵ See Herbert Loewe, “Sir Hermann Gollancz MA DLit Rabbi 1852-1930”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1931), 263-5.

¹⁵⁶ NA – ED27/3243

Coming, as most of the pupils do, from homes where Yiddish is the language in general use [i.e. the retail trades], it is only in school that they can acquire that knowledge of the English language and literature which is essential to them.¹⁵⁷

What is interesting is that, during my research, I did not come across any other school report that mentioned something of this nature. What is unusual is that many of the boys may have attended the Jews' Free School which, like the Manchester Jews' School, would have been considered as the anglicising weapon for the children and thus enabled the pupils to learn and be proficient in English. It should not have been an issue for the school that the parents were Yiddish-speaking because the children had been anglicised. They catered for Jewish pupils in a variety of ways. Whilst the Christian boys receive instruction in the Gospels, the Jews receive instruction in the Old Testament. Practically speaking, "there is detention after school and, for grave offences, on Saturday or (in the case of Jews) Sunday mornings".¹⁵⁸ The school continued to be popular with Jewish boys as the education provided at the school "would enable them to win scholarships or pass the earlier examinations for a university degree" and only the books of the Old Testament were taught by 1910.¹⁵⁹

Another school was the Hackney Downs School which had many Jewish pupils despite the fact that

The school was very much a Church of England-based institution... Despite this, religion and religious instruction have never featured heavily at any time during the school's history, and this helped to avoid any conflicts which could have arisen had that not been the case. In its earliest days there were neither

¹⁵⁷ NA – ED109/4013 In 1906, out of 172 scholars, the fathers of 108 of the pupils were retail traders, 42 were artisans, 13 were clerks and only 9 were professional/independent.

¹⁵⁸ NA – ED109/4013

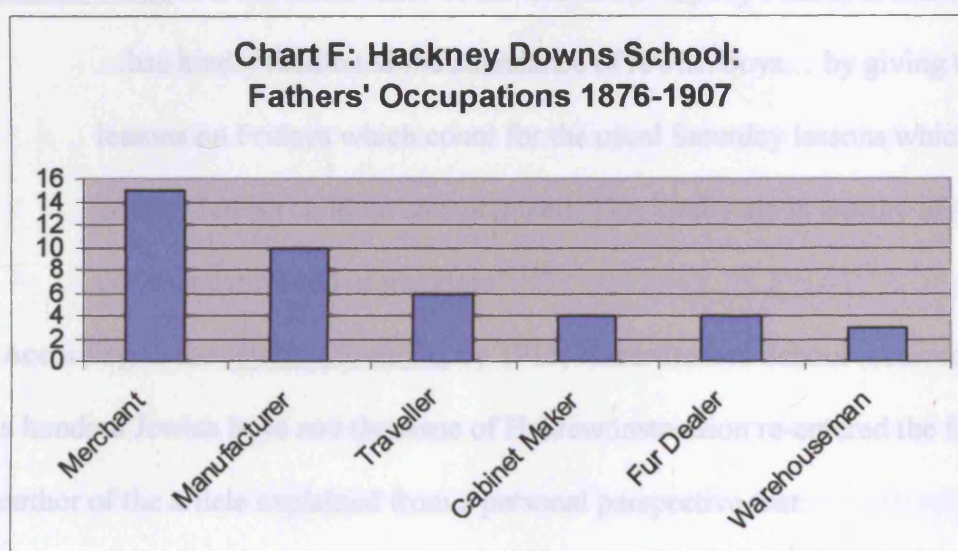
¹⁵⁹ NA – ED109/4014

school prayers nor religious instruction, only the singing of a psalm after school on Friday afternoons.¹⁶⁰

In fact, between 1876 and 1919, there were at least 104 Jews in attendance.¹⁶¹

Established in 1873, it was situated in an open and healthy position within a short distance from the railway stations of Hackney and Hackney Downs. The school was open to all boys “who are of good character and of sufficient bodily health”. The occupations of the fathers’ varied considerably which is indicated in Chart F below.

Only the most frequent occupations appear in this chart. (There were 26 unknowns.)



**Corresponding Table for Chart F:
Hackney Downs School: Fathers' Occupations 1876-1907**

Occupation	Merchant	Manufacturer	Traveller	Cabinet Maker	Fur Dealer	Warehouseman
Number	15	10	6	4	4	3

Table F

There were many merchants but also manufacturers, tailors and warehousemen.

The subjects of instruction include English (grammar and literature), history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics, book-keeping, Latin, French, German, shorthand,

¹⁶⁰ Gerry Black, “Hackney Downs School”, in Stephen W. Massil, ed., The Jewish Year Book (London, 2001), 56.

¹⁶¹ HDS – R/DOW/4/1; HDS – R/DOW/15/1

elements of science, drawing, music and drill.¹⁶² The pupils were, by 1915, drawn mainly from professional, retail, trade and commercial families.¹⁶³ It had many Jewish pupils because it was “serving the needs of the very populous district of Hackney in which it is the only recognised secondary school for boys”.¹⁶⁴ Between 1906 and 1917, the admission register indicates the previous school attended. Like other schools, it was an indication of the numbers of Jewish pupils attending; the previous schools included the Jews’ Free School (London), Townley Castle School (Ramsgate), Tivoli House (Gravesend), and Stepney Jewish School (London).¹⁶⁵ It was announced in the Jewish World that the headmaster of the Grocers Company School at Hackney Downs

...has kindly facilitated the attendance of Jewish boys... by giving the lads lessons on Fridays which count for the usual Saturday lessons which, of course, Jewish children cannot attend. This kindly act is worthy of commendation and of imitation”.¹⁶⁶

According to the Jewish Chronicle, by 1915, Haberdashers School received more than a hundred Jewish boys and the issue of Hebrew instruction re-entered the forum. The author of the article explained from a personal perspective that

It is a myth to think these boys are receiving private Hebrew tuition at home. There may be a few such cases, and only a few. Some years ago, in an interview I had with the late Headmaster, I asked if it were possible to introduce Hebrew and religion in the curriculum (in view of the large number of Jewish pupils, if only for two or three hours per week. His reply was: ‘Why should we? The parents are fully aware this is a Christian school, and in all the

¹⁶² HA – HDS R/DOW/1/34

¹⁶³ HA – HDS R/DOW/2/3

¹⁶⁴ HA – HDS R/DOW/2/3

¹⁶⁵ HA – HDS R/DOW/15/1 The admission register covered the years 1905-23. A number of Jewish names appeared during the whole period.

¹⁶⁶ Jewish World, 1254 (19 February 1897), 15c.

years I have been here it has never been suggested to me that it would afford them satisfaction if Hebrew were introduced'. He added, however, that if a requisition were sent to the Board of Governors they would, no doubt, give the matter their consideration, and as far as he was concerned he would certainly give his support".¹⁶⁷

Tottenham Grammar School's scheme revealed, in 1876, that

The parent and guardian of, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of, any day scholar may claim by notice in writing addressed to the headmaster, the exemption of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, and such scholar shall be exempted accordingly, and a scholar shall not, by reason of any exemption from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, be deprived of any advantage or emolument in the school.¹⁶⁸

The school publication, the Somerset Magazine, mentioned the names of Cohen, Mossman and Shultz¹⁶⁹ which would indicate that Jewish parents were satisfied that their children would not be exposed to such religious instruction.

Conclusion

By the 1890s and early 1900s, there were few advertisements in the Jewish press for either Jewish or non-Jewish schools in London or its environs. The most consistent Jewish school to advertise was for the Gloucester House Girls' Academy. The few non-Jewish boys' private schools which advertised in the Jewish press had

¹⁶⁷ Jewish Chronicle (14 May 1915), 8a.

¹⁶⁸ HLAMS-TGS 10TS/32/44 Scheme for the Administration of the Foundation known as the Free Grammar School in the Parish of Tottenham in the County of Middlesex (1876), 21-22.

¹⁶⁹ HLAMS-TGS 10TS/32/33 Somerset Magazine (1906-48 incomplete).

similarities throughout. Not only were their curricula similar, but they offered Hebrew instruction within the school premises. One example was the Maida Vale School (located in Warrington Gardens) whose principal was J. Ryan. The advertisement revealed that

Boys [were] specially prepared for public schools and for professional and mercantile examinations. Classes for Hebrew and Religious Instruction for pupils of the Jewish faith under an experienced tutor.”¹⁷⁰

Oxford House School (Sutherland Avenue) was advertised by its principal, G. Wharton Robinson. This school, like the Maida Vale School, offered boys not only the opportunity to prepare for public schools, and the examinations of the College of Preceptors, Cambridge Local, and the University of London but also the opportunity to study Hebrew which, in this case, was taught by Rev. M. Haines of the St. Petersburg Place synagogue.¹⁷¹ This period saw the continuous decline of the Jewish schools due, in its totality, to the acceptance of Jewish pupils at prestigious schools. As the next chapter will show, the pattern was different in the provinces. Whilst Jewish pupils attended public and independent schools, the Jewish ones remained an important experience for many Jewish families – a combination of salubrious air and popular founders was the key to their success but their ultimate decline reminds the reader the pattern ultimately did not change.

¹⁷⁰ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1138 (23 January 1891) 2d.

¹⁷¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1145 (13 March 1891), 22a.

Chapter Five: Boys' Schools in the Provinces

Having observed the schools and classes available in London and its environs, it is important to turn our attention to the provinces where both Jewish and non-Jewish schools were attended by Jewish pupils. The provincial cities and towns discussed here are the ones that have significance to this study – Dover, Gravesend, Ramsgate, Brighton, Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham (Leeds being commented on in the next chapter). As individuals, Jews are found in all areas of Britain. However, historically they have congregated in particular areas because they wish to make sure of facilities and have the sense of support and well-being that comes from living in a communal framework. Whilst we have already discussed London and its environs, it is equally important to focus on some of the provincial centres where schools were established, and an educational network could so easily have been created. It is not so much of interest how and when the congregations in these provinces were established but why these places were chosen as some had very little Jewish content. In fact, the cases of Gravesend and Brighton have been cited as important examples of locations for educational institutions. The important centres of Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham seem to have catered well for the Jewish elementary schooling but pupils then transferred with some ease to non-Jewish schools – Manchester Grammar School, Liverpool High School, and King Edward School (Birmingham).¹ In fact, the railways boosted the attraction of provincial areas as benefiting all segments of the middle classes as travel became more reasonable and journey times decreased allowing pupils to return home for the Sabbath or Jewish festivals with ease (as is noted in the census returns where few pupils are present at

¹ I have deliberately omitted Leeds from this chapter as the Leeds Grammar School's archive was not adequate enough to assist and no other school I contacted in Leeds replied.

the Jewish establishments during a Jewish festival).² John K. Walton commented that “in 1850, the railway carried 75,000 in a single week” to Brighton, a town, which “in the 1870s continued to attract ‘a mob of dukes and duchesses, marquesses and marchionesses, counts and countesses, and even princes and princesses’, supported by ‘sporting men, barristers, men of letters, science, artists, military men, naval men, doctors and clergymen.’”³ Of the seaside resorts that were popular locations for Jewish schools, Walton ranked them by population size. In 1851: Brighton was the largest with 65,569, Dover came in 3rd with 22,244, Gravesend in 5th with 16,633, and Ramsgate in 6th with 14,853. In 1881, Brighton was still the largest with 107,546, following by Dover in 7th with 30,270, Gravesend in 9th with 23,302, and Ramsgate in 10th with 23,068.⁴ Private schools proliferated at the seaside – the most successful Jewish schools created in Dover, Brighton and Gravesend.

Before beginning this section, focusing first and foremost on the Jewish establishments, it is important to point out that many of the founders of the provincial schools were foreign born. I do not want to dwell on this point but it is important to mention for a number of reasons. First of all, this could have put off those who wanted a more secular ‘English’ education (which they received at independent and public schools) without the ‘foreign’ element appearing (except for language instruction). Secondly, some of the founders were university-educated scholars who understood about the combined principle of secular and religious education. Taking German-speaking Europe as an example, Michael A. Meyer commented that

The intent of the Jewish enlighteners who founded modernised schools in

Berlin, Dessau, and elsewhere beginning in 1778 was not only to broaden the

² See Appendix I for examples. In 1842-3, the South Eastern Railway line was built. Between 1856 and 1863, the London, Chatham and Dover rail company was established.

³ John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914* (Leicester, 1983), 22 and 23. Hereafter, Walton, *English*.

⁴ Walton, *English*, 53 and 60.

child's intellectual horizon by integrating secular and Jewish learning in the curriculum but also to integrate the Jewish children themselves into their environment.⁵

Some of these schools went so far as to accept Christian children which will shortly be discussed. Let us now turn to the Jewish establishments that were established in the provincial areas of Ramsgate, Gravesend and Brighton.

According to Moses Margoliouth, "there are but few families in Ramsgate. The place is nevertheless peculiarly interesting, especially to the Jews, being the place of Sir Moses Montefiore's country seat."⁶ There was also another peculiar characteristic of Ramsgate which filters through to other provincial school set-ups is why such an area was chosen, since the community there was minimal. There may not actually be a direct answer but one might point to a combination of an important figure at the helm and the salubrious air of the location which attracted the pupils. Also the prestige of sending a child to boarding school (especially prior to Jewish houses being established at public schools which are commented on later in the chapter) was a deciding factor for Jewish parents who could afford such a luxury. The Rev. Isaac H. Myers opened the Temple Cottage School in the 1840s. His brother, Rev. Emanuel Myers also opened a school during this period. Together they had been appointed ministers of the synagogue established by Montefiore (who had purchased the East Cliff estate as his country seat) but they established separate schools at the same time catering for the same kind of pupils in the same town.⁷ One was more successful than the other. However, whilst that is most interesting, the point to take

⁵ Michael A. Meyer, "Jewish Communities in Transition", in Michael A. Meyer, ed., German-Jewish History in Modern Times Volume 2: Emancipation and Acculturation 1780-1871 (New York, 1996), 113.

⁶ Moses Margoliouth, The History of the Jews in Great Britain (London, 1851), 142.

⁷ Appendix IV Map (1) is the 1872 Ordinance Survey Map for Ramsgate showing the close proximity of Temple Cottage to the synagogue. By 1872, Isaac had retired so it should be presumed that the Temple Cottage, as indicated on the map, refers to Emanuel's school.

note of is that they did not merge their institutions to form one school. When Isaac retired, Emanuel himself pleaded to Jewish Chronicle readers to remember that his school still existed.⁸ Surely, sharing the burdens would have been more economical. They could both have taken a major role in the everyday schedule. It seems impractical on both their parts that both schools could continue and thrive when they taught a comparable curriculum.) Interestingly, there were brief advertisements for Isaac Myers's Middle Class School in The Times in 1868.⁹ This was, however, unusual to find advertisement in local or national press for Jewish schools. Isaac's earlier school, the Temple Cottage, was advertised in the short-lived Hebrew Observer. It noted that "the Continental languages are taught by native professors, whilst the feeling, habits and deportment of the English gentleman are assiduously cultivated"¹⁰ trying to persuade parents to send their offspring to the Temple Cottage School, where Jewish studies were also catered for, rather than UCS and CLS that had been accepted Jews for more than ten years by the time this advertisement appeared. It was his school that accepted Christian boys confirming his view that such actions would attract Jewish parents who were dissatisfied with the thought of a solely Jewish environment. The Jewish Chronicle applauded his school in 1849. His school bore "testimony to Jewish talent in education, (reflecting) credit upon our nation, and one of the strongest proofs of the growing liberality of the age".¹¹ By the 1870s, his school endeavoured to focus on secular attainments. "With the help of university graduates, he prepares for the public schools, competitive examinations, and professional or mercantile pursuits."¹² Hereson House was located at 33 Hereson Road, Ramsgate, and run by Jacob Tritsch. He was born in Presburg, Hungary and became a

⁸ Jewish Chronicle, XVI, 252 (14 October 1859), 1b.

⁹ The Times, 26103 (20 April 1868), 3d; The Times, 26185 (24 July 1868), 14c.

¹⁰ Hebrew Observer, 69 (28 April 1854), 351a.

¹¹ Finestein, Anglo-Jewry, 41.

¹² Jewish Chronicle, 66 (1 July 1870), 1c.

nationalised British subject.¹³ In 1881, his boarders, all boys, were aged between 10 and 15.¹⁴ He was no longer living at this address in 1901 as a builder resided there by then!¹⁵

Dover was the location of the first Jewish boarding school. Sussex House, founded by Rev. Raphael Isaac Cohen, swelled the Jewish community of Dover.¹⁶ In fact, V.D. Lipman pointed out that the estimate of 100 souls for the Dover community in 1851 included the pupils of Sussex House.¹⁷ (Incidentally the community always remained small but was reinforced over the years by the existence of the Jewish boarding school.) From the 1851 Dover Census we find that 65 people were listed as residing at Sussex House, which included 53 pupils.¹⁸ If for arguments sake, we note that 60 of the residents were Jewish which would represent 60% of Dover's Jewish community. In other words, Sussex House more than doubled the Jewish population of Dover. This was another purpose of this particular type of school – to increase small town populations and create a healthier synagogue attendance! Raphael Cohen (known as Reverend Cohen, the term “Reverend” was used instead of Rabbi in England during this period¹⁹) acted as lay preacher at the synagogue. Like Isaac Myers, this may also have been a contributing factor to the success and longevity of the school – if the founder is part of the community, in much the same way as a

¹³ NA – H045/9378/41640 (19 February 1875)

¹⁴ NA – RG11/989/20/146/43

¹⁵ NA – RG13/827/43/40

¹⁶ He had previously established a Hebrew Academy, known as Victoria House Academy at 10 & 11 High Street, Chorlton, Dover “that beautiful fashionable and improving watering-place”. *The Voice of Jacob*, 13 (18 March 1842), 104a.

¹⁷ V.D. Lipman, “A Survey of Anglo-Jewry in 1851”, in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* (1953), 178.

¹⁸ NA – H0107/1632/1b/702/7-10

¹⁹ The title of Rabbi can only be adopted if the individual has had advanced training in Jewish law and been formally ordained. It was not until after the First World War that Jews' College enabled the graduation of rabbis. As Todd M. Endelman commented, “in the Victorian period, ‘ministers’ or ‘readers’ met the liturgical and pastoral needs of anglicised synagogues... Many were graduates of Jews' College..., but had had no advanced training in Jewish law and thus were not ordained rabbis... The chief rabbis even refused to recognise the rabbinical titles of the few Central European-born and-educated rabbis who occupied British pulpits”. Endelman, *Jews*, 12-3.

housemaster at a public school as a teacher within the main school, then the school is more likely to be accepted, appreciated and attended by the community's children. In a similar vein to Henry Naphtali Solomon's involvement in the wider society, Cohen was appreciated by his non-Jewish neighbours. The Dover Telegraph lamented that "the demise of this gentleman has caused a feeling of regret, not confined to his coreligionists, but extending to the inhabitants of this town generally, in whose high esteem Mr. Cohen had for many years been held."²⁰

In 1851 Brighton, there was an estimated Jewish population of 150.²¹ After the opening of the London to Brighton Railway in 1841, Brighton became a popular town. In fact, "it was popular with the Jewish community as a holiday resort and in the summer well known families, such as the Rothschilds, took up temporary residence."²² Louis Loewe (1809-1888), who had been educated at the *Yeshivot* of Lissa, Nikolsburg, Presburg, and at the universities of Berlin and Vienna, opened his Educational Establishment for Young Gentlemen which, like Cohen's at Dover, swelled the Jewish population (but to a smaller extent). From the 1850s, he educated boys between the ages of 10 and 16 at 2 Buckingham Place before transferring further down the road to 46 & 48.²³ He had taken advantage of the railway service by establishing his school in close proximity to the station terminus.²⁴ In 1861, the pupils hailed mainly from London and its environs, but a few came from abroad, notably New South Wales and Australia.²⁵ From 1868, he moved to 1 & 2 Oscar Villas in Broadstairs (Kent). Brighton was a popular arena for Jewish schools. Jacob Herman Cohen established Sussex House (not connected to the Dover school) in 1872. By

²⁰ Dover Telegraph (December 1865).

²¹ BHRO – David Spector, 'Brighton and Hove 1837-1901', 1. Hereafter, BHRO – Spector, 'Brighton'.

²² BHRO – Spector, 'Brighton', 2.

²³ Folthorp's Directory (Brighton, 1850) – His establishment was known as a "Hebrew boarding school for gentlemen".

²⁴ See Appendix IV map (2).

²⁵ NA – RG9/597/34/96/10-11

1891, he had 26 pupils, ranging between the ages of 8 and 15, who were drawn mainly from London and its environs, with a few exceptions (one each from Cardiff and Morocco, and two from South Africa).²⁶ This school was, in fact, according to the Jewish World, “the largest and most complete in Brighton”.²⁷ Samuel Barczinsky’s school in Gravesend will shortly be discussed but his move to Brighton is interesting when at least one other school was in existence. He had already been in competition with Henry Berkowitz at Gravesend which may have caused the move away from the area but to transfer to a similar situation seems bizarre. It would surely have been more suitable to move to an area where no competition existed but a small community dwelt. Page’s Directory indicated that Barczinsky’s gentlemen’s boarding school was located at 7 Wellington Place.²⁸ Barczinsky’s Wellesley House school “would provide Jews with public school teaching, proper preparation for both Cambridge and Oxford examinations, while giving due attention to Jewish needs and education”.²⁹ Brighton Shilling Directory of 1875 notes Samuel Barczinsky at Wellington Road Villas, but it does not mention the school.³⁰ It had not moved as it still appears in the census for 1881, where 24 boys were educated.³¹ It is interesting to note that, in 1879, the Jewish World announced that “Mr. Barczinsky has made arrangements that will enable him to send any of his pupils to attend the classes of the Brighton College, thus providing them with public school teaching without depriving them of a Jewish home.”³² Was this a sign that the interest in the school was waning and he wanted to continue the Hebrew instruction and board and lodging without the burden of competing with high

²⁶ NA – RG12/811/41/14/21-3

²⁷ Jewish World, 1248 (8 January 1897), 2a.

²⁸ Page’s Directory (Brighton, 1865)

²⁹ Black, Social, 116.

³⁰ Brighton Shilling Directory (Brighton, 1875), 263.

³¹ NA – RG11/1084/30/101/22/23

³² Jewish World, 345 (19 September 1879), 7a.

class secular teaching at non-Jewish schools? Jacob H. Cohen offered a similar opportunity, also in Brighton. His advertisement announced that

in order to maintain the standard of conjoint secular teaching and Hebrew and religious instruction, Mr. Cohen has completed arrangements whereby his pupils will be enabled to attend the Brighton Grammar School (directly opposite Sussex House), an establishment which has always been pre-eminently successful in passing candidates of the various university and civil examinations... the system adopted will thus combine the advantages of public schools together with the benefits of individual and private tuition.³³

This is, of course, similar to the offerings of Hebrew instruction and boarding opportunities as discussed in Chapter Four.

Gravesend, which was situated on the south side of the Thames, in the county of Kent, was also a popular location for Jewish schools. In fact, Gravesend itself was noted for its educational establishments.

Gravesend's schools have been well-known and deservedly successful at times, and their masters have served to increase the reputations of the institutions they served. In the nineteenth century Tivoli House School, primarily for Jewish boys whose parents were wealthy enough to afford the fees, had a world-wide reputation.³⁴

Henry Berkowitz (1816-91), born in Warsaw, opened the Hebraical, Classical and Commercial Academy in 1853. By his energy and zeal, he gradually obtained for it an established position and reputation. The curriculum included "Hebrew, English, Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, and Spanish languages, mathematics, bookkeeping, arithmetic, history, geography (with use of globes), grammar, elocution,

³³ *Jewish World*, 345 (19 September 1879), 7a.

³⁴ Alex J. Philip, *A History of Gravesend and Its Surroundings from Prehistoric Times (Illustrated)* (Bristol, 1954), 155.

composition, natural history, philosophy” for the fee of 25 guineas per annum.³⁵

Among his scholars were numbered some of the most prominent men in the community. Berkowitz, “a prominent and useful man in the town”³⁶ was held in high esteem in non-Jewish circles in Gravesend, made friends among all classes and creeds, and local honours were bestowed on him in abundance, among them that of justice of the peace, until in 1887, he was elected mayor of Gravesend.³⁷ As this was the first time a Jew had been elected to this office, it was noteworthy to mention at a dinner attended by the Mayor. One dignitary, Mr. Sharland, who had known Berkowitz for 40 years,

During which time he had had the opportunity of watching that gentleman’s conduct, and if charity and goodwill to men were among the attributes we appropriated to ourselves as Christians, then Mr. Berkowitz was a better Christian than many Christians he knew.³⁸

He was

Distinguished for his knowledge of Oriental languages and his learning of religious lore and, owing to the honourable position to which he had attained amongst the Jews, he became a great friend of the late Sir Benjamin Phillips, the Montefiores, the Rothschilds and other eminent members of the Jewish persuasion, by whom he was not infrequently consulted. A Jew beloved of the Jews, he was no less respected by Christians, towards whom he always evinced an amiable and generous disposition...³⁹

He established the Soup Kitchen in Gravesend and took a leading role in the establishment of the Ladies’ Soup Kitchen and East Milton Soup Kitchen. He was

³⁵ The Hebrew Observer, I, 1 (7 January 1853), 136b.

³⁶ The Reporter (20 April 1891).

³⁷ www.jewishencyclopedia.com

³⁸ Gravesend and Dartford Reporter (12 November 1857).

³⁹ Gravesend and Dartford Reporter (11 April 1891).

also chairman of the Borough Building Society. On 11 March 1857, the consecration of the synagogue in Gravesend took place. The Jewish Chronicle commented that

The want of a suitable place of worship has long been felt by the Jewish inhabitants of Gravesend. This want has now been supplied by the enterprising Mr. Berkowitz, who recently took the large and splendid premises formerly known by the name of 'the Tivoli', now transformed into an elegant school and boarding academy. Mr. Berkowitz has there built a neat little synagogue with a ladies' gallery...⁴⁰

In 1861, there were 9 pupils (ranging in ages from 7 to 19, 5 boys and 4 girls) in the school that was now known as Tivoli House.⁴¹ Located in Windmill Street, which was "one of the most prominent and, during the summer season, most frequented streets of the town", this "educational building [was] connected with... a Jewish synagogue, tolerably well attended."⁴² In 1871, there were approximately 33 pupils, aged between 7 and 16, only 6 of whom were female.⁴³ In 1881, there were 12 pupils (3 girls and 9 boys) aged between 6 and 13.⁴⁴

Mr Sidney Poland, the senior of the past boys..., said the large number of Diplomas and Honours, Oxford and Cambridge Examinations, recently obtained by the present boys, proved the progress that was still rife in Tivoli House School, whilst the number of his school fellows, who had risen to mercantile and professional eminence, was further proof, if any were wanting,

⁴⁰ PLSU - MS 116/32/10 – Jewish Chronicle extract from 20 March 1857.

⁴¹ NA – RG9/470/8/200/4-5

⁴² Elizabeth Jane Brabazon, A Month at Gravesend: Containing an Account of the Town and Neighbourhood, Statistical, Historical and Descriptive (London, 1863), 33, 56.

⁴³ NA – RG10/891/8/71/8-10

⁴⁴ NA – RG11/0872/8/94/20

that the ‘gratifying assurance’ the Rev. H. Berkowitz had spoken of was well and truly deserved.⁴⁵

In 1891, there were 35 pupils (a majority of them being male between 8 and 16) under the direction of Isidore Berkowitz. A few of the pupils came from abroad, including the USA and Russia.⁴⁶ The pupils were older reflecting a presumed change in the curriculum. There is some valuable correspondence in late August 1910 between Isidore Berkowitz (known affectionately as ‘Berko’) and Phil Goldberg, the latter joining the school in 1907, on several matters. Goldberg referred to a matter which occurred in 1908 that may have been sufficient to close down the school but this was averted.⁴⁷ Pupils are mentioned fleetingly as behaviour improves or not. He was ready to change although he understood that all his suggestions may not be perfect but they ought to be discussed and worked through. “We badly want a man who can teach French. Conversationally seems to be the only method now-a-days”.⁴⁸

I cannot help thinking that there is not much inducement to the boys to get on and to strive their best... There are neither exams, nor prizes. Incidentally, Drill, in order to be of any benefit, should be taken four or five times a week at least...⁴⁹

In fact, “there is not sufficient ‘civilising influence’ at Tivoli. The continual round of work—cricket or football-sleep-eat is hardly ever broken by an entertainment, a concert, a ramble in the country, a prize-day, or any similar event...”⁵⁰ It is evident that Goldberg believed that the school should fight against the overwhelming presence of the prestigious independent and public schools. The withdrawal of the

⁴⁵ Jewish Chronicle, 963 (9 September 1887), 7b.

⁴⁶ NA – RG12/646/8/7/8-9

⁴⁷ PLSU – MS 148/445 Letter dated 31 August 1910 from Philip Goldberg to Isidore Berkowitz.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

advertisement from the 'Chronicle' was "a great mistake... [as]... the school is not in any way placed before the public. Five shillings a week is not an enormous price to pay..."⁵¹ The idea was that they would discuss these issues in person and, sadly, there is no record of their conclusions. In 1916, Tivoli moved to Northwood Hall, between Harrow and Rickmansworth. Sadly, it was wound up in 1919 by a special resolution.⁵²

Samuel Barczinsky (mentioned earlier) took over from his mother-in-law, Mrs. Crawcour, at May Place in Gravesend. The pupils must have been on holiday during the 1861 census as only two pupils appear. By 1871, he had 32 pupils⁵³ but there must have been a strain on the number of pupils who wanted to be educated in Gravesend – Henry Berkowitz won the battle of wills and Barczinsky moved to Brighton (Wellesley House) and later to Warlingham, Surrey (Warlingham School). Many pupils, 24 in 1881 Brighton and 15 in 1891 Warlingham went to the school but it, once again, seems strange that Berkowitz and Barczinsky did not amalgamate their schools. They could have created an establishment with upwards of 60 to 70 pupils. Curricula were not dissimilar and their combined reputations would, without a doubt, have been a success, pulling together resources and possibly creating a separate boys' and girls' school. They could have been the Jewish educationists of the nineteenth century that were remembered by Anglo-Jewry as those who began the trend towards a Jewish boarding pattern. Anglo-Jewish education could be so different today – with boarding schools continuing to be a popular phenomenon and allowing Jewish pupils to prosper amongst their brethren.

According to Bernard Susser, there were four main centres of Jewish residence in south-west England, Plymouth, Exeter, Penzance and Falmouth but there is a paucity of material on Jewish schooling in the area. Exeter was a "county town of

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² NA – BT31/21183/126701

⁵³ NA – RG10/896/5/5/2-4

Devon” and had “a high reputation for salubrity”.⁵⁴ Susser commented that “by 1838, it would appear that some, if not most, members of the Exeter congregation were unable to read Yiddish or Hebrew easily” and that “by 1862, most of the Jewish children had virtually no knowledge of their religion”.⁵⁵ In 1866, Rabbi Meyer Mendelssohn (minister of the Exeter congregation 1854-67) applied for an increase of salary “caused by the high price of provisions and the addition to his family” which was not granted but a gratuity of 10 pounds was given for past services.⁵⁶ This would explain why he opened his school, to supplement his income. Mendelssohn is an example of a congregational minister who added to his annual salary by establishing Hebrew instruction classes. A professor of the Hebrew and German languages, he was born in Prussia and was naturalised in 1863, the same year in which he began to advertise these classes.⁵⁷ Is that a mere coincidence or did he feel unable to meet the ‘requirements’ of the parents? Sadly, the classes did not last long in Exeter as he was declined a rise in his salary from the synagogue. He had advertised in the Jewish Chronicle in 1863. The teacher of Hebrew and German “had three pupils boarding with him and advertised... that he had room for another nine”.⁵⁸ He moved to Bristol and by 1871 he was living in Dean Street. Whether pupils boarded with him or came as day scholars whilst attending, for example, the Bristol Grammar School (see later in the chapter), is unclear. What is interesting, however, is that some of those who offered such instruction were congregational ministers – their calling was to teach the youth, but a ministerial salary was not satisfactory, so their classes had a dual purpose.

The Portsmouth (Portsea) congregation was one of the oldest in the English provinces, having been founded in 1747. In 1855 the late Lewis Aria, a native of

⁵⁴ Kelly’s Post Directory of Somerset and Devon with Bristol (London, 1866), 811, 812.

⁵⁵ Susser, Jews, 229 and 249.

⁵⁶ DRO – EHC7 Minute Book of the Exeter Hebrew Congregation (26 November, 1866)

⁵⁷ NA – H01/109/4093 (9 June 1863).

⁵⁸ Susser, Jews, 152 quoting from the Jewish Chronicle (7 August 1863).

Hampshire, bequeathed a large portion of his property to be applied to the establishment of a college for the support and education of young men desirous of being trained as Jewish ministers. The college was to be established at Portsea, and its advantages were to be restricted to natives of Hampshire. In 1874 the Aria College was opened at Portsea in accordance with the testator's wishes; but the clause restricting its benefits to natives of Hampshire not being found practicable, the institution was thrown open to students to the Jewish ministry irrespective of birthplace. ("Two places in the College... are to be permanently reserved for Hampshire born students so long as such can be secured to pass the qualifying examination" in general secular knowledge and in Hebrew and Religion.⁵⁹) According to The Jewish Directory of 1874, four students were resident.⁶⁰ The pupils changed over the years, but the number remained constant. The 1881 Census return notes 4 resident pupils at Aria College – they came from Bedfordshire, Tower Hamlets (Middlesex), Bishopsgate (Middlesex) and Bristol whilst the Census return of 1901 indicates that 4 boys were in attendance – they came from Ireland, Nottingham, Lancashire and Russia!⁶¹ In fact, as R.A. Peel commented,

In 1879, the Governors [of PGS] intended that the re-formed school should not simply serve the needs of local Portsea people who wanted a sound grammar school education for their sons, but also those of the newer community in Southsea... The background of the local community, however, did not destroy the cosmopolitan atmosphere so much a feature of the School, based chiefly on the link with the Services... This link was, in part the origin of a small and

⁵⁹ LMA – AC ACC2999/A1/4 Minutes of the Aria College Joint Committee Meeting (25 October 1922). There are no surviving records for Aria College prior to 1922 when the Trustees set up a Joint Committee with the Council of the Jewish War Memorial. Even as late as 1922, the Trustees were still trying to adhere to the will of Lewis Aria.

⁶⁰ MALS – MF1372

⁶¹ NA – RG13/992/32/9

little-known institution which helped to maintain high academic standards, and which eventually introduced an even more varied channel of recruitment.⁶²⁾

Between the years 1887 and 1893, at least 13 pupils were attending Portsmouth Grammar School and Aria College, many of whom gave their address as Aria College.⁶³ Before the First World War, Aria College fostered relations with Jews' College in order for its pupils to complete their education at the latter institution. Ultimately, Aria College could be considered as a Hebrew/Religion boarding establishment that sent its pupils, of secondary-school age, to Portsmouth Grammar School for its secular education. The 1881 Census described the four students (one aged 15 and the others all 16) as 'students in theology'.⁶⁴ "The object at this establishment... is the educating and training for the ministry Jewish young men born in the county of Hampshire, who chose to select that profession or calling as their future vocation."⁶⁵ It seems to me that this was not the case. In fact, the college was, in the main, a residence for pupils who attended a secular secondary school for their secular studies and returned to this residence for their Hebrew/religion studies – a similar scenario to those attending UCS and residing with a Jewish family where the head taught religious studies for a fee that included board and lodging. In other words, they were furnished with a Hebrew education whilst attending a prestigious grammar school.

It is important to mention the correspondence from Mr A.L. Emanuel which was discussed at a school committee meeting. The letter read

⁶² R.A. Peel, "The Portsmouth Grammar School and Aria College" (Portsmouth, 1999), 1.

⁶³ There may have been another pupil but curiously he does not appear in the admissions register. However, S.A. Kisch does appear in the class list for August 1890 (Form IIIB) and August 1891 (IVB). PGS - Admissions Register; Thanks to Catherine Smith, PGS Archivist.

⁶⁴ NA – RG11/1146/2/26

⁶⁵ Jewish World, 3 (28 February 1873), 2c.

I beg to remind you of our conversation relative to the examination of Jewish boys at the Grammar School. At present these boys are not permitted to complete the examination always being on a Saturday. At the same time will you kindly ascertain if the students of Aria College could not be permitted to enter the Grammar School remaining there as long as they are students of the College, we can keep them until they are 21, but we generally send them to the London University when 18.⁶⁶

It was resolved that an answer should be sent to the effect

(i) That whilst for many reasons the Governors are unable to make any fixed and permanent alteration in the day for the Scholarship Examination at the School they will gladly fix some other day than Saturday whenever they receive a month's notice that any Jewish boy wishes to compete.

(ii) That the Governors will be prepared to consider any Scheme that, as representing the College, Mr Emanuel may wish to lay before them upon the matter, but they wish it to be understood that they could not consent to the boys wearing any distinctive academical dress such as they wear now.⁶⁷

In Liverpool, there was a short-lived Jewish boarding and day school located at 17 St. James's Road. Mayer Stern, Professor of French, German and Hebrew, and his wife, Leonie, opened the school in 1852 but, by 1855, had relocated to London.⁶⁸ The next secondary school effort did not appear until the early part of the twentieth century. In 1905 Dr. J.S. Fox (Fuchs) established the Liverpool Hebrew Higher Grade School, which in the seventeen years of its existence had reached a high standard both in Jewish and secular subjects.

Dr Yaakov [Jacob] Samuel Fox, founding headmaster of the Hebrew Higher Grade School... to promote... Modern Hebrew. Held first at 40 West Derby

⁶⁶ Finance Committee Minutes, 3 March 1884, p170-2

⁶⁷ Finance Committee Minutes, 3 March 1884, p170-2

⁶⁸ Mayer was a native of Baden, Germany whilst Leonie hailed from Paris. NA – H0107/2182/10/474/6.

Street, the school soon moved to the Zionist Hall in Bedford Street, where it survived until 1920.⁶⁹

He apparently came to London in 1902 and

Found a lack of Hebrew schools above the elementary level in England, and in 1904 began to devote himself to Hebrew education. He established the Hebrew Higher Grade School in Liverpool, to teach Hebrew and secular subjects in a single school...⁷⁰

The school existed until 1923 providing a secular curriculum of secondary school standard and a Jewish curriculum with Hebrew taught as a living language.⁷¹ An indication of the type of pupil Fox entertained is implied in a letter of recommendation he wrote in 1915. He wrote that Mr. M.S. Kantrovitz,

Is the son of a most respectable and intelligent family with which I am acquainted for the last ten years. He attended my school for a number of years finally gaining a scholarship to a secondary school. He has always been an intelligent and painstaking boy of excellent character, of truthful and obedient disposition.⁷² It should also be noted that, in 1911, a 'Jewish History Circle' was established for senior boys and girls (i.e. those of secondary school age). Mr. S.I. Levy revealed that he had

Pleasure in announcing that a Senior Boys and Girls Jewish History Circle is to be formed. The membership will be restricted to Stds. XII and VII (?) boys and girls and to those who have left school and whose age does not exceed sixteen. A course of study will be arranged and a series of meetings will be

⁶⁹ LRO – 296 LJE/1/2/1/39

⁷⁰ UJE, 4, 364.

⁷¹ Goodman, Mervyn, "A Research Note on Jewish Education on Merseyside, 1962", in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, VII, 1 (June, 1965), 30.

⁷² LRO - 296 HGS/1

held during the winter season when different members of the circle will read short papers on subjects of Jewish History.⁷³

Having discovered the areas where Jewish secondary or 'mixed' schools were established and the non-Jewish schools that were directly connected with them, it is now important to comment on the provincial cities where non-Jewish schools entertained Jewish pupils – Manchester, Birmingham, Tonbridge, Bedford, Canterbury, Bradford, and Bristol (before entering into a discussion of the public schools).

The Clarendon Commission, a Royal Commission that investigated the public school system in England between 1861 and 1864, remarked that Manchester Grammar School and Birmingham's King Edward School [independent schools] were examples of schools that

Catered for boys who could walk to school and for boys from widely different religious backgrounds – in spite of the fact that the headmasters were Anglican clergymen. Analyses show that dissenters, Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Unitarians, atheists and Jews all rubbed shoulders together in the classrooms. As for the background of the boys, they came mainly from professional, industrial, commercial and lower-class circles.⁷⁴

In fact, there is a very long history of Jewish pupils at Manchester Grammar School (MGS). As Bill Williams noted, "Jacob Nathan [dealer in slop and watch materials] sent two of his sons to Manchester Grammar School, Lewis Henry in 1808, Joseph in

⁷³ LRO - 296 JHC/2

⁷⁴ T.W. Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools: A Study of Boys' Public Boarding Schools in England and Wales from 1837 to the Present Day (London, 1967), 190.

1811” and Abraham Franklin sent his third son, Isaac, in 1827.⁷⁵ The school’s historian, James Bentley, commented that the presence of boys, such as Simon Marks and Israel Sieff,

Indicated the central connection between the Manchester Grammar School and its seat in a great northern city. Both boys were born in a regional capital whose social life flourished, whose Jewish community numbered around 25,000 and whose conurbation included one and a half million people. From this community any boy who could win a place at the school was welcomed.⁷⁶

According to the school registers, there were at least 21 Jewish pupils. Between 1888 and 1918, the school registers provide details of the pupils’ previous schools which make it easier to identify Jews. There were over 160 Jewish pupils, 75 of whom had been educated at the Manchester Jews’ School (which amounts to 47% of the total number of Jewish pupils) with a few from the Great Ealing School (3), Tivoli House (8), Townley Castle (8) and Margate Jewish College (2). According to Rosalyn Livshin “...in 1868 the greater proportion of the children at the [Manchester Jews’] school were foreigners, who, on admission, did not understand the vernacular...”⁷⁷

The establishment of the Jews’ School was an anglicisation tool, not only to provide free education to the Jewish poor but to teach them English ways and hopefully to elevate their status. If one examines the register for the MGS (as indicated above), a significant number of pupils hailed from the Jews’ School. This was Anglo-Jewry pursuing its ideal – eliminating the foreignness – be it from the immigrant youth

⁷⁵ Williams, *Making*, 27 and 36.

⁷⁶ James Bentley, *Dare to be Wise: A History of the Manchester Grammar School* (London, 1990), 9-10. Other histories on the school, include J.A. Graham and B.A.A. Pythian, *The Manchester Grammar School 1515-1965* (Manchester, 1965) and A.A. Mumford, *The Manchester Grammar School 1515-1915* (Manchester, 1919) do not mention Jewish pupils.

⁷⁷ Livshin, “Aspects”, 26. Incidentally, Jewish pupils also attended Cheetham Higher Grade School that accepted boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 15+. In 1915, there were 38 Jewish boys in attendance. If they claimed exemption from religious instruction, the letter ‘J’ appeared in the register.

