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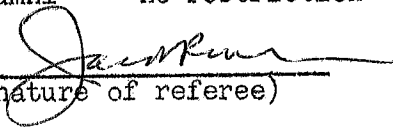
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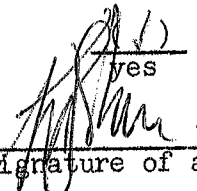

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DIGEST OF THESIS

This thesis is an attempt to document the position of the Anglo-Jewish rabbinate as it appeared to observers between the years 1840-1960. From the early preacher-ministers of the mid-nineteenth century, it traces the changes of the rabbinical role, function and status through the years of the East European immigrations and the two World Wars.

Institutions such as the Chief Rabbinate, the Beth Din, the United Synagogue and Jews' College are examined for their influence upon the rabbinic office, and a detailed examination made of economic factors affecting the life and prestige of the Anglo-Jewish ministry.

The thesis finds evidence of a correlation between Anglo-Jewish religious institutions and those of English ecclesiastical life in general, but also lays emphasis upon the specific forces within Anglo-Jewry which tended to produce a unique rabbinate with poor status. Among these forces was the hierarchical structure of Anglo-Jewish community life which tended to limit incentive and which lent itself to an ecclesiastical system readily controllable by lay interests. The office of the Chief Rabbi is viewed as a mixed blessing for the ministry as a whole; the same can be said for the United Synagogue which tended to make the minister into an employee with limited functions, both subject to ultimate lay authority and adversely affected by each shift in the financial fortunes of the community.

A conjecture is made that the discontents manifest under the Chief Rabbinate of Herman Adler were as much due to economic as any other factor. Finally, it is shown that Anglo-Jewry has produced across the last 120 years three ideal images for the minister; preacher, "rabbi" and religious functionary. However at any one period no ideal was dominant enough to avoid serious role confusion.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis finds its genesis in a problem which has been raised by many observers of the Anglo-Jewish scene. Why has the English rabbinate presented such a poor image in comparison with the rabbinates of other Jewish centres such as Germany and the United States.

We will endeavour to document and illustrate the position of the English rabbinate as it was described by its contemporaries in the 120 years between 1840 and 1960, using in the main the resources of the Jewish Chronicle. Whether the English rabbinate was objectively of lower status than its compatriots in other centres is not our concern to prove. It will suffice to illustrate that observers so considered it.

While the major part of our effort will be descriptive there is room for explanation, or rather an attempt to isolate a crucial factor from a wealth of possible explanatory models. To achieve this we are obliged to concentrate upon the challenge of the English environment and the response of Anglo-Jewry itself, rather than to expand upon common themes such as secularization, which faced the western world as a

whole. England was certainly not isolated from these common currents and from European fortunes in general, but for our purposes the particular patterns of Anglo-Jewish adjustment and accommodation are of central concern.

Even working out of primary sources such as the Jewish Chronicle, there are some serious omissions. The effective leaders of Anglo-Jewry, such as the Rothschilds, have left little personal data as to their motives and motivations in the area of religious institutions. Ministers were largely reluctant to expose their inner feelings as to their status in print.

The period selected is a wide one, enabling us to compare the status of the rabbi from one age to another. A smaller time span, while conferring greater depth, would also have necessitated certain primary source materials, such as correspondence or detailed minutes of various synagogue council meetings, etc. which are unfortunately not available.

The thesis is periodized according to a pattern provided provided by English history as a whole. However, in the specific interaction of Jewish institutions there are cultural lags and on occasion the problems posed to the Jewish community are not shared by the nation as a whole; as, for example, the immigrations from Eastern Europe. The decision to commence with the reign of Victoria was prompted by the fact that prior to this period synagogal organization had remained comparatively stable for more than a century, due mainly to the restraining power of the city synagogues.

In many respects the position of the Anglo-Jewish

rabbinate mirrors the situation of the rabbinates in all emancipated western centres. Alike they faced the effects of secularization, assimilation, urbanization, etc. These general problems are, however, documented in many studies and will not, therefore, except incidentally, be the concern of this thesis. We wish to show the way in which the Anglo-Jewish minister was confronted with problems germane to the English scene--to study the patterns and problems of assimilation or group identification unique to the Jews of England.

Chapter Two

History of the English Churches 1840-1960

Anglo-Jewry in common with all other Jewish centres developed its unique life within the framework of the dominant culture. English life, even if only superficially after the eighteenth century, has always reflected the character of its established church. There are various indications that in setting up its own ecclesiastical standards Anglo-Jewry was not unaffected by the English church. For perspective some account of English ecclesiastical life during the different periods is therefore of significance.

By 1850 Evangelicalism had become the dominant current in Anglicanism. One result was to bring nonconformists and the state church closer together: for example many wealthy Anglican laymen contributed to the support of the independent chapels and even to an independent theological school. "In one sense the Evangelical movement was a reaction against the worldly bishops and 'sporting parsons' in the church who scandalised people by their lack of devotion".¹ Despite the Christian principles in a man such as Gladstone at this

¹J. Salwyn Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary European History, p. 145.

early period Anglicans resisted the reforms which were finally effected in the Reform Bill of 1833. The church was extremely unpopular for its reactionary attitude as also for the great inequalities of income in the church benefices. An ecclesiastical commission functioned from 1831 to 1835 to study reform and reorganization with regard to the abuses of non-residents: "The established church appeared somnolent and largely staffed by ecclesiastical place seekers. Pluralism and absenteeism abounded".² Some of the fervour if not the doctrines of Evangelicalism flowed over into High Church circles finding within Anglicanism its most eloquent spokesman in John Henry Newman. His tractarian movement came to feel that church independence was more important than the value of an establishment, while his own submission to Rome led to the Anglo-Catholic movement. In general continental radical movements were anti-religious, whereas in England Reform movements often used religious formulae and ideals. In part this springs from the historic fact that the English revolution had been carried through with the benefit of the clergy. "By the end of the century the quality of the clergy and the established church, both episcopate and the rank and file had reached a higher level in ability and devotion than at any time in the history of the Christianity of the country".³

²Kenneth Scott Latourette, The 19th Century in Europe, p. 253. Non-residents and pluralism were due in part to the state of clerical incomes. In many parishes they were too small to provide a decent subsistence and an incumbent acquired several posts to support himself and his family. Ibid, p. 256.

³Ibid, p. 254.

In the 1840s famine drew half of the population of Roman Catholic Ireland into the industrial centres of England, Scotland and the United States. The immediate reaction in both Britain and America was a great increase in anti-Roman Catholic feeling. From time to time mobs attacked individuals or broke up Anglo-Catholic services.

In general both parliament and the church itself was bringing about reforms in the established church and more nearly equalized the remunerations of bishops and parish clergy.⁴

In 1870 the predominant type of British religion among Anglicans and free churchmen alike was still Evangelicalism. Anti-slavery, prison and law reformers drew their fervour from its doctrines while men like Charles Kingsley were moved by similar ideals. The Non-conformist, William Booth, launched his Salvation Army in 1877 by transforming what had been called "The Christian Mission". Anglo-Catholicism also made headway despite the reproof of Queen Victoria of its unEnglish manifestations, and the warning of the Archbishop of Canterbury against the growing practice of confession. Towards the end of the period the Anglo-Catholic party claimed the adherence of about one-sixth of the clergy and about one-twentieth of the laymen of the Church of England:

⁴A striking feature of the Church of England in the 19th century was the marked improvement in the quality of the clergy. A number of factors contributed. Adjustment of stipends; rising wealth due to increase in manufacturing and commerce reflected in better remuneration of rank and file of the clergy; the qualities and influence of the Evangelicals; the higher conception of the church as reflected in the tractarian and Anglo-Catholic movements; a new kind of bishop, and the men of outstanding ability and character who filled the two arch-episcopal chairs. *Ibid*, p. 284ff.

The majority of the population continued to be baptised in the Church of England but by the end of the century, in numbers active in the churches, Protestant non-conformity seems to have been about as strong as the Church of England.⁵

"Non-conformists had their main strength in the middle classes and developed great preachers".⁶

In contrast to the Continent and the United States public education came very late to Great Britain. Until the last third of the century education had been a matter of private enterprise, the bulk of the schools being Anglican. The franchise extension of 1867 persuaded the nation that general education must be provided on a scale which was beyond the resources of the churches. Under the Forster Education Act of 1870 Board Schools were established and these supplemented the largely Anglican school system. Under the dual system the church schools--nine-tenths of them Anglican and about one-tenth Roman Catholic--found themselves at a certain financial disadvantage as against the Board Schools. The Education Act of 1902 gave church schools a substantial share in school taxes. As in France the national schools encountered the opposition of the Anglican Church, and a controversy arose over religious instruction in Board Schools. It was finally decided to permit instruction in the Bible only and to forbid the teaching of any catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any denomination.

⁵Ibid, p. 350.

⁶Ibid.

The (Anglican) Church Social Union became in the 1890s the most important agency for social education and action affecting the clergy and bishops of the Church of England. For example, in 1908 the Lambeth Conference of Bishops declared that a "living wage" should be the first charge on any industry. There was a re-alignment of the English churches on public issues effected during the period.

