

NOTES

Chapter One

1. *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society, 1951).
2. Roth, 'Jews in Oxford after 1290', *Oxoniensia* 15, 1950, 63–80. This chapter was in a fairly advanced stage when U. Dann, 'Jews in 18th-Century Oxford: Further Observations', *Oxoniensia* 56, 1989 [1991], 345–53, appeared. I have gratefully appropriated some facts I had not already found, but often read the situation rather differently. References for undocumented statements in this chapter will be found in these two articles.
3. For Jewish teachers of Hebrew in Oxford, see, besides Roth and Dann, D.S. Katz, *Journ. Eccl. Hist.* 40, 1989, 28–52, D. Patterson in *The History of the University of Oxford V* 542–4.
4. A useful summary of the sources for this story by Lucien Wolf, *JC* 29.10.1926.
5. All previous treatments of his career are superseded by Katz, op. cit. Patterson, op. cit. 542 adds one detail, but the implication that Abendana was a convert is misleading.
6. On these, see, besides Katz, I. Abrahams, *Trans. JHSE* 8, 1915–17, 98–121.
7. *Notes and Queries* 204 (6), 1959, 404–8, hitherto missed in this context, was called to my attention by Dr. J.F.A. Mason.
8. Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England 1714–1830* (JPS 1979), ch. 5 'pedlars and hawkers'; C. Roth 'The Jew Peddler – An 18th Century Rural Character' in *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (JPS 1962), 132 ff.
9. The earliest firmly attested one is Barnard Levy of Northampton (died 1810), who was robbed by footpads between Eynsham and Witney in January 1770, losing his money but retaining his pack of silks and jewellery (*JOJ* 23.1.1770). Three months later, he set up a shop in Woodstock (ibid. 24.4.1770); he had evidently had enough of the road.
10. With Dann, I omit most of the doubtful cases suggested by Roth 75. There was, for example, at least one Oxford Christian family called Hart in the period.
11. J.R. Marcus, *Early American Jewry I* (1951), 228.
12. Dann has discovered this book, see 348, 351, with Fig. 2, but his account of Lewis's advertisements and addresses is not quite accurate.
13. Roth 75, valuably supplemented by Dann 351.
14. *JOJ* 17.1.1771. For another probable fence, Moses Cohan, not necessarily resident in Oxford, who thought it more prudent to give evidence against those who had offered him stolen plate, see Dann 352.
15. Roth 74, evidently from N.R. Leslie-Melville, *The Life and Work of Sir John Fielding* (1935), 263, but Oxford does not appear in the latter's declared sources, *The Public Advertiser* and the *Calendar of Home Office Papers*. One of the original

- gang had been arrested at Henley on his way to join the rest in Birmingham, so Oxford would not have been an implausible place to look for more.
16. Dann 352, with references, but without the marriage, which I owe to Mr. John Hicks.
 17. Todd M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945* (1990), 31–3.
 18. Roth 77–8, quoting Lucien Wolf, in Clara Melchior, *Familienminder* (Copenhagen 1915), 96ff., which I have not yet seen; A.E. Franklin, *Records of the Franklin Family* (1935), 97, makes me very doubtful about some of the dates. A picture of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Isaacs was exhibited at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887, with the note ‘Mr. Isaacs was the son of the first Jew established in Oxford after the return’; it cannot now be traced. There was also a picture of Sarah the centenarian in Liverpool in 1886 (*JC* 21.5.1886).
 19. The Jewish Museum, London, possesses a miniature (no. 874) of her; she married Alexander Levy of Kidderminster.
 20. *JOJ* 6.11.1784.
 21. Drawn to my attention by Dr. J.M. Webber.
 22. *Universal British Directory IV* (?1794). There are no Oxford Jews in *Baileys Western and Midland Directory* of 1783.
 23. Hobson (ed.) *Oxford Council Acts, 1752–1801* (1962), under 28.12.1797.
 24. Dann 352 thinks this simply a periodic outburst in the Council’s perennial struggle against outsiders. *JOJ* did not think the matter worth reporting.
 25. *Gentleman’s Magazine* October 1812, *JOJ* 19.9.1812. Roth 78 quotes the record of his burial in the Brady Street Cemetery. There was another Henry Isaacs of Oxford, a stable keeper who died in London in 1795, aged near eighty (*JOJ* 14.2.1795); whether he was Jewish, I do not know.
 26. Roth 76, 78; see p. 9 below.
 27. Torode, *The Hebrew Community of Cheltenham, Gloucester and Stroud* (1989), 21, 23–5, 28.
 28. MS. Oxf. Dioc. d571 ff. 37–8; County Hall.
 29. Roth 75, 79.
 30. It may be that the first is identical with Moses Jacob Cohen (alias Rosenburg) of Oxford, whose will was proved in 1822. That would break the connection with the second, already dubious, since David ben Jacob is not said to be a Cohen.
 31. *JOJ* 10.5. 1817, quoted by Roth 77.
 32. On Lyon (1754–1820), see, besides Roth 76, *JC* 24.11.1871 and 6.6.1879, claiming that he could have risen to great academic distinction if he had been prepared to convert.
 33. Torode, *op. cit.* 20–1, 36.
 34. *Voice of Jacob* 23.12.1842, 6.1.1843.