MALS – M66/34/1/2/1

themselves or from the home environment in which they were growing up. The Jews' School encouraged entry to the grammar school and many were able to take advantage. "The pupils, especially the boys, were encouraged to progress academically and so to climb the ladder of higher education, which would take them away from the poverty of their parents."⁷⁸ With regard to the students who attended Manchester Jews' School (and other schools like it) and the reason for many of them moving to the Manchester Grammar School is succinctly put by Roach.

If people in the humbler positions of life knew that their children would have a chance of competing for minor government posts, they would be encouraged to keep them longer at school and to ensure that they obtained a better education... It would encourage middle-class schools to attain for higher standards in their work.

Famous Jewish pupils included Ellis Abraham Franklin, who was admitted in 1837.

At prayer-time, the boys with desks in front of them leant their heads upon their arms; those without desks knelt down. When it was found that Franklin could not conscientiously conform to this practice, he was allowed to absent himself from prayers without prejudice to himself – toleration rare in those days.⁷⁹

Other Jewish pupils included Alfred Eicholz (1869-1933)⁸⁰, Leon Simon (1881-1965),⁸¹ Edgar Abraham Cohen (1908-1973),⁸² Harold Joseph Laski (1893-1950),⁸³ Louis Golding (1895-1958), whose novel Magnolia Street looks at the relationships

⁷⁸ "Livshin", "Aspects", 66.

⁷⁹ Ulula: Manchester Grammar School Magazine, 19, 134 (1892), 83. A copy of this magazine can also be found at PLSU – MS 120/4/5.

⁸⁰ The Times (7 February 1933).

⁸¹ Tropp, Jews, 44.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ox DNB, 32, 595-6.

between Jews and non-Jews, which was based on his experiences at MGS,⁸⁴ and Israel Cohen (1879-1961) from 1892 to 1895.⁸⁵ The school continued to be popular. In 1911, 11 Jewish boys were awarded Foundation scholarships tenable for six terms. “This is again a very high number of renewals in proportion to the number of pupils of the Jewish faith attending the school.”⁸⁶

By the end of 1871, nearly one hundred Jewish families had made their homes in Birmingham’s fashionable Edgbaston suburb. The Birmingham Hebrew National School (est. 1840), the community’s elementary school, was an important early training for Jewish pupils (to encourage them to ‘keep in the fold’ and help the immigrant children to adapt to ‘English ways’ to convey their new cultural inheritance. In other words, this school was similar to the Manchester Jews’ School in that it acted as an agent of anglicisation). 90 boys and 70 girls attended in 1874.⁸⁷ The city of Birmingham was extremely liberal in its views on nonconformity and this may explain the King Edward School was so accommodating. As early as 1847 the Jewish Chronicle reported that a boy named Alfred Lewis who had attended this school had gained an exhibition to Cambridge University.⁸⁸ There was, in fact, a Jewish school which was swallowed up by the successful King Edward School. E. Lawrence Levy started the Birmingham Jewish Collegiate School at Denbigh Lodge, 75 Wheelleys Road, in Edgbaston.⁸⁹ He had previously worked as assistant master at the Birmingham Hebrew School.

⁸⁴ Louis Golding, Magnolia Street (London, 1932), 102.

⁸⁵ Ox DNB, 12, 429.

⁸⁶ Jewish World, LXXVII, 13 (29 September 1911), 18b.

⁸⁷ MALS – MF 1372

⁸⁸ Jewish Chronicle (9 July 1847).

⁸⁹ E. Lawrence Levy, Birmingham Jewry 1870 and 1920 (Birmingham, 1929), 9-10. Hereafter Levy, Birmingham.

The Edgbaston contingent of Birmingham Jewry patronised the venture cheerfully. This attracted the support of others. Christian friends also sent along their youngsters... Long before 1891 I had seen the ‘handwriting on the wall’, my old school weighed in the balance of modern conditions and up-to-date competition, and found wanting. All the private schools of the period saw it, and simply waited their turn for ‘marching orders’... My school with its Jewish inception, and later the glorious intermixture of the best Jewish lads with similar Christian school fellows, had to go. The Berlyns, Emanuels, Blanckensees, Silverstons, Lowensteins, had met the St. Clairs, Lamplughs, Fennells, Malins, Gilberts and others in what had proved to be a glorious school comradeship. We had won more scholarships for King Edward’s than any other private school... So long as King Edward’s School was in New Street, Jewish parents feared the distance from Edgbaston homes into town. There were no such means of easy locomotion as trams, etc., present to-day, and parental solicitude stood in the way of the youngsters going so far as New Street, or the children could wait until they were a little older... Gradually my school and congregational official identity melted.⁹⁰

Jewish pupils attended KES from as early as 1838 (as indicated in Appendix I). Between 1838 and 1883, at least 96 Jewish pupils passed through its doors (their identity noticeable in the school registers with a distinguishable ‘J’ clearly stating their religion) including David Fridlander, “a good Hebraist” who entered in 1853 and may have left in 1855,⁹¹ Benjamin Lumley (1811-1875), Director of Her Majesty’s Theatre⁹², and Alfred J. Cohen (b. 1861-?), American dramatic critic.

⁹⁰ Levy, *Birmingham*, 10; 15-6.

⁹¹ Levy, *Birmingham*, 4.

⁹² *The Times* (19 March 1875) and KES – Foundation Alumni (& Distinguished Staff) Index.

In 1853, the Bedford synagogue was situated in High Street, St. Peter's. It had, at this time, five members. Morris Lissack had settled in Bedford as 'teacher of languages and dealer in jewellery' in 1839 and lived there for nearly half a century. As a result of his exertions, the Harpur Charity, of which he was a Trustee, at last changed its policy, and admitted Jewish children to its school (March 1879). But it was a pyrrhic victory, as Lissack was by this time the only Jew left in the city, the organised community having come to an end some little while previously. Much of the interesting educational history of Jews in Bedford occurred prior to this – it is important to simply mention that, even then, they were issues of exemptions as, for example, in 1811 Nathan Joseph whose "father requested he should be excused morning and evening prayers, and also to be excused attendance on Saturdays and Jewish holidays".⁹³ In 1841, the Hertfordshire Reformer gave an account of a meeting of the Bedford Charity Trustees which discussed the case of the Jewish boy named Lyon who attended the Commercial School (formerly the English School) but absented himself on the Jewish Sabbath and festivals which

Interfered with the discipline of the school; and on the master complaining, Mrs. Lyon said that she could not conscientiously allow the boy to attend on those days, and requested that his absence might be permitted, and, if that were refused, she should be compelled to take him away altogether.⁹⁴

The trustees refused her claim by a majority of 12 to 6 because "punctual and regular attendance" was "required of all boys at the schools, without reference to their religious opinions".⁹⁵ Another application was made in 1847. This time Morris Lissack was more successful although his sons were bullied at the school. The headmaster suggested "that the Jewish boys should come to school later than the other

⁹³ BCRO – CRT130 BED/268 P.L. Bell, "Bedford Jews Eighteenth –Twentieth Centuries" (Bedford), 5.

⁹⁴ BCRO – 170/9/16 P.L. Bell, "Bedford's Second Jewish Community" (Bedford, 1994), 27.

⁹⁵ BCRO – 170/9/16 Bell, "Bedford", 27.

pupils and go home a little earlier” but, instead, Morris Lissack summoned the head of the bullies to court where the Mayor presided. The boy was duly fined!⁹⁶ It was reported that Lissack addressed the governors of Bedford Grammar School

Asking whether they ‘would feel disposed – in addition to the privileges already enjoyed – to offer to Jewish students the same advantages as now granted by the Council of Clifton College?’ The committee to which this letter was referred, reported at a meeting of the Governors... ‘that the arrangements already existing in the Grammar School are such as to secure its benefits to Jews in common with all other members of the community, and that they do not see how any additional regulations can be made on behalf of members of the Jewish persuasion’.

A lengthy discussion followed.

It appeared that at present there were no Jewish boys attending the school. All the speakers expressed a desire that no impediment should be placed in the way of any Jewish boy who might attend the school. The Headmaster [Mr S. Phillpotts], through one of the Governors, mentioned that he would do all he could to promote the comfort of Jewish scholars. The subject of religious toleration was amply and liberally provided for in the Scheme. Several Governors said in the old commercial school-days, there were sometimes ten or a dozen Jews in the school, and they never suffered any inconvenience or injustice in any way.

The Harpur Charity minute book mentioned this incident. “That a boy shall be excused from attending school on any day exclusively set apart for religious observances by the religious body to which his parent belongs on due notice being

⁹⁶ BCRO – 170/9/16 Bell, “Bedford”, 37. The father paid the fine. Had he not, the boy would have been imprisoned for 14 days!

given to and leave obtained from the headmaster.”⁹⁷ The famous Abrahams family came to Bedford in 1887.

Harold’s father was a well-to-do money lender and sent all of his six children to Harpur Trust schools... The family, who lived in Rutland Road, left Bedford for London at the time of the First World War. Harold moved from Bedford School to Repton and then on to Cambridge.⁹⁸

According to Richard Wildman, Bedford Modern School’s archivist, Adolphe attended during the period 1891 to 1899, Solomon Sidney between 1893 and 1902, and Lionel between 1895 and 1905.⁹⁹ According to Sir Philip Magnus remarked that this “school with its Latin and literary side well developed, in which adequate provision was made for practical science teaching and for instruction in modern languages”.¹⁰⁰ Harold attended the sister foundation, Bedford Grammar School for one term before going to Repton.¹⁰¹ The school has “no surviving archive material about the brothers, other than entries in the admissions register, and career references and obituaries in The Eagle (School Magazine)”. Three Lissack brothers (Dan, Ephraim and Jacob) attended Bedford Modern School (called Bedford Commercial School until 1873) in the 1860s. According to Wildman, they did encounter some hostility from fellow pupils, but not from the School authorities. In fact, as Bedford was a stronghold of Nonconformity in the 19th century, there may well have been considerable respect for the small number of Jewish residents on the grounds of Biblical tradition.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ BCRO – HT/3/15 Harpur Charity Minute Book (6 June 1878), 380.

⁹⁸ Bedfordshire Times (3 April 1981), 8b. Isaac Abrahams, the father, was naturalised in 1902. The certificate number was 101954. Thanks to A. Abrahams for this information.

⁹⁹ Richard Wildman (April 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Philip Magnus, Educational Aims and Efforts 1880-1910 (London, 1910), 22.

¹⁰¹ Another Jewish student to attend Repton was Eric Maschwitz (1901-69). He was the son of Lithuanian immigrants. He became an entertainer, writer and broadcaster.

¹⁰² Wildman (April 2005).

When discussing Jewish pupils being educated in Canterbury, it is important to remember that by 1911 there were only 3 Jewish families left in the town. Jews came to settle in Canterbury in the later half of the eighteenth century. The original synagogue was established in 1762 and the new one in 1847.¹⁰³ At the laying of the cornerstone in 1847, many Jews and Christians attended.

Despite the attention to detail of synagogue life, the Canterbury Jewish community gradually began to decline, as did the majority of provincial congregations in the latter half of the nineteenth century... By 1889 the new synagogue had fallen into a terrible state of disrepair; the building and its surroundings had become unkempt and dingy. In an attempt to revive the flagging spirits of the congregation, it was decided to reconstruct the new synagogue in 1889. Funds for the renovation were collected by the President, Henry Hart... The reconsecration of the new synagogue took place on Sunday 10 November 1889 and attracted a full congregation of Jews and visitors... Efforts to revive the congregation came to naught. The last minutes of the congregation were recorded in 1896, and by 1911 [as noted above]... there were only three Jewish families left in Canterbury. During this period it appears that the synagogue was closed. In October 1913 it was decided that the synagogue should be reopened, provided that the necessary funds could be raised... The serviced were conducted by the Revd Belasco of Ramsgate and Mr. Coplans of Canterbury.”¹⁰⁴

The latter, Myer Coplans (1879-1961) was educated at the Simon Langton School which was opened in 1881. The scheme for the school stated that “all the advantages shall be open to all boys of good character and sufficient health...” and that with

¹⁰³ Michael Adler, “The Jews of Canterbury”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1915), 59.

¹⁰⁴ Dan Cohn-Sherbok, The Jews of Canterbury 1760-1931 (Canterbury, 1984), 39-41.

regard to religious exemptions, the parents of a day scholar “may claim by notice in writing addressed to the headmaster the exemption of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject...”¹⁰⁵ The scheme noted, with all sincerity, its intention to take any incident of teachers where an exemption has been claimed and accepted seriously. The fact that the community was small did not matter, as “an increasing number were coming from outside the city, travelling on foot, by bicycle or on the Canterbury Railway”.¹⁰⁶ The other major school in Canterbury was The King’s School. The school’s archivist explained to me that the school has

Complete records for these years [1830-1920] but... the boys’ religion is not recorded (the King’s School was a boys’ school for the period in question). However, given the very close connexion of the school with the Cathedral, but legally and physically, it is a safe assumption, borne out by a study of the names (to some extent), that the clientele was nearly exclusively Church of England by religion or...

Christian... The one certain exception is Montague Hart, who was here September 1872 – December 1875. He was born at Canterbury on 31 May 1858. He was the son of Alderman Henry Hart, J.P. [born 1833], who was twice Mayor of Canterbury, 1869 and 1870. The Harts were a family prominent in the (already declining) Jewish community of Canterbury and in the wider city... Hart probably entered the family businesses... which were later centred in Dover. At Canterbury, it is likely that after the establishment of the Simon Langton Grammar School, Jewish children, of whom there cannot have been all that many in those years, would have mostly gone there.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ CCA – CC/W17/E/1 (1908)

¹⁰⁶ Lawrence Lyle and Joyce Frame, *To Be Continued... A History of the First Hundred Years of the Simon Langton Schools, Canterbury 1881-1981* (Canterbury, n.d.), 13.

¹⁰⁷ Correspondence with P. Pollak (August 2005)

Incidentally, the school register does show names such as Abrahams, Jacobs and Lewis which may have been Jewish.¹⁰⁸ The Harts were a large family. There were nine children including Montague. Other boys included Samuel (b. 1861), Israel (1867-74) and Philip Theodore (b. 1868) (Three of Henry Hart's daughter, Fanny, Edythe and Flora, established Minerva College, Dover.) It is possible that other Jewish students entered in the late 1890s (J.D. Abrahams and F.B. Jacobs) but there numbers were certainly not significant.¹⁰⁹ The school historians comment that

It is interesting to find that in the early eighteenth century Hebrew found a place in the curriculum at the King's School. It continued to be taught at Canterbury until the days of the Rev. George Wallace [1832-59], but it has now been discounted for many years". French was taught throughout all the forms, German only to the boys in the 5th and 6th, and Hebrew, which Mr. Wallace himself taught, was a voluntary subject, which might be studied by the boys in the two upper forms.¹¹⁰

Another school that accepted Jewish pupils was Tonbridge School (which situated on the northern edge of the town of Tonbridge, Kent). It was predominantly a boarding school, but some day pupils were accepted. Of those Jewish pupils noted in Appendix I, section C, only two were day pupils; one was Jack Joseph Henry Benjamin who attended 1915-6 and whose father believed that the idea of a Jewish House at Tonbridge would be beneficial.¹¹¹ (He was not the only one to have such a thought; the establishment of a Jewish House was also mentioned in connection with Malvern College Boys who belong to other faiths may with the Headmaster's permission attend their own places of worship at the weekend). Mr. Louis Benjamin wrote that

¹⁰⁸ King's School Register 1859 to 1931 (Hertfordshire, 1931).

¹⁰⁹ King's School, Canterbury Register 1859 to 1931 (Hertfordshire, 1932), 139 and 223.

¹¹⁰ C.E. Woodruff and H.J. Cape, Schola Regia Cantuariensis: A History of Canterbury School, Commonly Called the King's School (London, 1908), 166.

¹¹¹ H.D. Furley, ed., The Register of Tonbridge School from 1861 to 1945 (London, 1951), 471.

It may interest a good many parents and ministers to know the way the Headmaster of Tonbridge School met my views when I entered my boy for Tonbridge. He not only readily gave him leave for Sabbaths and Jewish festivals, but allowed him to leave school on Fridays in the winter at three o'clock, and, being a day boarder, made arrangements with the Housemaster to have special vegetarian meals for him, and the Housemaster offered to get kosher meat from London. There are about half a dozen Jewish boys at Tonbridge, and none of them have to attend chapel".¹¹²

He hoped that, if a dozen Jewish boys attended, it would warrant a Jewish House but there are no references to it in the school archives and the idea fizzled to nothing.

Other schools included Bristol Grammar School, Marlborough High School and Repton School.¹¹³ Bristol Grammar School, as noted by Judith Samuel, also entertained Jewish pupils. Alfred Mosely, Leslie Jacobs, A.G. Morse, A. Jacobs, David E. Benjamin and A.J. Goldsmid and J. Follick all attended.¹¹⁴ Marlborough High School opened its doors to Jewish pupils. Israel Jacobs attended and was a successful candidate in the Cambridge Local Examination in 1890.¹¹⁵ Repton School, apart from having one of the famous Abrahams brothers in attendance, there is a possibility that at least one other Jewish pupil attended. Frank Levy entered the school, at the age of 14, in 1881 and left in 1883.¹¹⁶ His father lived, at the time, in St. John's Wood, a popular area for Jewish middle class families.

¹¹² *Jewish Chronicle* (4 June 1915), 18b.

¹¹³ Bradford Grammar School certainly entertained a Jewish pupil in the 1920s but prior to that in unclear. Lionel Hart (b. 1907) attended between January 1921 and July 1926. During that time he was involved in the Debating Society and Literary Society... In 1925 he was awarded a State Scholarship and in 1926, an Open Scholarship of £80 per year for classics at New College [Oxford]... In 1930 he was awarded a Harmsworth Law scholarship at the Middle Temple to the value of £200 per year and passed the final exam (Class II) in 1932. Thanks to Sue South, school archivist (July 2005).

¹¹⁴ Samuel, *Jews*, 86 and 91.

¹¹⁵ *The Jewish Standard*, III, 103 (14 March 1890), 11a.

¹¹⁶ Hipkins, F.C., *Repton School Register 1620-1894* (London, 1895).

This chapter has, up to this point, commented on a variety of schools, both Jewish and non-Jewish, in the provinces. Let us now turn to the public schools, the ones that created boarding houses specifically catering for Jewish pupils and those that did not. As we have seen in Chapter Four, two Jewish houses were created in London.¹¹⁷ However, the first was established in Bristol in 1878. It is, nonetheless, important to mention (as we progress through this section) that Jewish boys had attended public schools prior to 1878. The Jewish Chronicle commented in 1868 that

The name of Jew is no longer a bye-word of scorn in the public school. It is a name of honour and respect. By good conduct, affectionate gentleness of manner, excellent home training, great genius, eminent talents, and assiduous industry, Jewish public school boys have gained an honourable, nay, even an illustrious, reputation, in the collegiate and academical arena.¹¹⁸

This section will show that, in fact, there were two sides to the public school issue. On the one hand, Jews were still looked upon in ‘scorn’ as memoirs and novels indicate, whilst on the other hand, Jews were also encouraged to enrol with the addition of a Jewish house. It will, however, cause the reader to wonder whether Jewish houses were, in fact, a necessary addition to the public school make-up, did they harness the scornful attitude of the Jewish pupils’ counterparts and masters or did their presence allow Jewish pupils to eventually transfer into the mainstream of the school with ease without the existence of a Jewish house. What will be noted is that Jewish houses “had an important role to play in the preservation of Jewishness in the offspring of families from which some of the leaders of our religious community were recruited”.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ This refers to London in its widest sense, meaning London and its environs.

¹¹⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 712, 6 (7 August 1868), 4a.

¹¹⁹ Carlebach, “Joseph”, 267.

In 1862, Clifton College was founded in Bristol. In order to found a new school in the nineteenth century, a Charter was required which in turn required an Act of Parliament. According to Jeremy Potter,

By chance, at the same time, new laws had enabled Jews to stand for Parliament without having to undergo baptism, as had been the case when Benjamin Disraeli took his seat. Sir Lionel Cohen took up that opportunity, and at once began to look for ways that Jews might attend English schools. When Cohen met [John] Percival [the headmaster], the deal was struck; the one needed an MP to get him his Charter, the other needed a Headmaster to get access for Jews. What was startling to some was Percival's proposal to make special arrangements for orthodox Jewish boys to attend an orthodox Church of England institution as the stated objective of Clifton College was the education of Christian gentlemen.¹²⁰

In fact the College's constitution "stipulated that no boy could be refused admission by reason of his religious faith, and this loophole was Percival's window of opportunity" (as observed at various independent schools).¹²¹ However, the headmaster of Cheltenham College indicated his disapproval of boys attending a school where they were separated, treated differently and did not participate in every aspect of the school. He commented that he

Did not approve of boys attending a Church of England school and being segregated from the other scholars on religious grounds. He maintained that if boys were sent to a public school which was definitely intended for the members of one denomination, they should take their full part in the school life, which included attendance at chapel. His attitude was regarded by some

¹²⁰ Jeremy Potter, Headmaster: The Life of John Percival – Radical Autocrat (London, 1998), 44. Hereafter Potter, Headmaster.

¹²¹ Potter, Headmaster, 44-5.

as retrograde and intolerant, but there is no doubt that he was perfectly logical in his attitude. If he permits them to participate in the services of another faith, these children can hardly be expected to grow up with any respect for or interest in the Jewish community to which they nominally belong".¹²²

To return to Clifton College, a few Jewish boys, who were already enrolled at the school, were not exempt from any part of the religious curriculum and, therefore, unable to observe their religious rites. The Jewish house changed these circumstances providing, from its commencement, a synagogue, kosher food, arrangements for the Sabbath and Jewish festivals, and religious instruction. Hamburg House, as the house was first known, was headed by Rev. Bernard Heymann, a native of Hamburg (hence the house's name). (Interestingly, the House had little to do with Bristol's Hebrew congregation.¹²³ This point is worth extending for, as has been observed, the Jewish communities of provincial towns and cities were not the significant reason for establishing a Jewish institution; in fact, it was the area itself (e.g. its salubrious air) or its proximity to prestigious non-Jewish schools (e.g. the locations of the Hebrew instruction classes) to name but a few examples.)

Bernard Heymann (as noted in Appendix III) had previously worked in London as a private tutor for over twenty years. One early memory of Hamburg House remarked that

The whole school received us very well and there was not, from the first, any trace of the 'antisemitic' feeling we had rather feared... We didn't have to be down before eight instead of the orthodox seven... We used to go Synagogue in Bristol in those days and it is difficult to say whether we disliked the walk more in summer or winter. Afterwards Mr. Heymann, seeing that the service

¹²² Jewnius, "A Jewish Public School?", in *The Jewish Monthly*, 3 (1947), 11-12.

¹²³ Judith Samuel, "History of Bristol's Jewry", in *Shemot*, 3 (1994), 14.

and surroundings were not suitable for us, or at any rate for the younger members of the house, organised services at home... Our first term we used to go for evening 'Prep.' to another small house, but later a Mr. Marks, a junior schoolmaster, used to preside over that ceremony. Of course we had no resident house tutor in those days....¹²⁴

Mr. B. Heymann¹²⁵ resigned his mastership in June 1890 and Rev J. Polack was appointed in the July of the same year. This appointment began the Polack dynasty and the house's name was duly changed to Polack House. At the annual prize distribution, the Rev J.M. Wilson, headmaster of Clifton College, praised Mr. Heymann who had undertaken

The difficult work of pioneering in a new department of school life, in establishing a house for boys of the Jewish faith in connection with the Church of England College. The most marked tribute to this success was the fact that scarcely any one of them regarded it as a difficult thing to have done. Thirteen years ago it was a novel and difficult experiment. It was now an established success.¹²⁶

The Jewish house began with 4 boys who were received very well by the whole school "and there was not from the first any trace of that 'antisemitic' feeling we had rather feared".¹²⁷ One memoir of a Cliftonian (a pupil enrolled at Clifton College) noted the opinion of his Housemaster, Major J.C. Burbey, a former Cliftonian himself. He stated that

¹²⁴ 'The Start of Polack's House in 1878 under Bernard Heymann' - Photocopied article provided by C. Colquhoun of Clifton College.

¹²⁵ CC – PH The Cliftonian mentioned a prize entitled the B. Heymann Hebrew Prize. Neither I nor Charles Colquhoun, member of Clifton College teaching staff (there is currently no archivist) could find any other reference to this prize.

¹²⁶ Jewish Chronicle, 1113 (1 August 1890), 5a.

¹²⁷ CC – PH Polack's House Magazine, I (1897-1906), 3 – this was reminiscence of A.H. Jessel, head of Polack House, 1882.

What made Clifton unique among public schools was the existence of the Town Houses and the Jewish Houses. These, he said, ensured that boys were brought up in a tolerant and broadminded environment where they inevitably learnt to recognise and respect the qualities of groups other than their own, with whose members they would ultimately become associated in the civic life of the country...¹²⁸

The attitude towards the Jewish pupils was not always so cordial and this will be discussed later. By 1881, Heymann had 11 scholars residing with him, ranging between 11 and 16.¹²⁹ They were all drawn from London except two, one from Melbourne (Australia) and the other from Bombay (India).¹³⁰ In recognition of the establishment of the Jewish House, the Modern Language Scholarship of £20 “was founded in May 1881 by members of the Jewish faith”.¹³¹ By 1897, there were 25 Polackians (Jewish pupils residing at Polack’s House).¹³² According to the registers, between 1878 and 1918, there were 176 Polackians.¹³³ (This, of course, does not include Jewish pupils who entered other houses.) As is indicated in Chart G, Heymann’s experimental house was experienced by over 40 Jewish pupils and provided a solid base for Polack to extend and develop. More than 60 Jewish pupils attended between 1891-1900 and 1901-1910. The number of pupils in the last year bracket is not representative of the total number of pupils but, as noted in n.16, the

¹²⁸ Neville Spearman, *Memoirs of an ASP: Douglas Young-James* (London, 1965), 34.

¹²⁹ E.M. Oakley notes that, after the opening of the House with 4, “the number of boys was subsequently increased to 14”. E.M. Oakley, ed., *Clifton College Register 1862 to 1887* (London, 1887), 69.

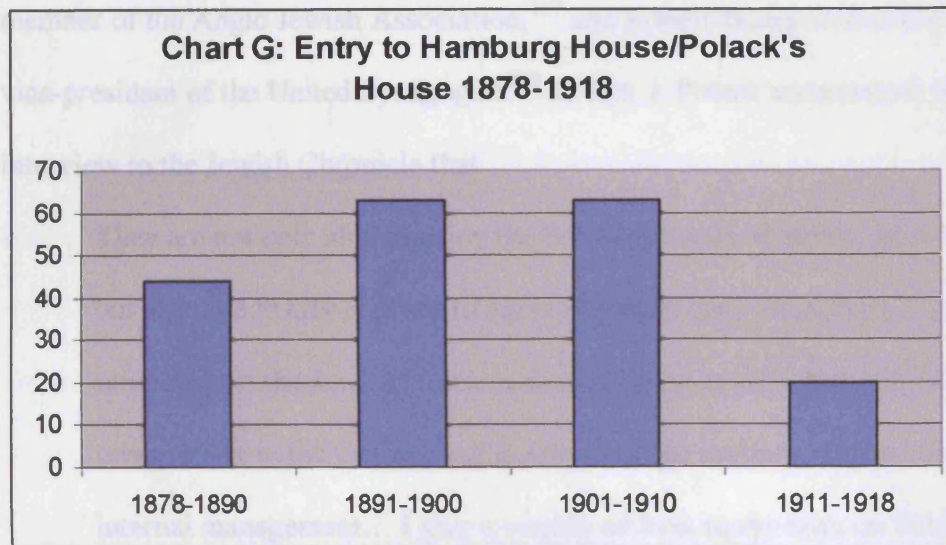
¹³⁰ NA – RG11/2843/24/35/65-6; See Appendix I

¹³¹ Oakley, *Clifton*, 71. Neither Charles Colquhoun nor I were able to find any other references to the setting up of these scholarships.

¹³² CC- PH *Polack’s House Magazine* I (1897-1906)

¹³³ G.M. Meyer, *Polack’s House Register 1878-1904*. E.M. Oakley, *Clifton College Register 1862 to 1887*. The year was taken to include those pupils whose enrolment did not exceed the years of this thesis.

pupils' attendance that extended beyond the years of this thesis have not been included.



Observing the table of pupils in Appendix I, it reveals the surnames of leading families within Anglo-Jewry including Beddington, Waley Cohen, Sebag-Montefiore, Henriques, Montagu and Laski. Bermant remarked that “Clifton became the Eton of the Cousinhood”.¹³⁴ In a paper read before the West London Synagogue Association,

The future of the Anglo-Jewish community is very largely bound up with the training of our youth at the public schools. Belonging, as they do, to the upper and middle classes, it is to their hands that the direction of our communal institutions will be committed when the parent generation passes away.

Communally-minded Polackians included Ernest Frank Benjamin (1900-1969), who was associated with the Association for Jewish Ex-Servicemen and the Jewish Lads' Brigade,¹³⁵ Cecil Kisch, (1884-1961), who was on the Committee of the Hayes Industrial School for Jewish Boys and on the executive of the Jewish Memorial

¹³⁴ Bermant, *Cousinhood*, 183.

¹³⁵ Tropp, *Jews*, 40.

Council,¹³⁶ Charles Waley Cohen (1879-1963), who was president of the Association of Jewish Friendly Societies, president of the Central Jewish Literary Society and a member of the Anglo Jewish Association,¹³⁷ and Robert Waley Cohen (1877-1952), vice-president of the United Synagogue.¹³⁸ In fact, J. Polack commented, in an interview to the Jewish Chronicle that

They are not only able to enjoy the full advantages of public school education, but absolute liberty is given to me in regard to their religious life. In every other respect the Jewish House is conducted on exactly the same lines as every other House in the College and is subject to the same regulations as regards its internal management... I give a weekly address to the boys on Sabbath and I take occasion, when ever it seems necessary, to emphasise the responsibilities which lie upon them, who have the benefits of a public school education, with respect to their own community. I endeavour to impress upon them that a special obligation rests upon them to bring the spirit of loyalty which they imbibe at a public school to bear upon their future life in the Jewish community.¹³⁹

He also made it quite clear that his charges suffered little from missed Saturday lessons.¹⁴⁰ In the twenty-first century, this view was still expressed by some. The first Polackian to be a Cliftonian head boy (in 1952), Nick Tarsh told The Times that the Jewish house “is the right arrangement for Jewish children to have their own community in the house but to be able to play a full part in the life of the wider

¹³⁶ Tropp, Jews, 43 and Alexander Rosenzweig, The Jewish Memorial Council: A History 1919-1999. London, 1998, 53 and 55.

¹³⁷ Tropp, Jews, 43.

¹³⁸ Endelman, Jews, 217.

¹³⁹ Jewish Chronicle, 2330 (21 November 1913), 21a-b.

¹⁴⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 2330 (21 November 1913), 22a.

school”.¹⁴¹ In fact, one could suggest that it was a Jewish home in an English public school. Such a phrase was sarcastically twisted by Rev. Henry Berkowitz whose Jewish school in Gravesend was “not a ‘Jewish House’ in a Christian school but a Jewish school in a Jewish house”.¹⁴² Rabbi Dr. Jeremy Rosen, whose father, Rabbi Dr. Kopul Rosen, established Carmel College (a Jewish boarding school) in the 1960s believed that

Polack’s House is the worst of both worlds. If you are going to be in a non-Jewish environment, don’t create a little ghetto in it. Either you create a Jewish environment which is a positive Jewish environment or alternatively you say look I’m going to live a non-Jewish environment and I’ll maintain my religious life.¹⁴³

Let Rev. Polack have the final word on this matter. “That Jewish boys should live in a Jewish house, where they will have an opportunity of learning and practising their religion, is a desideratum which scarcely admits... questioning.”¹⁴⁴ In fact, Polack’s House endured much criticism and survived for more than 120 years, being the most successful and lasting Jewish house that existed. Others Jewish houses were created at Cheltenham College (1891) and The Perse School, Cambridge (1904), the former lasting for 32 years and the latter 40 years.

Johann (Ivan) Nestor Schnurmann, who was noted in Chapter Four as creating a Jewish house at St. Paul’s School quit that establishment after four years and moved to Cheltenham College where he was an assistant master.¹⁴⁵ He opened Corinth House,

¹⁴¹ The Times (2 July 2005)

¹⁴² Jewish Chronicle, 2462 (4 June 1915), 6a.

¹⁴³ Interview with Rabbi Dr. Jeremy Rosen (24 November 1999)

¹⁴⁴ Jewish Chronicle, 1943 (29 June 1906), 8b.

¹⁴⁵ Isidore Harris, ed., The Jewish Year Book: An Annual Record of Matters Jewish (London, 1900), 310.

the Jewish house, in 1891 once the council of the college granted him a license. The house opened at 101 Bath Road. Nestor-Schnurmann was

Much liked and respected by his colleagues and he attracted Jewish boys of good family and intelligence. They kept the Jewish Sabbath and until it was closed in 1897 attended the synagogue [where the Jewish boys made up a majority of the attendance].¹⁴⁶

The Jewish congregation, which had been established in 1824, declined after only two generations. Some may suggest that the reason for selecting a particular location for establishing a school was partly based on the Jewish community that resided there. For the Jewish House at Cheltenham College, this could not have been a priority because the Cheltenham Jewish community “was one of a group of provincial Jewish centres in decline in the later nineteenth century”.¹⁴⁷ The community remained small from the existence of the synagogue in 1823 until 1892 when “no more members joined” and “for synagogue services, they depended in the 1890s on Jewish schoolboys attending Cheltenham College”.¹⁴⁸

Nestor Schnurman’s pupils hailed from provincial cities, (such as Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham, and abroad from Hong Kong, Calcutta and Singapore), his reputation spreading through the country and further afield. Their ages ranged between 11 and 17.¹⁴⁹ He indicated that the success of the house exemplified how Jews and Christians should be able to work together in harmony. He believed that this was the future of Anglo-Jewry’s educational map. In an interview to the Jewish Chronicle, he commented that

¹⁴⁶ M.C. Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years (Buckinghamshire, 1968), 106.

¹⁴⁷ Michael A. Shepherd, “Cheltenham Jews in the Nineteenth Century”, in Jewish Journal of Sociology, 21 (1979), 125. Hereafter Shepherd, “Cheltenham”.

¹⁴⁸ Shepherd, “Cheltenham”, 127.

¹⁴⁹ NA – RG13/2464/104/8

My ideal has ever been that the Christians, with whom my boys and I have been so intimately associated here, should learn and realise that we have noble-minded and high-thinking Jews living here in England. We have shown them... that the Jewish boys deserve to be associated on an equal footing with those public school; boys of other faiths who are the backbone of England.¹⁵⁰

The headmaster of the college certainly agreed with this view. W.H.D. Rouse,¹⁵¹ headmaster of the College, commented that

There has been no kind of friction, and the boys of the two religions treat each other with respect and friendliness... I have found that whoever might be idle or need sitting on, it was never one from the Jewish House. The boys have been obliged to miss Saturday work; yet they always did it, and acquitted themselves well in examination. They have done honour to the Jewish name, and made it respected by many to whom it was before only a name, perhaps sometimes carrying a prejudice with it.¹⁵²

It was, indeed, hoped that the Jewish pupils would circumnavigate these issues by providing a Jewish environment within a Christian school but allowing for close participation alongside their Christian counterparts.¹⁵³

The one remaining Jewish house that has yet to be discussed is Hillel House which was established at The Perse School in Cambridge, a fee-paying school

¹⁵⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 1896 (4 August 1905), 28a.

¹⁵¹ When at Rugby, he thought that it was unfortunate that Jewish boys "were brought up without the offices of their religion". Jewish Chronicle (4 June 1915), 18b.

¹⁵² Jewish Chronicle, 1385 (18 October 1895), 7a.

¹⁵³ Nestor Schnurmann retired from his position in 1914 and was succeeded by Daniel L. Lipson (1886-1963) who had previously been master at Portsmouth Grammar School (1908-12) and Bradford Grammar School (1912-4). The Times, 55676 (16 April 1963), 14c. Corinth House remained open until 1923 when Lipson discovered that, when his tenure expired in 1932, no successor would be appointed. He, therefore, removed himself from the college prior to this and established Corinth College in September 1923 with a preparatory class for 8-13 year olds and a senior class for 13-19 year olds. Lipson retired in 1935. Sadly, no documentary evidence has been found for this establishment.

(considered by some to be a minor public school), predominantly for day pupils.¹⁵⁴

The first advertisement for the Jewish House (to be known as Hillel House from 1910)

appeared on 12 August 1904. The house for Jewish boys, to be run by Israel H.

Hersch, opened in September that year.¹⁵⁵ Established as orthodox Jewish house, the

Jewish charges attended synagogue every Saturday.¹⁵⁶ Only a few months after the

establishment of the Jewish House, the Perse School, which limited the house to 12

boys (although by 1910 there were 20 boys), announced its intention to award at least

one entrance scholarship, which was equal in value to the school fees, to boys

desirous of entry into the Jewish House.¹⁵⁷ The maximum number of boys that Hillel

catered for was 42, but a more comfortable number is given as 36-38 boys. Their ages

ranged from 8-18 years.¹⁵⁸ From Appendix I, one observes that between 1904 and

1920, approximately 118 Jewish pupils lived in the house.¹⁵⁹ In order to understand

the type of Jewish families that were attracted to such a school, the first Board of

Education inspection of The Perse School noted that there were 167 pupils, whose

fathers were, in the main, professional and independent, merchants, bankers and retail

¹⁵⁴ Bee Korn's MA dissertation revealed the experiences of Christian and Jewish pupils attending the school, a majority of whom attended the school after the period set here. Bee Korn, "Hillel House, the Perse School, and Issues of Identity", unpublished MA dissertation, Anglia Polytechnic University (2003). Hereafter Korn, "Hillel". A search through the Sound Archives of the British Library indicated one oral history for Perse School. Wolff Olins attended the school in the 1940s (F10087-90).

¹⁵⁵ Jewish World, LXII, 21 (12 August 1904), 396a. Hersch's success at Hillel House caused a brief encounter with the idea of establishing a girls' house. In 1920, The Jewish Guardian received a letter from one J. Polack regarding the need to establish a Jewish House at a Ladies' College or Girls' High School. I.H. Hersch, who had been head of the Jewish House at the Perse School (Cambridge) for 16 years, commented that he had "been repeatedly asked by parents of my boys to recommend to them a similar house for Jewish girls. There was no such house. Therefore, some three years ago, I obtained the consent of the Headmistress of the Perse (Girls') School to establish a house for Jewish girls if it should be possible to find some Jewish lady who would undertake to run it. The lady was found, but hitherto it has been impossible to procure a suitable house. The Jewish Guardian, III, 33 (14 May 1920), 5a. (A house was found and would open in September 1920. However, no records have, so far, been recovered, for this House.)

¹⁵⁶ Korn, "Hillel", 31.

¹⁵⁷ Jewish World, LXIII, 12 (9 December 1904), 198a. Hillel House closed in 1948 to become Northwold House, a non-denominational house for junior boys.

¹⁵⁸ PS – Memories of Yesteryear (1989) by Priscilla Goldstein, 1

¹⁵⁹ PS – Admission Book (1875-1920) ; PS – Admission Registers (1906-19) As noted in Appendix I, some pupils only feature in one of these publications. However, the Admission Book only indicates that a pupil boarded but not the location.

traders from Cambridge (with a small percentage drawn from other places in Cambridgeshire).¹⁶⁰ According to the Admission Registers, many of the Jewish fathers were merchants (of one kind or another). Out of the 118 pupils, 38 (32%) of their fathers were merchants.¹⁶¹ By 1910, pupils were coming from all over England, although the majority still hailed from Cambridge or the Cambridgeshire area.¹⁶² In fact, one particular city, Manchester, was always well represented, possibly because Hersch and his successor, Harry Dagut, hailed from Manchester “and Dagut knew the families who sent their sons to Hillel”.¹⁶³ London (particularly North West London) still remained a prominent location for pupils. Like the headmaster of Clifton College in 1878, the Perse School had a sympathetic headmaster, Dr. William H. Rouse, formerly headmaster of Cheltenham College and, therefore, experienced in the development of a Jewish house. (His appointment, as head of the school in 1902, corresponded neatly with the establishment of the house in 1904.) He was “an eminent Semitic scholar and in cordial sympathy with Jews and Jewish children... Dr. Rouse had much experience of Jews, and gave them without reserve every possible facility for the due observance of their religion”.¹⁶⁴ In fact, he was so in tune with the rites of Jewish observance that morning and evening assemblies did not feature any hymn singing nor was a Lesson recited.¹⁶⁵ It is important to note that the boys have been an integral part of the Perse school and mingled with their non-Jewish counterparts in all aspects of school life.

¹⁶⁰ NA – ED109/269

¹⁶¹ PS – Admission Registers (1906-19)

¹⁶² NA – ED109/270

¹⁶³ Korn, “Hillel”, 11. Singer, “Jewish”, 167, remarked that “in Manchester the rich continued to employ private tutors for their children, while many of the middle class made use of the private Jewish boarding schools.”

¹⁶⁴ *The Jewish Guardian*, 510 (5 July 1929), 5c.

¹⁶⁵ Korn, “Hillel”, 16. In fact, Korn remarked that “Christian religious activity... was largely a matter for societies, usually meeting out of school... Although he did give religious instruction, his lessons were confined to the Greek Testament”. Interestingly, no biography has been written on Rouse which would have provided a more in-depth account of the headmaster.

This section will now briefly comment on one public boarding school that did not create Jewish houses but where Jews attended. The archives for Eton College have very little information on any Etonian (boys who attended Eton College) up to the 1870s and, in fact, according to Mrs P. Hatfield, Eton College's archivist, up to the 1920s the school was very far from centralised.¹⁶⁶ Mrs. Hatfield pointed out that parents would select a particular housemaster and deal directly with him (even the fees were paid to the housemaster direct) and so such things as dietary restrictions would have been a matter for individual negotiation between parent and housemaster. Unfortunately, their papers were seen as their personal property and were not preserved. There was no quota of Jewish students but emphasis was laid on regular chapel attendance and there were lessons on Saturday mornings as well, of course, as on Fridays, plus sport – which became increasingly compulsory – so an observant Jew would have found it very difficult to comply with the requirements of his faith. Jews were further restricted by being unable to apply for a candidature for one of the Kings' Scholarships which, according to the original 15th century statutes in force until 1871, necessitated the presentation of a certificate of baptism. The archivist also commented that the attitude would have been that this was basically a Church of England school and that any major adaptation would have to come from the boy. If he was prepared to make these concessions, then the school was willing to accept him. There might have been a concession over chapel attendance on Sunday, as there was for Roman Catholics but neither of us could find any documentary evidence to prove it. Jewish Etonians included Lionel Leonard Cohen (1888-1973) attended Eton between 1901 and 1906.¹⁶⁷ His communal activities (president of Jewish Board of Guardians and associated with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) would suggest

¹⁶⁶ Visit to the school in May 2005.