Perhaps the most conspicuous general feature of British religious life between the Wars was the catastrophic acceleration in the decline of institutional Christianity which had been perceptible since the end of the nineteenth century. The causes of this were the movement to urban centres, Sunday social customs transformed by bicycle and automobile, and diversions such as soccer, movies, radio and Sunday newspapers. Coupled to this was the growth of socialism and the welfare state and those intellectual currents which appeared to make the Christian faith irrelevant. For example the writings of Strachey, Herbert Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, and Bernard Shaw reflect dissatisfaction and rebellion against the inherited standards, religious and otherwise, of the Victorian era. One result of this was that whereas in 1850 probably at least half of the population attended church regularly, by 1950 nine-tenths were quite emancipated from the custom.⁷

⁷Kenneth Scott Latourette, The 20th Century in Europe, p. 390. In a study at York 1901 attendance at church services was placed at 35.5% of the adult population (over 17). In 1935 it was found to be 17.7% and in 1948 13%. Ibid, p. 396.

Another manifestation of the retreat of institutional Christianity was the increasing difficulty in maintaining the supply of ministers.⁸ Despondency and frustration seemed a prevailing mood among the clergy between the World Wars but balanced against this there was the high quality of its leadership as shown by men such as Davidson, Lang, Temple, Fisher, Garbett and others. Among the English free churches, dwindling congregations of increasingly elder folk found it ever harder in a time of inflationary prices to pay ministers' salaries. In the face of this and other threats a conference on "Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship" was called in 1924 to respond to the crucial social questions of the revolutionary age. There was a need to establish "strong concentrations with a group ministry instead of scattering resources over several pathetic parish churches".⁹ Other measures were the establishment, in 1922, of the Bible Reading Fellowship which after 25 years had a membership of 351,000. Several men who had learnt a more practical message during their First World War chaplaincy now played an active part. Thus we see the direct preaching of Dick Sheppard at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and Clayton with his Toc H movement. Change was also manifest in the revision of the Book of

⁸ In 1905 Church of England had 19,053 active clergy; 1914: 18,180; 1922: 17,162; 1930: 16,745; 1951: 13,000; 1958: 15,500. Ibid, pp. 407, 414.

⁹ Ibid, p. 392.

Common Prayer.¹⁰

Following the Second World War there was a quickening of developments already in motion which were making for de-Christianization: "The root cause [for the decline in the number of parsons in 1951] was ascribed to the inadequacy of the parson's pay".¹¹ Stipends were so low that many of the clergy sought part-time employment in other occupations. A partial solution was found in the Evangelist missions and in such enterprises as the "Industrial Mission" with its centre in Sheffield. Another novel avenue was through the treatment of Christian themes in comic books. Signs of renewed vitality were to be seen in the revival of monastic life which began in the nineteenth century; several new communities were founded in the years following 1914. A growing feature of the Church of England in the first half of the twentieth century was an increasing emphasis upon corporate worship and the devotional life of the individual, the latter nurtured by the many "retreats" built after the First World War.

From a structural point of view the Church of England as the state church had to embrace an increasingly diversified content. During the twentieth century the main trends of Anglicanism, Evangelicalism, Broad Church and Catholics, although persisting, tended to become blurred in outline.

¹⁰ Despite its final acceptance by both convocations and the Church assembly the revised Book of Common Prayer was rejected by the House of Commons by a substantial majority. Even the amended version suffered a similar fate in 1928.

¹¹ Kenneth Scott Latourette, The 20th Century in Europe, p. 414.

Chapter Three

Period of Consolidation: 1840-1882

(a) Anglo-Jewish History

In general this period covers the fifty years between the induction of Dr. Nathan Adler in 1843 and the first impact of immigration from Eastern Europe in the 1880s. The period is variously called the Age of Political Emancipation, Expansion or Integration. By 1850 there were about 35,000 Jews in Great Britain,¹² and of these, though containing a number of recent immigrants, the community in the main was of some standing.¹³ The bulk of its members

¹²V. D. Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England 1850-1950, p. 7. By 1850 there are two or three estimates of the Jewish population of Britain as between 20,000 and 30,000. Among them is that of Sir Francis Goldsmid who ascertained that the average number of burials from London synagogues in the years 1827-30 was 3,433, and by applying to this the ratio of deaths to the general population (1:52-1/3) arriving at a Jewish population for London of just under 18,000; he assumed half London's Jewish population--or 9,000 for the provinces. From this figure of about 27,000 there was an increase of about 8,000 to 35,000 in 1850. "About 40,000" for Britain was the number of Jews estimated about 1849 according to Egan. Mayhew, writing in 1851, says that 18,000 in London and 35,000 throughout Britain were the figures arrived at by the Chief Rabbi as a result of his statistical enquiries.

¹³Lloyd Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914, p. 17. "England was a 'staging area' for masses of Jewish transmigrants...during the 1840s and 1850s."

were composed of families settled in England over fifty years. Of this figure "between 18,000 and 20,000 lived in London".¹⁴ Of those who lived in London there was a distribution to three main centres of organized Jewish life, "the City and East London, Westminster, Marylebone and Southwark".¹⁵

The period between 1845 and 1890 saw the creation or consolidation of the great majority of Anglo-Jewish institutions; the Chief Rabbinate, the great voluntary schools, the United Synagogue and the Federation. While London held the bulk of the population, the provinces in 1850 were still significant.¹⁶ Chatham, Portsmouth and Plymouth all had communities which were at least a century old in 1850,¹⁷ while Falmouth, Dover, Yarmouth, Hull, Sunderland, Cambridge, Norwich and Brighton, amongst a considerable number of others, from port and inland communities in Both England, Wales and Scotland were still at this time maintaining fair-sized communities. The three outstanding communities outside of London were Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. Liverpool, with a population of 2,500 and two synagogues, had a complete set of social institutions. Birmingham had upward of 1,000 population and Manchester had about 2,000.

¹⁴V. D. Lipman, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁵Ibid, p. 17.

¹⁶Jewish settlement in London began to spread out into the countryside before the end of the seventeenth century and in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

¹⁷V. D. Lipman, op. cit., p. 19.

In summing up the economic activities of Anglo-Jewry in 1850, its association with the previous structure of Jewish economic life is most noticeable; namely a pyramid with "5,000 upper class, 8,000 middle class and 12,000 lower class".¹⁸ This period marks the beginning of the growth of an artisan class and of a professional middle class of solicitors and doctors, etc. But its activities, other than in finance, are still peripheral, with hawking and street trading probably still the characteristic occupations of the Jewish lower classes.

Concerning the religious life of the country:

The figures for the country as a whole show that for 35,000 people there were 8,000 seats in the regular synagogues apart from specially arranged services on the High Festivals. There were some 6,000 members and seatholders and about 3,000 persons in synagogue on the census Sabbath in 1851...Anglo-Jewry was in 1850 a community of strong religious loyalty but it was already one of some considerable degree of social assimilation.¹⁹

The fact that the community prior to 1880 was much more closely integrated than the one which followed led to the consolidation of its institutions. This showed itself in the areas of the voluntary schools, charitable and welfare institutions and above all the formation of the United Synagogue. The credo of this latter institution is of interest:

¹⁸Ibid, p. 27.

¹⁹Ibid, pp. 36-37.

The objects of the institution to be called the United Synagogue shall be the maintaining, erecting, founding and carrying on in London and its neighborhood, places of worship for persons of the Jewish religion, who conform to the Polish or German ritual, the providing of means of burial of persons of the Jewish religion, the relief of poor persons of the Jewish religion, the contribution with other Jewish bodies to the maintenance of a Chief Rabbi and other ecclesiastical persons, and to the other communal duties devolving upon metropolitan congregations and other charitable purposes in connection with the Jewish religion.²⁰

Between 1850 and 1880 the Jewish population of Britain increased by about 70% and that of London by about 125%.²¹ Part of this increase was due to immigration after 1866 mainly from Russia and Poland. In the provinces, in common with the national trends towards urbanization, the old seaport and county town communities declined in strength or disappeared altogether as organized communities. In keeping with the industrial revolution several communities were formed in the thickly populated industrial areas: in the North-East, Newcastle, Sunderland, Middlesbrough and West Hartlepool; in South Wales, Swansea, Cardiff, Newport and Tredegar; in the West Midlands, Birmingham, Dudley, Hanley and Wolverhampton. The larger communities in the seaside resorts had not appeared by 1880 but smaller communities already existed in some of them.

While the population as a whole tended to move towards the large urban centres, within London itself the community was in the process of dispersion and this geographic

²⁰ Ibid, p. 64.

²¹ Ibid, p. 65.

movement was to give the London community its specific configuration. Between 1850 and 1880 London Jewry spread westwards, northwards and eastwards, and the foundation of synagogues marks their passage. The Sephardi congregation opened a branch synagogue in Wigmore Street in 1853 and this was followed two years later with the foundation of the West End branch of the Great Synagogue in Portland Street. Further west the Bayswater Synagogue opened in 1863 and the New West End in 1879. The expansion towards the northwest was marked by a temporary synagogue in St. John's Wood in 1876. The North London Synagogue established in 1888 marked the movement towards the north, together with Dalston in 1885. The Stepney Green/Mile End colony was in existence in the 1860s and by 1875 it possessed two small synagogues, the Mile End Synagogue and the Stepney Synagogue. With the movement of population away from the City the six synagogues at its heart languished for lack of members. The five or so smaller congregations or chebroth of the 1850s had by 1870 grown to at least 20, with over 2,500 seatholders.