Chapter Two

1. Information from Zoe Josephs and Anthony Joseph.
2. MS Adler 2257 fol. 25r, referred to by C. Duschinsky, *Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London* (Oxford, 1921) 117, and checked for me by Dr. E. Reiner.

3. V.D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950* (1954), 32-3.
4. Op. cit. 117, followed by Roth, *Rise of Provincial Jewry* (1950), 90. It is puzzling that there is no record of an authorization for Oxford in Herschell's extensive register.
5. *Oxford University, City, and County Herald* and *JOJ*, both of 2.3.1844. The account in the *Illustrated London News* of the same date was evidently written before the inquest, and has an exaggerated view of the wealth of the household.
6. Some idea of the external appearance of the house, perhaps built early in the 17th century, can be gained from the picture of no.5, taken in 1913, in C.W. Judge, *Oxford Past and Present* (1970), 18, where the single first-floor window and the two second-floor windows are clear. The drawing in the *Illustrated London News* is of doubtful reliability.
7. *Early Recollections of Oxford* by an Old Freeman (Stephen Quelch), (Oxford 1900), 7.
8. Aaron's descendant, Denise Williams, has now traced the burial to the Brady Street cemetery.
9. *JC* 8.9.1848. A.J. Woolf, son of 'Rev.' Isaiah Woolf, marries Fanny Friedman of Romford, ceremony conducted by Rev. N. Jacobs.
10. There had also been two in the Harris household in 1841.
11. Unidentified newspaper cutting in Bodleian, G.A. Oxon b 112 (210); see also *The Times* of 3.9.1844, reprinting a report from *The Banbury Chronicle*.
12. That Oxford had taken no part in Adler's election means nothing; the well-established Cheltenham community of 18 families had not done so either.
13. Bernard Susser in A. Newman (ed.), *Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain* (JHSE 1975). We were previously dependent on the partial publication in *JC* 23.7.1847.
14. *JOJ* and *Oxford Chronicle* 2.10.1847. There had evidently been local gossip, which the newspapers were concerned to refute, that Mrs. Levi had not tried to extinguish the flames, but she had herself sustained burns.
15. *Victoria County History* IV 425 is of course mistaken in implying that the garden wedding of 1844 suggests that there was none then.
16. Roth, *Oxoniensia* 15, 1950, 80.
17. K. Tiller (ed.), *Church and Chapel in Oxfordshire 1851. The return of the census of religious worship* (Oxfordshire Record Society 55, 1987), 77, reproducing HO 129/158/14.
18. Morris, *Oxoniensia* 36, 1971, 91-2, showing that it was also particularly unhealthy.
19. In the 1920s it was identified with a plain edifice in Cotswold stone, set back from the road, used as a bicycle repair shop, but no bicycle repair shop in Paradise Square appears in the directories of the 1920s.
20. *JC* 28.9.1849.
21. This was Samuel Wilberforce, who had made a famous speech against Jewish emancipation the previous year.
22. This complimentary account was gracefully acknowledged two weeks later by W. Harris, Warden (*JC* 12.10.1849), the first appearance of a lay official.