¹⁶⁷ The Eton Register, VII: 1899-1909 (Eton, 1922), 96.

that he was not fazed by the Church of England environment in which he was educated. It is interesting that, if Cohen was brought up in the orthodox tradition, how was he able to attend Eton College. Without documentation from that period, one can only surmise that his family desired for him the best possible prestigious education and if that meant compromise on their part, then they would comply, maybe with the exception of being exempt from chapel (if the housemaster agreed). According to Richard Ollard, in the late nineteenth century, chapel was not compulsory for Jews and Roman Catholics.¹⁶⁸ There were certainly other Jewish names such as Sebag-Montefiore (Geoffrey 1906-10 and Cyril 1913-5).¹⁶⁹ Another Jewish Etonian was Albert Gerald Stern (1878-1966) who converted to Christianity at an early age.¹⁷⁰ Edward Beddington (1884-1966) also attended. One interesting point that I discovered was that all newcomers, irrespective of their religious beliefs, were given the title 'Jew'. As the sixth form pupils had immense powers, these newcomers "had to submit to a terrible amount of bullying".¹⁷¹ One newcomer was called a 'Jew' by the bullies and they "treated him accordingly, spitting on his gabardine was plentifully, rolling him in the snow, after evening supper in hall, holding him under the college pump, to assist his digestion of the cold scrag of mutton..."¹⁷²

Charterhouse, Dulwich College and Rugby also entertained Jewish pupils. The 1880s saw the appearance of three possible Jewish pupils at Charterhouse, one the son of a stockbroker, another was the son of a merchant and the other the son of a solicitor. There were also Jewish pupils in the 1890s and early 1900s, sons of merchants, stockbrokers and a jeweller. Eric Leopold Otto Sachs, the son of Edwin O. Sachs, the

¹⁶⁸ Richard Ollard, *An English Education: A Perspective of Eton* (London, 1982), 87.

¹⁶⁹ *The Eton Register*, VII: 1899-1909 (Eton, 1922), 211 and *The Eton Register*, VIII: 1909-1919 (Eton, 1932), 93.

¹⁷⁰ *Ox DNB*, 52, 526.

¹⁷¹ H.C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College 1440-1910* (London, 1911), 450. This regular system of bullying was mentioned in the *Public Schools Commission*, III: Evidence Part I (1864), 163.

¹⁷² Arthur Duke Coleridge, *Eton in the Forties* (London, 1896), 50-1.

architect, attended in the 1910s and left in 1917.¹⁷³ Rugby did not have “a Jewish quota: no one knew, when the boys were being interviewed, what their religion was, and this policy worked to the advantage of the minority groups.”¹⁷⁴ Rugby also entertained a few Jewish pupils including Seymour Karminski (1902-1974) and Sigismund David Waley (1887-1962).¹⁷⁵

Having commented on the establishment of the Jewish houses, it is important to remark on the attitudes towards such establishments as exemplified by ‘L.H.’ in 1895. He lamented his choice of schools, one Jewish and the other a public school, for his two sons.

I am no bigot but I am a *Jew*, and desired my boys to keep up to their faith.

My eldest was trained at a high-class Jewish school near London. He has proved a true Israelite, a credit to himself, and a pride and comfort to his mother and me. My youngest I sent in a weak moment to a public boarding school, which shall be nameless. He learnt irreligion and extravagance; was requested to leave, went to Cambridge, failed to graduate, married to our shame, and is now somewhere in South Africa.¹⁷⁶

Did these specifically-designed houses create a “scholastic ghetto” as observed by ‘Judaesus’?¹⁷⁷ Not according to A.I. Polack, part of the Polack dynasty at Clifton College, who was asked what were the benefits for sending boys to Clifton College.

First, there are the imponderables, implicit in any consideration of the impact of a religious and denominational emphasis during the formative years on a person’s subsequent life and outlook; secondly, some account is required of

¹⁷³ Charterhouse Register 1872-1910 3 vols (London, 1911). Sachs is mentioned in Volume III (which appeared in 1922 as it extended the register to 1920) on page 48.

¹⁷⁴ Sheila Bush, God’s Gift: A Living History of Dulwich College (London, 1981), 164.

¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the author was unable to discover any further information on these establishments’ attitudes towards Jewish pupils.

¹⁷⁶ Jewish Chronicle, 1387 (1 November 1895), 14b.

¹⁷⁷ Jewish Chronicle, 799 (18 July 1884), 5a.

the actual services rendered by Old Cliftonians of the Jewish House to the cause of Judaism and the life of the Jewish community in this country.¹⁷⁸

For the first point, Polack commented that

The majority of boys at Clifton are Anglicans, but there are also public schools belonging to the Roman Catholics, Methodists, Quakers and other denominations. In such conditions, many Jewish parents would not, as a matter of principle, send their sons to these schools, in spite of all their educational advantages, unless the religious position was safeguard. Clifton, through its Jewish house, has strengthened the hands of those who really care about their faith and in an irreligious age has underlined the importance of a genuine religious training.¹⁷⁹

There were, however, many difficulties that the Jewish pupils had to overcome at public school. Here are some examples. Edgar L. de Mattos Mocatta remarked that

On Saturdays, when other boys are pursuing their ordinary avocations, they have to render themselves conspicuously walking about in top-hats, and by assuming a puritanical abhorrence of all school games. This may seem, at first sight, a trivial point, but anyone who has had the actual experience of public school life, will understand that it is just these small distinctions which render us obnoxious to our comrades.¹⁸⁰

Mocatta's statements are untrue according to Ernest M. Joseph who attended the Jewish House. "We play football or cricket according to season, like any of our Christian comrades, on Saturdays as well as weekdays", and, incidentally, top-hats are

¹⁷⁸ A.I. Polack, "Clifton and Anglo-Jewry", in N.G.L. Hammond, Centenary Essays on Clifton College (Bristol, 1962), 54.

¹⁷⁹ Polack, "Clifton", 54.

¹⁸⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 1385 (18 October 1895), 8a.

not worn by any of the pupils, only trenchers!!¹⁸¹ There were, in fact, advantages of being in an 'ordinary' house as Edgar L. de Mattos Mocatta observed.

Now here, at Harrow, we mix freely with our Christian school-fellows; and although I do not say that the life of a Jewish boy in a large house is as happy as it might be, yet, by constant contact, other boys are beginning to understand that we are ordinary mortals...¹⁸²

Despite these difficulties, sending sons to Clifton College, for example, was not detrimental to them.

The Jewish boys there enjoy all the advantages of a Jewish home, without detriment to any of the privileges which public school life is supposed to confer. They are taught Hebrew and religion in their 'House', and the marks awarded count towards the boy's place in his school form. They pray together, they spend the Sabbath together, day by day they are under the ennobling influences which only a cultured and sincere Jew can adequately communicate to Jewish lads. All this is no small thing for the Clifton boys, and we are inclined to think that of Jews send their boys to public schools at all, Clifton is ideally calculated to give the maximum of gain, and the minimum of loss.¹⁸³

A letter from 'One of Them' in 1895 makes an interesting point.

A boy is not sent to a public school to be taught religion – his home influence is supposed to have done that. By sending a boy here [Harrow] it is implied that he is desired to mix with Englishmen of all sects and creeds, to be brought up as a gentleman, and to render services to this country in future life...¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1386 (25 October 1895), 9b.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 1385 (18 October 1895), 8a.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 1384 (11 October 1895), 10b.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1385 (18 October 1895), 8a.

This chapter has commented on various types of schools that were available to Jewish pupils in the provincial towns, cities and resorts. The next will focus on girls' education in London and the provinces.

Chapter Six: Girls' Education in London and the Provinces

Until the end of the nineteenth century, most middle class girls were educated at home by the family, unlike their brothers who routinely attended university, and the schools which did cater for them were generally of a very poor academic standard, with emphasis on 'accomplishments' such as embroidery and music.¹

Is this a myth or reality? This chapter will try to dispel the myth that "most middle class girls" were either educated at home or in poorly run schools by analysing the Jewish schooling that was available as well as examining a select number of non-Jewish schools.² As historians of female education are only too aware, women are often shamefully ignored in historical studies. In fact, Frances Guy expanded this notion further. She pointed out that "Jewish women have been neglected by historians, both as women and as members of a minority community."³ Even this chapter is far shorter than those written about boys' education. This is due in totality to a lack of primary sources available.⁴ Those that were available often provided little valuable material. It is also a rather telling sign of disregard when the Jewish press did not applaud the founders' achievements – and yet their schools were revolutionary in content at a time of rapid change. These founders, who were for the most part women,⁵ must be praised for their pioneering efforts in a world where

¹ WL – 7/JPS Papers of Joan Pernel Strachey: B. Newnham papers and correspondence.

² As indicated in the Introduction, only a select number of non-Jewish schools are discussed where archival material was made available or secondary sources provided key information. The Jewish press was another useful tool (for advertisements and announcements detailing examination successes) but, without the cooperation of more non-Jewish schools, the section on these schools remains underdeveloped.

³ Frances Guy, "Women of Worth: Jewish Women in Britain" (Manchester, 1992), 1.

⁴ See n2 above

⁵ An example of a male Jew involved in Jewish girls' education was Alfred H. Beddington (1835-1900). He "took a deep interest in Jewish educational matters. He was... on the committees of Jews' College, the Jewish Middle-Class School for Girls..." The Jewish Encyclopedia, II, 624. Also see Jewish World (26 January 1900). Jewish women were also involved in university education for girls. Stella Wills commented that "in the movement for women's education in the second half of the Nineteenth Century,

New job opportunities [were] opening up to women in the second half of the nineteenth century... Those women whose work involved them in separate women-centred institutions like schools, colleges and religious houses, were finding alternatives to marriage and the nuclear family.⁶

Their motives were different from that of the founders who established boys' schools in the previous two chapters. Whilst the monetary gain was still a vital factor (and should not be overlooked), the key issue was simply the education of girls in a changing environment.⁷ The Victorian conception of the female as carer, wife, "the image of the Jewish mother being the most powerful example"⁸ and homemaker was being shattered. On the one hand, these pioneers were on the one hand seen as carers, whose pupils had been entrusted to their care, and were, on occasion, mothers and wives as well, whilst on the other hand they were educators imparting their knowledge. An example was Marion Hartog (1821-1907) who had a twofold existence as her personal and professional lives intertwined. There are instances when the wife either assisted her husband in his school (e.g. Belinda Neumegen who eventually headed her own school), had a separate school attached to her husband's (e.g. Mrs Van Tyn) or, as mentioned above, was an intellectually renowned educationist in her own right (e.g. Marion Hartog, who was known not only as an

two Jewesses, Louisa, Lady Goldsmid (1788-1860) and Mrs. Fanny Hertz (1830-1908) played a prominent part". Lady Goldsmid was one of the founders of Girton College; Mrs. Hertz was a member of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, and a founder of the Mechanics' Institute for Women in Bradford. Stella Wills, "The Anglo-Jewish Contribution to the Education for Women in the Nineteenth Century", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, 17 (1993), 269.

⁶ Judy Lown, Women and Industrialisation: Gender at Work in Nineteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1990), 177.

⁷ According to Thelma Chadwick, Zoe Josephs and Dodie Masterman, Minerva or Fried Fish in a Sponge Bag: The Story of a Boarding School for Jewish Girls (West Midlands, 1993), 9, the school commenced with "one boarder, Edith Jonas, known as 'the rent'". The Hart sisters saw the practicalities behind the setting up of a school.

⁸ Guy, "Women", 2.

educator but was an “an authoress of note”⁹. The Times obituary of Marion Hartog observed that “the main work of her life was devoted to teaching, for which she had quite unusual gifts”¹⁰). The conception of the female ideal extended to the classroom. According to Robert B. Shoemaker,

Girls were expected to emulate their mothers and boys their fathers. As middle class boys grew older, they were taught in time management and accounting and encouraged to become diligent and independent. In contrast, their sisters learned about duty, self-sacrifice, and submission to authority.¹¹

From the latter part of the seventeenth century, private boarding schools for girls were created in London and the larger county towns where they was a ready clientele of landed, commercial and professional families. During the years 1780 and 1830, boarding schools for girls continued to provide a strict regime and served as avenues for success in the game of matrimony by the teaching domestic crafts and accomplishments as priorities. Lawson and Silver commented that the private boarding school gave parents “the satisfaction of saying that they have spared no expense in the education of their children, but it was merely a prelude to the ‘traffic and arrangement’ of matrimony.”¹² The focus of change began as Jane Purvis points out that

The women’s educational reform movement seems to have begun almost abruptly in the late 1840s and to have gathered momentum in the 1850s and

⁹ Edward N. Calish, The Jew in English Literature, as Author and as Subject (New York, 1969), 159.

¹⁰ The Times, 38430 (2 November 1907), 6d.

¹¹ Robert B. Shoemaker, Gender in English Society 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres? (London, 1998), 130-1.

¹² John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London, 1973), 305-6.

1860s, with London University, in 1878, being the first university to award women degrees on equal terms with men.¹³

This movement began the changing interpretations of women's role as wife and mother. However, it was difficult to change the perceived reality for girls to conform to the ideology of domesticity. According to Jane McDermid, middle class girls' education had to "inculcate the domestic ideal; and it should also polish the young lady through a training in the social graces, which would render her competitive on the marriage market".¹⁴ In fact, a Jewish school such as Minerva College (est. 1889) strove for such a goal. It became fashionable with middle class families in its early years when it gained credibility as a finishing school. As the history of the school explained despite the activity of the educational reforms for girls in the nineteenth century, "the main purpose of the curriculum... was to turn out a marriageable product..."¹⁵ Even as late as 1911, the headmistress of Leeds Girls' High School, Miss H.L. Powell, acknowledged that former pupils "were serving their country in all sorts of ways – in the mission fields, as nurses, teachers, doctors, and in building up beautiful and happy homes".¹⁶ In approximately fifty years, girls had achieved equal status to boys in local examinations and were able to take degrees but the ideal of carer still dominated. Powell's statement impressed on the reader the opinion that domesticity was still at the fore but was manifesting itself in a variety of ways (not just simply as a homemaker and mother but in the caring professions of medicine and education). Beyond the 1840s a change was evident due to the rising wealth and

¹³ Jane Purvis, "From 'Women Worthies' to Post Structuralism? Debate and Controversy in Women's History in Britain", in Jane Purvis, ed., Women's History: Britain 1850-1945 (London, 1995), 3. As a result of London University's action, University College London accepted women students. Wills, "Anglo-Jewish", 274. Emma Gollancz (sister of Hermann and Israel) "entered Newnham College in order to study English and Modern languages" but "home responsibilities prevented her from completing the full university course". The Jewish Guardian, 521 (20 September 1929), 4b.

¹⁴ Jane McDermid, "Women and Education", Jane Purvis, ed., Women's History: Britain 1850-1945 (London, 1995), 107.

¹⁵ Chadwick, Minerva, 70.

¹⁶ Yorkshire Post (20 October 1911).

expectations of the middle class and “the belief that the mother, as first educator of her children, needed a sound education” which would furnish them with skills beyond that which had ever been experienced before that would allow them to pursue such careers.¹⁷ In fact, ‘Strix’ had implored readers of the Jewish Chronicle to consider possible occupations for the girls. He commented that “for our intellectual, well educated girls what more elevating and ennobling calling can there be than the tending of the sick and ailing, the feeble and the diseased?”¹⁸ As Philippa Levine commented

The provision of a new and more academically rigorous schooling for middle class girls had implications well beyond the curriculum and the futures of the girls themselves; in employment terms, teaching was an area which offered educated women increasing and attractive opportunities for self-fulfilment and self-expression. Teaching had, in one way or another, long been a common means by which self-supporting women had attempted to sustain themselves, as governesses in private homes or as proprietresses of small and largely unremarkable girls’ schools.¹⁹

The curriculum available to the Jewish girls was, more often than not, on a par with the middle class girls’ schools of the time. It did not simply consist of reading, writing and arithmetic with domestic skills. In 1870, Miss Myers provided an education that included English (in all its forms), Latin, mathematics, French, German, Italian, Hebrew and religious instruction.²⁰ To compare, the North London Collegiate School, attended by daughters of “professional gentlemen of limited means, clerks in public

¹⁷ McDermid, “Women”, 108.

¹⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 1099 (25 August 1890), 13b. There was, in fact, a Jewish ward at the London Hospital.

¹⁹ Philippa Levine, Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment (Oxford, 1990), 133.

²⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 66 (1 July 1870), 1c.

and private offices and persons engaged in trade and other pursuits”, included the same subjects as well as history, science and geography and female accomplishments (such as drawing, singing, and needlework).²¹

As has already been touched upon, the Jewish schools did continue to offer dual-purpose education since they were not able to liberate the shackles completely. On the one hand, they provided a comprehensive secular and religious education, the latter leading to preparation for public examinations and possible university education, whilst, on the other hand, they persisted in moulding pupils into young ladies and furnishing them with the means to attract a husband. The secular education, as will be noted, was provided in the Jewish schools on a par with those founded for boys.

In the context of educational practice, the thesis examines the external changes which helped to bring about girls’ secondary schooling. Especially significant are the subtle changes that the Jewish schools made to their curricula which allowed some elementary schools to become ‘mixed’ schools with the introduction of a higher form of education that would allow the pupils to sit for the public examinations, and also the appearance of Jewish girls at non-Jewish secondary schools (such as the South Hampstead High School for Girls) which not only accepted them but exempted them from religious instruction. (As with the boys, religious instruction exemptions were common.) Barbara Bodichon (1827-91) believed that “the teaching of religion in schools was ‘generally utterly useless’ and should in any case be left to churches, chapels, synagogues or mosques”.²² The attendance of Jewish girls at non-Jewish schools was not evident until the last quarter of the nineteenth century (according to

²¹ R.M. Scrimgeour, The North London Collegiate School: A Hundred Years of Girls’ Education 1950 (London, 1950), 708.

²² Pam Hirsch, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891: Feminist, Artist and Rebel: A Biography (London, 1999), 76. She opened an elementary school, Portman Hill School, in 1854. It closed in 1864. It was “secular and nondenominational, numbering among its pupils Catholics, Jews, freethinkers, and Unitarians”. Sheila R. Herstein, A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (New York, 1985), 62.

the archival material available which, in part deals with the Girls' Public Day School Trust which was established in 1872).

The years 1840-1900 saw a continuing breakthrough for girls' secondary education. Before delving into the historical experience, it is important at this point to discuss the statistics for the Jewish schools. There were 5 senior/secondary Jewish private schools for girls which established in the nineteenth century, a less significant number compared to that for the boys' schools.²³ This amounted to only 24% of the total number of senior/secondary Jewish schools, a mere fifth of those established between 1837 and 1904).²⁴ Two of these found both boys and girls educated but in separate classes; one of which eventually became solely a girls' school as the number of boys dwindled). The establishments were situated in West Central London (Red Lion Square (est. in 1878), West London (Bayswater in 1886), North West London (Kilburn in 1891), Gravesend in 1879 and Liverpool in 1904. From such a small number of schools and with separate locations, it is impossible to suggest a pattern here although an observer would mention that 3 out of the 5 were situated in various parts of London, two of which where middle class families had been settled for a number of years (i.e. west and north west London). As Eugene C. Black remarked, prior to the establishment of Miss Berkowitz's Tivoli House School in Gravesend there were very few such secondary institutions for girls that "offered Jewish young ladies what she [Miss Berkowitz] described as education 'of the highest quality'".²⁵ When combined with the 'mixed' Jewish private schools, a more discernible trend will be interpreted. There were 25 'mixed' girls' schools (78% of the total number)

²³ For definitions of senior/secondary and 'mixed' schools, see Chapter 4.

²⁴ As in chapter 4, the schools were counted as follows: if name changed and transferred to a different town or in the case of London, which consisted of various areas, if the school moved out of the postal area (e.g. from east central to north west) then considered as a new school or if taken over by new head (and still remained at same address)

²⁵ Black, *Social*, 116.

with three educating both girls and boys in separate classes. ‘Mixed’ schools were established in Kew (est. 1821), Gravesend (1840s and 1853), Liverpool (1852), Brighton (1863, 1871 and three in 1881), Ramsgate (1872), Dover (1889), Leicester (1915), Margate (1894), West London (i.e. Hammersmith in late 1840s,), West Central London (i.e. Bloomsbury in 1857 and 1881), East Central London (i.e. Houndsditch in 1854), North West London (i.e. Hampstead in 1869, Primrose Hill in 1871²⁶, Maida Vale in 1866, 1871 and 1873 and St. John’s Wood in the 1880s), North London (i.e. Canonbury in 1873), and South West London (i.e. Clapham in 1881). It should be pointed out that there are two issues of location – the provincial one and the London one. The least important, although critical to the notion that backing was not forthcoming, is Liverpool where the institution lasted a mere three years before the founders moved to London. It was a scathing indictment on the Jewish middle class population in Liverpool who apparently did not support the school and, therefore, the founders left to find their ‘fortune’ in London. The most interesting of locations is Gravesend – where not one but two schools were established. As in the case of Ramsgate’s Myer brothers, it is strange that they did not combine efforts although, unlike the Myer brothers’ establishments, both were hugely successful. The London issue always comes to the fore but, as with the boys’ schools, they were mainly established in locations populated by middle class families or moved to such areas as the Jews transferred. Many of these schools were boarding establishments.

The practice of sending daughters to other households for nurture, the influence of France, and the interest of the middle classes in education were the major factors contributing to the rapid growth of boarding-schools...²⁷

²⁶ Primrose Hill is close to Belsize Park.

²⁷ Margaret E. Bryant, “Private Education from the Sixteenth Century: Developments from the 16th to the early 19th century” in A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume I: Physique, Archaeology,

The breakthrough began, in earnest, in the decade following the inauguration of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations (as discussed in Chapter 4) when these examinations were opened to girls. One of the first Jewish girls' institutions to integrate the teaching for these examinations into the curriculum was Madame Hartog's Laurel House. The advertisement in the Jewish Chronicle promised that

The pupils entrusted to Madame Hartog's care will under her own supervision receive a liberal education, combined with high moral and religious training and will, if required, be prepared for the public examinations recently thrown open to ladies.²⁸

Along these lines, Mrs. Recka Harris offered a "superior modern education with music, arts, science, languages and all accomplishments... Careful preparation of university examinations" was provided.²⁹ They pounced on the opportunity to provide a more rounded education. Guy commented that "the only acceptable public roles open to the middle-class were those of society hostess or charity worker. Such activities, despite projecting women into the male arena of public life, were seen by society to magnify women's spiritual and feminine qualities".³⁰ This was irrevocably altered with the foundation of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in 1841 which undertook the task of improving the plight of the governess who often only had a general knowledge including a foreign languages and 'accomplishments' to take to their situation. According to Stella Wills, this foundation spelt the beginning of a new era in girls' education. She explained that

The promoters realised, however, that relief work was not a solution, and that a more radical and lasting remedy had to be found for the social problem

Domesday, Ecclesiastical Organisation, The Jews, Religious Houses, Education of Working Classes to 1870, Private Education from Sixteenth Century (London, 1969), 251.

²⁸ Jewish Chronicle, 21 (20 August 1869), 12a.

²⁹ Jewish Chronicle, 956 (22 June 1887), 14a.

³⁰ Guy, "Women", 3.

presented by the governess. They came to the conclusion that the work of the governess should be raised to that of a profession, which would give her a status in life. Education for women was looked upon by the promoters of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in this way: the governess was a teacher, a teacher was a woman of culture who could pass on her knowledge to others; therefore the only way of solving the problem of the untrained governess was to give every middle-class girl the power of becoming a teacher so that she could resort to a profession should the need ever arise. This solution would, in the first place, mean a complete change of girls' education. The adoption of this solution would mean the stress on intellectual education rather than on 'accomplishments'.³¹

Just over twenty years later, Emily Davies and Lady Goldsmid were secretary and treasurer respectively of a committee that was established in 1862. One of its main objects was to obtain the admission of girls to the university local examinations on equal terms with their male counterparts. Their perseverance bore fruit when the experimental examination proved successful and the Cambridge Local Examinations became a permanent fixture for girls in 1865.³² Wills suggested that

We need hardly point out the effect of this examination on girls' schools. This examination more than any other step helped to approximate the education of girls to that of boys and to bring about the revolution in girls' education. The examination, in calling attention to the state of middle-class female education helped to achieve the results which its promoters had intended.³³

³¹ Wills, "Anglo-Jewish", 269-70.

³² Hebrew became one of the subjects for examination. *The Jewish Chronicle*, 1094 (14 March 1890), 13b, noted that Miss Birdie Levene, one of Ada Neumegen's pupils, "took up Hebrew as one of her subjects and passed in Hebrew text of the first Book of Samuel, this being the first time that Jewish candidates were allowed to choose the Hebrew original."

³³ Wills, "Anglo-Jewish", 272.

The Oxford Local Examinations were opened to girls in 1870. These examinations provided an increased interest in “the need for academic secondary education to be more widely available to equip women to take advantage of the new higher educational opportunities.”³⁴ In the early years of these examinations, female candidates were not published in the list of results which proves more difficult to ascertain how many Jewish schools achieved successes with their pupils.³⁵ There is a tendency to rely on the Jewish press but, at least, the school advertisements specified their ability to prepare girls for the public examinations and examination successes for Jewish pupils attending Jewish and non-Jewish schools were announced. The ‘teacher training class’ of the Jewish High School for Girls

Prepared [pupils] for the Oxford, Cambridge or College of Preceptors examinations. Ladies desirous to pursue a high course of study can enter the classes for English literature, botany, Euclid, Latin, French, German, Hebrew, vocal and instrumental music, and harmony.³⁶

The West Brighton College for Young Ladies, run by Madame Henrietta Dreyfus, was able to instruct its pupils for these examinations from its commencement. Many of the ‘mixed’ girls’ schools, however, offered its pupils the opportunity to sit for these examinations usually within ten years of their establishment. Marion Hartog’s Laurel House Collegiate Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies was established in 1869. From its commencement, she provided her pupils with the opportunity to sit for the local examinations. The following year, her niece and pupil of 7 years, Sarah Marks (1854-1923), better known as Hertha Ayrton, the electrical engineer and suffragist, took the Cambridge local examination. She later gained a Certificate of

³⁴ Helen M. Jewell, A School of Unusual Excellence: Leeds Girls’ High School 1876-1976 (Leeds, 1976), xiv.

³⁵ McDermid, “Women”, 111.

³⁶ Jewish Chronicle, 839 (24 April 1885), 19c.

Honours from Cambridge University.³⁷ The International Woman Suffrage News

remarked that “it was her career... which helped forward the cause of women, by showing what use a woman could make of equality of opportunity”.³⁸ It was also the equality in education that she experienced which helped her achieve such prominence in her chosen career. As Evelyn Sharp revealed, it

must have been a serious sacrifice to Mrs. Marks, and not only for reasons of sentiment. The widow was now wholly supporting the family with her needle, and the clever little daughter, who so ably relieved her of the work of supervising the other children, might almost excusably, under such difficult circumstances, have been allowed to degenerate into the family drudge that in those days was considered the proper position of a daughter born into a family of sons. Fortunately, overburdened as she was, Mrs. Marks was alive to Sarah’s unusual ability and sensible of the advantages likely to accrue from the acceptance of Mrs. Hartog’s generous offer.³⁹

These schools and, indeed, the examinations played a major part in the advancement of Jewish women’s education. This particular school, however, was no ordinary school and the instruction she received was more than the average education received at other private establishments.

From her Uncle Alphonse she [Sarah] obtained a knowledge of the French language that was to prove of great value to her afterwards... To her Aunt Belle (Mrs. Leo) she owed the beginnings of a good musical education and

³⁷ Jewish Chronicle, 283 (28 August 1874), 352a.

³⁸ The International Woman Suffrage News (October 1923), 5b.

³⁹ Evelyn Sharp, Hertha Ayrton 1854-1923: A Memoir (London, 1926), 10. At the earliest opportunity, Sarah, at the age of 16, took up a position of governess. Sharp, Hertha, 20.

from her eldest cousin Numa, when he was down from Cambridge, she first learned mathematics and Latin.⁴⁰

There were a number of Jewish schools outside of London, all but one were 'mixed'. One example which has already been discussed was Minerva College, a Jewish boarding school established in Dover in 1889 by Fanny, Edythe and Flora Hart. They were members of a distinguished Anglo-Jewish family whose father was Henry Hart, for fifty years Alderman of Canterbury and three times its mayor. The school was moved to Holly Bank, Victoria Park, Leicester, to escape German bombing in World War I where it remained until 1921 (before moving to larger premises). By the time this school was established, many changes had taken place in the education of girls. However, "the main purpose of the curriculum and the 'extra' accomplishments was to turn out marriageable product in the Anglo-Jewish context".⁴¹ (Even Hebrew was only taught "as desired".⁴²) Interestingly, despite the external changes that had occurred, Minerva College became fashionable with Anglo-Jewry in its early years and "achieved a reputation as a finishing school".⁴³ In fact, as Chadwick remarked, "Minerva could be relied on to turn out young women who would make good Jewish wives... to improve... daughters' appearance and give them a certain polish."⁴⁴ Chadwick's history of Minerva College is a valuable resource for establishing quality of education. With few other schools is this possible. Whilst the curriculum consisted of history, geography, (a recital of continents, countries, capital cities and the rivers they stood on), arithmetic (the staple being the tables), Scripture (taken 'line upon

⁴⁰ Sharp, *Hertha*, 13-4.

⁴¹ Chadwick, *Minerva*, 9.

⁴² Chadwick, *Minerva*, 10. The pupils did, however, form the majority of the congregation in the ladies' gallery in the synagogues of both Dover and Leicester. Burman commented that in Manchester, "the only formal religious tuition received was that provided by the Anglo-Jewish community in the Manchester Jews' School and by two Board Schools with substantial Jewish populations. This instruction seems to have had little impact, and many girls reached the top class of the Jews' School without having learnt any Hebrew". Burman, "Looketh", 244.

⁴³ Chadwick, *Minerva*, 10.

⁴⁴ Chadwick, *Minerva*, 68.

line' from a question and answer textbook), Hebrew (learn Grace after meals by heart and some study of the Bible), much of this was by rote. There was an outward appearance of a broad curriculum, but, as with many schools, the quality usually remained a mystery. In fact,

Minerva's academic standards were not very high, but languages were the shining exception. Serious lessons in French and German started in the senior classroom, though the rudiments were laid down in the junior school.⁴⁵

For all Jewish schools, the founder or founders would have contributed to the teaching but they were probably not trained to impart education and, as the headmaster of Jews' Free School, Moses Angel pointed out that "in the absence of a proper system of teacher training many schools were little better than tidy barns".⁴⁶ The reason for the high quality of language teaching was that they were taught by a foreign-born member of staff. As chapters 4 and 5 revealed, many of the founders were foreign-born and would, therefore, have been able to teach the foreign languages themselves. For example, Leonie and Mayer Stern were able to teach the French and German languages as they were their respective mother tongues. The advertisement indicated that "this establishment combines a sound English education with a thorough knowledge of the French and German languages".⁴⁷ Another school, Woburn College (est. 1873), a boarding and day school, was run by the principal, Mrs. Recka Harris, with the assistance of resident governesses and visiting professors.⁴⁸ The Misses Cohen, who established the Young Ladies Educational Establishment in Brighton in

⁴⁵ Chadwick, *Minerva*, 25.

⁴⁶ Gerry Black, *J.F.S.: The History of the Jews' Free School Since 1732* (London, 1998), 69.

⁴⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, VII, 49 (12 September 1851).

⁴⁸ "This establishment, which is situated in the best part of London [75 Guildford Street, Russell Square], affords an excellent opportunity to parents of securing for their daughters the advantages of a superior education, which embraces all the necessities of a thorough, practical, modern education combined with those home influences and circumstances that are calculated to conduce to the comfort and welfare of the pupils." *Jewish World*, 445 (19 August 1881), 1d. The school seemed to provide an education for boys and girls, between the ages of 5 and 12 according to the census return in 1881. Of course, this is not totally reliable (as already indicated in the Introduction). NA-RG11/192/7a/72/20-21

1863, revealed that they had employed a number of teachers (French and German governesses and professors) “for the various branches of study” which presumably meant that they oversaw the practicalities of maintaining a school and left the teaching to qualified individuals.⁴⁹ The Jewish High School for Girls (previously the Middle Class School) established in addition to its school instruction, a teachers’ training class.⁵⁰ This curriculum corresponded favourably to the curricula of the Jewish private schools that were in existence at the time. Whether the pupils entered Jewish or non-Jewish schools is unknown, but it provided an opportunity for the girls to open schools and to be a part of the qualified teaching staff providing quality instruction. In 1885, the advertisement disclosed that

Attending students are prepared for the Oxford, Cambridge, or College of Preceptors Examinations. Ladies desirous to pursue a high course of study can enter the classes for English Literature, Botany, Algebra, Euclid, Latin, French, German, Hebrew, Vocal and Instrumental Music, and Harmony.⁵¹

In 1885, Sir Saul Samuel, President of the school, regretted that more students did not take advantage of the education. “He was at a loss to understand why the members of their own community did not send their children to the institution, which was by no means a charity school, and was one to which the wealthiest might entrust their offspring.”⁵² The school, which had been open to all denominations, closed at the end of the 1896-7.⁵³ Suffering the same fate as the Jews’ College School, the school declined as Jews had moved west, south-west and north-west to more affluent parts of

⁴⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 27 November 1863, 467, 1c

⁵⁰ The Reform Synagogue opened the West London Metropolitan School in 1845 with an intake of 61 boys. It introduced a girls’ school in 1846. “The school’s prospectus stated that “pupils would be admitted ‘without reference to locality or to the particular synagogue of which their parents may be members’”. The boys’ and girls’ schools were accommodated under one roof from 1854. In 1870, it changed its name to the Jewish Middle Class School. Anne J. Kershen and Jonathan A. Romain, *Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism in Britain 1840-1995* (London, 1995), 48-9.

⁵¹ *Jewish Chronicle* 24 April 1885, 839, 19c.

⁵² *Jewish Chronicle* 10 July 1885, 850, 13b.

⁵³ *The Jewish Standard*, III, 136 (31 October 1890).

London, and preferred to send their daughters to schools nearer to home (such as the South Hampstead High School for Girls which will be discussed shortly). The Jews' Free School offered teacher training instruction to both boys and girls beginning in 1848. It became the foremost provider of certified teachers for Jewish schools in England.⁵⁴ Miss Ruby Alperovich, a certified teacher of JFS, opened the Kilburn High School for Girls in the 1890s. The principal was Miss Ruby Alperovich, a Certified Teacher of JFS. With such training, she was able to provide a full curriculum. The advertisement in the Jewish Chronicle pointed out that

The system of education is the same as pursued at the Public Day Schools and the following subjects are thoroughly taught: English, French, German, Hebrew, Music, Dancing, Elocution, Drawing, Painting, Singing and Calisthenics.⁵⁵

The advertisement also revealed her teacher status which, as Gerry Black remarked, was achieved from “a fine training institution and its recommendation was a passport to positions elsewhere”.⁵⁶

Apart from Jewish secondary and ‘mixed’ schools, Jewish families could also avail themselves of Hebrew/religious instruction classes for pupils or be home educated. For the former, far fewer Hebrew/religious instruction classes were set up for girls than for boys. Usually these classes were set up for pupils, who attended non-Jewish schools, to be educated after their school-day. For the girls, there were also instances where individuals opened morning or afternoon classes for girls (from about the age of 14 or 15). This is the only education that some of them would have received. An example was Rev. A. Löwy’s German morning classes for ladies. “The instruction given to the advanced class of learners includes conversation, composition

⁵⁴ Black, J.F.S., 72-3.

⁵⁵ Jewish Chronicle, 1137 (16 January 1891), 18a.

⁵⁶ Black, J.F.S., 72.

of essays and letters, history of German literature, and expositions – in German – of Goethe's and Schiller's dramatic works."⁵⁷ Another example was the winter evening classes offered to girls aged 15+ by the Misses Pyke. These classes were run "with the view of rendering them competent to undertake the duties of governesses or to adorn a private station".⁵⁸

Throughout the century, there was, however, still the notion that the most suitable education for middle class girls was that provided in the home. Mary A. Newman pointed out that

It is important to remember that for most middle class girls, of whatever denomination, for a large part of the century, education was carried out at home. Indeed it was constantly argued that home education, conducted by a mother, or, money permitting, by a governess, was the finest and most suitable form for girls...⁵⁹

Appendix I indicates a few examples of home educated Jewish girls. These girls, mainly hailing from the Cousinhood (see Chapter 2), did not attend school at all but continued the traditional route of gaining an education by receiving it within the home by tutors. One such pupil was Rachel, Countess d' Avigdor (1819-96), the second daughter of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, who was taught by some of the most eminent teachers of the time, including the poet, Thomas Campbell.⁶⁰ Also home educated was Constance, Lady Battersea Flower (née de Rothschild), daughter of Sir Anthony

⁵⁷ *Jewish Chronicle*, XVI, 266 (20 January 1860), 1c.

⁵⁸ *Jewish Chronicle*, VIII, 49 (10 September 1852), 392b.

⁵⁹ Mary N. Newman, "An Examination of the Contribution Made by Cornelia Connelly and Janet Erskine Stuart to the Secondary Education of Roman Catholic Girls in England During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", unpublished MA dissertation, Institute of Education (1993), 16.

⁶⁰ It is interesting to note Campbell's interest of Jews in education. In 1820, on returning from a visit to the University of Bonn, "where he had been struck by the tolerance of Protestants and Catholics towards each other and by the generous attitude towards Jews, Campbell discussed the idea of a university in London with Francis Place, Isaac Lyon Goldsmid... and Henry Brougham..." H.J.K. Usher, C.D. Black-Hawkins and G.J. Carrick, *An Angel Without Wings: The History of University College School 1830-1980* (London, 1981), 5.

Nathan de Rothschild. She was educated at home by private tutors who opened her enquiring mind to mathematics, English literature, philosophy, drawing, music, French, and Hebrew. She was inculcated with a love of her religion by her mother.⁶¹ The mathematician, philologist and classical scholar, Dr. Arnold Brunn, read Latin with Louisa, Lady Goldsmid.⁶²

This chapter has indicated how the Jewish private schools coped with the changing times. From the latter stages of the nineteenth century, Jewish girls became a feature at non-Jewish schools where they were able to take advantage of high quality secular education. This chapter has, up to this juncture, suggested that these Jewish private educational institutions were successful establishments. That is not the intention but what it has shown is how these schools adapted to the educational changes. Their educational successes (few in number annually reflecting the number of pupils in attendance) were listed in the Jewish press but it is the quality of the teaching, their presumed lack of resources and space (most would have taken place within the founder's residence) which is unknown. However, with the pull towards non-Jewish schools, the decline of Jewish schools, the most noted being the Jewish High School for Girls in Bedford Square, was rapid. Jewish parents were swayed by the high quality of education and reputation, not to mention the resources available and the proximity, and ultimate convenience, to their residences – especially in North West and West London where, as has been previously mentioned, “the more ordinary middle class families” had resided since the 1870s.⁶³ There was some correlation between the Jewish and non-Jewish schools in terms of location. Maida Vale, Kilburn, Hampstead, St. John's Wood and Bayswater were locations for both types of school;

⁶¹ Anne Crawford, The Europa Biographical Dictionary of British Women: Over 1000 Notable Women from Britain's Past (London, 1983), 158.

⁶² Jewish World (9 December 1892), 5e

⁶³ Todd M. Endelman, The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000 (Berkeley, 2002), 94.

Primrose Hill was the location for one Jewish school and Notting Hill for the other.

There was an increasing Jewish population in this general area.

This chapter will now reveal some of the non-Jewish secondary schools that welcomed Jewish girls. As previously pointed out, the history of Jewish girls at non-Jewish secondary schools dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Several of the schools attached to the Girls' Public Day School Trust (formerly Company) admitted Jewish girls to its school throughout London.⁶⁴ At the Paddington and Maida Vale High School (originally called the Maida Vale High School), there "was the prevalence of Jewish pupils whose parents did not wish them to take any part in the religious instruction in 1900. Some Jewish families had lived in the district for many years and their daughters were 'remarkable for excellent behaviour'".⁶⁵ If, by chance, there were any remaining Jewish private schools in the area, they would have easily been crushed by this establishment simply due to size and reputation. Three examples of 'mixed' schools for girls (noted in Appendix II) in the Maida Vale area reveal that non-Jewish schools in close proximity affected their own intake and they were forced to move to other areas. Lorne House had certainly disappeared by 1891 as the Census returns indicate that Marion Hartog was "an authoress" rather than a headmistress. (Although she may have retired by then, there was no indication that the school continued in Maida Vale under a new head teacher.) By 1881, Miss Myer and Mrs. Recka Harris had moved their respective schools from Maida Vale to South West London and West Central London.

⁶⁴ I was reliably informed by the Girls' Public Day School Trust itself that their archives did not have any references to Jewish pupils which is surprising considering the large numbers of Jewish girls attending the South Hampstead High School for Girls. It is possible that the Trust did not interfere in individual school admittance and it was left to the school's discretion.

⁶⁵ Josephine Kamm, *Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of the Girls' Public Day School Trust* (Oxford, 1971), 74.

What is interesting is that, for the most part, we have been discussing middle class education and yet the Girls' Public Day School Trust was established in 1872 to provide "good and cheap Day Schools for girls of all classes above those attending the public elementary schools".⁶⁶ Josephine Kamm pointed out that some of the Jewish girls, who attended the Paddington and Maida Vale High School, were part of families who were "recent immigrants from the ghettos of Eastern Europe".⁶⁷ Between 1881 and 1914, "120,000 to 150,000 East European Jews settled permanently in Great Britain".⁶⁸ They created a new "foreign-born, lower-class caste" that changed the shape of the already established Anglo-Jewry. In spite of this, it is not surprising that they were included in the school – not only did the Trust aim to teach 'all classes', but, as will be noted, the girls were exempt from religious instruction which would have combined well with their traditional religious practices.⁶⁹ The example of the South Hampstead High School for Girls highlights why the Trust schools were popular with Jewish families. Established in 1876, it was the ninth school to be established by the Girls' Public Day School Trust. According to the admission registers, between 1886 and 1897, there were 81 identifiable Jewish girls – in the column 'Exemptions', it read exempt from Scripture and fairly often from singing as well.⁷⁰ One Jewish pupil recalled that

During prayers we sat on the edge of the covered playground with sixth formers patrolling to keep us quiet. Later I remember that during Scripture lesson-time we had something called mensuration and later still we had

⁶⁶ Lawson and Silver, *Social*, 343.