Regarding the social and economic composition of London Jewry at the beginning of the 1880s there is some guide in Joseph Jacobs' Studies in Jewish Statistics in which the distribution as between income groups is as follows:

14.6% of the Jewish population of London were upper or upper middle class with family incomes of £1,000 or over. 42.2% were middle class with family incomes in the £200-1,000 bracket, and 19.6% lower class with family incomes of about £100 a year, although the servants or

apprentices living in would receive in cash only about £30 per annum. In addition there were no less than 23.6% of the population in receipt of at least casual relief, on poor lists and in institutions, including the first 1,000 of the Russian immigrants of 1881-2. Their income would range from £10-50 a year. In general there was a greater diversity of occupations. At the highest echelons there were incursions into deposit banking, insurance, finance of docks and railways.,,generally from the Exchange to the Boardroom.²²

Lipman points up the characteristics of the community at the beginning of the 1880s as follows:

Its lay leaders--the distinguished members of the Montefiore, Goldsmid, Rothschild, Cohen, Franklin, Samuel, Lucas, Emanuel and many other families--were supported by a remarkable group of able public servants--Asher Asher at the United Synagogue, Abraham Benisch and (for a few years) Michael Henry at the Jewish Chronicle, Moses Angel at the Jews' Free School, Solomon Almosnino at Bevis Marks, Samuel Landeshut at the Board of Guardians, Albert Lowy at the Anglo Jewish Association.²³

It was left to Chief Rabbi Adler and his son to mould the community into its characteristic frame of Jewish traditionalism coupled with English culture.

(b) The status of the Rabbinate

The status of the rabbinate in the period between 1840 and the arrival of the immigrants in the 1880s was intimately connected with the growing consolidation of the institutions of Anglo-Jewish communal life.

²²v. D. Lipman, Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History, p. 73.

²³v. D. Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950, p. 82ff.

The instruments of change in the status of the rabbinate were twofold: that striving towards conformity which we associate with the institutional processes of Anglo-Jewish life, and the weight of popular opinion which guided the rabbinate into a role acceptable to the expanding middle classes.

What the English rabbinate was, and what it became, during these forty years, can be most vividly seen through the eyes and comments of those who actively witnessed its metamorphosis and who, at the same time, willed the process into existence. The various literary organs of Anglo-Jewish life, The Voice of Jacob, the Jewish Chronicle, etc. speak to us of the minister as he was in the past, as he appeared in the present, as he must become in the future. Description, criticism, interpretation rest in the primary sources which we now examine.

On the 18th April, 1845, the following advertisement appeared in the Jewish Chronicle:

Wanted by the Manchester Hebrew Association, a competent lecturer and teacher. The duties comprised in this office are to deliver religious discourses in English at the synagogue and to conduct the Hebrew and English school connected with the Association. Salary £180 per annum. Applications and testimonials to be forwarded to

"A competent lecturer...to deliver religious discourses in English at the synagogue": these were the hallmarks of the so-called "Anglo-Jewish ministers of the modern type",²⁴ or

²⁴Ibid, p. 22ff.

the "preacher-ministers", whose prototype was assiduously belaboured in the Anglo-Jewish press. This was traced to Talmudic times, but the first English exemplar was accredited as being Rabbi Tobias Goodman.

Tobias Goodman--"Rabbi" as he describes himself... preached sermons in English...on the death of... Princess Charlotte of Wales and Saxe-Coburg ^[1817]...this was the first sermon delivered in English, in a London (German) synagogue...preached on Sabbath at Rosemary Lane Synagogue about 1824...sermons not weekly, but they were delivered from time to time.²⁵

This preaching role in the synagogue, as was the case with much else in Jewish life at this time, was related to the question of political emancipation. Thus we find a Jewish Chronicle editorial of 1849 commenting that:

We indispensably require an institution to educate men for the pulpit. We are anxious to obtain full emancipation and would it not be a disgrace if we were told by our Christian opponents that the Jews of England are so ignorant that they cannot find a lecturer in their community.²⁶

The institution which the Jewish Chronicle required was not to become a reality until the founding of Jews' College in 1855,

²⁵Matthias Levy, The Western Synagogue, p. 11. There are various other references to early English preachers in A. M. Hyamson's Jews' College, London 1855-1955, p. 15. Goodman preached an English sermon in the Seel Street Synagogue, Liverpool, giving an exposition of the weekly portion. Among the Sephardim sermons were given on national fasts in the 18th century but these were in Spanish. A layman, David Rodriguez Brandon preached at the Sephardic synagogue in 1831, in English and later became a regular preacher in the vernacular. Jewish Chronicle, 4th November, 1870: Mr. G. P. Beyfus delivered lectures in the Western Synagogue in 1833. Jewish Chronicle, 18th February, 1921: In a letter Periera Mendes claimed that the Rev. A. P. Mendes preached at Bevis Marks "prior to 1847".

²⁶Jewish Chronicle, January 12th, 1849.

but from the new Chief Rabbi, Nathan Adler, down, men were regularly preaching prior to that date. Apart from the Amsterdam-born chazan of Bevis Marks, David Aaron de Sola and the Swedish M. J. Raphall at Birmingham,²⁷ there were a small group of English-born preachers, mainly educated at the Jews' Free School: D. M. Isaacs at Manchester and Liverpool,²⁸ H. A. Henry at the Western Synagogue and A. L. Green at Bristol Synagogue and later the Central Synagogue.²⁹

²⁷M. J. Raphall was in Birmingham in 1850 as one of the preacher-ministers of the new model but he left in that year for America. By the 1860s Dr. Morris J. Raphall, then in New York, was "one of the most celebrated orators in the American rabbinate of his time". Bertram W. Korn, American Jewry and the Civil War, p. 17.

²⁸Rev. Professor Dr. D. M. Isaacs was in Liverpool in 1850. Jewish Chronicle, January 21st, 1921. Their columnist Mentor recalls listening to Isaacs' sermons which lasted about an hour. Members who did not pay attention or slumbered were "named" and publicly upbraided.

He was appointed to Liverpool Old Hebrew Congregation in 1836, held the chair of Hebrew at Queens College, Liverpool, itself a precursor of the University of Liverpool, "many lay and clerical Christians remember him and his teaching with respect and reverence. ('Record of the Jews in Liverpool' by B. L. Benas--Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Vol 51) It is maintained that he was the first regularly appointed English preacher, as such, in Anglo-Jewish traditional synagogue (Ibid)." Jewish Chronicle, June 9th, 1950.

²⁹The Chief Rabbi himself noted the scarcity of English-born ministers. A circular from the office of the Chief Rabbi dated London, 8th December 5612 (1852) notes "among the numerous clerical offices of the United Congregations in this Empire some are vacant, only a few are held by Englishmen".

Despite the varied pleas for preacher-ministers which echoed through the popular press, the innovation was a slow one. The office of minister or preacher only slowly evolved from the more traditional chazan, reader or leader in prayers.

In 1846 we read in a literary magazine that the "readers or so-called officiating ministers are, with a few exceptions elected for their vocal capabilities",³⁰ but Mr. Franklin, editor of the Voice of Jacob could claim in 1845, "the system of operatic embellishment to be already exploded, at least in all respectable synagogues".³¹ Nevertheless the college he had demanded, the so-called Montefiore Institution, for turning out "duly ordained preachers"³² was again not to be realized for many years to come.

Notwithstanding all the polemics of the Voice of Jacob and the Jewish Chronicle on behalf of the new type of preacher-minister, and even after the establishment of Jews' College itself, the idea of pulpit preaching did not take deep root. In 1853 the Jewish Chronicle bewails that there are still no preachers and that "pulpit instruction has made no progress".³³ In 1863, the idea of a synagogue minister other than reader or rabbi was still a little novel--indeed, the Rev. A. L. Green, the witty and eloquent preacher at the Great Portland Street Synagogue officially filled the position

³⁰Cup of Salvation, No. 1, Vol. 1, 5606 (1846), March. Edited by Preacher Rev. D. M. Isaacs and Mr. Moses Samuel.

³¹Voice of Jacob, Vol. IV, No. 105, p. 184, 20th June, 1845.

³²Ibid, No. 6, 10th December, 1841, p. 43.

³³Jewish Chronicle, October 7th, 1853.

of 'chazan! The Bayswater Congregation was therefore in advance of the times when it determined to appoint a lecturer³⁴ (as it was termed), for the penchant for chazanuth as the criterion for appointment was strongly entrenched. The members of the Board of the Borough Synagogue were, in 1867, reminded by Mr. Barnett Meyers that they "...should engage a minister not a mere singing one".³⁵ In this case the plea was successful and Simeon Singer, upon his appointment in September of 1867 invited other ministers or students at Jews' College to preach at the Borough Synagogue.³⁶

In the minds of the proponents of preaching ministers from the first to the last the matter was one of prestige and respectability. The Voice of Jacob in 1841 and 1845 sets the tone.