23. He is first mentioned there in *JC* 14.5.1858. He stayed until August 1872, and then held posts at Newport (1872–9) (where he became Nathaniel) and Bath, where he died in 1890. He and his wife Hannah (1824–99) are buried there in the Coombe Down cemetery (*JC* 17.6.1983).
24. Information from Raphael Loewe, who was told that Margoliouth had been *shochet* in Oxford before turning missionary. His son, Professor D.S. Margoliouth, evidently knew he had been a ‘Rabbi’, but it is hard to fit him in in Oxford.
25. *Dutton Allen and Co’s Directory and Gazetteer of Oxon., Berks., and Bucks* (1863), 113.
26. *JC* 2.3.1849.
27. Discovered by Raphael Loewe in a Venice Rabbinic Bible of 1617–19 (M. 5. 13. Jur.), traced for me by Mr. R.A. May.
28. *JC* 8.7.1864. The wedding was conducted by Berthold Albu, then Reader in Cheltenham, so there was evidently no other minister available in Oxford.
29. *Sefar Chsydim* (Bodleian copy Opp. Add. quarto IV. 131 (2); this and other information from Mr. R.A. May). The obituary in *JC* 30.12.1898 of this ‘profound Hebrew scholar . . . highly respected both in Jewish and non-Jewish circles for his deep scholarship and noble character’ is hopelessly confused and inaccurate, placing his twenty years in Aldershot before thirty years as a librarian and Honorary *shochet* in Oxford, though naturally getting the date of his retirement to Sunderland more or less right.
30. M. Slowe, ‘The Foundation of the Aldershot Synagogue’, 6 in Newman (ed.) 1975 (n.19). He evidently continued to derive prestige from his twenty-five years in Oxford, since he is still described as ‘formerly of Oxford’ in *JC* 30.9.1881.
31. Torode (ch. 1 n.27) 42.
32. Confused statements in the index to the *JC* may conceal a Marcus Aronowitz, and a centenarian who died in 1953 thought that she was the grand-daughter of an Oxford *hazan* named Talerman (*JC* 10.10.1952, 25.12.1953).
33. J.J. Moore, *Historical Handbook and Guide to the City and University of Oxford* (1871), 12, 216: cf. J.J. Moore, *Earlier and Later Nonconformity in Oxford* (1875), 8, and *Shrimpton’s Oxford Directory for 1875*, 261, for further references to St. Aldate’s.
34. *JC* 26.5.1871, 2.6.1871.

Chapter Three

1. Roth, *Oxford Magazine* 7.3.1963, 230–2.
2. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656–1945* (1990), 82–3.
3. Mr. Appleton further said that he would see no harm which would arise from setting up a Jewish Faculty of Theology at Oxford, if there were more Jews.
4. Out of 71 entrants to Balliol in 1881, 5 were Jewish, a tribute to the sympathy and interest of the Master, Benjamin Jowett.
5. Appendix B.
6. See the very interesting letter by ‘M’, *JC* 5.8.1892, suggesting that these private

benefactions, which are taken for granted, should be institutionalized in a fund for the purpose.

7. *JC* 17.1.1919.
8. *JC* 16.8.1919.
9. There is no trace whatever of Oxford in the pioneering work of A.I. Myers, *The Jewish Directory for 1874*.
10. *JC* 9.12.1881.
11. Letter from Baron Franks in *JC* 14.12.1883. In January 1882, they had considered removing a staircase and placing a lobby or division to exclude the washhouse in the entrance.
12. Reminiscences of Ada Burchell told to Dr. N. Lawrence in 1953. But her grandfather, to whom the stables belonged, seems to have lived on the south side of George Street.
13. *JC* 11.10.1878.
14. *JC* 18.10.1878, 4B and 13A.
15. *JC* 25.10.1878.
16. *JC* 9.12.1881.
17. *JC* 16.9.1881, 7.10.1881. The later entries for 1881 are 14.10, 25.11, 2.12, 9.12.
18. 13.1.1882.
19. *JC* 27.1.1882.
20. *JC* 3.2.1882.
21. 17.2.1882.
22. *JC* 3.3.1882.
23. *Oxford Times* 4.3.1882.
24. Solomon was only 19; he was subsequently minister in Middlesborough, Stockton, and finally Chatham, retiring in his old age to the Judith Lady Montefiore College in Ramsgate. Family tradition suggests that I. Simon, *shochet* in Southampton till 1883, of whom we shall see more in the next chapter, briefly considered taking the post at Oxford around that year. Instead, he went to South Manchester as minister in January 1884, and told his Oxford undergraduate sons that he had always regretted not having stayed in Oxford.
25. There are many more details of his benefactions in *JOJ* 5.8.1905.
26. *JC* 19.10.1883.
27. *JC* 7.12.1883.
28. A subsidy of £14 p.a., in principle paid by the Chief Rabbi to the Oxford Congregation, must date to this period.
29. The number is given as 15 by *The Jewish Calendar, Manual and Diary 1890-91*. This makes no sense, and a reference in the Congregation's minutes to Mr. Parker the landlord suggests that the premises were in an upstairs room on the west side of Worcester Place, near the present junction with Richmond Road, where contemporary directories put W.F. Parker's bicycle and tricycle works and J. Parker's earth-closet works. This fits the childhood recollections of A.M. Hyamson, communicated to me by Raphael Loewe.
30. 14.3.1884.
31. The *JC* believed that he was studying for the ministry, but he afterwards became a physician as well as Claude Montefiore's brother-in-law.