⁶⁷ Kamm, *Indicative*, 74.

⁶⁸ Endelman, *Jews*, 127.

⁶⁹ According to Endelman, "most immigrants... entered the British economy as workers in sweated industries... In London, Manchester, and Leeds, the characteristic immigrant worker was employed in a small, insalubrious workshop producing inexpensive clothing, footwear, or furniture. Almost two-thirds of male workers in London in 1901 were found in these three trades, with tailoring representing almost half the total". Endelman, *Jews*, 132.

⁷⁰ SHHS – Admission Register (1879-97).

lessons in Hygiene. At some date before I left, the Reverend A.A. Green gave lessons in Judaism to those whose parents wished for it.⁷¹

Unfortunately, there were no records for this even though fees were probably charged and must have been recorded in the accounts. From 1894, the admission register revealed the religion of the pupil when exempt from Scripture as “Scripture (Jewess)” and from 1897 the register simply read “Jewess”.⁷² Between 1897 and 1905, there were 144 Jewesses identified in the admission register and a further 34 between 1906 and 1909.⁷³ With so many Jewish girls attending the school, it was expected that there would be Jewish head girls. Doris Hayman, the second daughter of a Jewish merchant, remained at the school for nine years and became head girl before transferring to Newnham College.⁷⁴ It is fairly unlikely that any Jewish pupils would not have been identified in this way as they were being provided with every opportunity to avoid religious instruction classes and the school was located in a popular Jewish area full of potential clientele.⁷⁵ A majority of the pupils were drawn from North West London - Belsize Park, St. John’s Wood and Willesden Green; some even as close as a few streets away in Greencroft Gardens and Fairhazel Gardens. Herbert Bentwich, who extolled the importance of Jewish schools (see Chapter 4) sent his daughters, Lilian and Nita, attended in the 1890s, the latter entering Girton College. As has been previously mentioned, a majority of the fathers were merchants (including diamond, timber and feather), but there were a few solicitors, stockbrokers and jewellers.

Another of the Trust’s schools was Notting Hill High School for Girls. One of its

⁷¹ Prunella R. Bodington, *The Kindling and the Flame: A Centenary Review of the History of South Hampstead High School* (London, n.d.), 45. Mensuration is “the study of the measurement of geometric magnitudes such as length”. *The New Collins Concise Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1995), 705.

⁷² SHHS – Admission Register (1879-97).

⁷³ SHHS – Admission Register (1897-1905) and Register of Pupils (1906-9).

⁷⁴ Bodington, *Kindling*, 46.

⁷⁵ Pupils could also be identified from their previous school where noted. Previous schools included Minerva College and the Jewish High School for Girls.

pupils who passed her examinations was Miss Alice Joseph, daughter of Mr. Alfred B. Joseph.⁷⁶ Another pupil was Gertrude E. Friedlander who attended until she moved to South Hampstead High School for Girls in 1893 where she was exempt from Scripture.⁷⁷

Another London school to accept Jewish girls was the City of London School for Girls which advertised in the Jewish press. The advertisement read

There was, within the school, a senior department, for pupils wishing to pursue special studies; classes for pupils wishing to prepare for the Cambridge, Oxford, London University and other higher examinations for women. The course of study will comprise – religious instruction, fixed at such a time as to allow parents to withhold their children from it if they so wish – English language, reading and grammar, literature and composition; arithmetic, Euclid and algebra, natural science; writing and bookkeeping, geography, political and physical; history, ancient and modern; French, German, Italian and Latin languages, music, pianoforte, vocal (classical and solo), and harmony.⁷⁸

Once again, Jewish girls were able to attend schools with a high reputation for quality without compromising their religious education. By this measure, they were able to attend on their own terms.

Outside of London, non-Jewish schools also accepted Jewish girls. Brighton was, indeed, a popular location outside of London for Jewish girls to be educated. It has already been observed that Jewish private ‘mixed’ schools for girls were first opened in Brighton in the early 1860s with the establishment of Remington House. It became very popular with such schools in the 1880s. Wimbledon House, which was

⁷⁶ *Jewish Chronicle*, 1062 (2 August 1889), 12b.

⁷⁷ SHHS – Admission Register (1879-97). Her father was a shipbroker and they lived in Belsize Park.

⁷⁸ *Jewish World*, 308 (3 January 1879), 2d.

later known as Roedean School, was attended by a few Jewish girls in the 1890s.⁷⁹

(See Appendix I) This was a private school which catered for girls (who could be admitted from the age of 12) whose fathers were professionals/independent, merchants or manufacturers. The most well-known Jewish pupil to attend the school was Hannah Floretta Cohen (1875-1946).⁸⁰ She remained at the school for two years, beginning in the Summer Term of 1892 when she was already nearly seventeen.⁸¹ Presumably she was privately educated prior to Roedean. What is interesting about her attendance was the fact that she was a member of 'The Cousinhood. She was the only daughter of Sir Benjamin Louis Cohen (1844-1909), stockbroker and Member of Parliament, who was the great-grandson of Levi Barent Cohen, an Amsterdam merchant who had settled in London in the late eighteenth century, and whose twelve children formed the backbone of this group.⁸² Another Jewish pupil who attended was Mary G. Cohen (1893-1962) who was the youngest daughter of Alderman Isidore Frankenberg.⁸³ According to Judy Moore,

Attendance at Chapel on Sunday was compulsory... for all except nonconformists, Catholics and Jews... Nonconformists and Catholics went by taxi to their own churches in Brighton and Jewish girls received instruction in school, although the whole school was expected to attend Chapel for formal

⁷⁹ Pamela Sebag-Montefiore (1914-44) attended Roedean in the 1920s.

⁸⁰ She did much public work, being the only woman given senior status at the Treasury during the First World War and the first female chairman of the Jewish Board of Guardians (1930-40), whose home in Hove for old people is called Hannah House. She was also nominated by Newnham College to the School Council in 1923, remaining a member until her death in 1946. Dorothy E. de Zouche, Roedean School 1885-1955 (Brighton, 1955), 170.

⁸¹ Roedean School Magazine (November 1947), 25. From there, Cohen went to Newnham College where she read for the Classical Tripos.

⁸² Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 12 (Oxford, 2004), 425.

⁸³ Alderman Frankenberg was the Mayor of Salford; he was also the patron of Manchester's Grove House Lads' Club from 1907. Sharman Kadish, 'A Good Jew and A Good Englishman': The Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade 1895-1995 (London, 1995), 27.

occasions, such as the Armistice Service, Remembrance Day, Empire Day....⁸⁴

Interestingly, the first inspection of the school by the Board of Education does not mention any exemptions but did reveal that “the school assemblies [were taken] daily for morning prayers in the Central Hall and for evening prayers in the Houses: the chapel is used for services on Sundays”.⁸⁵ Another Brighton school attended by, at least one Jewish pupil, was Brighton High School for Girls. Amy Levy (1861-1889), a famous Anglo-Jewish writer and poet and daughter of a stockbroker entered the school at the age of fifteen in 1876.⁸⁶

Very little material has been discovered on Jewish girls attending schools in provincial cities.⁸⁷ Leeds Girls’ High School (est. 1876) was originally located in Woodhouse Lane which was “conveniently placed for pupils coming from all parts of the town”.⁸⁸ By the end of the 1880s “an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 Jews lived in the city” of Leeds.⁸⁹ According to Ernest C. Sterne by the First World War, Leeds Jewry lived as a separate entity and their contact “with their gentile neighbours and surroundings were negligible, especially outside working hours”.⁹⁰ What is interesting is that Sterne points out that many of Leeds Jewry were manual labourers and very few had moved up to middle class status which could have accounted for the paucity of Jewish names in the school magazines. “A mere handful had so far succeeded in

⁸⁴ Judy Moore, *Memories of Roedean: The First 100 Years* (Seaford, East Sussex, 1998), 114.

⁸⁵ NA – ED109/5999

⁸⁶ See Beth Zion Lask, “Amy Levy”, in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* (1928), 168-189. She became only the second Jewish woman to attend Cambridge and the first at Newnham College which she entered in 1879. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 33 (Oxford, 2004), 553.

⁸⁷ Constant requests for assistance were ignored by a number of provincial schools which left the research to focus on the one reply received. However, the archive of the Leeds Girls’ High School was only partially useful as no admission registers have survived.

⁸⁸ K.E. Procter, *A Short History of the Leeds Girls’ High School Part I: 1876-1906* (Leeds, 1926), n.p.

⁸⁹ Nigel Grizzard, “Leeds Jewry and the Great War 1914-18” (Leeds, 1981), 1.

⁹⁰ Ernest C. Sterne, “Leeds Jewry and the Great War 1914-18 The Homefront” (Leeds, 1982), 1.

gaining access to the professions”⁹¹ although he does differentiate between the ‘Englishers’ (first or even second generation English-born) and the ‘Grunners’ (the new immigrants), the former being financially better off.⁹² The Yorkshire Evening Post observed “that ‘Jewish parents are model parents’ and that attendance in Jewish districts was extremely high – between 93% and 97%”.⁹³ The course of instruction, at the Leeds’ Girls’ High School, was, like the South Hampstead High School for Girls, packed. It included reading, writing, English grammar, composition and literature, ancient and modern history, physical and political geography, French, German, Latin, bookkeeping, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, chemistry and callisthenics, drawing, painting, class-singing and needlework. The religious instruction “limited to lessons from the Bible, forms a part of the teaching of the school, but any scholar may be exempted therefrom on application of her parents or guardians”.⁹⁴ There were a few surnames of probable Jewish origin appearing in the school magazine but, without registers, it is difficult to ascertain how many Jewish girls attended. (Compared to the community of Manchester, for example, the Leeds community was vastly smaller and, therefore the number of pupils would have been less.) With the exemption in place from the start, it would have made the transition from a Jewish elementary school more manageable. The classes in life from which most pupils were drawn were professional and wholesale traders.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Sterne, “Leeds”, 1.

⁹² Sterne, “Leeds”, 7-8.

⁹³ Yorkshire Evening Post (1/2/1917) quoted in Sterne, “Leeds”, 10-11.

⁹⁴ LGHS – Report and Balance Sheet (1878) in School Reports (1878-1886).

⁹⁵ LGHS – Board of Education Report of Second Inspection of the Girls’ High School, Leeds (22-25 February 1910). Professional 41%; Farmers 1%; Wholesale Traders 29%; Retail Traders and Contractors 8%; Clerks and Commercial Agents 9%; Public Servants 1%; Artisans 4%; Labourers 1% and No occupation given 6%.

Conclusion

Whilst the contribution of the Jewish private secondary and 'mixed' schools to women's education in general is minor, its value should not be ignored. Jewish secondary education for girls in the nineteenth century has never been fully evaluated. This chapter has contributed to a fuller understanding of the value that outside influences had which enabled them to receive a more senior than solely elementary education. Has this chapter managed to dispel the myth that "most middle class girls" were either educated at home or in poorly run schools or has it shown that this was reality? Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess the Jewish schools as there were no reports available and the history of Minerva College cannot be used to illustrate all of them. Indeed, this is not a definitive account of Jewish girls and their educational experience, but it does highlight the advantages available – Jewish secondary schools, Jewish 'mixed' schools, Hebrew and secular classes and non-Jewish schools, the latter, in the main, exempting Jewish girls from religious instruction. On the whole, it seems that Jewish girls experienced a favourable form of education in the nineteenth century. Founders of Jewish schools took advantage of the turning point in girls' education when the public local examinations were introduced for girls. They were able to offer their charges the advantages these proffered. What is clear is that considerable progress was made in girls' education; from the *Sephardi* charity school created in the eighteenth century to their preparation for public examinations and university life and their admission to non-Jewish schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ However, some of the Jewish schools still continued to

⁹⁶ This chapter has not touched on the *Ashkenazi* or *Sephardi* influence on the Jewish schools. It is known that Miriam Mendes Belissario (1820-1885), teacher and authoress, kept a girls' school for many years "in which numerous members of the *Sephardic* community were educated under her direction". *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2, 661. Miss Clara F. Natali, who succeeded the Pykes' at the Establishment for Young Ladies where she received twelve pupils who would be taught "according to the German or Portuguese ritual". *Jewish Chronicle*, 107 (3 October 1862), 1c. This was the only

emphasise ‘feminine accomplishments’ to ready them for their position as wife and mother as Rickie Burman noted that “in Victorian Britain, Anglicised Jews tended to see breadwinning as a male prerogative and responsibility; a woman’s involvement in paid work would have cast a dark shadow on her husband’s integrity and social standing”.⁹⁷ Nonetheless, it is difficult to quantify how many girls, who had been educated at the Jewish schools, attended university or entered particular occupations, thus providing an inkling of their success from that perspective. Nevertheless, it must be presumed that the caring roles (of, e.g., mother, wife and charity worker) still dominated the arena during this period. It would be the mid- to latter part of the twentieth century that would see a more advanced and widespread change amongst women in the workplace.

According to Carol Dyhouse, “the majority of schools attended by middle class girls in the 1860s and 1870s were small private establishments”.⁹⁸ Jewish secondary and ‘mixed’ schools for girls, for the most part, also remained small but these establishments spanned throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and were located mainly in London, in densely populated Jewish areas and Brighton, where clean air and health issues were deciding factors for Jewish middle class parents (as discussed in chapter 5). The location of non-Jewish schools corresponded with the Jewish establishments. Both London and Brighton were popular for the former.

school to mention this which suggests that most schools accepted girls from either an *Ashkenazi* or *Sephardi* tradition.

⁹⁷ Rickie Burman, “‘She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household’: The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life c.1880-1930”, in Gail Malmgreen, ed., Religion in the Lives of English Women 1760-1930 (Kent, 1986), 237-8. Some schools may have offered domestic skills but it would have cheapened the education on offer and was invariably not included on the newspaper advertisements.

⁹⁸ Carol Dyhouse, Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England (London, 1981), 46.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This thesis makes no attempt to present information on all the secondary schools, Jewish and non-Jewish, which educated Jewish pupils in the period 1830-1920. It has concentrated on a limited number of schools due to the lack of material and lack of assistance from schools. This study has, however, attempted to enrich our knowledge and understanding of the Jewish middle classes' experience, and, indeed, that of the upper classes and, to a minor extent, the working classes, of secondary education in London and the provinces. As Steven Singer suggested,

Jewish schooling in early Victorian London was sharply divided along class lines, with one type of education being available for the poor and quite a different kind for the more prosperous.¹

As the reader has observed, these divisions remained, for the most part, intact throughout the Victorian period.

There were no communal institutions to cater for the Jewish middle classes (as there were for the working classes). Instead they had various options – sending their children to the various Jewish private (distinguished in this study as senior/secondary or 'mixed') schools or taking advantage of their children being permitted into public schools (either through the Jewish Houses or in the mainstream) or into other non-Jewish independent/grammar schools. The former created secular and religious curricula but were not regulated by communal leaders and thus eventually fell away. In part, this was probably due to Jewish pupils' attendance at popular non-Jewish independent/grammar or public schools which exempt their pupils from religious instruction. Such instruction they could obtain from Hebrew/religious instruction

¹ Steven Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858", unpublished PhD thesis, Yeshiva University (1981), 284.

classes, or, early in the twentieth century, from *Yeshivot* that sprang up in England to stem the tide of religious ignorance. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the upper classes were home educated by private tutors and, later in the century, at public schools. By 1920, the Jewish Tribune commented that “a race cut off from the schools and literature of the nation of which it forms part cannot possess patriotism”.² This was the situation that the Jewish middle and upper classes found themselves in – being educated, for the most part, in non-Jewish secondary schools where no religious instruction was imparted to them (unless their parents chose to send them to Hebrew/religious instruction classes). The great public school and, in fact, the day schools too were popular and had well constructed curricula with lists of famous alumni which meant it was “vain for any private enterprise to compete”.³ However, the private ventures existed in competition with one another. The classic example of the Myers brothers in Ramsgate was revealed in Chapter Five. Henry Berkowitz and Samuel Barczinsky, also discussed in Chapter Five, set up schools in Gravesend. These are, in some respects, examples of incompetence – the schools could have been successful forerunners of the secondary school system that is in place in England. Had, e.g., Berkowitz and Barczinsky, merged their institutions to form one school, Anglo-Jewry may still be reaping the rewards of their forward-thinking. It seems delusional on both their parts that both schools could continue and thrive when they taught a comparable curriculum. (Barczinsky eventually transferred his school to Brighton.)

This research has set the scene from a historical, geographical and economic perspective. Jewish education per se has been confronted with the demands of an industrialised Western society. The changing shape of the Jewish schools’ curricula was motivated by the introduction of public local examinations for boys in the 1850s

² The Jewish Tribune, 1 (1 February 1920), 6a. Although this was the bi-monthly organ of the Jews of Russia, it does emphasise a clear message to all Anglo-Jewry.

³ Jewish Chronicle, 462 (1 February 1878), 4b.

and girls in the 1860s. This was reflected in the advertisements that were presented in the Jewish press. What has emerged also is a highly gendered understanding of education. Whilst I tried to include female education as well, the archival material, where available, mainly discusses male education. It was not intentional to dwell on the latter but controlled by circumstance. A two-pronged attack on education has also been revealed – the earlier stage prior to the 1880s assisting the middle and upper classes in its various guises of private education, either in the home or in a boarding school and the latter stage having a direct effect from the immigrant population especially in cities such as Manchester, where the Jews' School following the trend of anglicisation became a feeder for the Manchester Grammar School.

This study has revealed individual educational services being offered rather than a concerted effort to create an educational system. The movement of the middle classes corresponded similarly to the establishment of these private schools. They were established in Bloomsbury during the 1850s and 1860s, in St. John's Wood in the late 1860s, Maida Vale from the 1860s through to the 1890s, Bayswater and Hampstead in the 1860s, Hampstead and Canonbury during the 1870s and 1880s. The location of a school was, indeed, extremely noteworthy as advertisements in the Jewish press clearly indicated. As there was competition amongst the schools for pupils and their curriculum was fairly similar, other advantages had to be noted. School owners had to be astute businessmen and understand the importance of selling their school. In an announcement for the Temple Cottage School, it was noted that "Ramsgate is celebrated for the salubrity of its air, and in the Government return for the 'Health of Towns Bill' it stood pre-eminent".⁴ English seaports and resorts were also popular with the Jewish middle classes to send their offspring to Jewish schools.

⁴ Jewish Chronicle, XV, 165 (12 February 1858), 1c.

Provincial cities, such as Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Birmingham did not have a tradition of these Jewish senior/secondary schools. In fact, Jewish pupils either boarded at these institutions or attended local grammar/independent non-Jewish schools, such as Manchester Grammar School, Birmingham's King Edward's School and the Leeds Girls' High School.

In the main, the fee-paying Jewish establishments only accepted a small number of pupils (usually between 6 and 12 at the very most); there were exceptions (e.g. Northwick College, approximately 20 pupils; Tivoli House Academy, 50; and Wellesley House, 30). The schools were owned and run by individuals, often in family homes, for their own private profit. They tended to have an uncertain and intermittent existence. When demand fell, they would cease, either temporarily or permanently. The founders sometimes relinquished their school but not their teaching profession or otherwise transferred to another place where the prospects of keeping a school appeared better. Income was certainly not guaranteed. Official figures for private schools were incomplete and, according to Diane K. Bolton, did not distinguish between different types of education.⁵ It is impossible to quantify how many pupils were educated in these schools. Whilst census returns do provide an indication of the number of pupils in attendance, it cannot show the complete picture but the tables in Appendix I indicate that pupils boarded and some teaching staff were resident.⁶ Suffice it to say, we are talking about a limited number of pupils throughout this period.

This survey has sought to examine the Jewish private schools and the effect of these schools on the development of the Jewish secondary school experience.

Beginning in the late 1830s, a number of educators took it upon themselves to open

⁵ Diane K. Bolton, 'Edmonton', in *A History of the County of Middlesex*, V (Oxford, 1976), 255.

⁶ It should be remembered that some pupils may not board; others may have returned home for Shabbat or Jewish festivals at the time the return is made.

private schools or establish religious instruction classes. Educators recognised a niche that was opening up and established these schools.⁷ The curricula of these schools had to progress and meet the requirements of new acts. There was no system, no movement to assess their successes and failures, to help improve the teaching methods or curricula content. There were, however, notable similarities between the schools. They designed curricula to meet the needs of those from which they drew their pupils. By entering the pupils for the public examinations, they were slowly integrating them into their non-Jewish environment.

This survey has endeavoured to present a comprehensive description and historical account by outlining the developments until 1920. No assessment of the Anglo-Jewish educational experience can be complete without a full account of the problems and controversies faced by sending pupils to Jewish and non-Jewish schools. The community badly lacked sufficient educationists who could expand the Jewish institutions that survived into the early twentieth century. The lack of collective responsibility and financial difficulties were recurrent themes throughout this period. It would take the pioneering efforts of Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld to revive the religious and secular combined curriculum.⁸ Under the direction of his son, Rabbi Dr. Solomon Schonfeld, its survival was ensured in a climate of indifference to such education. With the introduction of Schonfeld's Jewish Secondary Schools Movement, it began a new trend. British Jews were turning in ever-greater numbers to Jewish day

⁷ The ability and talents of some individuals should have made them celebrated individuals within the community (and in the wider society). For the most part, this was not the case. Some individuals (such as Henry Berkowitz) were respected by their gentile neighbours for contributions made to wider society and his successful school.

⁸ Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld commented that "the want of Jewish day schools is one of the chief causes [of the neglect of the *Torah*]. The children are at school all day long. Many of them go considerable distances and come home tired. Their religious education is therefore relegated to a few hours on Sunday..." Jewish Chronicle, 2263 (16 August 1912), 14a.

schools to inoculate their children against assimilation. However as Jonathan Greenbury remarked,

Anglo-Jewry..., collectively ... wants its children to be well educated, Jewish and capable of making a positive contribution to their own community and to the wider society in which they live. If these aims are to be achieved, then the educational opportunities on offer should reflect diversity and variety, like Anglo-Jewry itself.⁹

In other words, the twenty-first century is no different to the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries when various options were available. Choice has always been the key to the educational landscape – each family had its own priorities.

There are always valuable lessons to learn from the past. Some should not be repeated. In historical terms, war is repeated time and again. We must strive to put it right now and provide an education for our Jewish youth of which we can be proud. We should not repeat the mistakes some founders made in the past when they set up their schools. We should learn in order to establish better institutions for the future. We must have faith in our schools for the products that are produced are the future of Anglo-Jewry. If the community neglects the schooling system, are they passing a vote of no confidence in the future of Anglo-Jewry? How do they expect pupils, untrained in religious instruction, to lead? The community has to take responsibility if it is to see a future. Education plays a large role because it encompasses all areas of our existence. For a community to survive, education must be the key.

The foregoing pages have discussed the rise and subsequent decline of the Jewish private schools. It cannot be said that they made any outstanding contribution to the history of Jewish education but were a product of their time. They were not the

⁹ Jonathan Greenbury, "Polack's House", in Stephen W. Massil, ed., The Jewish Year Book (London, 2001), 48-9.

forerunners to the schools that established themselves in the twentieth century as, by that time, they had been long forgotten. These pages have also seen the continuing rise of Jewish attendance at non-Jewish public, independent and grammar schools. In 1894, a correspondent to the Jewish Chronicle commented that

The first Israelite who was elected to the House of Commons observed that of emancipation were to entail the sacrifice of our religion, it would not be worth securing! The admission of Jewish boys to these schools [English public schools]... is a positive evil. It means the breaking away from the most solemn religious obligations among the very class of persons whose paramount duty it is to see that they and their families act as pillars of English Judaism.¹⁰

In education, they wanted to maintain a semblance of religious intent but, in the end, the non-Jewish schools won through and Hebrew classes fell by the wayside. By 1920, few of the Jewish schools remained and, those that did were considered of secondary importance where superior day schools were close by.

This thesis was not written with the intention of concluding whether or not the Jewish schools were successful or even whether the Jewish middle class experience was adequate. This history is neither an account of success or failure. As Endelman remarked, “this, however, should not be a surprising conclusion. For who today still believes that history advances without ambiguity?”¹¹ This is a not a complete history of the Jewish middle classes’ experience of secondary education. However, the period focused on can be regarded as a time of slow preparation for a new era that would witness the creation of the modern Jewish educational system.

¹⁰ Jewish Chronicle, 1307 (20 April 1894), 7a.

¹¹ Todd M. Endelman, The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society (Philadelphia, 1979), 293.

Hopefully, this work will encourage further historical analysis of secondary education for Jews in England.

Appendices

Appendix I – Pupil Lists

This section has been divided into three sections:

- A. Jewish Boarding Schools (including Senior/Secondary and Mixed Institutions)**
- B. Non-Jewish Schools (including Jewish Houses in Public Schools)**
- C. Home Educated - examples**

Section A: Jewish Boarding Schools

For this section, the following information (where known) will appear before the tables:

Name of School

Head of School

Address of School

Resident Teacher and/or Governess

The Census returns (1841-1901) have been consulted. Many of these Boarding Schools feature in more than one Census. Therefore, the corresponding number of tables will appear. The pupils appear in the tables in the same order as they appear in the Census. If other names appeared in the Jewish or national press or in any other primary or secondary source, these names appear as footnotes. (They may not have been boarders or were not resident by the time of the Census.) If they were born abroad, the pupil's country of birth will be noted by their name.

Abbreviations (used in the Appendices)

- AC - Anne Crawford, The Europa Biographical Dictionary of British Women: Over 1000 Notable Women from Britain's Past. London, 1983.
- AT - A. Tropp, Jews in the Professions in Great Britain 1891-1991. London, 1991.
- CB - Constance Battersea, Reminiscences. London, 1922.
- CBC - Chaim Bermant, The Cousinhood: The Anglo-Jewish Gentry. London, 1971.
- DNB - Dictionary of National Biography
- HO - Hebrew Observer
- HP - Harold Pollins, Economic History of the Jews in England. London and Toronto, 1982.
- JC - Jewish Chronicle
- JE - The Jewish Encyclopaedia
- JW - Jewish World
- NA - National Archives
- UJE - Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia
- VJ - Voice of Jacob
- WWW - Who Was Who

A. Jewish Boarding Schools:

This is not a complete list of all the students attending these schools. As school records have not survived, I have relied on the Census returns and the Jewish press. As can be seen in Appendix III, there are many Jewish schools (Senior/Secondary and Mixed), some of which were not boarding. Only those that boarded and featured in the Census returns are tabulated here. I list below the schools:

- **Edmonton House (Edmonton)**
- **Educational Establishment for Young Gentlemen (Brighton)**
- **Gloucester House (Kew)**
- **Hereson House (Brighton)**
- **May House (Gravesend), Wellesley House (Brighton) and Warlingham School (Warlingham)**
- **Northwick College (London)**
- **Sussex House (Dover)**
- **Sussex House (Brighton)**
- **Tivoli House Academy (Gravesend)**

Edmonton House

1851:

Head of School: Henry Naphtali Solomon

Address of School: 94 Fore Street, Edmonton

Resident Assistant Teacher: James Allen

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
David Braham	12
James Shise	14
Albert Engle	12
Samuel Beiger	10
Saul Myers	13
Lewis Woolf	15
Collins Pheneas	9
Solomon Ablalo	12
Henry Cohen	13
Nathan Defrie	18
Michael Nathan	12
Lawrence Engle	13
C. Solomon	13
Barry M. Franklin	13
Jacob Moses	12
Samuel Solomon	14
Zaley Silverston	14
Daniel Defrie	12
Mark Moses	12
Hyam Hyams	12
Charles Wezlar (Jamaica)	10

Murray Davis	10
Jacob Gueddla	10
George Gueddla	9
Lewis Colister	14
Albert Bifs (Gibraltar)	14
Sydney Worons	14
Matthias Levy	11
Edward Woolf	12

Source: NA - HO107/1703/1b/51/29-31

1861:

Head of School: Henry Naphtali Solomon

Resident Assistant Teacher: Sydney P. Jaffa (Solomon's son)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
David Palette	14

Source: NA - RG9/796/4/90/32

1871:

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Meyer Fricker (Austria)	17
Philip Falk	14
David Falk	12
Charles Nimers (Jamaica)	10
Samuel Nimers	12
Mat Pixeus (Prussia)	15

Source: NA - RG10/1341/4/97/38-9

1881:

Address of School: Lower Fore Street, Edmonton

Resident Assistant Schoolmaster: Sydney P. Jaffa (Solomon's son)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Lucien Levy (Strasbourg)	18
A.J. Brigham (Lisbon)	17
Louis D. Levene	12
Alfred Kaufman	8
Charles Kaufman	8
Emanuel Joseph	10
Henry Twalbe (Canada)	11
John Harris	13
Harry Eder (South Africa)	10

Charles Eder (South Africa)	8
Henry Cohen	12
Marcus Cohen	10
Samuel Cruley	7
Alfred Isaacs	12
Jacob Eskenazi (Constantinople)	14
J. Hart	11
Solomon Ososki	9

Source: NA - RG11/1388/5/127/12-13

Note: Alex Phillips (Australia) and Bertie Myers attended the school in 1883.

Source: JC, 20 July 1883, 747, 10b.

Educational Establishment for Young Gentlemen

1861:

Head of School: Louis Loewe (Schoolmaster and Examiner for Oriental Languages to the College of Preceptors)

Address of School: 46 & 48 Buckingham Place, Brighton

Assistant Master: Michael Asch

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
James Loewe	8
Frederick Loewe	7
Pauline Loewe	5
Samuel Moss	16
Hyam Moss	16
Israel Joseph (New South Wales)	16
Jacob L. Moss	15
Lionel A. Spulsmann	14
Sidney M. Samuel	13
Philip Jacobs (New South Wales)	12
Angelo Jacobs (New South Wales)	10
David Joseph	10
Isaac Abrahams	10
Maurice Benjamin (Australia)	16

Source: NA -RG9/597/34/96/10-11

1871:

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Jessie Loewe	21
Frederick Loewe	14
Pauline Loewe	10

Selina Loewe	8
Judith Loewe	8
Solomon Loewe	6

Source: NA - RG10/998/29/40/6-7

Gloucester House

1861:

Name of School: Gloucester House

Head of School: Leopold Newmegen (*sic*) (b. 1793)

Resident Governess: Elsie Solomon (aged 25)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
H. Neumegen	16
----- Neumegen	11
Ada Neumegen	8
Florence Aria	12
Minna (?) Michaelson	12
Max Michaelson	14
Edwin Jacobs	13
Lewis Jacobs (Sydney)	11
John Abrahams (Manilla)	11
Albert Abrahams (Manilla)	9

Source: NA - RG9/460/3/54/32-3

Note: Raphael Meldola attended between 1856-63.

1871:

Name of School: Gloucester House

Head of School: Leopold Neumegen

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Agelina Templeton (Australia)	14
Josephine Templeton (Australia)	13
Estelle Templeton (Australia)	11
Reginald Templeton (Australia)	12
Harold Templeton	6
Frederick Templeton	5
Maud Templeton	8
Zillah Templeton	9
Horace Templeton	4
Kate Brahams	10
Louis Brahams	7

Source: NA - RG10/869/19/158/33

1881:

Name of School: Gloucester House Ladies' Academy

Head of School: Mrs Belinda Neumegen and Miss Ada Neumegen

Address of School: Kew Road

Resident Governesses: Eliza Pielstiskie (Berlin), Charlotte Hopkins (Malta), Laura Edwards (London) and Anna Tweitzat (Geneva)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Lillian Barnett	18
Phillis Barnett	16
Rosetta Jacobs	16
Katie Woolf	14
Ada Abrahams	13
Lucie Hart (Amsterdam)	14
Nelly Hart	13
Lottie Aroski	16
Esther Aroski	14
Agnes Benjamin (Port Elizabeth)	16
Gerty Benjamin (Cape Town)	13
Edith Benjamin	9
Mary Benjamin	8
Amelia Lunluous (New York)	12
Ella Davis	12
Judith Lassey	16
Annie Kossuth (Kimberly, S. Africa)	15
H. Kossuth	14

Source: NA – RG/11/0845/24/141/19-20

1891:

Name of School: Gloucester House Ladies' Academy

Head of School: Mrs Belinda Neumegen and Miss Ada Neumegen

Address of School: Richmond Road, Kew, Surrey

Resident Teachers: Louise Perniette (Prof. of French, Paris) and Leila Riley (Prof. of English, Dover)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
S. H. Alexander	15
Catherine M. Myers	15
Zillah Solomon (Dunedin, New Zealand)	18 (pupil/teacher)
L. S. Isaac (Lisbon)	14
Frances E. Lyons (Kingston, Jamaica)	14

Marianne S. Pool	14
Esther F. Moseley	13
A. C. Lyons	13
Lily Eugene Molta	13
Constance C. Marx	12
Sybil Myra Alexander (Kingston, Jamaica)	12
Charlotte Morell (Amsterdam)	11
Julia A. Abecassis (Lisbon)	10
Leah Morell (Amsterdam)	10
Violet Ruth Marx	8
Sidney Augustus	9
Saul Nathaniel Seruya (Lisbon)	9

Source: NA – RG12/622/26/87/7

1901:

Name of School: Gloucester House

Principal of School: Miss Ada Neumegen

Resident Teachers: Leila Riley (Londonderry), Louise Perniette (Paris), Jessie Craik (Warrington, Lancashire) and Emily Stendel (Ramsgate, Kent)

Visiting Teacher: Esther Mosely (Professor of Music, Hampton, Middlesex)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Beatrice Tahol	17
Louise Olswang	17
Sylvia Motta (Kingston, Jamaica)	17
Dollie Lee (France)	14
Gladys Waller	16
Hannah Wolfe	17
Evelyn Finn	16
Evelyn Olswang	16
S. Walter	14
Muriel Lee	14
Gladys J. Emanuel	14
Violet Afriat	13
Beatrice Levy	11
Dorothy Levy	13
Blanche Freeman	13
Dorothy Lee	13
Annie Ford	12
Elsie Rozenbaum	12
Rebecca Moses	13
Nancy Woolf	12

Frances Woolf	10
Madge Marks	10
Beatrice Ford	9
Lucy Isenthal (Berlin, Germany)	8
Mary Moss	8
Gladys Lichenstein	6
Margarey Spiers	8

Source: NA – RG13/677/3/7-8

Hereson House

1881:

Name of School: Hereson College

Head of School: Jacob Tritsch (*sic*)

Address of School: Hereson Road, Ramsgate

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Michael Dar	15
Charles Dar	12
Albert Tannenbaum	10
Moses Myers	10
Morris Wolfs	12
Ellis Davis	11
Alfred Hyman	10

Source: NA – RG11/989/20/146/43

1891:

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
D. Lee (male)	14

Source: NA – RG12/732/19/30/6

May House School/Wellesley House/ Warlingham School

1861:

Name of School: May House

Head of School: Samuel Barczinsky

Address of School: May Place

Resident Teacher: H. Dreyfus

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Augustus Myer	12
Lionel Hyam	20

Source: NA - RG9/472/5/107/3

1871:

Name of School: May House School

Head of School: Samuel Barczinsky

Address of School: May Place, Gravesend

Resident Teacher: Alexander W. A. Finlay and Emmanuel Diulsman

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Bernard A. Barczinsky	13
Henry Barczinsky	11
Isidore Barczinsky	10
David Cohen	14
Benjamin L. Simmonds	14
Leonard Nathan	15
Benjamin Jacobs	12
Abraham Isaacs	12
Montague Hart	12
Frank Calistrer	12
Alfred Schiff	13
Samuel Harris	11
Phillip Woolf	12
Albert Moss (Montreal)	13
Sydney Lions	15
John Elsner	10
Baron Elkan	11
Henry Isaacs	10
Henry Meirs	10
Jacob Nathan	13
Jacob Isaacs	8
Isaac Davis	12
Jack Davis	10
Myer Harris	9
John Davis	8
Herbert Davis (Melbourne)	9
Henry Cohen	11
L. Koppenhagen	10
H. Davis (Melbourne)	7
Walter Tilly	7
Albert Davis	8
Jacob Koppenhagen	6

Source: NA - RG10/896/5/5/2-4

Note: L. Cohen also attended Samuel Barczinsky's school in 1871.

Source: JC, 3 March 1871, 101, 13b

1881:

Name of School: Wellesley House

Head of School: Samuel Barczinsky

Address of School: 7 Wellington Road, Brighton

Resident Teacher: George Richards and John Madden

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Louis Nathan (New Zealand)	17
Herbert Cohen	15
Simon Cohen	13
Henry Cohen	12
Edward Barczinsky	13
Ferdinand Jacobs	13
Walter Jacobs	12
Edgar Woolf	12
Louis Woolf	10
Julius Morris	13
Louis Morris	11
Walter Spiers	14
Ernest Falcker	13
Alfred Picard	14
Isaac Solomon	14
Philip Solomon	16
A. Fisher	12
Albert Kossenbaum	16
William L-----	8
Joseph Drween	16
Isidore Birnbaum	16
Ernest Jacobs	?

Source: NA – RG11/1084/30.101/22-3

Note: H.Schröder and B. Schröder attended Wellesley House in 1884. Source: JC, 775 (1 February 1884), 6b.

Note: H. Tuzo, S. Morris, L. Benjamin, A.E. Jacobs, and D. Jacobs attended Warlingham School in 1887. Source: JC, 456 (22 July 1887), 12b.

1891:

Name of School: Warlingham School

Head of School: Samuel Barczinsky and Arminger Barczinsky

Address of School:

Resident Teacher: William Heear (general subjects) and Herbert G. Wright (general subjects)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Ivan Finn	15
Reginald Leeson	15
Elias Afriat	14
Louis Baum	15

Victor Emanuel	12
Reuben Cohen (Morocco)	12
David Baum	14
Edward Van Wyke	13
Henry Haarbarger	12
Frank Henriques (Jamaica)	10
Harold Hart	12
Frank Engel	10
Dallon Engel	12
Alic Morrice (Jamaica)	9
Fred Lawrence	9

Source: NA – RG12/584/16/31/4-5

Northwick College

1871:

Head of School: Abraham P. Mendes

Address of School: 16 Northwick Terrace

Assistant Teachers: Joseph Schendler and Montz Biel

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Henry P. Mendes	18
Stella P. Mendes	16
Rosetta P. Mendes	12
David P. Mendes	10
Leonard P. Mendes	8
Maria P. Mendes	6
Rica P. Mendes	4
Isaac P. Mendes	18
Frederick Ellis	16
Elias J. Cohen	15
Samuel J. Benarus	15
Jacques Peha	14
Maurice Moseley	14
Eleanor Pool	14
Vila Rickes (Alexandria)	13
Berthold Langnor	12
Jacob Nebruiston	12
Louis Auerhaan	12
Maurice Levy	11
Michel Samama (Tunis, Egypt)	11
Harry M. Isaacs	11
Bertram Pinto	10

Bernard Abinger	9
Maurice Silverston	9
Leopold Greenberg	9

Source: NA – RG10/183/6/81/34-36

1881:

Head of School: Abraham P. Mendes

Address of School: 16 Northwick Terrace

Resident Teachers: Wilhelm Sommer (Professor of German)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Samuel H. Emanuel	15
Benjamin Hassan	15
Joshua S. Piza	15
Isaac Levi	14
Herbert Mauville	12
Joseph Woolf	11
Isaac Handelaer (Brussels)	11
Jacob C Rogers	10
David Woolf	10
Simeon Lang	9
Frederick J. Manville	7

Source: NA – RG11/0160/6/54/21

Sussex House (Dover)

1841:

Head of School: Raphel (*sic*) Cohen

Address of School: High Street, Chorlton, Dover

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Micheal (<i>sic</i>) Cohen	10
Marcellus Cohen	10
Alexander Davies	10
Nathaniel Davies	10
Henry Jacobs	10
Philip Jacobs	10
Moss Defries	10
Edward Lyons	10
Joseph Nathan	10
Micheal (<i>sic</i>) Israel	10
Benjamin Mosely	5
Alexander Mosely	4

Source: NA – H0107/465/12/2/23/3

1851:

Name of School: Sussex House

Head of School: Raphael J/I Cohen

Address of School: Folkestone Road, Dover

Resident Teacher: Henry Jackson and Eleazer Polack

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Benjamin Isaacs	8
Elias Cohen	7
H. Aginlos (?)	7
Louis Cohen	6
Solomon Benshel (Gibraltar)	9
Judah Almark (Mogadou, Africa)	13
Hyman Davis	5
Henry Hyam	10
Henry Samuels	9
Godfrey Davis	8
Charles Somers	7
David Benshel (Gibraltar)	12
----- Abrahams	9
----- Mofs	9
----- Colicu	11
Maurice Simmons (Sydney)	9
Mortimer Caham	9
Henry Maga	10
Elias Woolfe	10
H. Nathan	12
E. Cohen	9
Samuel Rosenthall	15
E. Rosenthall	13
J. Myers	15
Alfred Jacobs	12
A. Ellis	12
Edward Mayer	12
Hayman Cohen	12
Williams -----	12
Abraham Lazarus	8
Fred Jacobs	11
Abraham Algelus	13
P. Jackson	12
R. Samuel	11
Joseph Hart	13
Isaac Isaacs	13
Nathan Harris	11

L. Davis	10
Henry Wolfe	11
H. Lyn	11
Thomas Davidson	11
John Simmons (Sydney)	11
Solomon Abraham	12
Angel Cohen	11
Joseph Van Pragh	14
Raphael Picarce (Paris)	16
Samuel Jacob	13
Joseph Samuels	12
Alphonse Picarce (Paris)	13
A. Jacobs	12
John Hart	10

Source: NA – HO107/1632/1b/702/7-10

Sussex House (Brighton)

1881:

Name of School: Sussex House School

Head of School: Rev. Jacob Hermann Cohen (School Proprietor and Master)

Address of School: 8 & 9 Buckingham Road, Brighton, Sussex

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Joseph Adler	16
Harry Afriat	14
Benjamin Banquist (Alexandra, Egypt)	12
Barnet Betrim	13
Mackes Brown	11
Alfred Harris	9
Arthur Harris	10
Edward Harris	12
Samuel Harris	7
John Hayman	17
Charles Jacob	10
Louie Jacob	9
Samuel Jacob	11
Ellia Jacobson	13
Annie Lanthrin	16
Harry Jacobson	9
John Jacobson	10
John Philips	13
Charles Simmons	16
Frederick Simmons	14

Bertram Solomon (Dunedin, New Zealand)	12
Louie Solomon (Dunedin, New Zealand)	10
Albert Stack (Germany)	10

Source: NA – RG11/1088/51/95/36

1891:

Name of School: Boys' Boarding School

Address of School: 49 Buckingham Road

Resident Assistant Teachers: John Curwya and Benjamin Smith

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Harry Schlesinger	12
Claude Schlesinger	10
Samuel Schlesinger	9
Julius Fisher	13
Richard Lyon Samuel	14
Philip Coleman	12
Elish Klein	12
Albert Klein	11
David Heller (South Africa)	12
Julius Coleman	13
Maurice Spiers	10
Edgar Israel	12
Philip Levy	15
William Samuel	13
Charles Samuel	12
Isaac Coriat (North Africa)	14
Arthur Klein	9
Henry Philip Samuels	10
Albert Coleman	9
Bertie Posener	10
Isaac Morris	12
Alexander Isaacs	10
Baron Isaacs	9
Reuben Isaacs	8
George Isaacs	8
Joseph Heller (South Africa)	9
Jesse Israel	8

Source: NA - RG12/811/41/14/21-23

Tivoli House (Academy):

1861:

Name of School: Tivoli House Academy

Head of School: Henry Berkowitz (b. 1824)

Address of School: 91 Windmill Street, Milton, Gravesend

Resident Teacher: Mr. Martyn Karminski (aged 20)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Leah Belasco	14
Rachel Belasco	9
Samuel Belasco	7
Julia Isaacs	9
Levy Metzandorf	8
Solomon Matthews	7
Kate Solomons	19
Lewis Solomons	10
Saul Solomons	7

Sources: NA – RG9/470/8/200/4-5

1871:

Name of School: “Tivoli House”

Head of School: Henry Berkowitz

Address of School: 91 Windmill Street, Milton, Gravesend

Resident Teacher: Horace E_____ (aged 38)

Resident Governess: Eliza Mannering (aged 32)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Henrietta Berkowitz	16
Esther Berkowitz	12
Isidore B. Berkowitz	9
Hannah Berkowitz	7
Joshua Berkowitz	3
Williams L. Abrahams	13
Nathaniel Levi	13
James Abrahams	13
----- E. Robinsons	12
Laurence Berg	12
Benjamin Blai-----g	12
----- L. Lynns (?)	12
Simon Marks	12
Jacob Bamberger	11
Emmanuel Cohen	11
----- Harris	11
Henry Harris	10
Percy Harris	10
Lewis Marks	10

Joseph Bernstein	11
Joseph Pras	11
Emmanuel Berg	11
Harry H. Solomons	11
Harry -----	11
Samuel Isaacs	10
Abraham Berg	9
Henry Abrahams	9
John Cohen	9
John Harris (?)	9
Abraham Benjamin	9
Jacob Berg	8

Sources: NA – RG10/891/8/71/8-10

1881:

Name of school: Tivoli House Academy

Head of school: Henry Berkowitz

Address: 91 Windmill Street, Milton, Gravesend

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Hannah Berkowitz	16
Joshua Berkowitz	13
Amelia Berkowitz	12
Juliet Berkowitz	10
Esther Solomon	13
Miriam Joseph	10
Zillah Solomon	9
Moses Lazarus	13
Alfred Albu	12
Charles Jacobson	9
Gerald Friedlander	9
Arthur Friedlander	9
Julius Albu	9
Louis Joseph	8
Bertie Friedlander	7
Isidor Joseph	6

Source: NA – RG11/0872/8/94/20

Note: Lionel Hart, Abraham Lazarus, Joseph Jacobs, Alfred Freeman and John Freeman attended the school in 1884. Source: JC, 1 February 1884, 775, 6b.