The anomalous state of our ministry demands our first consideration. It has...been doubted, whether the English congregations can be said to have a ministering clergy properly so called...
[and after an appeal for ordained preachers goes on to say that] the first step towards making religion respected, is to provide that its teachers be respectable.³⁷

³⁴Bayswater Synagogue, 1863-1938, p. 11ff. (But see advertisements in Jewish Chronicle 18th April, 1845 and August 24th, 1860 where lecturers are called for).

³⁵M. Rosenbaum, The History of the Borough Synagogue, p. 16.

³⁶Ibid. The formal interchange of pulpits between ministers of the Bayswater and Central Synagogues on Passover, 1871 was supposed to be the first incident of this kind. M. Adler, The History of the Central Synagogue, 1855-1905, p. 20. This distinction was also claimed by Simeon Singer in his Sermons, edited by I. Abrahams, p. xi.

³⁷Voice of Jacob, No. 6, 10th December, 1841, p. 43.

[There will be no balanced system until we are ready]...to prepare and train a class of ministers, not merely ^{דין} and precentors, but as ^{א'רצ'ים} and pastors.³⁸

The Jewish Chronicle in an editorial of 1881 on the Jewish clergy rounds out that initial theme to its full development and carries the relation of preaching to ministry to its apogee:

The culture and status of the Jewish minister is an exact measure of the culture of his community...qualifications of a minister should extend beyond the beauty of his voice...exertions of the minister par excellence reserved for his more particular function of exhortation and admonition --to expound the principles of Judaism from the pulpit in choice and earnest language...lay leaders of a community cannot respect their minister, unless he is equally cultured with themselves...the Jewish minister must have a general education equal to the highest type of his community...we expect its Judaism's exponents to be scholars....³⁹

The modern type of ideal Anglo-Jewish minister was to be a fluent preacher, a cultured gentleman with "English-like habits";⁴⁰ the culture of the minister would be an index to the culture of the community,⁴¹ while his position in society would be equivalent to that occupied by the ministry of other religious bodies. As the Voice of Jacob expresses it in 1842:

...the necessity was recognized of training a Jewish ministry qualified not only as leaders of our devotions, but as our religious guides and

³⁸Ibid, Vol. IV, No. 105, 20th June, 1845, p. 184.

³⁹Jewish Chronicle, July 8th, 1881.

⁴⁰Ibid, August 25th, 1854.

⁴¹Ibid, June 24th, 1881.

instructors and occupying for the conservation of our sacred institutions and for the wise direction of our community generally, a position similarly influential to that occupied by our ministry of old, and still held by the ministry of all other denominations around us ...such an influence can only be generally accorded to those whose training will qualify, not only for literary acquirements, but for an equivalent station in society... .⁴²

Scholars and gentlemen⁴³...pastors...officials to be revered and courted not a class which can only be tolerated or patronised...clergymen through whom strangers shall learn to know and respect the Jewish religion and polity.⁴⁴

The image of the desired minister, and the expressed wish to grant him at least a solid middle-class status, emerges with clarity, and by the late 1870s was partially realised.

⁴²Voice of Jacob, No. 8, 7th January, 1842, p. 59. Commenting on a meeting convened to consider the establishment of a college for the training of a Jewish ministry.

⁴³There were in fact a few scholars. Barnett Abrahams was the first minister with a British degree (B.A. at the University of London). Thomas Campbell was the first to conceive the idea of London University, receiving practical assistance from Isaac Lyon Goldsmid who purchased the site in 1825. The foundations were laid in 1827 at which time it was stated that the College was "to expand its portals with equal hospitality to all without distinction". Regarding the entry of Jews into the University Cecil Roth states in Jewish Historical Society of England Miscellanies, 1942, p. 102ff. that a Jew, Ben Mohel entered Trinity College, Dublin, February 6th, 1832 and became a B.A. in 1836, and thus was "the first Jew to graduate at an Anglican if not a British university." Asher Asher who was to become the Secretary of the United Synagogue was the first Jewish graduate of Glasgow University in 1856. Apostates and crypto-Jews were admitted to universities from 1664 onwards. See Cecil Roth, Jewish Historical Society of England Miscellanies, 1942, p. 102ff.

⁴⁴Voice of Jacob, No. 9, 21st January, 1842, p. 68.

The Anglo-Jewish pulpit could boast several outstanding figures. At Bayswater Synagogue from week to week Dr. Herman Adler was attracting large congregations by his forceful and erudite sermons. In Great Portland Street the Rev. A. L. Green was an eloquent and forceful personality, and at Upper Berkeley Street Professor Marks and Dr. Lowy were in the full tide of their powers... as far as West London was concerned the pulpits were well and adequately staffed.⁴⁵

There was one man who was generally recognized as meeting (and maybe helping to create) the ideal image, and another who came close to doing so. A comment on their qualities will be useful in giving depth to the expressed ideal. The former was Simeon Singer of whom the Jewish Chronicle said after his death: "dwelling on the life work of a single Jewish minister we will be led to embrace the whole profession of which he was so distinguished an ornament".⁴⁶

His scholarship both Jewish and secular was of a high order. He had a very wide and penetrating knowledge of English and foreign literature... it was this power of reconciling the old with the new which made him so great a master of pulpit exhortation. [He preached weekly] as a result of repeated requests on the part of the worshippers. [and]...while the pulpit was his first responsibility he recognized the place of the reading desk and delighted in the performance of the office of reader. [On his death a resolution by the Board of Management stated] for none can replace in their heart's affection the man they have learned so greatly to love and revere.⁴⁷

In a special memoir following his death in August, 1906, the Jewish Chronicle commented that:

⁴⁵Ephraim Levine, The History of the New West End Synagogue, 1879-1929, p. 17.

⁴⁶Jewish Chronicle, August 31st, 1906.

⁴⁷Ephraim Levine, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

His disinterestedness was a striking feature of his congregational work. A high sense of dignity of his office and person...combined with most simple and unaffected amiability... possessed of dignity and refined presence, he knew how to place himself on a footing of social equality with the most highly placed of his congregants. With exception of Chief Rabbi probably no Anglo-Jewish preacher has occupied so many pulpits.⁴⁸

Simeon Singer maintained scholarly activities and was responsible for the Authorised Daily Prayer Book which early ran to many editions.⁴⁹ In 1896 he edited jointly with Solomon Schechter Talmudical fragments in the Bodleian Library; he contributed many letters of excellent quality to the Jewish Chronicle under the pseudonym of Peloni. When the late Chief Rabbi died, a section of the community was in favour of dividing the Chief Rabbinate into two offices with Simeon Singer as Chief Rabbi of the West End Jews. It was at Singer's house in Leinster Gate that Dr. Herzl first unfolded his project of a Jewish state to a few friends (but Singer opposed the scheme). He was an early supporter of the Jewish Religious Union and noted for his devotion to philanthropic activity, where his renowned tact produced many dividends.⁵⁰ The Jewish Chronicle for months following his death contained material relating to his exemplary life.

⁴⁸Jewish Chronicle, August 24th, 1906.

⁴⁹Singer was aided in the translation by C. G. Montefiore. The work took five years of part-time effort. Jewish Chronicle, June 6th, 1958. Mrs. Nathaniel Montefiore financed the first edition of the prayer book in 1890. Jewish Chronicle, December 21st, 1962.

⁵⁰Jewish Chronicle, August 24th, 1906.

With Simeon Singer as the ideal Anglo-Jewish minister, there was none to match the sparkle of the Rev. A. L. Green. "A precocious English-born chazan and preacher".⁵¹

Amiable personality, powerful and witty preaching, decorous rendering of the service...excellent chazan, delivered a sermon every week, and as a rule preached extemporarily.⁵² Especially successful with his appeals for charitable funds...the Central Synagogue owed its prominence in the community as much to the remarkable personality of its minister as to the social status of its worshippers...no man of his generation was more intimately connected with all the interests of English Judaism... education, religious culture, state of the poor, revival of Hebrew literature, closer union of Jews...uplifting of the religious tone of the community.⁵³

Many years later his nephew, the Rev. A. A. Green, could say of him, "that it was he who more than any other man created the position of the Jewish minister in this country."⁵⁴

With all well in the burgeoning West End Jewry, and the realized ideals of Revs. Singer and Green, there was however a darker side to the English ministry and its communal status. For while the West End and its synagogues may have been the hub of Anglo-Jewish life, there were, even before the

⁵¹ Jewish Historical Society of England Miscellanies, 1942, p. 90.

⁵² In 1839 or 1840 A. L. Green went to Bristol as a chazan. An elder brother, Michael Levy Green then chazan and shochet at Exeter persuaded him to start preaching, and came over on the coach to hear his first effort. His first sermon was preached in the afternoon so as not to disturb the regular morning service. Jewish Chronicle, September 4th, 1908. Morris Duparc who heard A. L. Green preach comments that his sermons were literary gems, and that he was both fearless and outspoken. On one occasion he severely castigated some of the congregants on account of the business in which they were engaged. Jewish Chronicle Supplement, January, 1932.