32. 13.6.1884.
33. 5.12.1884.
34. *JC* 30.1, 13.2, 27.2, 1.5, 29.5 of 1885. But see 19.3.1886.
35. Letter from Joel Zacharias, *JC* 27.6.1884. But, since Schulman had gone by July 1885, the promise may have come to nothing.
36. *JC* 14.9.1888, 28.9.1888.
37. *JC* 11.7, 18.7, 24.10, 7.11, 14.11, all of 1884.
38. He got extra for other duties. When acting as night-watcher for the dead, he received 10/- per night.
39. Slowe, *op. cit.* (ch.2 n.30), 5–6.
40. Minutes of 13.9.1885, which however only speak of the *shochet's* attendance from 9 to 11 on those days to porge the meat.
41. See *JC* 1.7.1892; Oxford published an acknowledgement on 16.9.1892.

Chapter Four

1. *JC* 25.11.1892.
2. His appearance at this point is not due to a relationship with the Manchester Simons. I. Simon's granddaughter, Iona Mayer, tells me that he was no relation.
3. J.M. Shaftesley, ap. S.S. Levin (ed.), *A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life, 1870–1970* (1970), 103.
4. Of these, Birnbaum was in his third year, Eicholz and Magnus in their second year; all the rest were freshmen. There is no sign of Herbert Samuel of Balliol, who had in the previous year written to his mother that he had lost all religious faith, though not his Jewish identification. Eicholz was reading Chemistry, Cohen Law, all the rest Classics.
5. *JC* 3.2.1893.
6. Oxford Corporation New Buildings, Plan 1708, in the Local History Section, Oxford City Library.
7. There was precedent for such a building further down Nelson Street, a hall put up in 1877 as a Scottish Presbyterian Chapel, which later became a Friends' Meeting House, before ending as the Parochial Hall for the Anglican parish of St. Barnabas.
8. *JC* 1.7.1892; Shaftesley, *op. cit.* 99–101.
9. *JC* 22.12.1893. For details see the report of the Cemeteries Committee in the *Oxford Times* of 9.12.1893.
10. *JC* 6.4.1894.
11. For details of the transfer, see Appendix C.
12. His elder son, later Lord Segal, learned Hebrew before English. I owe this and many other details to Professor J.B. Segal.
13. See the obituary of Zacharias in *JC* 4.8.1905.
14. See Appendix C.
15. Lucas is the earliest character in this book whom I actually knew; I am retrospectively appalled at all the opportunities for questioning I have missed.

16. *JOJ* 5.8.1905, a long item which evades his Jewishness until reaching the graveside.
17. *JC* 4.8.1905.
18. Lucien Harris, 'Zionism at Oxford', *The Zionist Review*, July-August 1936, 92-3, drawing on minute-books then in the Mocatta Library. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Harris for sending me a copy of this.
19. Interview with B. Lieberman, *JC* 4.10.1912.
20. *JC* 16.3.1917.
21. Letter from Victor Gollancz, *JC* 3.1.1913.
22. They both managed to forget this later: see K. Martin, *Harold Laski (1893-1950)* (1953) ch. 1, and R.D. Edwards, *Victor Gollancz: A Biography* (1987), 75-6, on the different ways in which Liberal Judaism failed to hold these powerful personalities.
23. *Oxford Prayers. A Prayer Book printed for the use of the Oxford University Hebrew Congregation* (London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford: Clarendon Press Depository. 1914).
24. *JC* 12.1.1917.
25. Loewe's own exposition (*JC* 9.10.1914) of how a Semitics vacancy happened to arise in Oxford and how the Rector of Exeter invited him to fill it is surely only part of the truth, and some money-raising in London was involved; the Exeter records throw no light on the matter.

Chapter Five

1. Todd M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945* (1990), 200, evidently exaggerates the implications of Charles Singer's alleged remark in 1919 that 'he was not there to look after Jewish affairs, but to lecture on the history of medicine'.
2. *JC* 6.9.1918.
3. *JC* 8.11.1918.
4. D. Davidson had been a member since 1881; he disappears from the directories soon after this, and Sydney Brookfield lists a town population of about five when he came up in 1931.
5. *JC* 31.10.1919.
6. Basil Henriques in *JC* 16.3.1917.
7. *JC* 27.4.1917.