1891:

Name of School: Tivoli House

Head of School: Isidore Berkowitz

Address of School: Windmill Street, Milton, Gravesend

Resident Teacher: Charles Regnios (aged 30, from France)

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Herbert Francis Davis	16
Jessil B. Yates (USA)	15
Edward Levi	16
Samuel Bodlender	15
Albert Jacobson	14
Harold Vanderlinden	14
John Banes	13
W. Levy	13
Henry Israel	13
Benjamin Van Pragh	13
Cecil Van Pragh	13
L. Barnard	13
Morris Whyl	13
Bertie Marcus	12
Ernest Samuels	12
Sydney Isaacs	12
Michael Isaacs	12
Hermann Edelmann (Russia)	12
Algernon S. Tate	11
Frederick Marx (USA)	11
Henry Vanderlinden	10
Harold Lagar	10
Reuben Vandelinden	9
Arthur Levy	9
L----- Phillips	9
Aubrey Tate	9
James Joel	8
Aimee Barnett	15
Sarah H. Maram	11
Bessie Isaacs	11
Annie Levy	11
Julia Levy	10
Sadie Isaacs	9

Source: NA -RG12/646/8/7/8-9¹

B. Non-Jewish Schools (including Jewish Houses in Public Schools)

This section does not contain tables of exhaustive names for a variety of reasons which were highlighted in the Introduction (including the difficulty of locating Jewish pupils unless specifically noted in the school registers as Jewish or another source has provided details of the pupils' schooling).

¹ Louis Flavien Lezard also attended the school in 1891. The Jewish Standard, 13 February 1891, 151, III, 3a.

The formation of the tables varies depending on the data provided. The main sources consulted were school registers, school magazines and census returns.

Bedford Grammar School

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Joseph Abramovitz	1905-8
Harold Abrahams (transferred to St. Paul's in 1913 before entering Repton)	1908-13
Reuben Solomon	1909-12
Alexander Grossman	1910-2
Leonard Grossman	1910-3
James Grossman	1911
Robert W. Grossman	1911

Sources: BCRO – HT9/17/4 Bedford Grammar School Registers 1901-13
Michael de-la-Noy, Bedford School: A History (Bedford, 1999).

Bedford Modern School

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Jacob Lissack	1860-6
Dan Lissack	1865-8
Walter Abrahams	1867-8
Ephraim Lissack	1867-8
Morris B. Jacobs	1885-94
Albert Julius Jacobs	1885-8
Adolphe Abrahams	1891-9
Sidney Abrahams	1893-1902
Lionel Abrahams	1895-1905
Herbert C. Abrahams	1904-8

Sources: AT, HP and WWW; BCRO – HT 9/18 Bedford Modern School Registers 1885-1915;
H.E. Vipan, A Register of the Old Boys of the Bedford Modern School (Bedford, 1901).

Bristol Grammar School

1841-70

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
James Braham	1841-55
Charles Solomon	1846-8
Samuel Ballin	1847-59
S. Solomon	1848-60
Louis Moseley	1848-61
David E. Benjamin	1852-64

Alfred Moseley	1855-70
----------------	---------

Sources: Judith Samuel, Jews in Bristol: The History of the Jewish Community in Bristol From the Middle Ages to the Present Day (Bristol, 1997), 86 and 91; JC, (1 July 1859): "It may be interesting to the friends of education to know that the above school contains about two hundred pupils, nine of them being of the Jewish persuasion."

1882

This section has been taken from the lists of prize winners featured in the Jewish press. (This is, of course, a more accurate way to find Jewish names. Clearly, the disadvantage is that not all of the Jewish pupils received prizes but locating Jewish pupils in this way does guarantee that they are all Jewish.) The three pupils listed in 1882 also feature in Judith Samuel's history of Bristol, as residing at the house of Rev. David Fay, minister of the Bristol congregation 1880-4.

Name of Pupil	Year in which pupil received prize
Leslie Jacobs	1882
A.G. Morse	1882
A. Jacobs	1882

Sources: Judith Samuel, Jews in Bristol: The History of the Jewish Community in Bristol From the Middle Ages to the Present Day (Bristol, 1997), 91, 93 and 157. Rev. Fay's pupils included Leslie Jacobs, A.G. Morse and A. Jacobs, A.J. Goldsmid, J. Follick and E.A. Goldsmid Source: JC, 7171 (22 December 1882), 5a and (3 August 1883).

Cheltenham College

Prior to the Jewish House, Jewish pupils attended the school:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Robert Ludwig Mond	1882-5
Alfred Moritz Mond	1882-6

Sources: AT, DNB, M.C.Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First One Hundred Years (Buckinghamshire, 1968); Tim Pearce, Then and Now (Aldershot, 1991); Edward S. Skirving, ed., Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927 (Cheltenham, 1928).

Ivan Nestor Schnurmann's Jewish House, Cheltenham College

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Stanley Albert Kisch	1892-3
Martin E. Mosely	1892-4
Albert V. Enriquez (Smyrna)	1892-5
Alfred Enriquez (Smyrna)	1892-5
Joseph Pariente	1892-5
Mimon Pariente	1892-5
Ernest Martin Joseph	1892-6

Harold S. Sington	1892-6
George Hubert Cohen	1892-7
Harry Nestor Schnurmann (adopted son of I. Nestor Schnurmann)	1892-8
Stanley Samuel Cohen	1893-6
Leslie Marcan	1893-8
Howard Levy	1894-7
Reginald C. Levy	1894-8
Edgar Samuel Halford (transferred from Clifton)	1894-9
Ezekiel Sassoon Nathan (Singapore)	1894-1901
Morris Birn	1895-9
Mark Arthur Woolf (transferred from St. Paul's)	1895-1900
David Ezekiel Ezra (Calcutta)	1895-1902
Lionel A. Haldenstein	1896-8
Arthur Charles Hart	1896-9
Wilfred Charles Moss	1896-9
Leonard F. Symons	1896-9
Vivian Montagu	1896-1901
Philip M. Rosenberg	1897-8
Geoffrey P. Oppenheim	1897-1901
Geoffrey C.P. Haldenstein	1898-1900
Digby L. Solomon	1898-1901
Leonard I. Solomon	1898-1901
Reginald Wolf Lesser	1898-1902
Harold Gustav Meyer	1898-1902
David V. Oppenheim	1898-1904
Dudley Samuel Cohen	1899-1902
Edward Vivian Cohen	1899-1902
Jack B.B. Cohen	1899-1903
Frank Gordon Davis	1899-1903
Walter Leslie Davis	1899-1904
Harry Howard Walford	1900-5
Ernest Louis Davis	1900-6
Adrian Charles Lesser	1901-5
Harold F. Rubenstein	1901-6
Stanley J. Rubenstein	1901-6
Julian Norton Davis	1902-6
H. Samuel Enriquez (Asia Minor)	1902-9
Reginald A. Bloch	1903-5
Renan S. Oppenheim	1904-5
Joel Arthur Lipinski	1904-6
Walter Harry Lucas	1904-7
Leslie A. Regensburg	1905-8

Harry M. Woolf	1905-9
Frederick Hans Saville	1905-14
Carl A.M. Bingen	1906-11
Gerald Samuel Moses	1908-11
Norman V. Davis	1909-13
Eric Albert Bingen	1909-16
Donald Stuart Abrahams	1910-2
Joseph Harari	1910-2
Wilfrid G.A. Joseph	1910-2
Judah Levy Balensi	1910-4
Edward G. Abelson	1910-5
Leslie E.A. Joseph	1911-4
Frank Henry Isaacs	1912-4
Stanley A.L. Cohen	1912-8

Source: Edward S. Skirving. Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927 (Cheltenham, 1928).

Census 1901² for Corinth House:

Head of House: Ivan N. Schnurmann

Resident schoolmaster: Charles E. Youngman

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Harry N. Schnurmann	18
Bernard B. Cohen	14
Eliot C. Cohen	12
Dudley D. Cohen	15
Edward V. Cohen	14
Ernest L. Davis	11
Frank G. Davis	16
Walter L. Davis	14
Ellis N. Byrn (Hong Kong)	16
David E. Byrn (Calcutta)	16
Reginald W. Lesser	16
Harold G. Meyer	16
Vivian P. Montagu	15
----- S. Narham (Singapore)	16
Godfrey Oppenheim	17
David Oppenheim	15
Digby Solomon	17
Leonard Solomon	16
Henry Walford	12

Source: NA – RG13/2464/104/8

² This table will show the pupils who were resident in Corinth House at the time of the Census return in 1901.

Pupils attending both Nestor Schnurmann's and Lipson's Jewish House, Cheltenham College

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Eric B. Oppenheimer	1912-7
Donald L. Dreschfeld	1913-5
Lionel Q. Henriques	1913-5
Harry Altaras	1913-8
Kent Salomon Meyer	1914-6
Lewis Samuel	1914-7
Lawrence G.J. Engel	1914-8
Sydney S. Arrobus	1914-9

Source: Edward S. Skirving. Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927 (Cheltenham, 1928).

Daniel L. Lipson's Jewish House (until 1920), Cheltenham College:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Arnold Wurm	1915-8
Eric Hyman Isaacs	1915-20
Gerald V. Isaacs	1915-20
Mark Cohen	1916-7
Mark Finburgh	1916-7
Victor H. Arditti	1916-9
Hyman H. Belcher	1916-9
John M. Makower	1916-9
Harris Flacks	1917-8
Jack Ellis F. May	1916-9
Alfred Abrahams	1917-9
Vivian J.H. Ellis	1917-9
Edward S. Goldstone	1917-9
Barnett S. Harris	1917-9
Richard M. Myers	1917-9
Joseph S.F. Pollitzer	1917-9
Reuben Denny	1917-20
Derek Edward Moses	1917-20
Arthur M. Hyman	1918 (Jan-Dec)
Harold G. Davis	1918 (May-Dec)
Jack Cotton	1918-9
Bernard W. Goldstone	1918-9
Leslie Polinski	1918-9
Jack Q. Henriques	1918-20

Source: Edward S. Skirving. Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927 (Cheltenham, 1928).

Note: The Jewish House continued until 1923 where Lipson opened Corinth College.

Note: "In 1916, the old Newick House, after being unoccupied for a year, was occupied by the Jewish boys formerly in Corinth House (opposite the Porter's Lodge). The old Newick House was thereafter called Corinth House." Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927 (Cheltenham, 1928). Mr. I. Nestor

Schnurmann was the Head of the Jewish House between 1892 and 1914 and he was succeeded by Mr. Daniel L. Lipson.

City of London School

This section has been taken from the lists of prize winners featured in the Jewish press. (This is, of course, a more accurate way to find Jewish names. Clearly, the disadvantage is that not all of the Jewish pupils received prizes but locating Jewish pupils in this way does guarantee that they are all Jewish.)

Name of Pupil	Year in which pupil received prize
Ernest Abraham Hart	1852
Mr. Levy	1852
Mr. Affalo	1852
David Nathan	1854
David Lindo Alexander	1854
Abraham Nieto	1854
Israel Davis	1866
Lawrence M. Simmons	1866
Hermann M. Kisch	1866
Sidney Simonson	1866
Lewis Davis	1866
Lionel Alexander	1866
Raffael N. Basan	1866
Lionel Jacobs	1873
L.H. Loewenthal	1873
J.D. Jacobs	1873
H. Salinger	1873
Henry M. Platnauer	1873
B. Elkan	1873
J. Emanuel	1873
P.A. Barnett	1876
S.H. Franklin	1876
M.T. Levitt	1876
H.B. Joseph	1876
H. Simon	1876
M. Posener	1876
M. Berger	1876
T. Birnbaum	1876
F. Lowy	1876
Elkan Adler	1879
S. Moses	1879
I. Schorstein	1879
G.I. Schorstein	1879
W.S. Lazarus	1879
M.Z. Kuttner	1879
A.A. Lutto	1879

N. Bloomfield	1879
M.N. Berger	1879
H. Brandon	1879
A. Messiah	1879
I. Magnus	1879
S.G. Asher	1879
T.J. Levi	1879
A. Hertz	1879
R. Birnbaum	1879
Jacob Alexander	1905
L. Spero	1905
Lawrence M. Davis	1905
H. Ostravitch	1905
L.T. Silverman	1905
H. Neuschild	1905
A.R. Wolbrom	1905
R.I. Schwarzman	1905
I. Gourvitch	1905
C.F. Jaccotet	1905
W.H. Hirschbein	1905
B. Honour	1905
F.J. Goldthorpe	1905
H.D. Gotts	1905
C.P. Hayman	1905
R. Eisler	1905
V. Rosen	1905
L.A. Rozelaar	1905
E.K. Lange	1905
C.N. Spero	1905
M.L. Jacobs	1905
B. Abrahams	1905
E.C. Schaap	1905

Sources: JC, HO, JW

Clifton College: Hamburg House/Polack's House

This section combines the Houses of Hamburg and Polack, both of which were Jewish Houses. Hamburg House was established by Rev. Bernard Heyman (b. 1836 in Germany) who was a teacher of languages. When Rev. Polack took over, the Polack dynasty began and the name of the House changed.

1877-1920:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
E.M. Brandon	1878
F.M. Sebag	1878 (d. in 1880)
L.H. Emanuel	1878-80
William L. Levy	1878-82

Albert H. Jessel	1878-83
Gerald E. Beddington	1878-84
Henry D.A. Hart	1878-84
Claude Beddington	1878-85
S.F. Mendl	1879 (transferred to Harrow)
David L.Q. Henriques	1879-83
Horace L. Mocatta	1879-84
Philip S. Waley	1879-85
David Gubbay (Bombay, India)	1880-3
Harold H. Benjamin (Melbourne, Australia)	1880-8
William L. Lucas	1881-5
E.M. Sebag-Montefiore	1881-7
H. Levy	1882-5
J.D. Waley	1882-5
E.H.Q. Henriques	1883-7
F.G. Aflalo	1884-5
E.S. Saunders	1884-6
F.P. Bauman	1885-7
Walter S. Cohen	1885-8
Harold A. Cohen	1885-90
H.R. Levy	1885-90
F.C. Lindo	1885-90
Hugh N. Lucas	1885-90
H.L. Cohen	1886-8
Leslie W. Harris	1886-90
E.H. Montagu	1886-90
John H. Montagu	1886-91
Ernest H. Moses	1886-91
Owen D. Lucas	1886-92
Herbert L. Kulb	1887-90
Herbert B. Cohen	1887-92
J.W. Cohen	1888-92
Harold J. Ellis	1888-92
Julian G. Lousada	1889-93
Arthur Stiebel	1889-93
R.D. Cohen	1890-2
Charles Stiebel	1890-2
Charles D. Enoch	1890-5
Robert Waley Cohen	1890-6
Mark M.S. Gubbay	1890-6
E.A. Lumley	1891-3
Edwin S. Montagu	1891-3
L.C.J. Davis	1891-4
F.A. Haas	1891-7
J.M. Halford	1891-4
L.S. Stiebel	1892 (d.1892)

L. Blume	1892-5
C.W. Cohen	1892-7
H.S. Hallenstein	1893-5
A. Isaacs	1893-7
C.G. Nathan	1893-7
E.S. Halford	1894
S.J. Jackson	1894-7
Gerald M. Meyer	1894-7
Charles I. Nathan	1894-7
C.Q. Henriques	1894-8
Gerald S. Montagu	1894-8
H.L. Hayman	1894-9
Archie G. Mosely	1894-1902
A.L. Lyons	1895-8
Alfred Abrahams	1895-9
F.L. Halford	1895-9
M.J. Woolf	1895-9
Arthur Abrahams	1895-1902
Cecil H. Kisch	1895-1903
Frederick M. Mosely	1895-1903
George H. Mosely	1895-1903
H.P.L. Landeshut	1896-8
E. Abraham	1896-9
P.V. Tabbush	1896-9
G.M. Lazarus	1896-1900
William R. Tuck	1896-1900
S.M.P. Michaelson	1896-1901
R.M. Sebag-Montefiore	1896-1901
G.M. Abecasis	1896-1902
Lionel S. Montagu	1896-1902
A.L.C. Spiers	1896-1903
A.D.J. Davis	1897-9
D.G. Moss	1897-1900
C.G. Myer	1897-1901
Jacob A. Franklin	1897-1902
R.E.E. Groner	1897-1902
C.E. Sebag-Montefiore	1897-1902
H.J. Solomon	1897-1904
L.N. Davidson	1898-9
Albert E. Woolf	1898-1900
C.S. Krauss	1898-1902
N.S. Lucas	1898-1902
L.M. Nathan	1898-1902
H.S. Reitlinger	1898-1902
E.R.M. Spielmann	1898-1902
D.H. Cohen	1899-1900
R.A. Flatau	1899-1902
M.R. Joseph	1899-1902

H.N. Moss	1899-1903
William Sebag-Montefiore	1899-1903
George M. Meyer	1899-?
Frederick H. Kisch	1899-?
Edgar B. Samuel	1900-3
T.H. Sebag-Montefiore	1900-4
W.R. Woolf	1900-4
Ellis Ezra	1900-5
Paul P. Reitlinger	1900-6
H.H. Benjamin	1901-2
E.H.L. Davidson	1901-2
H.S. Myer	1901-4
Leonard A. Seligmann	1901-6
B.J. Polack	1901-9
C.L. Meyer	1901-?
V.A. Moss	1901-?
Gordon J. Bonas	1902-7
H.A. Franklin	1902-7
Leonard V. Hart	1902-7
C.M. Spielmann	1902-7
Desmond A. Tuck	1902-7
H.J. Birnstingl	1902-8
Albert I. Polack	1902-11
D. Nathan	1902-?
Albert E. Löwy	1903-5
Frank Samuel	1903-5
L.N. Montefiore-Goldsmid	1903-7
Ronald M. Myers	1903-7
D. Van Den Bergh	1903-7
Neville Laski	1903-8
Frederick D. Levy	1903-8
Gerald L. Schlesinger	1903-8
E.E. Polack	1903-12
H. Horwitz	1903-?
B. Woolf	1903-?
H.S. Benjamin	1904-8
Seymour Van Den Bergh	1904-9
Frank A. Rossdale	1904-1912
C.A.M. Miller	1904-?
Isaac H. de Mercado	1905-8
Kenneth L. Spiers	1905-8
John Sebag-Montefiore	1905-10
George H. Montagu	1905-11
Adolphus N. Richardson	1906-8
Arthur L. Schlesinger	1906-11
H.L.I. Spielmann	1906-11
George Haldin	1907-9
Henry E. Espir	1907-10

Julius Lipschitz	1907-10
Alan P. Franklin	1907-12
Ellis Franklin	1907-12
Leslie Hore-Belisha	1907-12
J.H. Van Den Bergh	1907-12
Frederick Harvey-Isaac	1908-10
J.A. Benjamin	1908-11
S. Benzecry	1908-11
Charles A. Birnstingl	1908-12
Trevor H. Dreyfus	1908-12
R.F. Rubenstein	1908-12
Ronald D'A Hart	1908-13
Cyril J. G. Joseph	1908-13
Abraham F. Nathan	1909-11
Edward Grossman	1909-13
W.L. Tanburn	1909-13
V.D. Grossman	1909-14
W.S. Nathan	1910-3
Richard F. Halford	1910-5
Walter D'A Hart	1910-5
L.M.B. Weil	1910-5
John V. Meyer	1910-6
Alfred Isaac	1912-3
David Aserman	1912-7
Cecil F. Halford	1912-7
Edward F. Q. Henriques	1912-7
John E. Montagu	1912-7
Halford V. Nahum	1912-7
Sydney Frank	1912-8
George William Martin (formerly Moses)	1913-7
Norman Laski	1913-8
Philip D'A Hart	1913-9
Leslie C. Cook	1914-8
Henry D. Barnard	1914-9
C.E. Benzecry	1914-9
Geoffrey Gollin	1914-9
Solly Cohen	1914-20
Robert L. Abraham	1915-9
Gerald M. Mendelssohn	1915-20
Myer H. Salaman	1916-8
Cyril L. Albury	1917-9
Harry Lipton	1918-20

Sources: G.M. Meyer, Polack's House Register 1878-1904.

Polack's House Magazine 1897-1937, I-IV, 292-302.

E.M. Oakley, Clifton College Register 1862 to 1887

NA - R11/2483/24/35/65-6; NA - RG12/1969/28/68/28-9

Note: J.T. Leon entered the school in 1877 prior to the establishment of the Jewish House and stayed until 1879.

Dulwich College

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Frank Abraham	1866-7
William T. Cohen	1868-9
Henry J. Cohen	1869-71
Jacob Nunes Castello	1870-5
Alfred F. Steinberg	1870-9
Richard J. Hoffman	1871-3
Alfred Isaacson	1871-6
Julius V. Steinberg	1873 (Feb-Dec)
Henry W. Hoffman	1874-5
Alfred J. Lehmann	1874-8
Ernest L. Hoffman	1874-80
Paul E. Steinberg	1878-81
Elias Raphael	1886-7
Courtney W. Solomon	1886-7
Darrell A. Bensusan	1886-8
Ernest Henry Solomon	1887-8
Oscar J. Bensusan	1887-90
William A. Hoffman	1890-3
Moses Ferdinand L. Bensusan	1894-7
Ernest F.J. Eckenstein	1898-1900
Walter L. Eckenstein	1899-1902
I. Arthur Abecassis	1902-4
Herbert O. Eckenstein	1902-5
Ralph A. Eckenstein	1902-6
Hermann Albertus Voss	1902-7
David Henry Hartog	1902-10
Joseph M. Adlerstein	1905-8
Bertram Gledhart Abrams	1906-8
Neville Camden Abrams	1906-11
Alfred Herman Cohn	1907-9
Lionel Ernest B. Jacob	1907-11
George A. Hoffman	1907-13
Felix August Cohn	1911-5
Edgar Stanley Cohn	1912-8
Leonard W. Akerman	1914-5
Harold Charles Cohen	1914-6
Leslie John S. Cohn	1919-20

Source: Thomas Lane Ormiston, Dulwich College Register 1619 to 1926 (London, 1926).
The Alleynian (Dulwich College Magazine)

Eton

1887-1920:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Henry Julius Joseph Stern	1887-92
Albert Gerald Stern (converted to Christianity)	1892-7
Edward Henry L. Beddington	1897-1901
Frederic Claude Stern	1898-1902
David Reginald H. P. Goldsmid-Stern-Salomons	1898-1904
Paul Henry M. Oppenheimer	1901-5
Lionel L. Cohen	1901-6
Hermann Frederic Eckstein	1902-5
Cyril J. Hoffnung-Goldsmid	1904-9
Ronald Hoffnung-Goldsmid	1906-10
Geoffrey E. Sebag-Montefiore	1906-10
Alfred Ludwig Eckstein	1906-11
Rupert Esmond Lowinsky	1906-12
Bernard Frederick Eckstein	1908-13
Cyril Ernest Raphael	1910-5
Reginald William W. Mendel	1911-5
Cyril E. Sebag-Montefiore	1913-5

Sources: The Eton Register 1889-1899 Part VI (Eton, 1910); The Eton Register 1899-1909 Part VII (Eton, 1922); The Eton Register 1909-1919 Part VIII (Eton, 1932).

Hackney Downs School

1876-1907:

Name of Pupil	Year of Entry	Father's Profession
Alfred E. Schofield	1876	Warehouseman
Ernest A. Schroeder	1876	Broker
Walter H. Shindler	1877	Commercial traveller
Henry Godfrey	1877	Tailor
Arthur L. Solomons	1877	Commercial traveller
John Jacobs	1878	Furniture dealer
Alfred Solomon	1879	Boot/shoe manufacturer
H. Solomon	1881	Warehouseman
Bernard Samuel	1881	Baker
Abraham Solomon	1882	Shoe manufacturer
Ernest Godfrey	1882	Tailor
Cecil W. Lewis	1882	Merchant
A.E. Neuberger	1883	Merchant
H. Salomon	1884	Shoe manufacturer

E. Jacobs	1884	Cabinet manufacturer
A. Kaufman	1884	Boot manufacturer
A. Solomon	1884	Shoe manufacturer
A.J. Montague	1884	Lithographer
F. Salomon	1887	Manufacturer
M. Schneider	1889	Cigar importer
W.D. Singer	1890	Printer/publisher
H. Knapman	1891	Librarian
W. Naumann	1891	Merchant
S.H. Simons	1891	Stock broker
B. Lewin	1892	Traveller
R.G. Lewis	1892	Merchant
H. Newman	1893	Wholesale grocer
R. Knapman	1893	Commercial clerk
E. Naumann	1894	Commercial merchant
M. Kestenbaum	1894	Importer/agent
H. Bloomfield	1894	Mother was widow
L. Lazarus	1895	Unknown
B. Rubenstein	1896	Timber merchant
S. Rubenstein	1896	Timber merchant
E.R. Hermann	1898	Merchant
H. Lunkenheimer	1898	Master baker
B. Da Costa	1898	Traveller
S. Weinstein	1899	Foreman at picture frame factory
E. Cohen	1899	Commercial traveller
J. Knapman	1899	Commercial traveller
G.R. Brockman	1899	Tailor's assistant
D. Goldberg	1900	Wholesale watch importer
M. Kaufman	1900	Manufacturer
B. Steimann	1900	Merchant
Samuel Rudmansk	1905	Unknown
Judah Young	1905	Unknown
Alfred Lewis	1905	Unknown
Alexander Simon	1905	Unknown
Isidore Woolf	1905	Unknown
Herbert Goodman	1905	Unknown
Philip Weinstein	1906	Warehouseman
Ernest S. Louis	1906	Unknown
Davis Goldblatt	1906	Cabinet maker
Mark Finegold	1906	Unknown
J. Finegold	1906	Unknown
M.H. Finegold	1906	Unknown
Cecil Jacob Eprile	1906	Unknown
Morris Mednikoff	1906	Unknown
Kadesh Hyman	1907	Fur dealer
Paul Lazarus	1907	Merchant
J. Epstein	1907	Cabinet maker

Sol Epstein	1907	Cabinet maker
George Cohen	1907	Dealer
Moss Cohen	1907	Dealer
Edward Cohen	1907	Assistant schoolmaster
Henry Goldstein	1907	Furrier
D. Goldstein	1907	Furrier
Harry Solomon	1907	Unknown
Moss Daviel Goldman	1907	Unknown
Montague Rosenbloom	1907	Unknown
Harry Israelson	1907	Unknown
Israel Barnett Hoffman	1907	Unknown
Israel Horwitz	1907	Jeweller

Sources: HDS – R/DOW/4/1 Admission Register 1876-1907; HDS – R/DOW/15/1 Admission Register 1905-1923

1908-1919:

Name of Pupil	Year of Entry	Former School	Father's Profession
Benjamin Perkoff	1908	Unknown	Unknown
Harold Lewis Goldman	1908	Unknown	Unknown
Henry Reuben Lazarus	1908	Unknown	Jeweller
Saul Lyons	1910	Unknown	Unknown
Isidore Kusiner	1910	Stepney Jewish Primary School	Confectioner
Alfred Goldman	1911	Unknown	Unknown
Leon Lazarus	1911	Tivoli House School	Boot manufacturer
David Grossman	1912	Jews' Free School	Merchant
Lazarus Grossman	1912	Jews' Free School	Merchant
Allen Abraham Alfandary	1913	Tivoli House School	Merchant
Louis Norden	1914	Stepney Jewish Primary School	Schoolmaster
Harry Myer	1914	Whitechapel Foundation Grammar School	Editor
Joseph Indech	1914	Jewish school in Antwerp	Diamond merchant
Isidore Atkins	1916	Townley Castle	Furrier
Norman Philip Grant		Tivoli House School	Manufacturer
Joseph Mendoza	1916	Gravesend	Manufacturer
Philip I. Rosenthal	1916	Tivoli House School	Tailors' trimmings dealer
Walter Ratner	1916	Unknown	Unknown
Simon Rosenberg	1916	Unknown	Unknown
Joseph Rosenberg	1916	Unknown	Unknown
Morris Shool	1917	Jews' Free School	Jeweller
Joseph Goldfarb	1917	Unknown	Unknown
Cyril Lieberman	1917	Unknown	Chiropodist
Jerome Cohen	1917	Unknown	Merchant
Benjamin W.H. Goldbloom	1917	Unknown	Headmaster of a

			Jewish school
Jacob Bernard Freeman	1917	Unknown	Tailor
Abraham Caplin	1918	Jews' Free School	Master tailor
Lazarus Fine	1918	Unknown	Grocer
Lewis Hoffman	1918	Unknown	Minister of religion
Israel Preiskel	1918	Unknown	Jeweller
Abraham Goldstein	1918	Unknown	Wholesale draper

Sources: HDS – R/DOE/15/1 Admission Register 1905-1923; HDS – R/DOW/4/27 List of Pupils 1915-9

Harrow

This section for Harrow School has been divided into (a) Beeleigh House – the Jewish House established by Rev. J. Chotzner which was found in the 1881 Census; and (b) Harrow School where the school's registers have been used.

(a) Beeleigh House (according to the Census return 1881)

Head of House: Joseph Chotzner (Professor of Languages)

Address of House: Waldron Road, Harrow-on-the-Hill

Name of Pupil	Age
Banash Panlw (?) (Germany)	22
John F. Waley	19
Felix Davis	18
Frank Cohen	16
Sigismund F. Mendl (transferred from Clifton College)	15
Herbert Beddington	18
George Beddington	16
Charles Beddington	15

Source: NA - RG11/1357/3b/101

(b) Harrow School

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Charles A. Levy	1885-8
Charles Edward G. Goetz	1886-91
Charles A. Goldschmidt	1886-91
George Alfred Cohen	1887-9
Alfred J. Chotzner	1887-92
Henry F. Goldschmidt	1888-92
Arthur M. Cohen	1890-4
Ernest M. Cohen	1890-5
Cyril Ernest Hart	1891-4
Osmond E. D'Avigdor	1891-5
Lewis M. Heymann	1892-4
Julian Q. Henriques	1894-9

Lionel N. de Rothschild	1895-9
Ernest L.D. Zeffertt	1895-1900
Charles N. Zeffertt	1896-1902
Ronald L.Q. Henriques	1898-1901
Manfred Emanuel	1899
Harold L.Q. Henriques	1899-1903
Philip Q. Henriques	1899-1904
Evelyn A. de Rothschild	1899-1904
Anthony G. de Rothschild	1899-1906
Gerald Q. Henriques	1900-3
Bertie Cohen	1904-6
Basil L. Q. Henriques	1904-7
Wilfrid Q. Henriques	1904-7
Stanley J.R. Cohen	1905-8
Dennis Myer Cohen	1905-9
George L.Q. Henriques	1908-13
James G. Hart	1910-6
Ewart J. Levy	1911-6
Kenneth H.S. Cohen	1914-5
Sergius I.V. Issakovitch	1915-8

Sources: AT, DNB, HP, JC, JE, James W. Moir, ed. The Harrow School Register 1885-1949 (London, 1951); J.H. Stodgon, ed. The Harrow School Register 1845-1925 (London, 1925).

King's College School

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Alfred C. Rothschild	1842-?
Leopold Rothschild	1845-?
Edward David Stern	1866-9
Leonard B. Franklin	1875-8
Abraham Jacobs	1876-7
Frederick Samuel Franklin	1877-81
Henry S. Lewis	1877-81
Israel Jacobs	1878-9
John Jacobs	1878-9
George Kamensky	1878-9
Emanuel Jacobs	1878-80
Simeon Jacobs	1878-80

Sources: JW; Miles, Frank R. King's College School: 1866-1889: A Register of Pupils in the Schools under the Second Headmaster, Dr. G.F. Maclear, and the Third Headmaster, Dr. T.H. Stokoe (London, 1985).

King Edward's School, Birmingham

1838-68:³

Name of Pupil
Edward Cohen
Joseph Gold
Morris Myers
Mosely Meyers
Charles Samuel
Elias Solomon
Simon Samuel
Morris Solomon
Henry Cohen
Alfred Hyman
C. H. Lewis
Joseph Morris Marks
Montague Jacob
Samuel Jacob
Barnard Myers
Albert Natham
Benjamin Nathan

Source: KES – 5/FHSB/School Register 1838 - 1868

1870 – 83:

Name of Pupil	Year of Entry	Age of Pupil (on entry)	Father's Name/ Profession (where known)
M. J. B. Bernstein	1874		J. B. Bernstein
H. Cohen	1874		L. C. Cohen
E. Cohen	1874		L. C. Cohen
L. M. Myers	1874		M. M. Myers
L. B. Levin	1874		A. L. Levin
Henry Cohen	1871	14	Leopold Cohen, Merchant
David Davis	1871	15	Michael Davis
Ernest Cohen	1873	12	Leopold Cohen, Merchant
George Rubenstein	?	13	Leon J. Rubenstein, Reader in Jewish Congregation
Jacob M. Myers	1874	13	Barnett Myers, Jeweller
Edward Karminski	1873	11	Simon Karminski, Jeweller
Samuel C. M-----	1875	10	Michael S. M-----, Jeweller
Isaac Myers	1875	10	Barnett Myers, Jeweller
Fabian Rosenberg	1875	10	Louis Rosenberg, Tailor
Frederick H. Samuel	1870	15	Saul Samuel, Merchant
Henry Shatz	1870	15	Joseph Shatz, Pawnbroker

³ Benjamin Lumley (formerly Levy) attended the school sometime during the 1820s. His father was a merchant. JE, VIII (Jerusalem, 1905), 207.

Adolph M. Myers	1871	14	Morris Myers, Pen Maker
George Levi	1871	14	Jacob Levi, Jeweller
Elias Rubenstein	1871	13	Benjamin Rubenstein, Jeweller
Alfred Cohen	1872	13	Edward Cohen, Merchant
Isaiah I. Friend	1873	14	Albert M. Friend, Pawnbroker
Michael S. Joseph	1872	15	Morris Joseph, Jeweller
Albert H. Synter	1873	12	Henry Synter, Hosier
David Marks	1873	13	Maurice, Retired
Leopold Myers	1874	11	Maurice Myers, Pen Maker
Leon Brown	1873	12	Jacob Brown, Jeweller
Aaron Rogaly	1874	12	Julius Rogaly, Manufacturer
Harry Scott	1874	13	Morris Scott, Jeweller
Isaac Belcher	1875	12	Harris Belcher, Traveller
Ernest G. Braham	1875	12	Frederick J. Braham, Optician
Edward Foligno	1875	13	Frederick J. Braham, Optician
Hyam Joseph	1875	11	Edward Joseph
Lewis M. Mier	1872	15	Montague L. Mier, Jeweller
Jacob Myers	1874	13	Barnett Myers, Jeweller
Moss Platnauer	1875	12	Louis Platnauer, Jeweller
Isaiah B. Cohen	1876	9	Mr. Cohen, Cutter
Howard J. Goldsmid	1876	9	H. J. Goldsmid, Jeweller
Albert Marks	1876	12	M. M. Marks, Jeweller
Frederick Sterner	1876	11	J. S. Sterner, Broker
Lawrence Sterner	1876	10	J.S. Sterner, Broker
Louis M. Platnauer	1875	13	L. P. Platnauer, Jeweller
David Cohen	1876	10	A. C. Cohen, Jeweller
Louis Wolfsohn	1876	12	J. W. Wolfsohn, Dealer
Phineas Strawbaum	1876	13	J. S. Strawbaum, General Dealer
Isaiah Isaacs	1876	13	S. I. Isaacs, Wholesale Jeweller
Bertram Rothschild	1876	11	M. J. Rothschild, Watchmaker
Albert E. Sterner	1876	13	J. L. S. Sterner, Financial Agent
Victor F. Samuel	1877	10	Mrs E. L. Samuel, widow
Ephraim Brown	1877	13	J. Brown, Watch Manufacturer
Nathan N. Davis	1877	12	L. Davis, Pawnbroker
Lewis Lyons	1877	10	H. Lyons, Jeweller
Myer Silverman	1877	11	J. Silverman, Draper
Josiah Isaacs	1878	14	S. Isaacs, Cabinet Maker
Augustus Joseph	1878	11	M. Joseph, Jeweller
Henry P. Phillips	1878	11	J. Phillips, Bedstead Manufacturer
Louis Berlyn	1878	10	M. Berlyn, Schoolmaster
Arthur L. Stern	1879	11	M. Stern, Merchant
Sidney Blanckansee	1880	11	A. Blanckansee, Jeweller
Edward Blanckansee	1880	10	A. Blanckansee, Jeweller
John D. Davis	1880	12	D. Davis, Jeweller

Percy C. Goldsmid	1880	12	M. J. Goldsmid, Jeweller
Adolph Goldsmid	1880	11	M. J. Goldsmid, Jeweller
Jacob Isaacs	1880	12	S. Isaacs, Manufacturer
Abraham Berlyn	1880	10	M. Berlyn, Schoolmaster
Philip Cohen	1881	10	J. Cohen
Samuel P. Davis	1881	12	E. Davis, Manufacturer
David A. Cohen	1881	12	J. Cohen, Jeweller
Lionel L. Cohen	1881	11	J. Cohen, Jeweller
Michael Rosenberg	1881	11	L. Rosenberg, Clothier
Benjamin Joseph	1881	11	D. Joseph, Jeweller
John H. Berlyn	1881	10	M. Berlyn, Schoolmaster
Joseph G. Emanuel	1882	10	G. J. E. Emanuel, Minister
Ezekiel Simons	1882	14	J. Simons, Jeweller
Frederick M. Cohen	1882	13	Mrs. Cohen
Samuel Marks	1882	14	J. Marks, Merchant Shipper
Walter Myers	1882	10	G. Myers, Jeweller
Arthur L. Joseph	1883	13	J. Joseph, Merchant
Arthur Emanuel	1883	10	G. J. E. Emanuel, Minister
Simon C. Gordon	1883	10	S. Gordon, Moneylender
Henry L. Marks	1883	10	S. Marks, Moneylender

Source: KES - S/Ad/Schol 9 – 34

Manchester Grammar School:

Earliest known pupils, prior to 1862:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Lewis Henry Nathan	1808-?
Joseph Nathan	1811-?
Ellis Abraham Franklin	1837-1839

Sources: Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875* (Manchester, 1976), 25. Ulula: *Manchester Grammar School Magazine*, 19, 134 (1892), 83: "Mr. Franklin was one of the first Jews admitted to the School, and he reports that though always kindly treated by the masters, he had to overcome considerable prejudice among his school-fellows." A copy of this magazine is also available at PLSU – MS 120/4/5.

1862 – 1879:

Name of Pupil	Year of Entry	Age of Pupil (on entry)	Father's Name/ Profession
Samuel Lewin	1862	10	Samuel Lewin, Minister
Edward Herbert	1864	13	Alfred Herbert, Decorator
Henry Leipziger	1865	11	Marcus Leipziger, Cap Maker
Frederick Levy	1865	13	Elias Levy, Clothier
Frank Levy	1866	10	Elias Levy, Clothier
R. Samuels	1871	13	C. J. Samuels, Merchant

Henry Rosenthal	1872	13	Joseph Rosenthal, Jeweller
Levi Lambert	1874	13	Levi Lambert, Manager
T. Eichbaum	1874	15	Charles Eichbaum, Controller
A. Lazarus	1874	13	Harry Lazarus, Merchant
H. W. Lazarus	1874	15	Herman Lazarus
J. H. Lowe	1875	14	J. Lowe
H. H. Lowe	1875	10	J. Lowe
C. Schafer	1876	13	C. G. Schafer
W. Seligmann	1876	13	H. Seligmann
H. Seligmann	1876	11	H. Seligmann
L. M. Lazarus	1876	13	H. Lazarus
J. Hockmeyer	1877	14	O. Hockmeyer, Merchant
S. Schloss	1877	15	S. Schloss, Merchant
S. Besso	1877	11	H. M. Besso, Commission Agent
J. P. Lowe	1879	11	J. Lowe, Pawnbroker

Source: MGS – Register of Admission 13 October 1862 – 29 September 1879.