⁵³ M. Adler, The History of the Central Synagogue, 1855-1905, p. 14.

⁵⁴ Jewish Chronicle, March 24th, 1911.

immigrations of the 1880s, wide areas of Jewish life which stood outside its physical confines, even if not beyond the pale of its influence. There was the disturbing picture of the provincial minister and London itself housed iniquities which raised a chorus in protest, demand for change and varied interpretations of the poverty of the clergyman's lot. Blame was assigned now here and now there.

Much of this blame was the outcome of a lack of suitable candidates. For outside of the West End the call for preachers and "suitable English gentlemen" (as opposed to German or Polish gentlemen)⁵⁵ was shrill and criticism laid at the source of ministerial manpower with the idea that the upper and middle classes would not send their children into the ministry.

Respectable Englishmen of business have found no inducement to train their children for places which afford no respectable living...gentile beggary of a public appointment, for which there is no future but pauperism.⁵⁶

Here the cause was made clear: if the upper classes sent their offspring into the ministry they would starve! This same theme of 'donating a son to holy orders' is taken up again at the end of our first period, this time in reference to the need for "good blood" to secure a high position for the ministry in the community.

⁵⁵Jewish Chronicle, March 28th, 1873.

⁵⁶Jewish Chronicle, June 1st, 1854. As Simeon Singer said, "man who becomes a Jewish minister literally takes upon himself the vow of poverty". Jewish Chronicle, August 31st, 1906.

Have they [the clergy] yet reached, or are they on the road to reach, the station so necessary to our wants...how is all this to be met... training of a son to the ministry and rendering him to a certain extent beyond the necessity of a salary...the Peer is not peerless...he devotes his third son to the ministry. Hence their locus stands in the church...when shall we Jews act likewise? Until we do our ministers will still hold the secondary position they now do... .⁵⁷

Not money but good breeding alone can secure the high status of the Anglo-Jewish ministry. But blood or Mammon something was wrong! Many synagogues were staffed by "foreigners"⁵⁸ especially in the provinces. There was a "hearth of good ministers";⁵⁹ there was "no passion for ministry".⁶⁰ In the popular press the newly founded institutions came in for their share of blame: "Jews' College, what it is, and what it should be...failure of Jews' College".⁶¹ Other observers turned upon the synagogues themselves, aiming their darts mainly towards the City synagogues

which remain without a preacher...what encouragement is given to our College [Jews' College]. Students who are spending their best years in training for ministry, if important congregations show no desire for their services.⁶²

⁵⁷Jewish Chronicle, July 22nd, 1881.

⁵⁸The Chief Rabbi is quoted as saying that among fifty situations in this country there are, except in London, scarcely eight Englishmen who officiate as ministers or teachers. Jewish Chronicle, 7th October, 1853.

⁵⁹Jewish Chronicle, August, 1873. Even the Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler commented in a letter that "our character, intellect and souls are still not seldom entrusted to men of ill-furnished minds, untutored or at least unprepared for the performance of their sacred functions".

⁶⁰Jewish Chronicle, August 15th, 1873.

⁶¹Jewish Chronicle, July 11th, 1873.

⁶²Jewish Chronicle, April 9th, 1880.

Thirty-five years earlier this same charge had been levelled at the New and Hambro Synagogues, who had no preachers... "there are no preachers because there are no pulpits--the fault rests with our leaders". We shall be better able to evaluate the worth of these popular interpretations for ministerial status after considering the various institutions, their structure and function.

As might be expected many finally appealed to the almost universal explanation of bullying on the part of the congregants. Thus we find in relation to the Rev. Isadore Harris' proposed move to the West London Synagogue in 1881 that a member of his old congregation, the North London Synagogue, wrote

one would have thought that the general treatment to which Mr. Harris had been subjected during his 6 years sojourn among us would have satisfied the most bitter of his opponents.⁶³

The Jewish Chronicle seized upon a solution in the form of enhanced ministerial co-operation with the expanding United Synagogue, stating in 1880:

...minister ought to co-operate with the executive, by striving to give effect to their just desires
...there cannot possibly be any loss of dignity in co-operating with those who have been placed at the head of affairs.⁶⁴

For the Jewish Chronicle the United Synagogue could achieve miracles, cutting the Gordian knot by securing both an adequate salary and relative independence for the Anglo-Jewish

⁶³Jewish Chronicle, January 28th, 1881.

⁶⁴Jewish Chronicle, February 13th, 1880.

ministry. It sums up its hopes in an editorial of 1881:

Depends upon the character of the congregation which particular function of the minister is made prominent...in England the possession of a good voice was regarded as a principle, nay, the only qualification for the post of minister...the general rise of intelligence in the community and the courageous efforts of a few ministers among whom the Rev. Dr. Herman Adler and the Rev. A. L. Green should be honourably mentioned have rendered it impossible today that anyone should be appointed to an important post who does not possess adequate preaching power and general culture...the rise of the status of the Jewish clergy must be a gradual one, it must take some time before a generation of Jewish youths can be trained for the ministry on a sounder system, before all English congregations shall have risen above the temptation of preferring a singer to a scholar as their minister...may be anticipated that as the shammash...now performs the duties which once belonged to the Sheleach Tsibur so the function of the hazan will be delegated to a minor official. Then the Jewish clergyman will become once more the Rabbi, the learned in the Law who instructs his fellow Jews in their duties and in the lessons of Israel's history...needful...to organize some machinery which shall render the position of the Jewish minister at once more independent of their own congregation and yet amenable to some check... Here as elsewhere the United Synagogue affords the via media. It has often been remarked that the Church of England has better clergymen than any body of dissenters, because the former does not put its pastors under the direct government of their flocks. Similarly now that the right of dismissal is controlled by the general council of the United Synagogue...the tone of the Jewish ministry will probably be greatly raised.⁶⁵

With these suggestions and this editorial statement we have completed the full cycle of an epoch. From the Rabbi as a silent servant or "foreign singer" to the aristocratic City congregations, we have progressed to the Jewish minister

⁶⁵Jewish Chronicle, February 18th, 1881.

as preacher and pastor to the middle class congregations of Anglo-Jewry under the aegis of the United Synagogue.

As the rabbi adapts his role to an increasingly compact and well-organized community with a distinguished lay leadership, we will now turn to those institutions with which he must increasingly interact.

(c) The institutions and their effect on status

The prestige and strength of the Chief Rabbinate, the centrality of the United Synagogue, the specific character and development of Jews' College, all stem from the personality and power of Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler. Elected after the death of Dr. Hirschel in 1842, Dr. Nathan Adler's vigour and modern spirit made themselves felt from his inaugural sermon and onwards. Combining a modern and classical university education with a strict orthodoxy, he was, in the words of Lucien Wolf, "not a mere Yeshiba rabbi".⁶⁶ Almost his first act after his induction was to issue a detailed questionnaire on communal activity, education and synagogal practice. In 1847 he issued his Laws and Regulations for all Synagogues ה'תק"ז in the British Empire,

⁶⁶Lucien Wolf, Essays in Jewish History, p. 340. Morris Duparc in his 'reminiscences' recalls that Adler himself preached only on Sabbaths preceding Rosh Chodesh or on first days of the festivals, together with the Day of Atonement. His sermons occupied about half an hour in delivery, and he never had recourse to his manuscripts, for he always committed the sermons to memory. Jewish Chronicle Supplement, January, 1932. His predecessor, Hirschel, preached in Yiddish.

sending it not only to the London congregations, but also to the 19 provincial congregations who had participated in his election.⁶⁷ Among its statutes were the following:

The duty of superintending the synagogue as far as religious observances are concerned, devolves on the Chief Rabbi, when present. In his absence on the Dayanim, in the absence of the Dayanim on the minister...reader [etc.]

The erection of a new synagogue must have the sanction of the Chief Rabbi and the formation of a new congregation must have the sanction of the Chief Rabbi besides that of the Board of Deputies.⁶⁸

Together with the detailed instructions for services, regulations over the sale of Mitzvoth, etc. the supremacy of the Chief Rabbi in ritual and religious matters as evidenced by these regulations is made patently clear.⁶⁹

Making good his pre-election statements of concern regarding education, Nathan Adler used his initiative in the foundation of Jews' College, and a record of the council of this institution on his death comments:

He [Nathan Adler] conceived the idea of founding an institution which should send forth trained and cultured ministers, preachers, readers and

⁶⁷Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, Dublin, Edinburgh, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Brighton, Canterbury, Chatham, Falmouth, Ipswich, Jersey, Newcastle, Southampton, Swansea and Penzance.

⁶⁸Cecil Roth, "Chief Rabbinate in England", Essays in Honour of J. H. Hertz, pp. 382-383.

⁶⁹The Chief Rabbi was himself controlled by the Laws of the Great Synagogue, (see Appendix II) and also by the Regulations which were drawn up prior to his election (see Appendix III). Among other things he was deprived the right of cherem.

teachers of religion for the service of the Anglo-Jewish community in all parts of the world.⁷⁰

In the light of the comparative institutions, such as the Ecole Rabbinique de France, Instituto Rabbinico Lombardo-Veneto (in Padua) and Breslau in Germany, etc. the specific intentions of Jews' College, as outlined above, were at a later period to come under critical eyes.