Chapter Six

1. A. Mocatta and F.A. Lincoln in *JC* 9.7.1926.
2. See L. Harris, op. cit. (ch. 4 n. 18). It needed resuscitation again in 1926.
3. In chapters of an unfinished autobiography he sent me, Duchin left an account of his transition from Orthodoxy to Zionism in the course of his second year. Chaim Raphael has published his own account of his identities in *Memoirs of A Special Case* (1962) and *A Coat of Many Colours* (1979).

4. Michael Franklin to George Silver, 3.10.1969
5. *JC* 8.10.1926, 15.10.1926, supplemented by reminiscences.
6. See Appendix C.
7. 9.7.1926.
8. *JC* 8.10.1926.
9. Julius Stone, *JC* 3.12.1926. Something of the kind had already been contemplated in elaborate undated pre-war draft rules for an Oxonian Jewish Association.
10. Additional details from F. Ashe Lincoln.
11. For the events of 21 June 1931, I depend, not only on the printed order of service, but on the memory of Sydney Brookfield. For a denial of the identity of Robert of Reading with Haggai the proselyte, see C. Roth, *The Jews of Medieval Oxford* 20–21 n.1.
12. *JC* 21.10.1932, 9.12.1932, 5.4.1935.
13. Statistics in *JC* 10.5.1935.
14. *JC* 5.4.1935.
15. *JC* 19.4.1935.
16. C.L. Hauser, in *JC* 10.5.1935.
17. *JC* 6.12.1935.
18. I have found curiously little in print on this. Ralph Glasser, *Gorbals Boy at Oxford* (1988), has some interesting, though evidently somewhat fictionalized, material from a very unusual point of view, since he arrived at Balliol straight from the Glasgow slums in 1938 without the usual tempering by an academic school.
19. These had replaced an original office of J[ewish] N[ational] F[und] Agent or Commissioners.
20. Irene Roth has given her own vivid account of their life in Oxford in *Cecil Roth: Historian without Tears* (1982). An article by Cecil, 'Entertaining Oxford' in *The Jewish Academy* for October 1946, adds some of the better stories, though not my favourite. At one of the hardest times of the war, Lord and Lady Samuel were coming to dinner. Irene managed to acquire some fish and do her best with it. Lord Samuel went through it with enthusiasm, remarking, as he finished, 'This is the most delicious hors d'oeuvre I have ever tasted.' It was never quite clear how the conversation had continued.

Chapter Seven

1. Ettinghausen, now Eytan, covered the same ground in an account in *JC* 8.9.1989, which adds some details, but inevitably suffers from reliance on memory.
2. A. Delcoy, 25.9.1991.
3. *JC* 12.5.1989.
4. See in particular Roth's address to the Anglo-Palestine Club (*JC* 23.4.1943) and the correspondence columns of 5.3.1943, 12.3.1943, 19.3.1943.
5. See W. Frankel and H. Miller (edd.) *Gown and Tallith* (1989) 164.
6. For the constitutional question, see Appendix C.

7. *OT* 30.8.1940, 18.10.1940.
8. *OT* 11.10.1940.
9. D. Sheridan (ed.), *Among you Taking Notes. The Wartime Diary of Naomi Mitchison 1939-1945* (1985), 99-100.
10. *Ibid.* 112.
11. N.H. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (1960), 382-3.
12. *JC* 16.7.1943.
13. *OT* 4.4.1941.
14. *JC* 8.9.1989.
15. A. Delcoy, 25.9.1991.

Chapter Eight

1. For his subsequent career in Muizenberg and Edinburgh, see *JC* 12.5.1989.

Chapter Nine

1. I have not tried to give any documentation for this chapter, for which I have drawn entirely on my own files and those of Lord Segal and Sir Alan Mocatta in my care.
2. For the issues involved, the curious may refer to the report of the Congregation's Sub-Committee of Enquiry submitted on 13 January 1984.

Chapter Ten

1. Simon Rocker, 'Singing the Blues', *Jewish Chronicle Colour Supplement*, 28.3.1986.
2. B. Wasserstein, *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 13, 1971, 135-51.

Appendix A

1. *JC* 1.8.1873.
2. *Oxford Chronicle* 28.8.1847.
3. *Oxford Chronicle* 13.5.1871.
4. *JC* 9.8.1889.
5. H. Pollins, *Economic History of the Jews in England* (1982), 97-8, 105, 122-5.
6. There were no doctors with affiliations to the community until the Second World War and there was no Jewish solicitor in Oxford until the 1980s.