Note: The admission's register was closed in 1879 by order of the High Master. Pupils were registered again from 1888.

1888 - 1895:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance	Age of Pupil (on entry)	Former School (where known)
Samuel Harris	1889-91	12	Manchester Jews' School
Herbert Levinstein	1889-92	11	Unknown
Ernest Jacoby	1890	10	Unknown
Levy Deutch	1890-1	12	Manchester Jews' School
Edgar Levinstein	1890-2	13	Private tuition
Frank J. Frankenberg	1891-3	13	Unknown
Cyril Q. Henriques	1891-3	11	Unknown
Edward Q. Henriques	1891-3	11	Unknown
Leon Laudstein	1891-4	13	Unknown
Lionel Schlesinger (transferred to Rugby)	1891-4	12	Unknown
Sidney Lee	1892-4	14	Unknown
Israel Cohen	1892-6	13	Manchester Jews' School
Joseph Lastgarten	1892-5	15	Manchester Jews' School
Isaac L. Kandel	1892-7	11	Manchester Jews' School
Harry Cohen	1893-4	13	Unknown
Herman G. Edelman	1893-5	14	Tivoli House, Gravesend
Henry Cohen	1893-6	13	Manchester Jews' School
Harry Cohen	1893-4	13	Manchester Jews' School
Jacques Lustgarten	1893-6	13	Manchester Jews' School
Sam Deutch	1894-6	13	Manchester Jews' School
Montie B. Rosenberg	1894-6	12	Great Ealing School
Elias Cohen	1894-7	12	Manchester Jews' School
Max A. Aronovich	1894-8	13	Manchester Jews' School
Barnett Falk	1894-7	12	Manchester Jews' School

Solomon Horowitz	1894-1900	13	Unknown
David Rosenbaum	1895-6	14	Manchester Jews' School
Malcolm Deutch	1895-7	12	Manchester Jews' School
Israel Cohen	1895-7	11	Manchester Jews' School
Israel Cohen	1895-9	11	Manchester Jews' School
Abraham Btsh (?)	1895-9	13	W. Cohen's, Brighton
Elias Btsh (?)	1895-?	10	W. Cohen's Brighton

Sources: MGS – Register of Admissions 1888-1895; Manchester Grammar School: A Biographical Register of Old Mancunians 1888-1951 (Manchester, 1965).

1896 – 1903:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance	Age of Pupil	Former School (where known)
Philip Brown	1896	13	Manchester Jews' School
Alphonso Nahum	1896-7	15	Cheetham Collegiate
Henry Aaronson	1897-1900	13	Unknown
Phineas Horowitz	1897-1900	12	Manchester Jews' School
Martin Kraus	1897-1901	16	Manchester Jews' School
Martin Kraus	1897-1902	13	Unknown
Sydney Salomon	1897-1903	12	Unknown
Isidor Assaël (?)	1898-9	18	Townley School, Ramsgate
Abraham L. Davidson	1898-1901	12	Manchester Jews' School
Harry Epstein	1898-1901	12	Manchester Jews' School
Saul David T-----	1898-1902	12	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Solomon Horowitz	1898-1903	17	Unknown
Victor Marcus Levy (transferred to City of London)	1899-1902	12	Unknown
Isaac H. Rubenstein	1899-1902	13	Manchester Jews' School
Elias Blesh	1899-1900	14	Mr. Cohen's, Broughton
Isadore Cohen	1899-1900	13	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Joseph Aaronson	1899-1904	11	Unknown
Jacob Cohen	1900	15	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Albert Clement Rofe	1900-1	16	Kahn's Institute, Brussels
Joseph Leon	1900-2	13	Unknown
Phineas Cohen	1900-3	11	Manchester Jews' School
Lawrence Kostoris	1900-3	12	Unknown
Maurice L. Marks	1900-3	12	Unknown
Morris Silverstone	1900-3	11	Manchester Jews' School
Harris Dagalski	1900-6	11	Manchester Jews' School
Maurice Levy Marks	1900-3	12	Manchester Jews' School
Joseph Levy	1900-1	11	Tivoli House, Gravesend
Woolfe Cohen	1901-2	13	Manchester Jews' School
Martin Kraus	1901-2	17	Manchester Jews' School

Henry B. Levien	1901-2	15	Tivoli House, Gravesend
Harry Franks	1901-3	11	Manchester Jews' School
Solomon D. Wiener	1901-3	11	Great Ealing School, London
Myer Rosenthal	1901-4	13	Unknown
Isidor Boodson	1901-5	13	Manchester Jews' School
Simon Marks	1901-5	13	Manchester Jews' School
Israel M. Sieff	1901-5	12	Unknown
Solomon Michaels	1901-7	11	Unknown
Neville J. Laski	1902-3		Unknown
Woolfe Crammer (?)	1902-8	12	Manchester Jews' School
Lazarus Rayman	1902-8	12	Manchester Jews' School
Abraham Claff	1902-5	13	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
William Claff	1902-5	12	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Mark Tankel	1902	12	Manchester Jews' School

Sources: MGS – Register of Admissions 1896 – 1903; Manchester Grammar School: A Biographical Register of Old Mancunians 1888-1951 (Manchester, 1965).

Note: Townley School and Townley Castle are the same institution.

1903-11:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance	Age of Pupil	Former School (where known)
Eleazar Raffalovich	1903	13	Manchester Jews' School
Abe Freeman	1903-4	?	Manchester Jews' School
Ralph Marks	1903-6	?	Manchester Jews' School
Arthur A. Nahum	1903-5	12	Great Ealing School, London
Harry Levi	1903-5	13	Manchester Jews' School
Samuel P. Halpern	1903-6	13	Unknown
Saul Wilks	1903-6	13	Manchester Jews' School
Simon Galler	1903-7	13	Manchester Jews' School
Alfred J. Sloman	1903-7	12	Unknown
Charles A. Stiebel	1903-7	13	Unknown
Manasseh Cohen	1903-8	11	Manchester Jews' School
Leslie J. Berlin	1903-10	12	Manchester Jews' School
Benjamin Epstein	1903-10	12	Manchester Jews' School
Samuel Goldstone	1904-6	14	Manchester Jews' School
Julius H. Levy	1904-6	14	Unknown
Jacob Arner	1904-7	13	Manchester Jews' School
Albert Cohen	1904-8	12	Unknown
Harold J. Laski	1904-10	11	Unknown
Joseph Marks	1905-10	11	Manchester Jews' School
Harry Shafer	1905-7	13	Manchester Jews' School
Louis Shafer	1905-10	11	Manchester Jews' School
Barnett J. Bramer	1905-9	13	Manchester Jews' School
Morris Rosenzweig	1906	13	Manchester Jews' School

Moses Cohen	1906-8	13	Unknown
Isaac Ellison	1906-8	15	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Harry Abrahams	1906-9	14	Unknown
Samuel Cohen	1906-9	13	Unknown
Morris Cohen	1906-12	13	Manchester Jews' School
Michael Suppree	1907-9	14	Manchester Jews' School
David Cohen	1907-10	13	Unknown
Samuel Marques	1907-8	16	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Lazarus Marks	1907-12	13	Manchester Jews' School
Moses Friedlander	1908-9	14	Manchester Jews' School
Louis J. Schwartz	1908-12	14	Unknown
Reuben Cohen	1908-14	13	Manchester Jews' School
Louis Golding	1908-14	13	Waterloo Road Elementary School
Isaac H. Freedlander	1908-15	12	Unknown
Sidney Lustgarten	1909-10	14	Manchester Jews' School
Philip L. Bernstein	1909-14	13	Manchester Jews' School
Woolfe Summerfield	1909-16	10	Manchester Jews' School
Harry Cohen	1909-11	13	Manchester Jews' School
Norman Laski	1910-2	10	Unknown
Percy Walters	1910-2	14	Manchester Jews' School
Cyril S. Davisen	1910-3	11	Tivoli House, Gravesend
Bertram A. Saul	1911-8	10	Manchester Jews' School

Sources: MGS – Register of Admissions 1903 -1911; Manchester Grammar School: A Biographical Register of Old Mancunians 1888-1951 (Manchester, 1965).

1911-18:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance	Age of Pupil	Former School (where known)
Jack Jacob Hakim	1911-5	13	Townley Castle, Ramsgate
Sydney Jacobson	1911-6	12	Unknown
Eugene M. Jacobson	1911-7	11	Unknown
Bertram A. Saul	1911-8	10	Manchester Jews' School
Elias Alinson (?)	1912	12	Margate Jewish College
Joseph Harari	1912-4	16	Cheltenham College
Harry Cahn	1912-5	12	Cheetham Central School/ Margate Jewish School
Julius Israel Kelly	1912-5	13	Manchester Jews' School
Abraham Levy	1912-6	13	Unknown
Benjamin Broman	1912-7	13	Manchester Jews' School
Solomon Bernstein	1912-8	13	Manchester Jews' School
Harold Franks	1913	14	Manchester Jews' School
Barnett Fink	1913-8	13	Manchester Jews' School
Asher Hyman	1913-20	12	Manchester Jews' School
Leopold Rayman	1914-8	13	Manchester Jews' School

Joseph M. Yoffey	1914-9	12	Manchester Jews' School
Solomon Reece	1915-9	12	Manchester Jews' School
Marcus Kingsley	1916-7	14	Manchester Jews' School
Sydney H. Harris	1916-8	14	Manchester Jews' School
David Davidson	1917-8	14	Manchester Jews' School
Solomon F-----	1917-9	13	Manchester Jews' School

Sources: MGS – Register of Admissions 1911 – 1918; Manchester Grammar School: A Biographical Register of Old Mancunians 1888-1951 (Manchester, 1965).

Hillel House, Perse School, Cambridge

1905-1920

The Admission Book and Admission Registers were used for this table. However, the Admission Book does not provide details of every pupil who attended. This creates an unclear picture of the number of pupils who resided at Hillel House (or Mr. Hersch's House as it was known prior to 1910). The house was distinguished in the Admission Book as either 'Mr. Hersch's' or 'IHH'. The Admission Registers, however, did state whether a pupil boarded but did not mention the house name. Those pupils, with a Jewish surname, who boarded are presumed to have entered the house, especially if their previous school was a Jewish one. They have been singled out by an asterix. (Some pupils featured in both.)*

Name of Pupil	Year of Entry	Father's Occupation
Leopold Levy	1905	Stockbroker
*Lawrence H.J. Hersch	1905	Schoolmaster
Edward M. Davis	1906	Unknown
Stuart V. Goldberg	1906	Unknown
Reginald L. White	1906	Unknown
Gerald L. Samuel	1906	Unknown
Stuart Barnet	1906	Unknown
Herman A. Marks	1906	Australian Civil Service
William Woolf	1906	Furniture maker
Gerald J. Merton	1906	Solicitor
Samuel C. Green	1906	Diamond merchant
*Victor Levi	1906	Merchant/proprietor
Julian M. Goldberg	1906	Shipbroker
Reuben G.J. Goldreich	1907	Director
Bernard Rubin	1907	Pearl merchant
Harold N. Moses	1908	Mother was widow
Max W. Rosenstein	1908	Stockbroker
Eric L. Lowenstein	1908	Mining engineer
*Harry Salomon	1908	Merchant/proprietor
Robert C. Jacobs	1909	Merchant
Wellesley Aron	1909	Unknown
Harry May	1909	Unknown
George Levy	1910	Merchant
Lawrence B. Rosencrantz	1910	Unknown

John R. Oppenheimer	1910	Mother was widow
Joseph H. Wantski	1910	Draper
Joel Jacobs	1910	House furnisher
Job E. Löwy	1910	Stockbroker
Frank A. Lewis	1910	Merchant
Percy Coriat	1910	Merchant
Sydney Amobus	1910	Ostrich feather manufacturer
Douglas H.I. Marsden	1910	Gentleman
Henry O. Joseph	1910	Broker
Henry S. Wolfe	1910	House furnisher
Rowland Wolfe	1910	House furnisher
Reginald S. Barden	1910	Furrier
Baron A. Lambert	1910	Wine shipper
Harold Constad	1910	Builders' merchant
Philip Jacobson	1910	Merchant tailor
*Albery S.W. Joseph	1910	Broker
Francis Joseph Gaster	1911	Chief Rabbi
Eric J. Finzi	1911	Unknown
Maurice Harris	1911	Unknown
William Harris	1911	Unknown
Jack von Halle Nathan	1911	Merchant
Arthur L.P. Nathan	1911	Merchant
Moses Marks Gordon	1912	Parents deceased
James A. Summerfield	1912	Unknown
Horace Isadore-Isaacs	1912	Mother was widow
*Moses L. Harris	1912	Mother was widow
Isidore Radolph	1913	Merchant
Alfred S. Cohen	1913	Merchant
David A. Abrahams	1913	Theatre proprietor
Israel van der Hall	1914	Ships store merchant
Philip Jacobson	1914	Merchant tailor
Lorie Weinstein	1914	Unknown
Walter Bernstein	1915	Merchant
Charles E. H. Brill	1915	Merchant
Leslie Myers	1915	Unknown
Myer H. Salaman	1915	Doctor
Arthur G. Salaman	1915	Doctor
Harold B. Ginsburg	1915	Merchant
*Gerald C. Jacobson	1915	Manufacturer
Norman J. Glickstein	1916	Manufacturer
Albert A. Graham	1916	Mine owner
Merton P. Kempner	1916	Merchant
Lionel Katz	1916	Merchant
Roy B. Myer	1916	Unknown
*Joseph Herman	1916	Furnisher
Alfred S.R. Cohen	1917	Director
Leopold Moses	1917	Merchant

Cecil W. Cohen	1917	Merchant
Irving Dreyfus	1917	Unknown
Kenneth S. Henry	1917	Manufacturer
Albert Goldenfeld	1917	Unknown
Bernard W. Harrison	1917	Merchant
Arthur Baker	1917	Merchant tailor
Alexander Jankel	1917	Merchant
Daniel Jankel	1917	Merchant
Charles Susan	1917	Manufacturer
Harold W. Cohen	1917	Doctor
Abraham Myers	1917	Jeweller
Hyman Myers	1917	Furniture dealer
Benjamin Herman Gaster	1917	Chief Rabbi
Leslie T. Cohen	1918	Merchant
Louis Kutas	1918	Furrier
Frank S. Krusin	1918	Unknown
Gerald Cowan	1918	Fruiterer
Victor J. Kempiner	1918	Unknown
Charles E. Walters	1918	Merchant
Louis Louis	1918	Jeweller
Mark Benshenblatt	1918	Merchant
Gastin Heilporn	1918	Doctor
Abraham Mansour	1918	Cotton merchant
Alfred A. Green	1919	Diamond merchant
Reuben Myers	1919	Jeweller
Benny J. Tassman	1919	Box maker
Maurice Sopher	1919	Shipper
Bernard Cotton	1919	Unknown
Harold Coriat	1919	Merchant
Benjamin S. Silverston	1919	Unknown
Israel N. Gordon	1919	Merchant
Uriel Goldberg	1919	Dentist
Wolfe Weiss	1919	Attaché case manufacturer
Maurice Hatts	1919	Confectioner
Constantin D. Gaster	1919	Lawyer
Ernest M. Corcas	1919	Unknown
Berthold Kranz	1919	Unknown
Jacob Krancz	1919	Unknown
Sam Benady	1919	Merchant
Joseph Balensi	1919	Merchant
Nelson J. Rogaly	1919	Merchant
*Casper Gordon	1919	Box manufacturer
Albert Menaché	1920	Unknown
Joseph H. Haskell	1920	Unknown
Julius Salman	1920	Manufacturer
Claude S. Levy	1920	Merchant
Sydney C. Cohen	1920	Cap maker

Source: PS – Admission Book (1875-1920); PS – Admission Registers (1906-19)

Portsmouth Grammar School/Aria College

Census 1881:

Principal of Aria College: Rev. Abraham F. Ornstein, Jewish minister

Address of College: 38 and 40 St. George's Square, Portsea

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Joseph Stern	16
Jacob Landau	16
Moses Gerson	16
Isaac Levy	15

Source: NA – RG11/1146/2/26⁴

1887-1893

Name of Pupil	Month/Year of Admittance
W.B. Jacobs	September 1887
J. Phillips	January 1888
E. Phillips	January 1888
S. Frielich	January 1888 (readmitted November 1890)
W. Levin	January 1888
E. Goldman	January 1888
B. Michaelson	October 1888
I.V. Tobias	July 1889
L. Phillips	January 1891
J.G. Levy	September 1893
A. Benjamin	September 1893
E. Levin	September 1893
W. Zeffert	September 1893

Source: Admission Registers with assistance from Catherine Smith, School Archivist. ⁵

Census 1901:

Principal of Aria College: Rev. Isaac M. Meisels, Jewish minister

Address of College: 38 St. George's Square

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Abraham J. Clarke	18
Isaac Livingstone	15
Simon Moses	18
Mandel Wolfish (Russia)	15

Source: NA – RG13/992/32/9

⁴ Rev. Ornstein's children (1 son aged 5 and 6 daughters aged under 4 months, 8, 10, 14, 15 and 17) may also have been educated in the home but not with the pupils mentioned above whose occupation was listed as 'student in theology'.

⁵ S.A. Kisch also attended but does not seem to appear in the admissions register. He does, however, appear in the class list for August 1890 (Form IIIB) and 1891 (Form IVB).

Rugby

Name of Pupil
Frederick N.P. Isaac
Seymour Karminski
Sigismund D. Waley

Sources: AT, WWW, The Rugby Register from the Year 1675 to the Present Time. 2nd edition (Rugby, 1938).

St. Paul's School

This section has been taken from the lists of prize winners featured in the Jewish press. (This is, of course, a more accurate way to find Jewish names. Clearly, the disadvantage is that not all of the Jewish pupils received prizes but locating Jewish pupils in this way does guarantee that they are all Jewish.)

Name of Pupil	Year in which pupil received prize
Alfred L. Cohen	1886
Redcliffe N. Salaman	1886
Alfred J. Chotzner	1887
Charles F. Joseph	1889
David Montagu	1889
Laurie Magnus	1889
Alfred Lewis Emanuel	1889
Mr. D'Avigdor	1891
R.C. Davis	1892
W.L. Phillips	1892
H.M. Wiener	1892
F. Lewisohn	1892
M. Solomon	1892
W.L. Seligman	1892
Herbert M.J. Loewe	1895
C.F. Lan-Davis	1902
E.A. Detiel	1902
L.M. Wolffsohn	1905
E.A. Kann	1905
H.F. Jolowicz	1905
C.N.S. Woolf	1905
C.M. Picciotto	1905
T. Weisberg	1905
E.R. Kisch	1905
L.J. Stein	1905
V. Gollancz	1905
R.H. Wilenski	1905
R.E. Hart	1905

Sources: AT, DNB, JC, JW, HP, WWW

South Hampstead High School for Girls

1886-1900:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance	Age whilst at school	Father's Occupation
Evelyn Bauman	1886-9	13-15	Merchant
Sibyl Bauman	1886-9	12-15	Merchant
May Hayman	1888-93	12-17	Merchant
Doris Hayman	1888-95	11-18	Merchant
Hilda Solomon	1888-90	14-15	Mother was widow
Edith Solomon	1888-90	12-14	As above
Mollie Solomon	1888-90	9-11	As above
Ruth Lazarus	1889-92	10-13	Merchant
Ada Lazarus	1889-92	13-16	Merchant
Emily F. Mayer	1889-96	9-17	Merchant
Ella C. Lazarus	1890-3	10-13	Merchant
Maud Mitchell	1890	13-14	Medical electrician
Mabel Lawrance	1890-2	14-16	Unknown
Ruth Lawrance	1890-2	11-13	Unknown
Julia Lawrance	1890-2	10-12	Unknown
Millicent Mayer	1890-2	12-14	Concert agent
Daisy Friedeberg	1890-5	9-14	Merchant
May Friedeberg	1890-5	8-13	Merchant
Violet Kisch	1890-9	9-18	Merchant
Elsbeth Lucas	1890-7	10-17	Art publisher
Hilda Raab	1891-3	14-16	Merchant
Ruth Nathan	1891-2	14-15	Proprietor of Burlington Gallery
Winifred Nathan	1891	11-12	As above
Hannah Bauberger	1891-2	11-12	Timber merchant
Maud Bauberger	1891-2	9-10	As above
Annie R. Lyons	1891-3	14-17	Merchant
Triscie R. Lyons	1891-7	11-17	Merchant
Hilda M. Lyons	1891-8	9-16	Merchant
Alice Abrahams	1892	15-16	Merchant
Elsie Epstein	1892-3	13-15	Merchant
Cicely Barrett	1892-1900	8-16	Mother was widow
Enid Barrett	1892-8	11-17	As above
Doris Barrett	1892-9	10-17	As above
Elsie Blumenthal	1892-9	10-17	Commission merchant
Lena Glückstein	1892-4	10-12	Tobacco manufacturer
Marguerite Jolowicz	1892-1902	8-18	Merchant
Gertrude Friedlander	1893	11-12	Shipbroker
Hannah Gutmann	1893-4	13-15	Merchant
Joan Joshua	1893-1902	8-18	Stockbroker

Nelly Joshua	1893-5	16-18	As above
Maud Samuel	1893-1902	8-18	Merchant
Lizzie Lazarus	1893-8	12-17	Outfitter
Daisy Fridlander	1894-1900	9-16	Diamond merchant
Ada Lazarus	1893-1900	10-16	Outfitter
Ethel Lazarus	1893-1903	7-16	As above
Mabel H. Kisch	*1894-1905	7-18	Merchant
Amelia Mayer	1894-6	14-16	Tobacco leaf importer
Rebecca Mayer	1894-9	11-16	As above
Lily Fellheunier	1895	12	Merchant
Lily Joseph	1895-6	13-15	Feather merchant
Daisy Loeb	1895-9	12-16	Manufacturer
Rosalie Loeb	1895-6	14-16	Manufacturer
Lily Borgzimmer	1895-1904	8-17	Merchant
Hilda Fridlander	1895-9	13-16	Merchant
Elsie Guggenheim	1895-9	12-16	Merchant
Gladys Lion	1895-9	12-16	Merchant
Yvonne Lion	1895-1902	10-16	Merchant
Lena Lion	1895-6	9-17	Merchant
Lena Harris	1895-6	15-16	Timber merchant
Elizabeth Harris	1895-9	13-17	As above
Ethel Harris	1895-1903	9-17	As above
Claire Mammelsdorff	1895-1902	9-16	Unknown
Josephine Marx	1895-1902	9-16	Cigarette maker
Lilian Bentwich	1896-1897	14-15	Solicitor
Nita Bentwich	1896-1903	11-18	Solicitor
Sybil Hyman	1896-1903	8-16	mother was widow
Hannah Joseph	1896-9	10-15	Unknown
Julia Joseph	1896-9	9-13	Unknown
Estelle Leon	1896-7	13-15	Shoe manufacturer
Katie Symons	1896-7	13-15	Unknown
Lilian Bernstein	1896-8	13-15	House furnisher
Alice Arbib	1896-8	12-14	Merchant
Rebecca Hagen	1896-1905	8-17	Stockbroker
Helen Kirsch	1896-1904	7-14	Manufacturer
Phyllis Joshua	1896-1907	8-19	Stockbroker
Hilda Knailsheimer	**1897-1906	9-17	Stockbroker
Phyllis Lebus	1897-1905	9-17	Timber merchant
Evelyn Bechmann	1897-1904	8-16	City merchant
Getrude Betts	1897-1904	11-18	Jeweller
Evelyn Daniels	1897-8	16	Merchant
Maud Daniels	1897-1900	14-17	Merchant

Source: SHHS: Admission Register 1879-1900

*Note: From 1894, under the column "Exemptions" the word "Jewess" appeared alongside the words "Scripture" and/or "Singing" (Prior to the addition of "Jewess", the register had only indicated the exemption of Scripture and/or Singing.)

**Note: From 1897, under the column "Exemptions", "Jewess" (or "Roman Catholic" is the only word to appear.

Tonbridge School

1912-9:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Cyril Hamilton Jacob	1912-5
Frederic C. Leonard	1912-7
Cecil Merriman Isaacs (afterwards Coke)	1913-8
Kilian Edgar Bensusan	1914-7
Vivian Jack Bensusan	1914-8
Gustave A.G.P. Schevenels	1915
Edward D. Steenbruggen	1915
Jack J. H. Benjamin	1915-6
Norman Ernest Jacob	1916-9
Archibald Skidelsky	1916-20

Source: H.D. Furley, ed., The Register of Tonbridge School from 1861 to 1945 with a List of Headmasters and Second Masters from the Foundation of the School (London, 1951).

University College School, London

1831-98:

Name of Pupil	Years of Attendance
Moses Angel	1831-2
Moses Benoliel	1831-2
Montague Levi	1831-2
A. S. Levy	1831-2
Aaron Goldsmid	1831-4
Charles Goldsmid	1831-5
Sidney Goldsmid	1831-5
George Goldsmid	1831-6
C. or C. S. Abrahams	1834-5
H. Meyers	1834-6
Simon W. Waley	1837-41
Henry Emanuel	1839-41
Leon J. Isaac	1839-41
Daniel Silver	1839-41
Frederick S. Isaac	1839-43
Leslie J. Montefiore	1839-44 (with absences)
Isaac Samuel	1840-2
James Franklin	1840-4
Edward E. Salomons	1840-5 (with absences)

Edward Levy	1841-2
M. Montefiore	1842-3
James Solomon	1842-3
Walter J. Spiers	1842-4
Julius Solomons	1843-4
Edward Levy	1843-5
S. Solomons	1843-5
Abraham Mocatta	1843-7
Alfred Isaacs	1844-5
Sidney Isaacs	1844-5
Herman Salomons	1844-6
Henry A. Abrahams	1845-7
Robert J. Abrahams	1845-7
Maurice E. Solomons	1845-8
Charles E. Davis	1847-8
Samuel Franklin	1847-52
Henry Goldsmid	1847-54
Frederick E. Davis	1848-50
Sir George H. Lewis	1848-50
Lewis Goldsmid	1849-55
Eleazar Defries	1850-1
David Franklin	1850-1
J. I. Solomon	1850-2
Alfred Aarons	1850-3
Benjamin Aarons	1850-3
Samuel N. Carvalho	1850-5
David E. Davis	1850-4
J. Maurice Solomon	1850-4
Arthur D. Samuel	1851-2
David Braham	1851-3
Daniel Franklin	1851-3
Alfred Jacobs	1851-3
Albert Levy	1851-5
H. Adler	1852-3
B. Baumann	1852-4
Henry D. Davis	1852-4
Philip Leon	1852-4
Alfred Solomons	1853-4
Albert Solomons	1853-6
Charles A. Heimann	1853-60
Sir Philip Magnus	1854-8
Daniel N. Defries	1855-6
Joseph Miers	1855-6
A. W. Bauer	1855-7
F. S. Cohen	1855-7
Albert L. H. Salomons	1855-7
H. Josiah Solomon	1855-7
Henry S. Samuel	1855-9

F. B. Salomons	1855-60
Henry H. Salomons	1855-60
Alexander L. Samuel	1855-60
Maurice Samuel	1856-8
David A. Levy	1856-9
J. L. Levy	1856-9
Henry Braham	1856-61
Isaac N. Carvalho	1856-61
Phineas S. Abrahams	1856-63 (with absences)
Benjamin Braham	1856-63
Sydney Jacobs	1857-8
Asher Solomon	1857-8
David Solomon	1857-8
Joseph Solomon	1857-8
George J. Cohen	1857-60
Julian J. Magnus	1857-60
Sidney Woolf	1857-61
Alfred H. Salomons	1857-62
Gilbert L. Bauer	1858-60
S. Lazarus	1858-60
Henry Marcus	1859-60
Samuel Levy	1859-60
Lionel Cohen	1859-61
Henry J. Emanuel	1859-62
William H. Levin	1859-62
Philip C. Solomon	1859-62
Benjamin E. Mocatta	1859-64
Alfred D. Benjamin	1859-65
Joseph M. Kaufmann	1860-1
Isaac Meyers	1860-1
Jacob Miers	1860-1
Robert G. Davis	1860-2
Arthur A. Levy	1860-3
Isaac Miers	1860-3
Samuel Braham	1860-4
Lewis Braham	1860-5
Edward Levy	1860-5
Maurice Emanuel	1861-2
Ernest G. Mocatta	1861-2
Edward L. Solomon	1861-2
Louis S. Cohen	1861-3
Richard Davis	1861-3
David L. Henry	1861-3
E. G. Levy	1861-3
Charles E. Sassoon	1861-3
Frank Abraham	1861-5
Samuel Miers	1861-5
Charles F. Solomon	1861-6

	(with absences)
A. J. Waley	1861-6
M. S. Waley	1861-7
F. G. Waley	1861-7
Lionel Levy	1862-3
Edward Magnus	1862-3
Lewis Solomon	1862-3
Henry L. Friedlander	1862-4
Julius Friedlander	1862-4
Edwin Jacobs	1862-4
Lewis Jacobs	1862-4
F. B. Samuel	1862-5
Albert L. Friedlander	1862-6
J. F. Abraham	1862-8
Frederick D. Mocatta	1863-4
Juan T. Abrahams	1863-5
Philip D. Jacobs	1863-5
Albert Abrahams	1863-6
Joseph J. Meyers	1863-7
Henry Lazarus	1863-8
Horace G. Heimann	1863-9
F. D. Abraham	1863-70
A. D. Abraham	1863-71
Lionel E. Levy	1864-5
James Levy	1864-5
Frederick de Sola	1864-6
Norman S. Cohen	1864-8
Ernest E. Jessel	1864-73
	(with absences)
Philip Berger	1865-6
Louis G. Emanuel	1865-6
Angelo J. Jacobs	1865-6
Neville D. Cohen	1865-8
Edmund D. Benjamin	1865-9
Louis D. Benjamin	1865-9
Isaac Isaacs	1866-7
S. Rubenstein	1866-7
Sir D. L. Salomons	1866-7
Albert Emanuel Foà	1866-8
Gaston P. Foà	1866-9
Lionel Hart	1866-9
Edgar Foà	1866-70
L. E. Pyke	1866-70
Arthur Spyer	1866-72
Raoul Hector Foà	1866-74
Isaac J. Hart	1866-74
Burnett D. Cohen	1867-9
Major J. J. Levenson	1867-9
B. H. D'Avigdor	1867-70

B. J. Levenson	1867-70
Major G. F. Levenson	1867-73
Samuel L. Jonas	1867-74
W. M. Schlesinger	1867-74
Frank H. Jessel	1867-8 (with absences)
Beresford S. Benjamin	1868-70
Joshua Gabriel	1868-70
Alexander E. J. Silver	1868-70
Adolphe Levy	1868-71
James L. Henry	1868-73
David H. Levenson	1868-74
Wolf Defries	1868-76
Joseph H. Hart	1868-76
Charles Berger	1869-70
Frank Berger	1869-72
Herbert D. Cohen	1869-72
H. R. Levinsohn	1869-76
Fernand E. Foà	1869-77
David Levy	1870-2
Lewis D. Cohen	1870-4
Joseph Samuel Leo	1870-4
Louis G. Levenson	1870-4
L. R. Schloss	1870-4
Abraham L. Henry	1870-5
Joseph Solomon	1870-8
Abraham Hyman	1871-2
Meyer A. Spielmann	1871-2
T. J. Pyke	1871-3
S. M. Samuel	1871-3
Henry J. Benjamin	1871-4
Lawrence A. Isaacs	1871-4
Arthur M. Lawrence	1871-5
Laurie A. Lawrence	1871-5
W. H. Pyke	1871-5
D. E. Samuel	1871-5
E. Wenkheim	1871-5
Arthur Levy	1871-6
Walter Spyer	1871-6
Arthur Abrahams	1871-7
Bernard F. Halford	1871-7
G. E. Samuel	1871-7
Alfred J. Waley	1871-7
S. O. Lazarus	1871-8 (with absences)
Maurice J. Spyer	1871-8
Henry H. Abraham	1872-4
George J. Bergel	1872-4
Herbert Davis	1872-4

S. H. Pyke	1872-4
Maurice Levy	1872-5
Philip Levy	1872-5
Frederic E. Tobias	1872-5
Albert G. Abraham	1872-6
Frederick D. Benjamin	1872-6
Charles S. Bergel	1872-6 (with absences)
Neville H. Davis	1872-6
Marion H. Spielmann	1872-6
W. M. Gabriel	1872-9 (with absences)
Bethel B. Halford	1872-9
L. M. Gabriel	1872-80 (with absences)
H. J. Marcus	1872-80
Edmund P. Abrahams	1873-4
Isidore Grunebaum	1873-4
Daniel B. Hart	1873-4
R. D. Isaacs	1873-4
F. M. Abrahams	1873-5
Arthur Auerbach	1873-6
Julius Auerbach	1873-6
Edward S. Davis	1873-6
Louis Isaacs	1873-6
Henry D. Cohen	1873-7
Isaac Levy	1873-7
Lewis H. Abrahams	1873-8
Bernard E. Abrahams	1873-8
Frederick Abrahams	1874-6
Abraham J. Lazarus	1874-6
H. F. E. Levy	1874-6
Montague D. Jacobs	1874-7
Charles I. Myer	1874-7
Lewis F. Cohen	1874-8
Joseph A. Leon	1874-8
L. B. Cohen	1874-80
Philip J. Hartog	1874-80
Lionel A. Solomon	1875-6
Simeon Lazarus	1875-7
Lawrence Levy	1875-7
Ernest J. Lazarus	1875-8
Arthur Leopold Miers	1875-8
Asher H. Abrahams	1875-9
F. L. Emanuel	1875-81
Braham M. Gabriel	1875-81 (with absences)
Arthur L. Crawcour	1876-7
Sydney Myer	1876-7

Leopold A. Goldberg	1876-8
Isaac Jonas	1876-8
John Jonas	1876-8
Benjamin Jonas	1876-9
Alfred Solomon	1876-9
Hyam H. Jacobs	1876-80
P. H. Joseph	1876-80
Ferdinand N. Joseph	1876-83 (with absences)
Abraham Emanuel	1877-8
Isidore Emanuel	1877-8
Reginald P. Jessel	1877-80
A. E. Abrahams	1877-82
Charles H. L. Emanuel	1877-82
Alexander Levy	1877-82
G. N. Levy	1877-84
H. W. Lawrence	1877-87
Lewis Lazarus	1878-9
Judah M. A. Levy	1878-80
Joseph Abrahams	1878-81
Joseph G. Joseph	1878-81
Michael Marcus	1878-82
Robert Henry Levy	1878-83
Alfred L. Franklin	1878-84 (with absences)
Simeon B. Miers	1879-81
Angel Davis	1879-82
Alfred H. Isaacs	1879-82
Joseph Levy	1879-82
E. L. Mocatta	1879-82
Edmund S. Spyer	1879-84
L. Pyke	1879-85
Walter L. Emanuel	1879-87
Charles S. M. Gabriel	1880-2
A. Abrahams	1880-3
Sydney K. Jacobs	1880-3
Louis D. M. Levene	1880-3
E. Abrahams	1880-4
L. Abrahams	1880-9 (with absences)
B. Adler	1880-9
Ferdinand J. Jacob	1881-3
Louis L. Jacob	1881-3
Arthur Solomon	1881-3
Frederick E. Isaacs	1881-4
Maurice E. Isaacs	1881-4
P. A. Solomon	1881-4
A. H. Solomon	1881-4
Samuel Levin	1882-5

Isidore Birnbaum	1882-6
Albert J. Jacobs	1882-6
B. Levy	1882-6
Phineas Lewin	1882-7
Ernest A. Jacobs	1883-4
Abraham A. Lazarus	1883-4
R. B. Pyke	1883-5
Edwin O. Sachs	1883-5
Isaac C. Elkan	1883-6
Lewis Levy	1883-8
Morris Levy	1883-9
Edgar Loewenthal	1883-91
M. C. Pyke	1883-92 (with absences)
B. I. Beirnsstein	1884-5
S. Beirnsstein	1884-5
Victor I. Solomon	1884-6
Simeon Jonas	1884-7
H. L. Samuel	1884-8
J. Adler	1884-9
Gerald Jonas	1884-93
B. L. Abrahams	1885-6
Charles N. Carvalho	1885-7
Daniel M. Franklin	1885-7
M. H. Isaacs	1885-90
Henry Moss Jacob	1885-90
Alfred Grunebaum	1886-8
L. J. Levi	1886-8
Alfred Spiers	1886-8
Arthur Grunebaum	1886-90
Louis A. Isaacs	1886-91
Lawrence R. Levy	1886-92
Abraham Klein	1887-8
David B. Davis	1887-9
Bertie G. Levi	1887-9
Philip Levenberg	1887-90
Arnold M. Gabriel	1887-91
Joel Davis	1887-92
Philip Davis	1887-92
A. C. Abrahams	1888-92
M. N. Abrahams	1888-92
Ernest Levy	1888-94
Leslie H. Myer	1889-95
Ernest Myer	1889-92
Grenville Myer	1889-92
Harry Heydeman	1889-93
Herbert M. Marcus	1889-93
George E. Halford	1889-94
G. F. Rothschild	1889-94

F. S. Schloss	1889-94
Gerald Levy	1889-95
Alfred H. Isaacs	1890-2
Walter Miecznikowski	1890-2
Henry D. Isaacs	1890-3
Julian M. Berger	1890-4
Samuel N. Carvalho	1890-5
R. M. Abrahams	1890-7
Humphrey M. Myer	1890-7
Leslie J. Marcus	1891-5
Herbert G. Levy	1892-4
Max Rothschild	1892-4
Walter Abrahams	1892-5
Albert H. Beirnsstein	1892-5
Gerald E. Rothschild	1892-6
Harold N. Carvalho	1892-7
Frank Cohen	1892-7
Harvey Solomon	1892-7
Donald Cohen	1892-?
Henry S. Loeb	1893-5
Arnold H. S. Woolf	1893-5
Julius J. Kleimnhausen	1893-7
Digby Lewis Solomon	1893-8
Leonard I. Solomon	1893-8
Asher Abraham	1894-?
Leonard I. Myer	1895-7
Claude C. Schlesinger	1895-7
Paul N. Jolowicz	1895-8
George V. S. Myer	1895-8
Frank Heydeman	1895-?
Michel Oppenheim	1895-?
Matthew Levy	1896-7
Joseph Oppenheim	1896-7
Frederick Schlesinger	1896-7
Samuel Schlesinger	1896-7
Ernest M. Gollancz	1896-8
Harold B. S. Woolf	1896-8
Joseph B. Biernstein	1896-?
George S. Biernstein	1896-?
Leopold A. Abrahams	1897-?

Source: Orme, Temple. University College School, London: Alphabetical and Topographical Register for 1831-1898 Supplementary to the First Issue 1831-1891 (London, 1898).

Wimbledon House/Roedean School

Name of Pupil
Caroline Maud Cohen
Hannah Floretta Cohen

K. Cohen
M.R. Levy
L. Levy
M.R. Levy
A.V. Beddington

Source: The Wimbledon House School News I-VIII. Brighton, 1895-7.

C. Home Educated - examples:

Name of Pupil	Name of Parent(s)	Name of Tutor/Governess (where known)
Henrietta Adler (1868-1950)	Chief Rabbi Dr. Hermann Adler and Rachel Joseph	She was educated privately, presumably by her father.
Rachel, Countess d' Avigdor (1816-96)	Sir Isaac Lyon and Lady Isabel Goldsmid	Thomas Campbell, the poet, was one of her tutors. Source: <u>JE</u> , II, 352.
Benjamin Louis Cohen (1844-1909)	Louis Cohen (founder of firm Louis Cohen & Sons, and grandson of Levi Barent Cohen) and Rebecca Floretta Keyser	James Wigan was one of his tutors. Source: <u>DNB</u> , 12, 421-2.
Constance Flower (née de Rothschild) (1843-1931)	Sir Anthony Nathan de Rothschild, baronet, banker and landowner, and Louise, Lady de Rothschild	"She was brought up with her younger sister, Annie, at the family home... where she received an excellent education from her tutors. From her mother she acquired a profound interest in their Jewish faith." Source: <u>AC</u> , 158. In her memories, she recalled being taught Hebrew by Dr. Marcus Kalisch, English literature from Prof. Brewer and French from Monsieur le Brun. Source: <u>CB</u> , 30 and 31.
Louisa, Lady Goldsmid (1819-1908)	Moses Asher Goldsmid and Eliza Salomons	Dr. Arnold Brunn, mathematician, philologist and classical scholar, read Latin with her. Source: <u>JW</u> , 9 December 1892, 5e.
Nathan Solomon Joseph (1834-1909)	Solomon Joseph, merchant, and Jane Selig	"Nathan was educated at home under private tutors" under he was 18 when he entered UCL. Source: <u>DNB</u> , 30, 733.

Juliana, Baroness Mayer de Rothschild(1831-77)	Isaac Cohen and Sarah Samuel	“She received her education under the paternal roof, partly from governesses and partly from tutors.” Source: <u>JC</u> , 16 March 1877, 416, 9a.
Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild (1840-1915)	Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, merchant banker, and Charlotte de Rothschild	He was educated by private tutors.
Frederic David Mocatta (1828-1905)		He was educated at home by “excellent private tutors”. Source: <u>UJE</u> , 7, 604. Dr. Albert Löwy “taught him Jewish history and lore” whilst his father “taught him Hebrew”. Source: CBC, 167.
Lilian Helen Montagu (1873-1963)	Samuel Montagu, first Baron Swaythling, and Ellen Cohen	Christina A. Grant was resident governess teaching general subjects. Source: NA – RG12/925/9/48/12
Lionel Walter Rothschild (1868-1937)	Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, first Baron Rothschild, and Emma Louisa von Rothschild	“Owing to delicate health the young Rothschild was largely educated at home.” Source: <u>DNB</u> , 47, 914.