Jews' College was thus one response of the Chief Rabbi in the direction of filling the vacancies in the Jewish pulpits of England and her colonies with suitable incumbents, but as we shall see it was not the only one. In 1846 the Voice of Jacob comments on the appointment of a certain Dr. Kruger as lecturer to the congregation and headmaster to the Hebrew Association School:

...his election to be preacher to an English synagogue was very properly made subject to his obtaining a letter of licence from the Rev. Dr. Adler⁷¹. This we think is the first election of the kind since the accession of our Chief

⁷⁰Isadore Harris, Jews' College Jubilee Volume, 1855-1905, p. xciv. The amended constitution of Jews' College, 18th June, 1879 reads: "The objects of Jews' College are the educating and training of ministers, preachers, readers and teachers of religion for Jewish congregations whose vernacular is the English language." There was no certificate of competency for other than these types.

⁷¹In the case of applicants for other positions the Chief Rabbi himself made the request for their credentials. For example, in the case of Sunderland at a meeting of 31st December, 1865 there was a letter from the Chief Rabbi expressing his wish to see Mr. Trachtingberg's credentials (applicant for the post of teacher). Arnold Levy, History of the Sunderland Jewish Community, p. 64.

Rabbi...precedent⁷²...as one of importance... examination and licence...needed for shochet, surely such precaution and supervision are no less necessary in the case of one who is to be the minister and spiritual guide of a whole congregation.⁷³

Words of good sense, perhaps, but in other centres a rabbinical diploma served as well and might have rendered vain the later claim of Solomon Schechter that

The Chief Rabbinate assumed...a monarchical status in English Jewry, to which there was no parallel on the continent; and its authority checked freedom of thought and freedom of development.⁷⁴

Nathan Adler gave impetus to forces already in progress towards communal unity, by his advocacy of the formation of the United Synagogue (the idea of which was said to have been propounded to the honorary officers of the Great Synagogue assembled around a table on the First Day of Tabernacles in his Succah on Monday, 24th September, 1866⁷⁵). Repeated attempts had been made in the past to effect some union

⁷²A precedent which was followed. In 1847 the Hebrew Congregation of Dublin in advertising for a chazan, etc. "it will be indispensable that moral character qualifications be testified by the Rev. the Chief Rabbi". Voice of Jacob, Vol. I, No. 17, 7th May, 1847.

⁷³Voice of Jacob, Vol. V, 22nd May, 1846.

⁷⁴N. Bentwich, Solomon Schechter, p. 54. "There is not the slightest hint in the whole rabbinic literature that the rabbis gave any preference to a hierarchy with an ecclesiastical head who pretends to be the vice-regent of God, over a secular prince who derives his authority from the divine right of his dynasty". Solomon Schechter, Aspects of Rabbinic Theology, p. 92.

⁷⁵M. Adler, The History of the Central Synagogue, 1855-1905, p. 17.

between the Ashkenazic synagogues of London, but the mutual rivalries had invariably prevented success. In 1863 Lionel Louis Cohen,⁷⁶ at the time an officer of the Great Synagogue, endeavoured to arrange a union between that synagogue and the Hambro, but without success. It took the efforts of the Chief Rabbi together with the members of the City Synagogue, who lived in the West End, to effect the larger union.⁷⁷

In this connection V. D. Lipman cites four factors leading to the formation of the United Synagogue, as follows:

1. The institution of the Chief Rabbinate.
2. Trend towards the provision of common services.
3. The need to sort out the tangle of conflicting claims of the synagogues to property in their members.
4. The personality of the men who worked for synagogal union--the Chief Rabbi, Lionel Louis Cohen and Asher Asher, secretary of the Great Synagogue.⁷⁸

The United Synagogue secured their position in accordance with English law by an Act of Parliament.⁷⁹

⁷⁶Administrative machinery of the London Jewish community ... is almost entirely the outcome of the genius and labours of one man--Lionel Louis Cohen." Lucien Wolf, op. cit., p. 343.

⁷⁷M. Adler, op. cit., p. 17. The Western Synagogue and the newly formed congregations in the East End remained outside of the United Synagogue organization.

⁷⁸V. D. Lipman, "Synagogue Organization", Journal of Jewish Sociology, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 89ff.

⁷⁹An Act for Confirming a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners for the Jewish United Synagogues, 14th July, 1870. 33 and 34, VICT. Cap: 116. Altered and modified 24th May, 1880 and 31st October, 1926.

In the charter [of this Act] an attempt was made to give the Chief Rabbi autocratic powers over the doctrines to be taught in the Jewish communities throughout the Jewish Empire. But Parliament which had recently disestablished the Irish Church did not feel disposed to establish the Jewish synagogue and the clause was stricken out.⁸⁰

Although removed from the Parliamentary record, the disputed portions which the charity commissioners had eliminated as being unsuitable for parliamentary legislation, were included in a Deed of Foundation and Trust.⁸¹ This addition gave weight to the dominant position of the Chief Rabbi in Anglo-Jewry. Besides this express document there are other powers not the outcome of a written grant, which came in the process of time to be associated with the office of the Chief Rabbinate: power to licence marriages, certify the fitness of ministers, licence shochetim, matzo bakers etc., certify a congregation as a preliminary to the appointment of a marriage secretary, granting of Get and Chalitzta, receiving converts and conferring the rabbinical diploma.⁸²

⁸⁰Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. V, p. 172.

⁸¹Among the conditions included were: (1) The control of the form of worship; (2) Preaching--no-one may occupy the pulpit without the Chief Rabbi's consent; (3) Certifying the fitness of ministers; (4) Consecration of new synagogues.

⁸²In all these cases there were no means of making them effective in the face of opposition. For example, regarding the certification of the fitness of ministers we find that on 20th March, 1874, a vacancy for first reader and lecturer occurred at the Western Synagogue. From five applicants a Mr. M. Harris was chosen. But consent to anyone being appointed without previous examination was refused by the ecclesiastical authorities. The Western Synagogue objected and Mr. Harris, who was from Jews' Free School, later passed an examination, and was appointed. Matthias Levy, op. cit., p. 72 ff. The certification of a congregation as a

Although his own exertions and participation in the founding of Jews' College, the Board of Guardians and the United Synagogue gave these institutions a particular character, it is not clear to what degree the United Synagogue, at least, remained within his control. Within two years of its foundation we read that at a meeting to frame a new code of laws to regulate burial, they did not refer to the Chief Rabbi and there were murmurings of "undue priestly authority".⁸³ The Jewish Chronicle seems to cast doubt on the power of the Chief Rabbi in the newly founded United Synagogue which it had hoped would direct the entire Jewish community of the British Empire:

Orthodoxy...a necessity, as is ecclesiastical discipline and church government...

But this "church government" was not running according to plan and so the organ of Anglo-Jewry goes on to exclaim and decry the fact

that communal union is lacking mostly in the absence of ecclesiastical discipline in the form of church government...that the Chief Rabbi is a moral force only and that there is no distinct privileged and empowered clerical body.⁸⁴

preliminary to the appointment of a marriage secretary only becomes effective as a result of co-operation with the Board of Deputies. In practice the Chief Rabbi consults with the Dayanim before exercising some of his rights, but their approval is not a necessary condition. The Dayanim are officials appointed by the United Synagogue and sit, with or without the Chief Rabbi, at the Beth Din. It is this Beth Din which is referred to in the United Synagogue Act as "the ecclesiastical board", but their status and functions are not defined by the Act or Deed. There was considerable doubt as to the powers of the Beth Din.

⁸³Jewish Chronicle, 17th May, 1872.

⁸⁴Jewish Chronicle, 2nd January, 1874.

The Chief Rabbinate, despite its strong prominence amongst the ecclesiastics, was not in firm control of the lay body which ran the United Synagogue, and it is this institution which came increasingly to direct the life of Anglo-Jewry.

The clergy by writ and precedent were firmly attached to the Chief Rabbinate, but it is crucial to know in what manner the latter office was attached to the United Synagogue.

While we have no information to answer the question directly, in the realms of marriage certification and changes in the ritual we have some guide-lines.

The former case, marriage certification, involves the Chief Rabbinate with the Board of Deputies. This institution, after 1835, was the recognized representative of the community in dealing with the British authorities on questions such as marriage laws, grants for schools, burials, registrations, rating of synagogues, etc. However, its membership, even at the end of this first period, was still comparatively small.⁸⁵ Claiming fame in the annals of Anglo-Jewish history for its attempt (under the inflexibility of its President, Sir Moses Montefiore) to exclude members of the West London Synagogue for nearly 35 years, it impinges upon our thesis in relation to the certification of marriage registrations, a power granted it with the Registration Act of 1836. There seems no doubt that in relation to marriage certification and designation of Jewish places of worship, the Board of Deputies

⁸⁵39 members representing 14 London and 15 provincial congregations.

by unequivocally defining their ecclesiastical authority helped to consolidate the position of the Chief Rabbi, but it is noteworthy that "the voice of ministry was absent from the Board of Deputies".⁸⁶

Agitation for ritual changes in the synagogue was a constant theme throughout the period. It seems that the example of the Burton Street schism in Anglo-Jewish unity was a haunting reminder of the place to which inflexibility could lead.