Appendix II – Example of Jewish School for Working Classes (Census 1871)

Name of School: Jews' Hospital

Name of Pupil	Age of Pupil
Israel Alperovich	13
----- G-----	14
James Pollack	11
Aaron Cohen	12
Alfred W-----	12
Morris W----- (Poland)	10
Isaiah Cohen	12
Samuel Marks	11
George Barnett	13
Myer Barnett	11
Morris Bash	12
Charles Baum	11
Michiel David	10
C. Lazarus	12
Moses Cohen	12
Norman H-----	12
Myer Cohen	10
Henry Gluck	11
Aaron G. Cohen	10
Alexander -----	12
----- Zaract	12
Raphael D-----	11
Abraham Kich	11
Lewis Abrahams	10
Levi Goldstone	10
Herman -----	11
Asher Prince	11
Alfred Solomon	10
Samuel Merguita	10
Charles Mosenby	11
Isaac Van -----	11
Barnett Symons	12
Simon Levi	10
Israel Sp-----	10
Michael -----field	11
Solomon Adler	9
Michael Bussman	9
Bernard Beer	9
Perry Barnett	12
Michael Benjamin	11
David Symons	9
John Neuman (New York)	7

Harry Neuman (New York)	5
Dinah Baum	15
Rebecca Davis	15
----- Begessy	15
Maria Boss	14
Fanny P-----	14
Amelia Friedlander	14
Maria Philips	13
Jeanette Pizer	13
Louisa Doviz	13
Elizabeth Lee	14
Celia Cohen	14
----- Lewisohn	13
Catherine Offshams	12
Julia Nathan	12
Esther Jacobs	11
Elizabeth -----	11
Hannah Cohen	11
Rachel Jacobs	11
Esther Collins	11
Deborah Cohen	11
Theresa Marks (Germany)	11
G. Abrahams	10
Kate Harris	10
Deborah Nathan	10
Leah Friend	10
Rachel Moses	9
Kate Abrahams (Australia)	9
Rachel Wagner (Poland)	8
Miriam Wagner (Poland)	7
Gertrude Werner	7
Isaac Abrahams (Australia))	14

Source: NA - RG10/693/11/77/19-22

Appendix III – School Tables

This section comprises the following tables:

- A. Senior/Secondary Jewish Institutions
- B. Jewish Institutions Providing Senior/Secondary Education in a Mixed School (i.e. both elementary and secondary)
- C. Classes/Instruction for Jewish Boys and Girls (who attended secular schools)
- D. Jewish Houses in Public Schools

These tables list all Jewish establishments which were established between 1830 and 1920 that are known to have taught secondary education.

These tables indicate the amount of Jewish secondary schooling (including extra religion instruction) that was available in England. However, many of these schools are not discussed in the main text as no archival material has survived. Much of the data has been drawn from local, national and Jewish press. However, advertisements only tell part of the history.

Table A: Senior/Secondary Jewish Private Institutions

Name of School	Location	Founder(s)/ Successor(s)	Approximate Year of Establishment	Sex of Pupils/ Numbers (if known)
Sussex House	Folkestone Rd., Dover	Rev R.I. Cohen	1837	M/10
Temple Cottage School	Ramsgate	Rev. Isaac H. Myers	1840s	M
Ramsgate Collegiate School/ Cavendish House Collegiate School	Cavendish St., Ramsgate	Rev. J.H. Cohen (see Sussex House, Brighton)	1859/1865	M/34
Ramsgate Middle Class School Association	Ramsgate	Rev. Isaac H. Myers	1865	M
Rev. Myer's Establishment (Temple Cottage)	Ramsgate	(as above)	1870	M
Temple Cottage Academy	Ramsgate	Rev. Emmanuel Myers	1844/52	M
Hereson House Academy	Hereson Rd., Ramsgate	Mr. Jacob Tritsch	1868	M/12
Educational Establishment for Young Gentlemen	46 & 48 Buckingham Pl., Brighton/1 & 2 Oscar Villas, Broadstairs, Kent	Dr. Louis Loewe	1850s/1868	M

Jews' College School	Finsbury Square, London	Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler	1855	M/55
Selected Educational Establishment	4 Gower St., London	Mr. Philip Abraham	1856 ⁶	M/12
Jewish Collegiate School/Northwick College or Northwick House Academy	16 Northwick Terrace, St. John's Wood	Rev. Abraham P. Mendes	1865	M/17
Superior Day School/Mr. Spier's Collegiate Establishment/The Collegiate School	19 Great Coram St., Russell Sq./1 Great Coram St.	Rev B. Spiers (see Table C)	1867/1870	M/6
(no name given)	30 Canonbury Sq. North	(as above)	1871	M/6
Sussex House (the school was later known as Compton House School ⁷)	88 & 89 Buckingham Pl., Brighton/ 8 & 9 Buckingham Pl., Brighton	Rev Jacob H. Cohen	1872/1875	M/limited
Middle Class Jewish School	26 Red Lion Sq, WC	F.D. Goldsmid (in association with the West London Synagogue)	1878	M (until 1880)/F
Jewish High School for Girls (incl. the teacher training class)	Chenies St., Bedford Sq.	(as above)	1883	F
Tivoli House High School for Girls (see next table for the 'mixed' school to which this establishment was attached)	91 Windmill St., Milton, Gravesend	Miss Berkowitz	1879	F
Kilburn & Maida Vale Jewish High School	Somerset Hse, Carlton Rd ⁸	Dr. Albert Lacy Harris	1880s	M
High-Class Educational Home for Girls	21 Ladbrooke Gdns., Bayswater	Mrs. Louis Simmons	1886	F
Kilburn High School for Girls	17 Priory Park Rd., Kilburn	Miss Ruby Alperovich	1891	F
Margate Jewish College	"Rostellan", Approach Rd.,	Rev. Philip Wolfers	1902	M

⁶ By 1871, he was a private teacher at 147 Gower Street, London. NA – RG10/211/11/46/10

⁷ JW, 1248 (8 January 1897), 2a.

⁸ This may now possibly be known as Carlton Vale. There is no Carlton Road in the Kilburn or Maida Vale area.

	Cliftonville, Margate			
Liverpool Hebrew Higher Grade School	Liverpool	Dr. Jacob S. Fox	1904	M/F

Sources: JC, JW, VJ and Herbert Fry, Our Schools and Colleges (London, 1867) and subsequent edition 1868. F.S. de Carteret-Bisson, Our Schools and Colleges (London, 1872) and subsequent editions 1879 and 1884. Census Returns as detailed in the bibliography.

Table B: Jewish Institutions Providing Senior/Secondary Education in a Mixed School (i.e. both elementary and secondary)

Name of School	Location	Founder(s)/ Successor(s)	Approximate Year of Establishment (<u>year pupils prepared for examinations if known</u>)	Sex of Pupils/ Numbers (if known)
Mr. Hurwitz's Establishment	10 South Grove, Highgate Village, North London ¹⁰	Hyman Hurwitz	1799	M
Gloucester House (GH)	(transferred to Kew in 1840)	Leopold and Belinda Neumegen	1821	M/F (separate)
GH High-Class Establishment for Young Ladies or GH Ladies' Academy ⁹	Kew Road/Richmond Road, Kew	Belinda Neumegen and daughter, Ada	1875 (<u>1876</u>)	F
Edmonton House Academy for Young Gentlemen	94 Fore Street/Lower Fore Street, Edmonton	Henry Naphtali Solomon	1815 (<u>1879</u>)	M/30
May House Ladies' Finishing Academy & Preparatory Establishment for Young Gentlemen	Gravesend	Mrs. and Misses Crawcour	1840s	F/M (separate) 24 girls and 17 boys ¹¹

⁹ There are name differences depending on the press and the census returns. Many of the schools differ in this way.

¹⁰ In 1810, Hurwitz acquired a lease on 9 South Grove. This was used as a girls' school which did not prosper. Leonard Hyman, "Hyman Hurwitz: The First Anglo-Jewish Professor" in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 232. Hereafter Hyman, "Hyman".

¹¹ The girls were aged between 4 and 15, the boys between 4 and 8. Malcolm Brown, "The Jews of Gravesend before 1915", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXV (2000), 127. Hereafter Brown, "Jews".

May House Academy	May Place, Gravesend	Mrs. Barczinsky (née Crawcour) (and later Mlle. Henrietta Dreyfus)	(continued as from 1840s)	F (10 in 1871 ¹²)
Preparatory Establishment for Young Gentlemen (up to 18 years)	(as above)	Samuel Barczinsky	1860 (1860)	M (29 in 1871 to include Milton Hse ¹³)
Milton House School	Gravesend	As above, and, from 1864, Bernhard Barczinsky	1862 (1868)	M (as above)
Wellesley House Collegiate and Commerical School	7 Wellington Rd., Brighton	Samuel and Bernhard Barczinsky	1871	M/30
Milford House Collegiate School for Ladies	(as above)	Mrs. Barczinsky and Mlle. Dreyfus	1871	F
Warlingham School (renamed Hillside School in 1892)	Upper Warlingham, Surrey	Samuel Barczinsky	1885	M/30
Jewish Establishment for Young Ladies	3 Ravenscourt Terrace, Ravenscourt Park, Hammersmith	Miss Norton	Late 1840s	F/limited
English, French and German Boarding and Day School ¹⁴	17 St. James's Rd., Liverpool	Madame Leonie and Herr Mayer Stern	1852	F/limited
A Select and Limited Boarding School for Young Gentlemen of the Hebrew Persuasion	London (possibly near Russell Sq.)	Herr Stern	1855	M/limited
Day and Boarding School for Young	(as above)	Madame Stern	1857	F/limited

¹² Brown, "Jews", 127.

¹³ These boys were aged between 6 and 15. Brown, "Jews", 127. According to Fry, Schools, 86, Milton House School could accommodate 40 boys, all of whom were boarders.

¹⁴ There were no boarders in 1851 when the census return was made. NA – H0107/2182/10/474/6.

Ladies				
Hebraical, Classical and Commercial Academy	1 Constitution Terrace, ¹⁵ Gravesend	Rev. Henry Berkowitz	1853	M/F (separate)/50
Tivoli House Academy (including high school for girls which was established in 1879 – see previous table on senior/secondary schools)	91 Windmill St., Milton, Gravesend; from 1916, the school was located at Northwood Hall (between Harrow and Rickmansworth)	As above; his son, Mr. Isidore Berkowitz (from approximately 1891); his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Phil Goldberg from 1907	1857 (1879)	M/F (separate)/50
Mrs. Hartog's Pestalozzian School for Young Ladies	18 Houndsditch	Madame Marion Hartog ¹⁷	1854	F
Laurel House, Collegiate Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies	15 Belsize Sq., Hampstead	(as above)	1869 (1869)	F
Lorne House, Collegiate Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies	5 Portsdown Rd., Carlton Rd., Maida Vale ¹⁶	(as above)	1871	F
Remington Hse, Young Ladies' Collegiate Educational Establishment	21 Powis Sq., Brighton	Misses Cohen	1863 (1875)	F
Portsdown College	88 Portsdown Rd., Maida Vale	Miss Myers	1866 (1870)	F/10
Norwood, Omar Hse	Auckland Rd, Clapham	(as above)	1881	F
Northbourne	169, 171 Adelaide Rd, Primrose Hill	Miss M.G. Isaac	1871	F
Educational Establishment for Young Ladies	4 Florence Terrace, East Cliff, Ramsgate	Miss Ellen Pyke ¹⁸	1872	F

¹⁵ Constitution Terrace is now known as Constitution Crescent.

¹⁶ By 1891, Madame Hartog was residing at Greville Road, Hampstead. Her occupation is listed as authoress.

¹⁷ In 1845, Madame Hartog and Miss Moss commenced a school for 12 young ladies at 68 Mansell Street, Goodman's Fields. *VJ*, 117 (5 December 1845), 40b. She was married to Alphonse Hartog, Professor of French. Her sister, Bella Leo joined her in the 1860s.

Pombal House Educational Establishment for Young Ladies	11 The Drive, West Brighton	(as above) and Miss Solomon ¹⁹	1881 (1887)	F
Day & Boarding School for Young Gentlemen	184 St. Paul's Rd./59 Marquess Rd./18 Clephane Rd., Canonbury	Mr. J. Van Tyn	1873/1875/1878 (1878)	M
Day & Boarding School for Young Ladies	190 St. Paul's Rd./ 59 Marquess Rd., Canonbury	Mrs. J. Van Tyn	1873/1878 (1878)	F
Ladies Collegiate School	Somerset Terrace, Carlton Rd., Maida Vale	Mrs. Recka Harris ²⁰	1873	F
Woburn College	75 Guildford St., Bloomsbury	(as above)	1881 ²¹ (1887)	F
Canonbury & Highgate Collegiate School for the Sons of Gentlemen	10 Compton Rd., Islington	Dr. Wolf Heinemann (see Table C below)	1880	M
The 'Laurels' High School for Girls	158 Alexandra Rd., St. John's Wood/ 4 Brondesbury Rd	Mrs. A. Solomon	1880s/early 1900s (1884)	F
Brighton High Class Girls' School	Brighton	Mrs. J.H. Cohen	1881 (1881)	F
Brighton High Class School for Young Ladies	Copthorne, 12 Fourth Avenue (West Side), West Brighton	Madame Henrietta Dreyfus and Miss Z. Cohen	1881 (1881)	F
Minerva College	76 Folkestone Rd., Dover	Misses Hart	1889 (1889)	F
	Holly Bank, Victoria Park, Leicester	Miss Mary A. Whaplate ²²	1915	F
	Elmsleigh Hall,	(as above)	1923	F

¹⁸ Miss Ellen Pyke's obituary appeared in the *JC*, 1399 (24 January 1896), 9b.

¹⁹ In 1884, Miss Solomon was noted in *Robinson's Directory* (Brighton, 1884), 59. The house was called Pointal House but this may have been an error and should have read Pombal House as it did in *Pike's Directory* (Brighton, 1887), 253, three years later.

²⁰ Her husband was Albert L. Harris, Professor of Hebrew.

²¹ It is unclear the exact year Mrs. Harris moved to Guilford Street. However, the Census return for 1881 indicates this new address NA - RG11/192/7A/72/20-21.

	Stoneygate, Leicestershire			
Mansfield House College for Jewish Young Ladies	Eastern Esplanade, Cliftonville, Margate	Mrs. Blanche Poole & Miss Maude Levy	1894 (1904)	F

Sources: JC, JW, VJ and Herbert Fry, *Our Schools and Colleges* (London, 1867) and subsequent edition 1868. F.S. de Carteret-Bisson, *Our Schools and Colleges* (London, 1872) and subsequent editions 1879 and 1884. Census Returns as detailed in the bibliography.

Table C: Classes/Instruction for Jewish Boys and Girls (who attended secular schools)

Name of School	Location	Founder	Approximate Year of Establishment	Sex of Pupils	Secular school attended (if known)
Superior Establishment for Young Gentlemen	57 Gordon Sq., London	Dr. Adolph Heimann	1850s	M	University College School (UCS)
Establishment for Young Gentlemen	2 Southampton St., Fitzroy Sq. ²³	Rev. Albert Löwy	1854	M	UCS
Devonshire Educational Establishment for Hebrew Youth	6 Maddock's Row, Exeter	Rev. Meyer Mendelssohn	1863	M	Mansion House School ²⁴
Montague Villa, Kingsdown	Clifton, near Bristol	As above	1877	M	A private or grammar school
Collegiate Day & Boarding School	1 Great Coram St., Russell Sq.	Mr. B. Spiers (see Table A)	1868	M	UCS
Hebrew Instruction	155 Queen's Rd., Baywater	Rev. Bernard Heymann	1868	M	West London College ²⁵
Hebrew Classes	106 Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill	As above	1874	F	West London College for Ladies

²² Miss Whaplate had previously been a mistress at Roedean School.

²³ It is unclear for how long Rev. Löwy taught. He resided at 12 Mornington Rd., Pancras, Marylebone at the time of the 1861 Census. He had four children (3 boys aged 11, 13 and 15 and 1 daughter aged 8) which may have been an incentive to continue the classes. NA – RG9/94/4/103/31

²⁴ Mansion House School (St. David's Hill) accepted 50 boarders and 50 day pupils. Fry, *Schools*, 83. Mendelssohn only taught in Exeter between 1863 and 1867. I have been unable to locate school registers for Mansion House School but the Census return for 1871 does indicate the number of pupils attending. Although Mendelssohn had moved to Bristol by then, it is interesting to note that there were 48 resident pupils and none of them had Jewish names.

²⁵ The West London College was established in 1861 at 72 Queen's Road, Bayswater. By 1868, it had moved to 155 Queen's Road. It offered a classical, a modern and a preparatory school educating 70

Hebrew instruction	Kew/ 4 Oakley Cr., City Rd., EC	Mr. Norman I. Berlin	1870	M	Unknown
Classes for Education in Religion & Hebrew	West Central district of London	Dr. Friedlander	1874	M	Boys “who receive secular education in non-denominational schools” ²⁶ .
Canonbury & Highgate Collegiate School for the Sons of Gentlemen	10 Euston Sq./ 10 Compton Rd ²⁷ .	Dr. Wolf Heinemann	1877/1880	M	UCS and any Public Schools

Source: JC, JW and Herbert Fry, *Our Schools and Colleges* (London, 1867) and subsequent edition 1868. F.S. de Carteret-Bisson, *Our Schools and Colleges* (London, 1872) and subsequent editions 1879 and 1884.

Table D: Jewish Houses in Public Schools

Name of House (and Public School)	Location	Housemasters (dates position held)	Year of Establishment of House	Number of Pupils (if known)
Hamburg House; later renamed Polack's House (Clifton College)	Bristol	Rev. Bernard Heymann (1878-90) Rev. Joseph Polack (1890-1922) ²⁸	1878	10-15 admitted from 1878; this number was increased to 24 in 1896.
Beeleigh House (Harrow School)	Harrow	Rev. Joseph Chotzner (1881-92)	1881	
A Master's House (St. Paul's School)	4 Edith Rd., W. Kensington	Mr. Ivan N. Schnurmann (1887-1891)	1887	10
Corinth House (Cheltenham College)	101 Bath Rd., Cheltenham	Mr. Ivan N. Schnurmann (1891-1913)	1891	
As above	moved to the house vacated by Newick House	Mr. Daniel L. Lipson (1914-23) ²⁹		

boys, including boarders and day pupils. Fry, *Schools*, 123 (1867) and 164 (1868). Carteret-Bisson, 304 (1872).

²⁶ JC, 285 (11 September 1874), 381b.

²⁷ By 1891, Heinemann was residing at 3 St. Mary's Rd., Kensington. He was described as a teacher of German so it is unclear whether he continued to teach Hebrew. NA – RG12/26/44a/80/15

²⁸ This began the Polack dynasty: Rev A. Polack (1922-48), Rev. P. Polack (1948-64) and Rev. E. Polack (1964-79).

²⁹ From 1923, Lipson created “a public school style” establishment.

Jewish House, known as Hillel House, from 1910 (Perse School, Cambridge)	Cambridge (from 1910, Glebe Rd., Cambridge)	Mr. I.M. Hersch (1904-29 ³⁰)	1904	12; number increased from 1910 ³¹
---	--	--	------	--

Source: JC, JW. Census returns as detailed in the Bibliography.

³⁰ Mr. Harry Dagut took over in 1929 and Hillel House continued until 1944.

³¹ Numbers also swelled during the First World War, as refugees from abroad entered the House. S.J.D. Mitchell, Perse: A History of the Perse School 1615-1976 (Cambridge, 1976), 102.

Appendix IV – Maps

Map (1) Ramsgate, Kent 38.1 Ordinance Survey 25" Series 1872

This map indicates the location of Temple Cottage, and the Synagogue.

Map (2) Brighton, Sussex 66.9 1 of 2 Ordinance Survey 25" Series 1875

This map indicates Buckingham Place, location of Dr. Louis Loewe's Educational Establishment for Young Gentlemen and its close proximity to the station terminus.

Map (1)

Source: BL – M: Ordnance Survey 25" Series 1875: Brighton, Sussex 66.9 1 of 2

302

302

Map (2)



Source: BL - M: Ordnance Survey 25" Series 1872: Ramsgate, Kent 38.1

Bibliography

Archives¹

Aria College, Portsea, at London Metropolitan Archives, London (Cited as LMA-AC)

- ACC2999/A1/4 Minutes of the Aria College Joint Committee Meetings (1922-38)

Bedford County Record Office, Bedford (Cited as BCRO)

- CRT 130 BED/268 Miss P.L. Bell's Bedford Jews 18th – 20th Centuries
- CRT 170/9/5 Extract from Cecil Roth: The Rise of Provincial Jewry (1950): Bedford
- CRT 170/9/16 Patricia L. Bell's Bedford's Second Jewish Community, 1787-1883 (1994).
- CRT 180/497 Notes on the Abrahams family of Bedford, 1903-77
- HT 9/12 Bundle of H.N. Tebbs' school reports and Bedford Modern School class lists 1881-1890
- HT 3/15 Harpur Trust Charity Minute Book 1874-82
- HT 5/6/1 Bedford Modern School Committee 1876-1906
- HT 5/6/2 Bedford Modern School Committee 1906-16
- HT 9/21 Reports of School Inspections 1901-35
- HT 9/17/4 Bedford Grammar School: Registers 1903-13
- HT 9/18 Bedford Modern School: Registers 1885-1912

¹ Where only secondary sources were used at archival centres, the centres have not been mentioned here. The books and articles are included in the "Secondary Sources" section.

Board of Deputies of British Jews, London Metropolitan Archives, London (Cited as LMA-BDBJ)

- ACC/3121/B/02/007/002 Public Schools: Regulations Concerning Saturday Work at Harrow and Charterhouse and Correspondence with the Headmasters (1902)
- ACC/3121/B/02/007/003 Education Bill: Reports and Correspondence (1906-8)
- ACC/3121/B/02/007/004 Examinations: General Notes and Correspondence with Individual Authorities Concerning Examinations Set for Saturday s or Holy Days (1896-1912)
- ACC/3121/B/02/016/002 Miss A. Goldstein: Case of a Teacher Asked to Resign After Absence on Holy Days and a Bereavement (1903)
- ACC/3121/B/02/016/004 Mr. J. Berlin: Case of a Teacher Dismissed for Absence on Yom Kippur (1914)
- ACC/3121/E/02/133 Dr. Redcliffe Salaman: Memos, Notes on Discussion of Shechita and 'Observations on Shechita', Obituary Notices (1950-5)
- ACC/3121/E/03/002/01 Examinations: Special Arrangements for Jewish Students Sitting Examinations Set for Sabbath or High Holy Days (1919-25)
- ACC/3121/E/03/002/04 Examinations: Correspondence with the University of London (1925)
- ACC/3121/E/03/002/05 Examinations: Correspondence with Oxford Local Examinations (1925)
- ACC/3121/E/03/042/01-02 London County Council Scholarships: Regulations and Alien Children, Campaign Against Effects of these Regulations (1917-28)

- ACC/3121/G/06/001 Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Printed Ephemera Found Among the Papers of Charles Emanuel (188?-1912)
- ACC/3121/G/06/052 Seventy Years of Hebrew Education: An Historical Review of the Manchester Talmud Torah Schools by Israel W. Slotki
- ACC/3121/G/07/006 Synagogue Statistics and the Jewish Population of Great Britain 1900-1970 by S.J. Prais

Brighton and Hove Record Office, Brighton (Cited as BHRO)

- Brighton and Hove 1837-1901 by David Spector

British Library, London (Cited as BL)

- Annual Reports: University of Cambridge: Examinations of Students Who are Not Members of the University (1859-88)
- Class Lists (Boys) : University of Cambridge Local Examinations for the Examinations (1876-92)
- Annual Reports: University of Oxford: Local Examinations (1858-1910)
- Tracts Relating to the Jews:
 - A Letter to Isaac L. Goldsmid on certain recent mis-statements respecting the Jewish religion by Hyman Hurwitz. (London, 1833)
 - A Letter to Henry Warburton upon the emancipation of the Jews by Basil Montagu. (London , 1833)

(Many reference works, biographies, memoirs, novels, and histories were consulted here and are noted in the Secondary Sources Section.)

British Library – Maps, London (Cited as BL-M)

- Ordinance Survey 25” County Series 1st Edition
- Ordinance Survey 25” County Series 2nd Edition

British Library – Sound Archives, London (Cited as BL-SA)

- Collection Title: Living Memory of the Jewish Community
- Collection Title: Millennium Memory Bank
- Collection Title: NLSC: Artists’ Lives
- Collection Title: NLSC: Book Trade Lives

Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Canterbury² (Cited as CCA)

- CC/W17/B13/1 Canterbury Middle Schools (1881-1900)
- CC/W17/E/1 Simon Langton Schools – Scheme and Particulars of Administration
- King’s School, Canterbury Register (1859-1931)

Christ’s Hospital (London) at Guildhall Library and Archives, London (Cited as GLA-CH)

- CH 12818/16-18 Registers of Admission and Discharge (1842-90)
- CH 12818A 98-176 Presentations (1830-1911)
- MS 12806/15-18 Court Minute Books (1844-86)
- MS 12808 Court and Committee Minute Books (1891-1910)
- MS 12811/18-29 Committee Minute Books (1830-90)

² The CCA is part of the Kent Archives Service.

City of London School, London (Cited as CLS)

- City of London Report to The Court of Common Council from the City of London School Committee (1870-88)
- The Revised Rules and Regulations sanctioned by Court of Common Council (1871)
- The City of London School Magazine (1879-1941)
- City of London School Jewish File

Clifton College (including Polack's House), Bristol³ (Cited as CC-PH)

- The Cliftonian 1-39 (1872-1953)
- Polack's House Magazine Vols. I-IV (1897-1937)
- "The Start of Polack's House in 1878 under Bernard Heymann"⁴

Devon Record Office, Exeter (Cited as DRO)

- 51/12/4/13 Mansion House School – comments on school examination results (1863)
- 2883 C Prospectus for Exeter Grammar School (September 1888)
- EHC7 Minute Book of the Exeter Hebrew Congregation (1860-97)

Ealing Library, Ealing Broadway (Cited as EL)

- Middlesex County Times (1866-1901)

Enfield Local History Unit, Enfield (Cited as ELHU)

- Census for Edmonton (H.N. Solomon's school):

³ Many biographies and memoirs were consulted here and are noted in the Secondary Sources section.

⁴ This article was provided by Charles Colquhoun.

- HO107/652 Edmonton District 2: 1841
- HO107/1703 Edmonton District 1B: 1851
- RG9/796 Edmonton District 4: 1861
- RG10/1044 Edmonton District 4: 1871
- RG11/1388 Edmonton District 5: 1881

Eton College, Eton⁵ (Cited as EC)

- The Etonian Volumes I-II, Nos. I-X
- The Eton Register I-VIII (1841-1919)

Greater Manchester County Record Office, Manchester (Cited as GMCRO)

- 3112 Photographs Related to Minerva College, Leicester (1915-21)

Hackney Archives, Hackney – for Hackney Downs School (Cited as HA)

- R/DOW/1/34 (1882-4, 1912-3) Copies of Prospectuses included in local Kelly's directories
- R/DOW/1/35 (1876-1881) Rules of the School, issued by H.C. Bowen, first headmaster and combined prospectus and term bill
- R/DOW/2/3 (1906-35) Reports on the School and Associated documents: HM Inspector's reports on the operation of the school and associated correspondence, including reports by the Board of Education and LCC minutes

⁵ Many biographies and memoirs were consulted here and are noted in the Secondary Sources section.

- R/DOW/3/4 (1905-35) Administration and Committee Records: List of best athletic boys, cricket captains, exam results, house competitions, head monitors and university scholarships, together with other sporting details
- R/DOW/4/1 (1876-1907) Pupil Records: Administration, Discipline, House and Associated Records: Admission Register
- R/DOW/4/27 (1915-1919) List of Pupils
- R/DOW/4/30 (1907-1932) List of Pupils taking Cambridge Scholarships and Exhibitions
- R/DOW/5/5 (1903-1920) Distinction and Prize Lists
- R/DOW/9/7 (1972) Geoffrey Alderman's History of Hackney Downs Schools
- R/DOW/15/1 (1905-23) Admission Register

Hammersmith & Fulham Archives, Hammersmith (Cited as HFA)

- PAH/1/80 and PAH/1/81 Rate books for Hammersmith (1850)

Haringey Libraries, Archives and Museum Service, Lordship Lane (N17)⁶ - for Tottenham Grammar School (Cited as HLAMS)

- 10/TS/32/33 Somerset Magazine (1906-48 incomplete)
- 10/TS/32/44 Scheme for the Administration of the Foundation Known as the Free Grammar School in the Parish of Tottenham in the County of Middlesex (1876)
- 10/TS/32/45 Groves, H. Godfrey S. History of the Tottenham Grammar School. Tottenham, 1949.
- 985 Pamphlets on Judaism:

⁶ The HLMAS is located at the Bruce Castle Museum.

- Baum, Jeff and Finkel, Jeanette, “Jewish Life in Tottenham 1900-1930: A Further Study” in Heritage No 5: An Historical Series on the Jewish Inhabitants of North London. London, 1997, 1-65.

Harrow School Archives, Harrow-on-the-Hill (Cited as HSA)

- Minutes of Governing Body Meetings (1874, 1877)
- Minutes of Governors’ Meetings (1888)
- Minutes of Masters’ Meetings 1894, 1898, 1902)
- Harrow School Archives Jewish House File

Jews’ College, London Metropolitan Archives, London (Cited as JC-LMA)

- LMA/4180/JC/B/03/001 Minutes of Education Committee 1885-1896
- LMA/4180/JC/B/03/002 Minutes of Education Committee 1896-1903
- LMA/4180/JC/B/03/003 Minutes of Education Committee 1903-1919
- LMA/4180/JC/F/02/002-8 Attendance Records including composite registers and students’ grades 1875-84

King Edward’s School, Birmingham (Cited as KES)

- Foundation Alumni (and Distinguished Staff) Index
- The Old Edwardians Gazette (1890-)
- 5/Ad/Schol 9-34 KES: Names of Scholars and Addresses of Parents
- 5/C/R/1-16 KES Committee Minute Books (1836-1924)
- 5/FHSB/Schol School Registers (1838-68)
- 5/HSB/Pub 11-21 The KES Chronicle Vols. 1-44 (1872-1929)
- FM/G/Rep 1-6 KES Governors’ Reports (1878-1917)

- FM/G/R KES Governors' Orders Books (1882-7)

Leeds Girls' High School, Leeds (Cited as LGHS)

- School Reports (1878 – 1886)
- Reports and Prospectuses (1886 - 1892)
- Folder of Information (October 1895 – February 1933)
- School Magazines (1898 – 1968)
- Newspaper Cuttings and Miscellaneous (August 1906 – July 1921)
- Board of Education Report of Second Inspection of the School (1910)
- Minutes of the Meetings of the 'House' Sub-Committee (1913 – 1920)
- Scheme for the Application of Part of the Endowment of the Leeds Grammar School for the Education of Girls (n.d.)

Liberal Jewish Synagogue, London Metropolitan Archives, London (Cited as LMA-LJS)

- ACC/3529/01/026 Press: Miscellaneous
- ACC/3529/2/51 Rabbi Israel I. Mattuck, "Religion and the Children" (1916)
- ACC/3529/2/68 Rabbi Israel I. Mattuck: Miscellaneous Writings (including pamphlets)
- ACC/3529/3/1 Correspondence: Rabbi Israel I. Mattuck
- ACC/3529/3/28 L.H. Montagu, "Hero-Worship as a Factor in Education" in Parents Review, LXXIV, 3 (1963), 57-65.
- ACC/3529/4/10 Sermons 1908-1920
- ACC/3529/5/4 Israel Abrahams

Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool (Cited as LRO)

- 296 ART/6 Dissertation by Yvonne Knight 'Liverpool Jewry: Growth and Assimilation 1750-1900' (1985)
- 296 ART/14 Paper by George J. Fogelson, 'Reverend Ralph Isaac Cohen (1803-1865) of Dover, England and his daughters' (1990)
- 296 BEN/16 Articles on Liverpool Jewry (1886-1951)
- 296/HGS Liverpool Hebrew Higher Grade School (1915)
- 296 JHC Liverpool Hebrew Schools Jewish History Circle (1911-1926)
- 296 LJE/1/2/1/39 Dr. Samuel Fox (n.d.)

London Metropolitan Archives, London (Cited as LMA)

- ACC2999/D4/5/1-9 Liverpool: Crosby, Liverpool and Manchester (Old Reports) (1946)

Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester (Cited as MALS)

- M66/34 Cheetham Higher Grade Board School and Cheetham Central School (log books and registers, 1900-20)
- M66/82 Southall Street Boys' and Girls' Departments (registers, 1891-1925)
- M1030 School Board Chronicle (Volumes 3-8)
- M136/3/9/240-246 National Public Schools Association
- M606/1/2/1-5 and M606/2/4/1-4 The Letter Family
- MF594 C.B. Dolton, "The Manchester School Board", unpublished M.Ed thesis, University of Durham (1959).

- MF1341 M. Spiers, “Victoria Park: A Study of Its Administration and Its Relations with Local Government, 1836-1954”, unpublished MA (Econ.) thesis, University of Manchester, (1961).
- MF1372 The Jewish Directory (1874)
- MF3010 Manchester Jews’ School (1883-1927)
- MISC/786/1-30 Henry Isadore Morris

Manchester Jewish Museum, Manchester (Cited as MJM)

- Manchester Talmud Torah: One Hundred Years of Jewish Education by Freda Barnett (1985)
- Notes on Louis Golding
- Sound Archives

Manchester Grammar School, Manchester (Cited as MGS)

- MGS Register of Admission (1862-79; 1888-95; 1896-1903; 1903-11; 1911-18)
- H. Lob 1908-41 (pamphlet)
- Ulula, School Magazine

The National Archives, Kew (Cited as NA)

- BT 31/21183/126701 Tivoli House School Ltd (1913)
- BT 31/30310/233325 Townley Castle Schools Ltd (1928)
- BT 31/31905/82218 Minerva College Ltd (1904)
- ED 21/9569 Manchester Cheetham Hill Road Jews’ School

- ED 27/1321 (1889-1901) Bristol Grammar School (including school examiners' reports)
- ED 27/1555 (1889-94) Portsmouth Grammar School (including school examiners' reports and class lists)
- ED 27/1816 Simon Langton School
- ED 27/3243 (1891-1902) The Whitechapel Foundation School (including school examiners' reports)
- ED 27/4892 and ED 27/4951 King Edward School Birmingham
- ED 27/7308 Cheltenham College
- ED 109/269 (1904) and ED 109/270 (1910) Board of Education Inspection Reports of Perse Grammar School, Cambridge (1904)
- ED 109/4013 (1906), ED 109/4014 (1910) and ED 109/4015 (1919) Davenant/Whitechapel Foundation School
- ED 109/4196 (1911) and ED 109/4197 (1920) Board of Education Inspection Reports of Harrow
- ED 109/5999 (1906) and ED 109/6000 (1912) Board of Education Inspection Reports of Roedean School
- ED 109/6455 (1914) Report of Inspection of Rugby School
- HO107 Census Returns for 1851
- RG9 Census Returns for 1861
- RG10 Census Returns for 1871
- RG11 Census Returns for 1881
- RG12 Census Returns for 1891
- RG13 Census Returns for 1901

Parkes Library, Southampton University, Southampton (PLSU)

- MS 116/32 Papers relating to the Mitchell and Berkowitz families
- MS 116/34 Information on various families in England
- MS 120 Franklin papers
- MS 134 Laski family papers
- MS 148 Papers of P. Goldberg (1852-1959)
- MS 157/23 and MS 157/24 Aria College

Perse School, Cambridge (Cited as PS)

- Admission Book (1875-1920)
- Admission Registers (1906-19)
- Extract from Cambridge Retrospect, Chapter 1 of an Autobiography by the Revd. Cyril Alliston
- Extracts from unpublished recollections:
 - Anthony Dunhill
 - Brian Lacey
 - Julius Silman
- Hillel House Drama Programmes (1918-20)
- Memories of Yesteryear (1989) by Priscilla Goldstein
- The Pelican: The Perse School Magazine

Portsmouth Grammar School, Portsmouth (Cited as PGS)

- Notes by R.A. Peel on Aria College and PGS (1998)
- List of pupils attending both PGS and Aria College (1884-1901)
- Finance Committee Minutes (1884)

- Admission Registers (1887-93)

South Hampstead High School for Girls, London (Cited as SHHS)

- Admission Registers (1879-1905)
- School Magazine (1889-1900)
- Log Books (1903-21)
- Register of Pupils (1906-9)

University College London at UCL Special Collections, London (Cited as UCL)

- UCL Annual Reports (1870-1880)

University College School at UCL Special Collections, London (Cited as UCS)

- Prospectuses (1829-32)
- Correspondence (1830-2)
- List of Boys Leaving the School (1833-6)
- School Registers (1831-1902)
- School Committee Reports (1846-87)
- Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board Reports (1892-4, 1902-3)

The Women's Library, London (Cited as WL)

- 7/BMC Catalogue of the McCrimmon Bodichon Collection (1826 – 1909)
- 7/HFD High, Franklin and Elsie Duval Papers
- 7/JPS Papers of Joan Pernel Strachey (1876 – 1951)
- 7/KPL Autobiography of Kay Pilpel (1996)

Directories

Bear's Postal Directory

Brighton Shilling Directory

Built-Leonard's Directory

Folthorp's Directory

Hall's Gravesend, Milton and Northfleet Directory and Advertiser

Kelly's Directory

Kelly's Postal Office Directory

Norris's Dover Directory

The Original Brighton and Hove Directory

Pike's Directory

The Richmond, Kew, Twickenham & c. Directory

Robinson's Directory

White's Devon

Newspapers (in alphabetical order)

Cambridge Daily News 1888-1962

Cheetham Hill Times 1904

Gravesend Free Press, Dartford Journal and County Advertiser 1855-6

Gravesend Free Press, North Kent Journal and County Advertiser 1856-82

Hebrew Observer 1853-4

The International Woman Suffrage News 1917-30

The Jewish Chronicle 1841-present

The Jewish Guardian 1919-1931

Jewish Record 1868-1871

Jewish Standard 1890-1891

The Jewish Tribune 1920

Jewish World 1873-6; 1879-1934

Liverpool Daily Post 1855-1904

The Manchester Guardian 1821-present

The Times 1788-present

The Times Educational Supplement 1914-present

The Voice of Jacob 1841-7

Yorkshire Observer 1899-1903; 1909-56

Yorkshire Post 1883-present

On-line Sources

The Board of Deputies of British Jews - www.bod.org.uk

Jewish Encyclopedia – www.jewishencyclopedia.com

Susser Archives - www.jewishgen.org/JCR-UK/susser

Secondary Sources

Abbott, Mary. Family Ties: English Families 1540-1920. London, 1993.

Adler, Eliyana, “Rediscovering Schools for Jewish Girls in Tsarist Russia”, in East European Jewish Affairs 34, 2 (2004), 139-150.

Adler, Michael, ed. British Jewry Book of Honour. London, 1922.

———, “The Jews of Canterbury”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, VII (1915), 19-59.

Ainger, Arthur Campbell. Memories of Eton 60 Years Ago. London, 1917.

Alderman, Geoffrey. Modern British Jewry. Oxford, 1998.

- Aldrich, Richard and Gordon, Peter. Dictionary of British Educationists. London, 1989.
- Allan, George A.T. Christ's Hospital Exhibitioners to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge 1566-1923. London, 1924.
- . Christ's Hospital. London and Glasgow, 1937
- . Christ's Hospital. Revised by J.E. Morpurgo. London, 1984.
- The Alleynian (February 1873 – December 1876), Nos 1-25.
- Allsobrook, David Ian. Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle Class Education in Mid-Victorian England (Manchester, 1986)
- Aris, S. The Jews in Business. London, 1973.
- Arnstein, Walter L., "Queen Victoria and Religion", in Gail Malmgreen, ed. Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930. London, 1986, 88-128.
- Aronsfield, C.C., "German Jews in Victorian England" in Year Book VIII of the Leo Baeck Institute. London, 1962, 312-29.
- Austen-Leigh, R.A. An Illustrated Guide to Eton College. Revised by R.C. Martineau. Eton, 1964.
- Ayerst, W. The Jews of the Nineteenth Century: A Collection of Essays, Reviews, and Historical Notices. London, 1948.
- Bamford, T.W. Rise of the Public Schools: A Study of Boys' Public Boarding Schools in England and Wales from 1837 to the Present Day. London, 1967.
- Barker, G.F. Russell and Stenning, Alan H. The Record of Old Westminster: A Biographical List of All Those Who are Known to Have Been Educated at Westminster School From the Earliest Times to 1927. Vols. I-II. London, 1928.
- . The Westminster School Register from 1764 to 1883. London, 1892.

- Barlen, M.E., Stambach, M.P. and Stileman, D.P.C. Bedford School and the Great Fire. London, 1984.
- Barnard, Alan and Spencer, Jonathan, eds. Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology. London and New York, 1996.
- Barnett, Arthur, "Sussex Hall – The First Anglo-Jewish Venture in Popular Education", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XIX, (1960), 65-79.
- Barnett, R.D., "Anglo-Jewry in the Eighteenth Century" in V.D. Lipman, ed., Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays. Cambridge, 1961, 45-68.
- Battersea, Constance. Reminiscences. London, 1922.
- Beckman, Linda Hunt. Amy Levy: Her Life and Letters. Athens, Ohio, 2000.
- Benas, Bertram B., "Jacob Waley 1818-1873", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVIII (1958), 41-52.
- , "A Survey of the Jewish Institutional History of Liverpool and District", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVII (1953), 23-37.
- Bentley, James. Dare to be Wise: A History of Manchester Grammar School. London, 1990.
- Bentwich, Margery and Bentwich, Norman. Herbert Bentwich: The Pilgrim Father. Jerusalem, 1940.
- Bentwich, Norman, "Jewish Educational Disorganisation in London", in The Jewish Review, III (1912-13), 355-366.
- Bermant, Chaim. The Cousinhood: The Anglo-Jewish Gentry. London, 1971.
- Bishop, T.J.H. (in collaboration with Rupert Wilkinson) Winchester and the Public School Elite: A Statistical Analysis. London, 1967.

- Black, Eugene C. The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920. Oxford, 1958.
- Black, Gerry. J.F.S.: The History of the Jews' Free School, London since 1732. London, 1998.
- Blumenau, Ralph. A History of Malvern College 1865 to 1965. London, 1965.
- Boase, Frederic. Modern English Biography Containing Many Thousand Concise Memoirs of Persons Who Have Died Between the Years 1851-1900 With an Index of the Most Interesting Matter, 1891-1921. 6 vols. London, 1965.
- Bodington, Prunella R. The Kindling and the Flame: A Centenary Review of the History of South Hampstead High School. London, n.d.
- Bolaffi, Guido, Bracalenti, Raffaele, Braham, Peter and Gindro, Sandro, eds. Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture. London, 2003.
- Bolitho, Hector. Alfred Mond: First Lord Melchett. London, 1933.
- Brabazon, Elizabeth Jane. A Month at Gravesend: Containing an Account of the Town and Neighbourhood, Statistical, Historical and Descriptive. London, 1863.
- Brinsley-Richards, James., ed. Seven Years at Eton 1857-1864. London, 1883.
- Brodetsky, Selig. Memoirs: from Ghetto to Israel. London, 1960.
- Brook, Stephen. The Club: The Jews of Modern Britain. London, 1996.
- Brown, Malcolm, "The Jews of Gravesend before 1915", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXV (2000), 119-140.
- Brown, Michael and Samuel, Judith, "The Jews of Bath", in Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England, XXIX (1988), 135-64.
- Browning, Oscar. Memories of 60 Years at Eton, Cambridge and Elsewhere. London, n.d.
- Bryant, Margaret E. The London Experience of Secondary Education. London, 1986

- . The Unexpected Revolution: A Study in the History of the Education of Women and Girls in the Nineteenth Century. London, 1979.
- Buckman, Joseph. Immigrants and the Class Struggle: The Jewish Immigrants in Leeds 1880-1914. Manchester, 1983.
- Burman, Rickie, “She Looketh Well to the Ways of Her Household: The Changing Role of Jewish Women in Religious Life, c.1880-1930”, in Gail Malmgreen, ed. Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930. London, 1986, 234-259.
- Burton, Hester. Barbara Bodichon 1827-1891. London, 1949.
- Calhoun, Craig, ed. Dictionary of the Social Sciences. Oxford, 2002.
- Calisch, Edward N. The Jew in English Literature, as Author and as Subject. New York, 1969.
- Card, Tim. Eton Established: A History from 1440 to 1860. London, 2001.
- . Eton Renewed: A History from 1860 to the Present Day. London, 1994.
- Carlebach, Alexander, “The Rev. Dr. Joseph Chotzner”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 261-273.
- Carlebach, Julius, “The Impact of German Jews on Anglo-Jewry – Orthodoxy, 1850-1950, in Werner E. Mosse et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom. Tübingen, 1991, 405-423.
- Carleton, John D. Westminster School: A History. London, 1965.
- Cassel, Curtis E., “The West Metropolitan Jewish School, 1845-1897”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XIX (1960), 115-128.
- Cesarani, David. The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991. Cambridge, 1994.
- , ed. The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry. Oxford, 1990.