Despite his vouchsafed orthodoxy the Chief Rabbi early made concessions...sanctioned with reluctance...allowing morning services on Sabbath and festivals to be separate at the Central Synagogue.⁸⁷

The agreement to the confirmation of children of both sexes at the Bayswater Synagogue after 1864 was given,⁸⁸ and following agitation in the Jewish World and Jewish Chronicle ten years later,⁸⁹ the Chief Rabbi finally agreed in 1881 to sanction schemes of ritual revision drawn up by a conference of special delegates appointed by the United Synagogue.

⁸⁶Jewish Chronicle, September 12th, 1873.

⁸⁷M. Adler, op. cit., p. 9.

⁸⁸Bayswater Synagogue, 1863-1938, p. 7. In 1868 two young members of the orthodox community, Mr. B. Kisch and Mr. Numa Hartog expostulated with the Chief Rabbi in public on the question of second days of festivals.

⁸⁹Myer Davis at the Jewish World and the "Committee for effecting a modification in the liturgy of the German Jews", of Mr. Walter Josephus.

Certainly compromises were made on both sides in these ritual questions but the indication, as over the questions with the Board of Deputies, might lead us to doubt the actual power and independence of the Chief Rabbinate which his official status would lead us to expect.⁹⁰ Whether there was friction or not between Nathan Adler and his ministers, it does not show itself in the available sources, and at least one anonymous letter writer shed some light on this by his observation that

...the clergy would not be the weaklings and say nothings which I regard them to be. Men who have known no organization among themselves and who are perfectly content with their anomalous condition cannot be regarded otherwise than as servants.⁹¹

A docile clergy which, apart from a few sparkling preachers, largely failed to satisfy the lay image of the anglicised pastor; a powerful Chief Prelate who held tightly to the ecclesiastical reins with the backing of enlightened, beneficent and aristocratic lay-directed institutions; was this the condition which determined the status of the Anglo-Jewish ministry between 1840 and the influx of the Eastern European immigrants after 1880?

(d) The rabbinate: status and economics

To ask what constitutes the essence of status when applied to an individual or an occupation, is akin to demanding the

⁹⁰ A factor to be taken into consideration is the age of the Chief Rabbi at the time of these major ritual concessions.

⁹¹ Jewish Chronicle, August 1st, 1879.

nature of Maijestas in the Rome of the Republic. Any definition would be a case of special pleading. English ministers such as Simeon Singer were loved and revered, while Nathan Adler commanded till the end almost universal respect and admiration, yet by and large the tone of communal opinion was one of concern; the Anglo-Jewish minister had not achieved that status in the community which many wished to assign to him.

With quotations from the popular press we have indicated a general climate of opinion which shows the English minister in a far from preferential position. To lend substance to our considerations and to make further comparisons possible we must anchor the status of the minister to some more objective paradigm--namely to treat of his stipend. That a man's income is not the primary ingredient or barometer of status can be admitted, but that it nevertheless reflects some significant estimate of value is certainly not excluded.⁹² That "gentility could go hand in hand with beggary"⁹³ is certainly a possibility, but there are limits beyond which a discrepancy between high status and low remuneration can hardly extend.

⁹²There were and are both among clergy and laity dissenting voices as to the advisability of making status and salary in any way comparable. Thus Sir Hermann Gollancz in 1922 comments, "I have always been against the idea that if you give a man more money you raise the status of the ministry. If a man is bribed into the ministry by a higher emolument, you are more likely to have hypocrites than faithful servants of God. You will not be raising the status of the ministry. You want to get the man of character and of fibre", Personalia Relating to Sir Hermann Gollancz, p. 107.

⁹³See page 27.

A consideration of salaries offered for synagogue officials in the years between 1840 and 1882 (see Appendix I) provides a consistent pattern in which stipends follow the wage levels manifest in the United Kingdom as a whole. Between the early 1840s and 1882 the real wage index rose just over 20%⁹⁴ maintaining a steady rise with occasional setbacks and one rapid and unevenly distributed rise between 1870-74, followed by a slow decline to the 1883 figure.

From a survey of advertisements appearing in the Jewish Chronicle during the 1840s, 1850s, 1870s and early 1880s we find that salaries offered in provincial congregations followed this wage index with singular fidelity. This is particularly marked in the case of the inflationary wage and price spiral of 1870-74 where synagogue salaries reached their highest advertised point for the entire period. Here, too, the phenomena is noted for the first time of advertised emoluments being increased in succeeding weeks.⁹⁵ In this connection it is also of interest that the number of advertised positions in the year 1872 suggests a picture of high placement turnover, which may well indicate congregational stresses resulting from the general economic position. Certainly in any wage/price spiral those living on fixed incomes will

⁹⁴See figures drawn from Jurgen Kuczynski, Labor Conditions in Western Europe 1820-1935 and A. L. Bowley, Wages and Income Since 1860 in the United Kingdom.

⁹⁵For example, see the cases of Liverpool New Hebrew Congregation, West Hartlepool, Manchester Hebrew Congregation, Sheffield Hebrew Congregation in Appendix I, pp.163-4.

manifest discomfort. As would be expected the remunerations offered by the large provincial centres such as Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham make the smaller towns appear tawdry in their inducements, but a comparison of salary paid to officials as against total synagogue income gives us reason to reflect.⁹⁶

Again in keeping with the new ideal of the preacher-minister the largest financial inducements are, with a few exceptions, offered to candidates capable of fulfilling the role of preacher or lecturer. Despite the larger memberships of key provincial centres they did not by and large quite reach the same financial inducement levels as the main London congregations.

In the light of these statistics can it be maintained that the Rabbinate during this initial period was low in status as far as salary was concerned? We have seen that with the help of reshuffling during the inflationary years, proffered salaries maintained a parity with wage indices in the country as a whole. At least amongst wage earners it appears that the rabbis were not placed at a disadvantage. We may ask, however, whether this is the only or even a suitable standard of comparison. Jacobs in his Studies in Jewish Statistics concerning the social composition of London Jewry had reported 14.6% of the upper or upper middle class

⁹⁶Birmingham with annual income in 1881 of £3,000-4,000 Jewish Chronicle, November 18th, 1881, offered a salary of £250 to a *חבר* and *קורא*. Sunderland in 1864 with an income of £187.14.0d., A. Levy, History of the Sunderland Jewish Community, p. 62, offered a salary of £80 to a *חבר* and reader in 1861.

with family incomes of £1,000 or over, 42.2% of the middle class with family incomes in the £200-1,000 bracket, and 19.6% of the lower class with family incomes of about £100 a year. A review of the advertisements placed in the Jewish Chronicle for the year 1881 will, on the basis of Jacob's figures permit two ministers in important pulpits (North London Synagogue and Manchester Hebrew Congregation) to just qualify for lower middle class status. The remaining six ministers would be consigned, at least on paper, to the lower classes.⁹⁷

In the absence of exact knowledge of the Anglo-Jewish minister's total income, we could nevertheless with generosity, ascribe his financial status, in the majority of cases, to the lower middle classes.⁹⁸ How, we may ask, does such a

⁹⁷There are, of course, various perquisites to be added to the salaries offered. No small matter is the free house and fuel, etc. which usually accompanies the position. The fact that it was a fixed annual income in itself gives the ministerial position a certain prestige above the weekly wage-earning congregant. A letter in the Jewish Chronicle, October 25th, 1872 comments "in some of our synagogues our readers have as much as £500-600 a year, while second readers have invariably £150-200". If this figure were anywhere near accurate, this would render perquisites of approximately £200 and £75 per annum respectively. We have an indication that such additional income is not impossible in the advertisement of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews in 1873 which stated that to a fixed salary of £300, additional income of £200-300 had hitherto been realized. It is this "hidden income" which makes evaluation of status by salary so difficult to compute with accuracy.

⁹⁸The ministerial incomes may be compared with the following church stipends: in 1827 of the 10,533 benefices in England and Wales nearly one-quarter of the benefices had incomes of £20 or less and over half £50 or less a year. By 1835 only 297 benefices had less than £50 while one-fifth had £100 or less. C. K. Brown, History of the English Clergy 1800-1900, p. 15ff. In 1850 there were only 174 stipends of over £1,000

position in the midst of a predominantly middle class community compare to that of their compatriots in other centres, both in Europe and America? If anything England then at the apogee of her economic well-being should have been foremost amongst the various groups and the Jewish community will have shared in this general prosperity.

(e) Assessment of status and interpretation

The Anglo-Jewish minister enjoyed a different position and role in society from his counterpart in other western centres. Popular and press opinion had assigned various causes for his unique predicament: pauperism, failures of Jews' College, negligence of the upper and middle classes to enter their children for the ministry, the quantities of foreigners, the mistreatment meted out by the synagogues themselves and finally the need for greater unity and integration under the expanding United Synagogue.