Chadwick, Thelma, Josephs, Zoe and Masterman, Dodie. Minerva or Fried Fish in a Sponge Bag: The Story of a Boarding School for Jewish Girls. West Midlands, 1993.

The Chambers Dictionary. Edinburgh, 1993.

Charterhouse: An Open Examination Written by the Boys. London, 1964.

Chetwynd-Stapylton, H.E. Eton School Lists 1791-1877. London, 1864.

Clifton College Register 1862 to 1962. Bristol, 1962.

Cohen, The Right Hon. Lord Justice, “Levi Barent Cohen and Some of His Descendants”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVI (1952), 11-24.

Cohn-Sherbok, Dan. The Jews of Canterbury 1760-1931. Canterbury, 1984.

Coleridge, Arthur Duke. Eton in the Forties. London, 1896.

Coleridge, Gilbert. Eton in the Seventies. London, 1912.

A Collection of the Public General Statutes, Passed in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: Being the Second Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1854.

A Collection of the Public General Statutes, Passed in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: Being the Fourth Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1856.

Collins, Kenneth E. Scotland’s Jews: A Guide to the History and Community of the Jews in Scotland. Glasgow, 1999.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary. 10th edition. Oxford, 1999.

- Con-Sherbok, Dan, "Sir Moses Montefiore and the Canterbury Jewish Community", in Bygone Kent: A Monthly Journal on all Aspects of Local History, 2, 5 (1981), 309-12.
- Connell, W.F. The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold. London, 1950.
- Cornish, Francis Warre, ed. Extracts from the Letters and Journals of William Cory. Oxford, 1797.
- Cowen, Anne and Cowen, Roger. Victorian Jews Through British Eyes. London and Portland, Oregon, 1998.
- Crawford, Anne. The Europa Biographical Dictionary of British Women: Over 1000 Notable Women from Britain's Past. London, 1983.
- Cream, Naomi, "Revd. Solomon Lyon of Cambridge, 1755-1820" in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXVI (2001), 31-69.
- Daiches, David. Two Worlds: An Edinburgh Jewish Childhood. Edinburgh, 1956.
- Dalling, Graham, "Early Jewish Settlement in Edmonton, Enfield and Southgate", in Heritage No 4: An Historical Series on the Jewish Inhabitants of North London. London, 1993, 12-27.
- . Southgate and Edmonton Past: A Study in Divergence. London, 1996.
- Danby, Frank. Mr Phillips: A Maida Vale Idyll. London, 1887.
- Dansky, Miriam. Rebbetzin Grunfeld: The Life of Judith Grunfeld, Courageous Pioneer of the Bais Yaakov Movement and Jewish Rebirth. New York, 1994.
- Davis, Richard. The English Rothschilds. London, 1983.
- de Carteret-Bisson, F.S. The Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations Record Vol. II. London, 1876.
- . Our Schools and Colleges London, 1872.

- . Our Schools and Colleges. Volume I: Boys. London, 1879.
- . Our Schools and Colleges Volume II: Girls. London, 1884.
- de-la-Noy, Michael. Bedford School: A History. Bedford, 1999.
- de Rothschild, Edmund. A Gilt-Edged Life: Memoir. London, 1998.
- de Zouche, Dorothy E. Roedean School 1885-1955. Brighton, 1955.
- Diamond, A.S., "Problems of the London Sephardi Community" in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 39-63.
- Dictionary of British Educationists. London, 1989.
- Domnitz, Myer, "Jewish Education in Britain", in Common Ground, XXI, 1 (Spring 1967), 5-11.
- , "Jewish Schools in Britain", in CAJEX (Magazine of the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women, Cardiff), XVII, 1 (March 1968), 13-15.
- Douglas-Smith, A.E. City of London School, 2nd edition. Oxford, 1965.
- Draper, F.W.M. Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School 1561-1961. London, 1962.
- Dyhouse, Carol. Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England. London, 1981.
- E., O. Eton Under Hornby: Some Reminiscences and Reflections. London, 1910.
- Edwards, Dudley Ruth. Victor Gollancz: A Biography. London, 1987.
- Egan, Charles. The Status of the Jews in England: From the Time of the Normans to the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Impartially Considered: Comprising Authentic Notices, Deduced from Historical and Legal Records; an Including a Synopsis, With Comments, of the Debates on the Jews Disabilities Bill. London, n.d.
- Eisenbach, Artur. The Emancipation of the Jews in Poland, 1780-1870. Oxford, 1991.
- Emden, Paul H. Jews of Britain: A Series of Biographies. London, 1943.

Encyclopaedia Judaica. 16 vols. Jerusalem, 1971-2.

Endelman, Todd M., "German-Jewish Settlement in Victorian England", in Mosse, Werner E. et al., ed., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom. Tübingen, 1991, 37-56.

———. The Jews of Britain from 1656 to 2000. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002.

———. The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society. Philadelphia, 1979.

———. Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History 1656-1945. Bloomington, 1990.

Englander, David, "Anglicisation not Anglican: Jews and Judaism in Victorian Britain", in G. Parsons, ed., Religion in Victorian Britain, 1 (Manchester 1988), 23-273.

———. A Documentary History of Jewish Immigrants in Britain 1840-1920. Leicester, London and New York, 1994.

Evans, A.B. The Cambridge Grammar School for Boys 1871-1971. Loughborough, 1972.

Feldman, David. Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture 1840-1914. New Haven and London, 1994.

Finestein, Israel. Anglo-Jewry in Changing Times: Studies in Diversity 1840-1914. London, 1999.

———, "Jewish Emancipationists in Victorian England: Self-Imposed Limits to Assimilation", in Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth Century Europe. Cambridge, 1992.

- , “The New Community 1880-1918”, in V.D. Lipman, ed., Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays. Cambridge, 1961, 107-124.
- . Scenes and Personalities in Anglo-Jewry 1800-2000. London, 2002.
- , “Sir George Jessel, 1824-1883”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVIII (1958), 243-283.
- Fishman, Isidore. The History of Jewish Education in Central Europe, from the End of the Sixteenth Century to the End of the Eighteenth Century. London, 1944.
- Floud, J., Halsey, A.H. and Martin, F.M. Social Class and Educational Opportunity, London, 1957.
- Foden, F. Philip Magnus: Victorian Educational Pioneer. London, 1970.
- Frankel, Ruth L. Henry M. Leipziger: Educator and Idealist. New York, 1933.
- Freedman, Murray, “Leeds Jewish Community: The Early Years”, in Shemot, 1, 2 (1993), 11-2.
- Fried, Albert and Elman, Richard E., eds. Charles Booth’s London: A Portrait of the Poor at the Turn of the Century Drawn from His Life and Labour of the People in London. London, 1971.
- Frisk, Fred. The History of the Parish of Edmonton in the County of Middlesex, (containing also Historical Accounts of Bush Hill, Southgate, Winchmore Hill, Palmers Green, South Mimms, and Hadley, Districts formerly in the Parish of Edmonton). Tottenham, 1914.
- Fry, Herbert. Our Schools and Colleges. London, 1867.
- . Our Schools and Colleges. London, 1868.
- Furley, H.D. The Register of Tonbridge School from 1861 to 1945 With a List of Headmasters and Second Masters From the Foundation of the School. London, 1951.

- Gambier-Parry, Major. Annals of an Eton House with Some Notes on the Evans Family. London, 1907.
- Gaskell, Charles M., ed. Records of an Eton Schoolboy. London, 1883.
- Gates, William. History of Portsmouth. Portsmouth, 1900.
- Girdlestone, F.K.W., Hardman, E.T. and Tod, A.H. Charterhouse Register 1872-1910
2 vols. 2nd edition. London, 1911.
- . Charterhouse Register 1911-1920.
London, 1922.
- Girton College Register 1869-1946. Cambridge, 1948.
- Golding, Louis. Forward from Babylon. London, 1932.
- . Magnolia Street. London, 1932.
- Goldschmidt-Lehmann, Ruth P. A Bibliography of Anglo-Jewish Medical Biography.
Jerusalem, 1988.
- Gollancz, Hermann. A Contribution to the History of UCL with Impressions of Some Personalities Privately printed, 1930.
- Gollancz, Victor and Somervell, David. Political Education at a Public School.
London, 1918.
- Goodman, Mervyn, “A Research Note on Jewish Education on Merseyside, 1962”, in
The Jewish Journal of Sociology, VII, I (June, 1965), 30-45.
- Gordon, Samuel. Sons of the Covenant. London, 1900.
- Gould, Julius and Kolb, William L. A Dictionary of the Social Sciences. London,
1964.
- Graham, J.A. and Phythian, B.A. The Manchester Grammar School 1515-1965.
Manchester, 1965.
- Gray, J.M. A History of the Perse School Cambridge. Cambridge, 1921.

- Green, A.A., "The Religious Training of Children Among the Jews", in Thomas Stephens ed., The Child and Religion. London and New York, 1905, 332-343.
- Greenberg, Suzanne Kirsch, "Anglicisation and the Education of Jewish Immigrant Children in the East End of London", in Ada Rapoport-Albert and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky. London, 1988, 111-126.
- Gunn, Simon, "The Middle Class, Modernity and the Provincial City: Manchester c. 1840-80" in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds., Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940. Manchester, 1999, 118-28.
- Gutwein, Daniel. The Divided Elite: Economics, Politics and Anglo-Jewry 1882-1917. Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1992.
- Halevy, Zvi. Jewish Schools Under Tsarism and Communism: A Struggle for Cultural Identity. New York, 1976.
- Harrop, Sylvia (with the assistance of Joan Stubbs). The Merchant Taylor's School for Girls, Crosby: One Hundred Years of Achievement 1888-1988. Liverpool, 1988.
- Hart, E.P. Merchant Taylors' School Register 1561-1934. Vols. I-II. London, 1936.
- Hartog, M.H. A Memoir of Sir Philip Hartog. London(?), 1949.
- Hasker, Leslie. Hammersmith and Fulham Through 1500 Years: A Brief History. London, 1992.
- Heller, Deborah, "The Outcast as Villain and Victim: Jews in Dickens's Oliver Twist and Our Mutual Friend" in Derek Cohen and Deborah Heller, ed., Jewish Presences in English Literature (Montreal and Kingston, 1990), 40-60.
- Henriques, Robert. Sir Robert Waley Cohen 1877-1952: A Biography. London, 1966.
- Herstein, Sheila R. A Mid-Victorian Feminist, Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon. New York, 1985.

- Hill, C.P. The History of Bristol Grammar School. London, 1951.
- Hill, M.D. Eton and Elsewhere. London, 1928.
- Hinde, Thomas. Carpenter's Children: The Story of the City of London. London, 1995.
- Hirsch, Pam. Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon: Feminist, Artist and Rebel. A Biography. London, 1999.
- Hipkin, F.C. Repton School Register 1620-1894. London, 1895.
- A History of the County of Middlesex. I. Oxford, 1969.
- A History of the County of Middlesex. V. Oxford, 1976.
- A History of the County of Middlesex. VI. Oxford, 1980.
- A History of the County of Middlesex. VIII. Oxford, 1985.
- Hodges, Sheila. G-d's Gift: A Living History of Dulwich College. London, 1981.
- Holcombe, Lee. Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales 1850-1914. Newton Abbot, Devon, 1973.
- Holden, W.H., ed. The Charterhouse We Knew. London, 1950.
- The Home and Synagogue of the Modern Jew: Sketches of Modern Jewish Life and Ceremonies. London, n.d.
- Howson, J.S., "Statistics of the Liverpool College Institute", in Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (1858), 241-9.
- Hurwitz, Hyman. A Grammar of the Hebrew Language. 2nd edition. London, 1835.
- Hutton, T.W. King Edward's School, Birmingham 1552-1952. Oxford, 1952.
- Hyamson, Albert M. David Salomons. London, 1939.
- . A History of the Jews in England. London, 1928.
- . Jews' College, London 1855-1955. London, 1955.

———, “Plan of a Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish Biography”, in Anglo-Jewish Notabilities: Their Arms and Testamentary Dispositions. London, 1949, 1-74..

———. The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community 1492-1951. London, 1951.

Hyman, Leonard, “Hyman Hurwitz: The First Anglo-Jewish Professor”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 232-242.

Hyman, Paula E. Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women. Seattle and London, 1995.

Inglis, John, ed. Rugby School Who's Who. 3rd edition. Rugby, 2002.

Jackson, Stanley, First Marquess of Reading. London, 1936.

———, “In Search of Jewish Life in ‘Sussex by the Sea’: The Jews of Brighton” in Shemot, 9, 2 (2001), 26-7.

Jacobs, Joseph. Studies in Jewish Statistics, Social, Vital and Anthropometric. London, 1891.

Jameson, E.M. Charterhouse. London and Glasgow, 1937.

Jamilly, Edward, “Anglo-Jewish Architects, and Architecture in the 18th and 19th Centuries”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVIII (1958), 127-41.

Jeremy, David J., ed. Dictionary of Business Biography: A Biographical Dictionary of Business Leaders Active in Britain in the Period 1860-1980, 5 vols. London, 1984-6.

Jessel, Charles James, “An Eminent Victorian Lawyer”, in Blackwood's Magazine, 219 (1926), 47-55.

Jewell, Helen M. A School of Unusual Excellence: Leeds Girls' High School 1876-1976. Leeds, 1976.

The Jewish Encyclopedia. 16 vols. London, 1905.

The Jewish Year Book: An Annual Record of Matters Jewish. London, 1896-the present.

Jewnius, "A Jewish Public School?", in The Jewish Monthly (June, 1947), 11-12.

Jolles, Michael. A Directory of Distinguished British Jews 1830 to 1930, with Selected Compilations Extending from 1830 to 2000. London, 2000.

———. Jews and the Carlton Club with Notes on Benjamin Disraeli, Henri Louis Bischoffsheim and Saul Isaac, MP. London, 2002.

Kadish, Sharman. 'A Good Jew and A Good Englishman': The Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade 1895-1995. London, 1995.

Kamm, Josephine. Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of The Girls' Public Day School Trust. Oxford, 1971.

Kandel, I.L. History of Secondary Education. Boston, 1930.

Katz, David. The Jews in the History of England 1485-1850. Oxford, 1996.

Katz, Jacob. Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870. New York, 1978.

Kelly, A.V. Education Made Simple. London, 1987.

Kershen, Anne, "Convenience or Ideology? The Origins of Reform Judaism in Britain", in The Jewish Quarterly, 39, 2 (1992), 55-59.

———, "Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth: Men of their Times?", in Geoffrey Alderman and Colin Holmes, eds., Outsiders and Outcasts: Essays in Honour of William J. Fishman. London, 1993, 94-118.

———, "The Jewish Year Book, 5657 (1896): A Defence of British Jewry?", in The Jewish Year Book: An Annual Record of Matters Jewish, 5657 (1896-1897): A Centenary Facsimile of the First Jewish Year Book. London, 1996, xv-xli.

- , “Trade Unionism amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London and Leeds, 1872-1915”, in David Cesarani, ed., The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry. Oxford, 1990, 34-54.
- Kershen, Anne J. and Romain, Jonathan A. A History of Reform Judaism in Britain 1840-1995. London, 1995.
- Kidd, Alan and Nicholls, David, eds. Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940. Manchester, 1999.
- King’s School, Canterbury Register 1859 to 1931 With an Alphabetical Index. Hertfordshire, 1932.
- Kranzler, David and Hirschler, Gertrude, eds. Solomon Schonfeld: His Page in History. New York, 1982.
- Krausz, Ernest. Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure. Cambridge, 1964.
- Laborde, Edward D. Harrow School, Yesterday and Today. London, 1948.
- Lachs, Phyllis S., “A Study of a Professional Elite: Anglo-Jewish Barristers in the Nineteenth Century”, in Jewish Social Studies, 44 (1982), 125-34.
- Landman, Isaac, ed. The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia, 10 Vols. New York, 1941.
- Lawson, John and Silver, Harold. A Social History of Education in England. London, 1973.
- Lask, Beth Zion, “Amy Levy”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XI (1928), 168-189.
- Lee, Sidney. The Place of English Literature in the Modern University: An Inaugural Lecture. London, 1913.
- Leinster-Mackey, Donald, ed. Education and The Times: An Index of Letters to 1910. London, 1994.
- Letters of H.E. Luxmoore. Cambridge, 1929.

- Levin, Salmond S., "The Changing Pattern of Jewish Education", in Salmond S.
- Levin, A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life 1870-1970. London, 1970, 57-94.
- Levine, Ephraim, "Sir Isidore Spielmann 1854-1925", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XI (1928), 233-8.
- Levine, Philippa. Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment. Oxford, 1990.
- Levy, E. Lawrence. Birmingham Jewry 1870 and 1920. Birmingham, 1929.
- Levy, Matthias. The Western Synagogue: Some Materials for its History. London, 1897.
- Lipman, Vivian D., "The Age of Emancipation, 1815-1880", in V.D. Lipman, Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays. Cambridge, 1961, 69-106.
- , "The Anglo-Jewish Community in Victorian England", in D. Noy and I. Ben Ami, eds., Studies in the Cultural Life of the Jews in England. Jerusalem, 1975, 151-164.
- . A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858. London, 1990.
- , "The Rise of Jewish Suburbia", in Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England, XXI (1968), 78-103.
- . "Sephardi and Other Jewish Immigrants in England in the Eighteenth Century", in A. Newman, ed., Migration and Settlement: Papers on Anglo-American Jewish History. London, 1971, 37-46.
- . Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950. London, 1994.
- , "A Survey of Anglo-Jewry in 1851", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVII (1953), 171-88.
- Lipschutz, Naphtali. In Memoriam: Rabbi Dr. Victor Schonfeld. London, 1930.

- Livshin, Rosalyn, "The Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930", in David Cesarani, ed., The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry. Oxford, 1990.
- , "Manchester Jewry – Guide for the Family Historian", in Shemot, 1, 4 (1993), 26-8.
- Lissack, M. Jewish Perseverance or The Jew, at Home and Abroad: An Autobiography. London, 1851.
- Loewe, Herbert, "Sir Herman Gollancz MA DLit Rabbi 1852-1930", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XII (1931), 263-5.
- Loewe, Raphael, "The Contribution of German-Jewish Scholars to Jewish Studies in the United Kingdom", in Mosse, Werner E. et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom. Tübingen, 1991, 437-462.
- , "Jewish Student Feeding Arrangements in Oxford and Cambridge", in D. Noy and I. Ben-Ami, eds., Studies in the Cultural Life of the Jews in England. Jerusalem, 1975, 165-184.
- Lown, Judy. Women and Industrialisation: Gender at Work in Nineteenth Century England. Cambridge, 1990.
- Lubbock, Percy. Shades of Eton. London, 1929.
- Luft, H.M. A History of Merchant Taylor's School, Crosby: 1620-1970. Liverpool, 1970.
- Lunn, Arnold. Loose Ends. London, 1918.
- Lyte, H.C. Maxwell. History of Eton College 1440-1910. London, 1911.
- MacNaughten, Hugh. 50 Years of Eton. London, 1924.
- McCord, Norman. British History 1815-1906. Oxford, 1991.

- McDermind, Jane, "Women and Education", in Jane Purvis, ed., Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945. London, 1995, 107-130.
- McDonnell, Michael F.J. A History of St. Paul's School. London, 1909.
- Maclure, J. Stuart. Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day. London, 1968.
- Magnus, Philip. Educational Aims and Efforts 1880-1910. London, 1910.
- Maitland, Edward. Jewish Literature and Modern Education or The Use or Misuse of the Bible in the Schoolroom. London, 1871.
- Malmgreen, Gail, ed. Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930. London, 1986.
- Marchant, James, ed. Raphael Meldola: Reminiscences of His Worth and Work by Those Who Knew Him Together With a Chronological List of His Publications. London, 1916.
- Margoliouth, Moses. The History of the Jews in Great Britain. 3 vols. London, 1851.
- Marlborough: An Open Examination Written By the Boys. London, 1963.
- Marquess of Reading, Rufus Isaacs First Marquess of Reading 1860-1914 (London, 1943).
- Marshall, Dorothy. Industrial England 1776-1851. London, 1973.
- Martin, Henry. The History of Brighton and Environs from the Earliest Known Period to the Present Time (together with a short historical description of towns and villages of interest within twelve miles of Brighton). 2nd edition. Brighton, 1871.
- Matthew, H.C.G. and Hamson, Brian, eds. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 61 Vols. Oxford, 2004.
- Matthews, J.H.D. and Thompson, V. The Register of the Leeds Grammar School 1820-1896. Leeds, 1897.

Meisels, I.S., "The Jewish Congregation of Portsmouth (1766-1842)", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, VI (1912), 111-127.

Mendes, Abraham P. Post-Biblical History of the Jews: From the Close of the Scripture Annals to the Destruction of the Temple. London, 1873.

———. Sermons. London, 1855.

Michael A. Meyer, ed., German-Jewish History in Modern Times Volume 2: Emancipation and Acculturation 1780-1871. New York, 1997.

Miles, Andrew. Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England. Great Britain, 1999.

Miles, Frank and Cranch, Graeme. King's College School: The First 150 Years. London, 1979.

Miles, Frank R. King's College School: Alumni, 1831-1866, with Historical and Biographical Notes. London, 1974.

———. King's College School: 1866-1889: A Register of Pupils in the Schools under the Second Headmaster, Dr. G.F. Maclear, and the Third Headmaster, Dr. T.H. Stokoe. London, 1985.

Mills, John. The British Jews. London, 1853.

Mitchell, S.J.D. Perse: A History of the Perse School 1615-1976. Cambridge, 1976.

Moir, James W. The Harrow School Register 1885-1949. London, 1951.

Montagu, Ewen. The Man Who Never Was. London, 1967.

Moon, G. Washington. Men and Women of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries, 13th edition. London, 1891.

Moore, Judy. Memories of Roedean: The First 100 Years. Seaford, East Sussex, 1998.

Morais, Henry Samuel. Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century: A Series of Biographical Sketches. Philadelphia, 1880.

Morgan, Kenneth. The Birth of Industrial Britain: Social Change, 1750-1850. Great Britain, 2004.

Morgan, M.C. Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years. Buckinghamshire, 1968.

Mosse, Werner E. et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom. Tübingen, 1991.

Morris, R.J. Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850. Manchester and New York, 1990.

Mumford, Alfred Alexander. The Manchester Grammar School 1515-1915. Manchester, 1919.

Munson, J.E.B., "The Unionist Coalition and Education, 1895-1902", in The Historical Journal, XX, 3 (1977), 607-645.

Musgrave, Peter William. Society and Education in England since 1800. London, 1968.

Neuman, Abraham A. The Jews in Spain: Their Social, Political and Cultural Life During the Middle Ages. Volume II. Philadelphia, 1994.

Newman, Aubrey, "German Jews in Britain. A Prologue" in Werner E. Mosse, et al., eds., Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom. Tübingen, 1991, 31-36.

The New Collins Concise Dictionary of the English Language. London, 1985.

Oakeley, E.M. Clifton College Register 1862 to 1887. London, 1887.

Oldham, J. Basil. A History of Shrewsbury School 1552-1952. Oxford, 1952.

Ollard, Richard. An English Education: A Perspective of Eton. London, 1982.

Orchard, Barry. A Look at the Head and the Fifty: A History of Tonbridge School. London, 1991.

- Ormiston, Thomas Lane. Dulwich College Register 1619-1926. London, 1926.
- The Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd edition. Vols. III, IX. Oxford, 1989.
- Pascoe, Charles Eyre, ed. Everyday Life in Our Public Schools. London, 1881.
- Parshall, Karen H. James Joseph Sylvester: Life and Work in Letters. Oxford, 1998.
- Pearce, Tim. Then and Now: An Anniversary Celebration of Cheltenham College 1841-1991. Aldershot, 1991.
- Philip, Alex J. A History of Gravesend and Its Surroundings from Prehistoric Times (Illustrated). Bristol, 1954.
- Picciotto, James. Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History. London, 1956.
- Pick, B.P. The Sherborne Register 1550-1950. 4th edition. Winchester, 1950.
- Phillips, Olga S. and Simons, Hyman A. The History of the Bayswater Synagogue 1863-1963. London, 1963.
- Polack, A.I., "Clifton and Anglo-Jewry", in N.G.L. Hammond, ed., Centenary Essays on Clifton College. Bristol, 1962.
- Pollins, Harold. Economic History of the Jews in England. London and Toronto, 1982.
- , "Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain", in Research Papers, 2 (1991).
- Potter, Jeremy. Headmaster: The Life of John Percival – Radical Autocrat. London, 1998.
- Preston, Samuel, "School Education for the Nineteenth Century" in Educational Miscellanies 1846-1865, Vol, 3 (2).
- Procter, K.E. A Short History of the Leeds Girls' High School 1876-1906. Leeds, 1926.

The Public General Acts, Passed in the 34th and 35th Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: Being the Third Session of the Twentieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. London, 1871.

Pugh, Martin. State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain 1870-1997. 2nd edition. London, 1999.

Purvis, June, ed. Women's History: Britain, 1850-1945. London, 1995.

Rabinowitz, Lipa, "Manchester Jewish Grammar School", in Jewish Education London, 1981/2, 48-9.

Reggio, Isaac. A Guide for the Religious Instruction of Jewish Youth. Translated from the Italian by M.H. Picciotto. London, 1855.

Reginald, Esher. Cloud Capp'd Towers. London, 1927.

Reid, Alastair J. Social Classes and Social Relations in Britain, 1850-1914. London, 1992.

Renton, Peter. The Lost Synagogues of London. London, 2000.

Roach, John. Public Examinations in England 1850-1900. London, 1971.

Roche, Henry, "The Jews of Portsmouth: Sources and Information 1740-1870", in Shemot, 2, 1 (1994), 27-9.

Roedean School Magazine. November, 1947.

Roberts, M.J.D., "Feminism and the State in Late Victorian England", in The Historical Journal, 38, 1 (1995), 85-110.

Roberts, S.C. Memories and Opinions: An Unfinished Autobiography by Q. Cambridge, 1944.

Rosenzweig, Alexander. The Jewish Memorial Council: A History 1919-1999. London, 1999.

Roth, Cecil, "The Jews in the English Universities", Miscellanies in Jewish Historical Society of England, IV (1942), 102-15.

———, "The Portsmouth Community and Its Historical Background", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XIII (1936), 157-87.

———, "The Resettlement of the Jews in England", in V.D. Lipman, Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History: A Volume of Essays. Cambridge, 1961, 1-26.

———. The Rise of Provincial Jewry: The Early History of the Jewish Communities in the English Countryside, 1740-1840. London, 1950.

Rothschild, Miriam. Dear Lord Rothschild: Birds, Butterflies and History. London, 1983.

Rothstein, S., "The Evolution of the Birmingham Hebrew National School", in Zoe Josephs, Birmingham Jewry – More Aspects 1740-1930. Oldbury, 1984, 129-137.

Rubinstein, W.D. Britain's Century: A Political and Social History 1815-1905. London, 1998.

———, "The Size and Distribution of the English Middle Classes in 1860" in Historical Research, 61 (1988), 65-89.

The Rugby Register, from the Year 1675 to the Present Time. 2nd edition. London, 1838.

Rugby School Register 1891-1921. Rugby, 1929.

Russell, C. and Lewis, H.S. The Jew in London: A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions. London, 1900.

Salaman, Redcliffe, N. Palestine Reclaimed: Letters from a Jewish Officer in Palestine. London, 1920.

Salt, Henry S. Memories of Bygone Eton. London, n.d.

Samuel, Judith, "History of Bristol's Jewry", in Shemot, 2, 3 (1994), 13-5.

———. Jews in Bristol: The History of the Jewish Community in Bristol from the Middle Ages to the Present Day. Bristol, 1997.

Sargeaunt, John. Annals of Westminster School. London, 1898.

Scrimgeour, R.M. The North London Collegiate School 1950: A Hundred Years of Girls' Education. London, 1950.

Sebag-Montefiore, Ruth. A Family Patchwork: Five Generations of an Anglo-Jewish Family. London, 1987.

———, "A Quest for a Grandfather: Sir Philip Magnus, 1st Bart., Victorian Educationalist", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XXXIV (1997), 141-160.

Sharot, Stephen, "Religious Change in Native Orthodoxy in London, 1870-1914: Rabbinate and Clergy", in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, 15 (1973), 167-87.

———, "Secularisation, Judaism and Anglo-Jewry", in A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, 4 (1971), 121-40.

Sharp, Evelyn. Hertha Ayrton 1854-1923: A Memoir. London, 1926.

Sharpe, J.A. Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760. London, 1987.

Shaw, Gareth and Tipper, Allison. British Directories: A Bibliography and Guide to Directories Published in England and Wales (1850-1950) and Scotland (1773-1950). 2nd edition. London, 1997.

Shepherd, Michael A., "Cheltenham Jews in the Nineteenth Century", in Jewish Journal of Sociology, 21 (1979), 125-33.

Sherrington, Geoffrey. English Education, Social Change and War 1911-20. Manchester, 1981.

Shoemaker, Robert B. Gender in English Society 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres? London, 1998.

- Sieff, Israel. The Memoirs of Israel Sieff. London, 1970.
- Sieff, Marcus. Don't Ask The Price: The Memoirs of the President of Marks and Spencer. Glasgow, 1988.
- Silman, G.J., "A History of Jewish Education in Leeds", in Jewish Education (1981/2): 44-7.
- Simon, Brian. Education and the Social Order. London, 1999.
- Simons, J.B. Louis Golding: A Memoir. London, 1958.
- Simpson, J.B. Hope. Rugby Since Arnold: A History of Rugby School from 1842. London, 1967.
- Singer, Steven, "Jewish Education in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Early Victorian London Community", in The Jewish Quarterly Review, LXXVII, 2-3 (1986-7): 163-178.
- Skelker, Philip, "King David High School, Liverpool", in Jewish Education (London, 1983/4), 20-1.
- Skirving, Edward S. ed. Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927. Cheltenham, 1928.
- Sorkin, David. The Transformation of German Jewry 1780-1840. New York and Oxford, 1987.
- Spearman, Neville. Memoirs of an ASP: Douglas Young-James. London, 1965.
- Spector, David, "Brighton Jewry Reconsidered", in Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England, XXX (1989), 91-124.
- , "The Jews of Brighton 1770-1900", in Transactions of Jewish Historical Society of England, XXII (1970), 42-52.
- Spender, Dale. The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain 1850-1912. London, 1987.

- Statham, S.P.H. The History of the Castle, Town and Port of Dover. London, New York and Bombay, 1899.
- Steinberg, Bernard, "Jewish Schooling in Great Britain", in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, 6 (1964), 52-68.
- Stephens, W.B. Education in Britain 1750-1914. London, 1998.
- Stogdon, J.H. The Harrow Register 1845-1925. London, 1925.
- Stott, Godfrey. A History of Chigwell School. Ipswich, 1960.
- Street, C.J.C. Lord Reading. London, 1928.
- Susser, Bernard. The Jews of South-West England: The Rise and Decline of Their Medieval and Modern Communities. Exeter, 1993.
- , "Social Acclimatisation of Jews in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Devon", in Roger Burt, ed., Industry and Society in the South-West: Exeter Papers in Economic Papers in Economic History, 3 (1970), 51-69.
- Tames, Richard. St. John's Wood and Maida Vale Past. London, 1998.
- Tananbaum, Susan L. Generations of Change: The Anglicisation of Russian-Jewish Immigrant Women in London, 1880-1939. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1991.
- Tanner, Lawrence E. Westminster School. 2nd edition. London, 1951.
- Taylor, Paul. Jews and the Olympic Games: The Clash Between Sport and Politics with a Complete Review of Jewish Olympic Medallists. Brighton and Portland, 2004.
- They Came From the Haim: A History of Manchester Jewry from 1867. Manchester, 1995.
- Thomas, Bernard, ed. Repton 1557 to 1957. London, 1957.
- Tropp, A. Jews in the Professions in Great Britain 1891-1991. London, 1991.
- Tyerman, Christopher. A History of Harrow School 1324-1991. Oxford, 2000.

- Umansky, Ellen M. Lily Montagu and the Advancement of Liberal Judaism: From Vision to Vocation. New York and Toronto, 1983.
- Underwood, Andrew. Bedford Modern School: Alumni. Bedford, 1998.
- University College School, London: Alphabetical and Topographical Register for 1831-1898 Supplementary to the First Issue 1831-1898. London, 1898.
- University College School Register from 1860-1931 With a Short History of the School. London, 1931.
- Usher, H.J.K., Black-Hawkins, C.D. and Carrick, G.J., eds. An Angel Without Wings: The History of University College School 1830-1980. London, 1981.
- Vaughan, Michalina and Archer, Margaret Scotford. Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848. Cambridge, 1971.
- Vipan, H.E. A Register of the Old Boys of the Bedford Modern School. Bedford, 1901.
- Waley, S.D. Edwin Montagu: A Memoir and An Account of His Visits to India. India, 1964.
- Weindling, Dick and Colloms, Marianne. Kilburn and West Hampstead Past. London, 1999.
- Williamson, Stephen, "The Jewish Community in Canterbury", in Bygone Kent: A Monthly Journal on all Aspects of Local History, 4, 3 (1982), 174-6.
- Who Was Who 1897-1916. London, 1920.
- Who Was Who 1929-1940. London, 1941.
- Who Was Who 1941-1950. London, 1964.
- Who Was Who 1951-1960. London, 1964.
- Williams, Bill, "The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle Class Manchester and the Jews 1870-1900", in Alan J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts, eds., City, Class and Culture:

Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester

(Manchester, 1985), 74-102.

———, “The Beginnings of Jewish Trade Unionism in Manchester, 1889-1891”, in Kenneth Lynn, ed., Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914 (New York, 1980), 263-307.

———, “The Jewish Immigrant in Manchester: The Contribution of Oral History”, in Paul Thompson, ed., Oral History: The Journal of the Oral History Society, 7, 1 (1979), 43-53.

———. The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740-1875. Manchester, 1976.

Williams, Montagu. Leaves of a Life: Being the Reminiscences of Montagu Williams. 2 vols. London, 1890.

Wills, Stella, “The Anglo-Jewish Contribution to the Education for Women in the Nineteenth Century”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XVII (1993), 269-281.

Wilmore, David, ed. Edwin O. Sachs: Architect, Stagehand, Engineer and Fireman: His Life and His Satellites. Summerbridge, North Yorkshire, 1998.

Wilson, Derek. Rothschild: A Story of Wealth and Power. London, 1988.

The Wimbledon House School News I-VIII. Brighton, 1895-7.

Winterbottom, Derek. Clifton after Percival: A Public School in the Twentieth Century. Bristol, 1990.

Wolf, Lucien, “Henry Straus Quixano Henriques KC 1866-1925”, in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, XI (1928), 247-251.

———, “A Plea for Anglo-Jewish History” in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, I (1895), 1-7.

Woodruff, C.E. and Cape, H.J. Schola Regia Cantuariensis: A History of Canterbury School, Commonly Called the King's School. London, 1908.

Wortham, H.E. Victorian Eton and Cambridge Being the Life and Times of Oscar Browning. London, 1956.

Zhao, Zhongwei, "The Demographic Transition in Victorian England and Changes in English Kinship Networks", in Continuity and Change: A Journal of Social Structure, Law and Demography in Past Societies, 11, 2 (1996), 243-272.

Unpublished Theses

Camillin, Mary, "The 'active workers': the contribution of Mary Gurney and Penelope Lawrence to the Development of Female Education and Particularly Secondary Education for Girls in Late Nineteenth Century England", unpublished MA dissertation, Institute for Education (1993).

Feldman, D., "Immigrants and Workers, Englishment and Jews: Jewish Immigrants to the East End of London, 1880-1906", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (1986).

Field, J., "Bourgeois Portsmouth: Social Relations in a Victorian Dockyard Town 1815-75", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick (1971).

Gatrell, V.A.C., "The Commercial Middle-Class in Manchester 1820-75", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (1971).

Hodge, Allan R., "Late 19th Century Educational Change in England and Wales: An Organisational Approach", unpublished MPhil thesis, University of London (1989).

Hunt, Mary Felicity, "Secondary Education for the Middle Class Girl: A Study of Ideology and Educational Practice 1870 to 1940, with Special Reference to the

Harpur Trust Girls' Schools, Bedford", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge (1984).

Korn, Bee, "Hillel House, the Perse School, and Issues of Identity", unpublished MA dissertation, Anglia Polytechnic University (2003).

Levy, Sharona Anne, "Amy Levy: The Woman and Her Writings", unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford University (1989).

Livshin, Rosalyn, "Aspects of the Acculturation of the Children of Immigrant Jews in Manchester 1890-1930", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manchester (1982).

Moscrop, J.J., "Reform and Liberal Judaism 1842 to 1939: The Expansion of the Anglo-Jewish Middle Classes", unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Salford (1988).

Newman, Mary N., "An Examination of the Contribution Made by Cornelia Connelly and Janet Erskine Stuart to the Secondary Education of Roman Catholic Girls in England During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", unpublished MA dissertation, Institute for Education (1993).

O'Brien, Rosalind, "The Establishment of the Jewish Minority in Leeds", unpublished thesis, University of Bristol (1975).

Pearson, Robin, "The industrial Suburbs of Leeds in the Nineteenth Century: Community Consciousness Among the Social Classes", unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds (1986).

Pomson, A.D.M., "Critical History and Collective Memory: A Problem in Jewish Education", unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London (1994).

Pullen, Christine, "Amy Levy: Her Life, Her Poetry and the Era of the New Woman", unpublished PhD thesis, Kingston University (2000).

Quinn, P.L.S., "The Jewish Schooling System of London, 1656-1956", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1958)

Rumney, J., "The Economic and Social Development of Jews in England 1730-1860", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1933).

Scholefield, Lynne, "A Tale of Two Cultures: A Dialogical Study of the Cultures of a Jewish and a Catholic Secondary School", unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education (1999).

Singer, Steven, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858", unpublished PhD thesis, Yeshiva University (1981).

Vaughan, Laura Sophia, "Clustering, Segregation and the 'Ghetto': The Spatialisation of Jewish Settlement in Manchester and Leeds in the Nineteenth Century", unpublished PhD thesis, Bartlett School of Graduate Studies (1999).

Ephemera

Adler, Michael, "Anglo-Jewish Chaplain on the Western Front 1915-18" (Reprinted from The Jewish Guardian) (1920).

Baum, Jeffrey and Baum, Barbara, "A Light unto My Path: The Story of H.N. Solomon of Edmonton" (1981).

Dobkin, Monty, "Broughton and Cheetham Hill in Regency and Victorian Times" (Manchester, 1984).

Fitch, J.G., "The Proposed Admission of Girls to the University Local Examinations" (London, 1865).

Fitch, J.G., "The Royal Commission of Enquiry into the State of Middle Class Education" (London, 1865)

Freedman, Murray, "Essays on Leeds & Anglo-Jewish History & Demography"

(Leeds, 2003).

—————, **"The First Hundred Years" (York, 1992).**

—————, **"The 'Jewish' Schools of Leeds 1880-1930" (Leeds, 2001).**

"The Future of Jewish Schooling in the United Kingdom: A Strategic Assessment of a Faith-Based Provision of Primary and Secondary School Education" (London, 2001).

Grizzard, Nigel, "Leeds Jewry and the Great War" (Leeds, 1981)

Grizzard, Nigel and Raisman, Paula, "Inner City Jews in Leeds" (Leeds, 1980).

Guy, Frances, "Women of Worth: Jewish Women in Britain" (Manchester, 1992).

"History of the Manchester Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews 1873-1923" (Manchester, 1923).

Hodgson, W.B., "On the Report of Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of the Principal Public Schools" (London, 1864).

Klein, Hyman, "An Experiment in Jewish Secondary Education, conducted from 1938-1944" (Portsmouth, 1944).

—————, **"A Principal's Plan for a Jewish Evening Grammar School" (Liverpool, 1946).**

"Let My People Know: Proposals for the Development of Jewish Education" (London, 1971).

Newman, Aubrey, "Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain: Papers for a Conference at University College London convened by the Jewish Historical Society of England" (London, 1975).

Peel, R.A., "The Portsmouth Grammar School and Aria College" (Portsmouth Grammar School, Portsmouth, 1999).

Pilpel, Kay, "Growing Up in the 1930s" (London, 1996).

Preston, Samuel, "School Education for the Nineteenth Century" (London, 1846).

Saïpe, Louis, "A Century of Care: The History of the Leeds Jewish Welfare Board 1878-1978" (Leeds, 1978).

Silver, Bernard, "Three Jewish Giants of Leeds: Professor Selig Brodetsky, Sir Montague Burton and Jacob Kramer" (Leeds, 2000).

Sterne, Ernest C., "Leeds Jewry and the Great War 1914 – 18: The Homefront" (Leeds, 1982).

"They Came From the Haim: A History of Manchester Jewry from 1867" (Manchester, 1995).

Tod, M.S., "On the Education of Girls of the Middle Classes" (London, 1874).

Oral Sources (in date order)

Interview with Rebbetzin Shoshana Angyalfi (5 November 1999).

Interview with Rabbi Dr. Jeremy Rosen (24 November 1999).

Interview with Rabbi Michael Bernstein (13 December 1999).

Interview with Mrs. K. Greenhouse (17 January 2000).

Interview with Mr. Alistair Falk (25 January 2000).

Interview with Mr. Clive Lawton (17 January 2001).

Interview with Mr. Abraham and Mrs. Liz Abrahams (15 June 2005).