With these varied explanations at hand we may attempt a preliminary interpretation of somewhat wider scope, hoping to fit the religious functionary into the pattern of assimilative practices in Anglo-Jewry as a whole, and laying the groundwork from which the ministry was to evolve in our succeeding periods. We recall in passing that it is not

(after all deductions only half of that sum was left to meet the cost of living), only 1,000 stipends exceeding £500, only 8,000 exceeding £300. Elie Halevy, History of the English People, Vol. IV, p.344. Even without knowing the total number of benefices in 1850 it appears that a large percentage of the stipends exceeded £300 which, taking into account the deductions leaves a figure of £150. This compares closely enough with the advertised salaries for the years between 1844-47.

the genus of ministerial status in the West treated as a whole which will occupy our attention, but rather the specific differences which single out the Anglo-Jewish ministry in particular. We will not, for example, dwell upon the results for the status of the ministry of the growing secularization of the nineteenth century as a whole. Such phenomena are a common denominator throughout the western world and are not restricted to any particular centre or religious group (possibly the material progress which was the faith of the Victorian epoch may have intensified its secular appeal for the English Jew, but it was not a characteristic absent from any Jewish group during the nineteenth century). Nor again will we deal with assimilation as such. All Jewish centres, and usually specific groups within those centres, were under pressure to work out an assimilative programme.⁹⁹ It is, however, of importance to examine the nature of Anglo-Jewish assimilative practices in particular. Several commentators have remarked upon the exceptional sensitivity of Anglo-Jewry towards English opinion.¹⁰⁰ The goldfish bowl mentality which arises from the historic conditions of Jewish suffrage in England was probably the result of the fact that although social equality was early achieved, political emancipation was late and hard contested.

⁹⁹Verbal lecture note, Hebrew Union College, 1962. Professor Ellis Rivkin sees the programmes of Emil Hirsch, Geiger and Frankel as various assimilatory attempts to come to terms with current conditions.

¹⁰⁰For example Howard Brotz, "The Position of the Jews in English Society", Jewish Journal of Sociology,

England was not constitutionally or socially the enforced blending of autonomous groups, but rather a hierarchical system inherited from the Middle Ages, which managed to maintain its form across the turmoil of the industrial and social revolutions. The explanation for this may lie in the power of its ancient parliament to mediate between contending social and economic factions or more simply in the insulating function of the sea which permitted a slower and less violent evolution of its particular groups. Whatever the cause, parliamentary systems, absolutism and industrial revolution took place earlier in England than elsewhere and were all accompanied by less rupture to the fabric of historic institutions.

The image of the English gentleman, the bourgeois ethic, the hierarchical nature of the established church were all factors with which the English Jew in his assimilative drive must perforce reckon. He could not take refuge and strength in his own legalised autonomy as could his American counterpart, for with the possible exception of certain Roman Catholic elements the Jew in England was alone. He could not see himself as one of many immigrant groups attempting to make his way. Casting around for behaviour patterns and images where else could he turn, at least as far as his religious institutions were concerned, than the model offered by the established church of England?

Now it must strike, and it does strike every impartial observer, that if the Church of England

with her 16,000 clergy can do with one head, the Jews with an infinitely smaller proportion of congregations, I was going to say souls, ought to do with one Chief Rabbi.¹⁰¹

On varied occasions the Jewish Chronicle in its passionate espousal of communal union translates that concept into the strictly Anglican term "the synagogue", using it frequently just as the Anglican would use "the church".¹⁰² The very support of the vertical and centralized authority structure of the community--from parliament to the Board of Deputies and through them to the ecclesiastical authorities in the Jewish community--bears strong resemblance to the English ecclesiastical structure. Back in 1853 the Jewish Chronicle in discussing the Chief Rabbinate and the dissenting Margaret Street Congregation draws its readers' attention to the schism in the Church of England (puseyism) and goes on to suggest that the Chief Rabbi followed the course of the Archbishop of Canterbury in calling a convocation of his clergy.¹⁰³ Some six years later an editorial discussing ministerial stipends made comparison to the position in the Church of England.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹Letter from John Oswald Simon, Jewish Chronicle, November 18th, 1881.

¹⁰²See for example article on the Hebras, Jewish Chronicle, May 6th, 1881.

¹⁰³Jewish Chronicle, December 23rd, 1853.

¹⁰⁴Jewish Chronicle, June 10th, 1859.

Lipman draws this relation between synagogue and established church into even tighter focus by commenting that:

The oligarchic and particularly control and vesting of authority in a body of ex honorary officers...not easy to find continental precedents...but the constitutional pattern of the London synagogue was of course the general one of the closed municipal corporation of 18th and 19th century England, with the status of privileged membership corresponding to that of the freedom of a corporation which was capable of purchase and inheritance in a similar way. An even nearer parallel is found in the closed vestries of the parishes, especially in the City of London, Westminster and East London where there was even identity of nomenclature...at the same period as these institutions were reformed and democratized a similar development occurred in the government of the synagogue.¹⁰⁵

Lipman goes on to explain how England varied in its communal structure from the Aljamas of Medieval Spain, the Kehilloth of sixteenth and seventeenth century Poland/Lithuania, and the state-regulated system typified by the consistoires of Napoleon, which gave the community rather than the individual synagogue the power of taxation. England, he points out, was a society based on voluntary associations, each synagogue was merely a voluntary association on the pattern adopted by certain of the dissenting churches, notably the Independents and the Congregationalists.¹⁰⁶ Finally Lipman points out

¹⁰⁵V. D. Lipman, "Synagoga Organization in Anglo-Jewry", Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 80-93, April, 1959.

¹⁰⁶One difficulty of drawing comparisons to the Church of England is the fact that it was never fully disestablished whereas the synagogue was.

that in the nineteenth century a considerable degree of communal unity or co-operation was built up from below, by combination of these independent, voluntary associations, a development not equalled by the independent congregations in other countries in that period.

That English communities should model their institutions after the dominant cultural pattern is understandable, but the effect upon the servants of those institutions was far from satisfactory. The United Synagogue as "the church", the Rabbinate as the "ministry" and, if we may imply it, the Chief Rabbi as something akin to an Archbishop may well have produced a pleasing appearance to the external world, but it set up precedents which in the long run, at least as far as the ministry was concerned, were far from salutary. The community paid a price for its successful adjustment to Anglo-Jewish life. Scholarship in the insular community was almost non-existent.¹⁰⁷ The unity embraced under the United Synagogue was bought at the price of increasing lay domination of synagogal affairs. The rabbinate modelled after the clergy was poorly paid for their pastorate and power tended to concentrate, itself in the hands of the Chief Rabbi and a few beneficent lay leaders. Possessing a strong

¹⁰⁷"Anglo-Jewry indeed so far as Jewish scholarship was concerned was a fen of stagnant waters". N. Bentwich, Solomon Schechter, p. 52. There was however Adolf Neubauer at Oxford, Simon Schiller-Sznessy at Cambridge, Emanuel Deutsch at British Museum, Dr. Benisch and Dr. Zedner with Dr. Asher at the United Synagogue.

Chief Rabbinate, a balance of powers was established which maintained itself throughout this first period of Anglo-Jewish expansion and prosperity. With the death of Nathan Adler, the decline of English power and wealth, the collapse of European liberalism and the coming of the immigrants, another era was in sight, an era in which the turmoil and discontents were finally to explode in the First World War and with which the Anglo-Jewish community kept reluctant step. To this troubled period we now turn.

Chapter Four

Period of Transition: 1882-1914

(a) Anglo-Jewish History

Between 1881 and the First World War the Anglo-Jewish community aroused from its complacency by the coming of the immigrants, churned about in the twilight years which preceded the age of revolution. All the forces which conspired to transform England from a prosperous, laissez faire middle class community into a debtor nation fighting to hold on to her inheritance, made their impact upon the Jewish community. By 1880 the die was already cast and control was slipping from European hands, but in the Jewish community these deeper dislocations were masked by the compelling concern over the Eastern European immigrants and the problem of the Chief Rabbinate. Unlike the established church, which dates its modern period from 1914, the years prior to the First World War form a distinct interregnum period. All the carefully planned unities of the preceding half century appeared to be suddenly threatened and the birth-pangs of a new community sharply experienced. It is a mark of the viability of the Anglo-Jewish institutions that the community of 65,000 of 1880 could give way to the 300,000 of 1914 and still maintain a notable cohesion.

Although we have no accurate guide to the number of immigrants who entered England between 1881 and 1914, it is concluded that the number was between 100,000 and 150,000.¹⁰⁸ Following the initiative of Herman Landau and Henry and Ellis Franklin, the Poor Jews' Temporary Shelter was founded in 1885, but there is evidence to show that the immigrants were not welcomed in the old-established Anglo-Jewish community. The Board of Guardians effected repatriations in certain cases. However "broadly speaking, the older Anglo-Jewry took its full responsibility for defending the need and right of the immigrants to come".¹⁰⁹ Those who settled filled the East End vacuum created by others who between 1860 and 1880 had moved to North, Northwest and West London. Geographically the main trend of dispersion was towards the east; firstly to Bow in 1883, and then Poplar in 1890. By 1902 Walthamstow, Leyton and Tottenham, East and West Ham and New Cross were settled; by 1905 (in the south-west) Kew and Brentford. The spread of population also placed new groups in Soho, St. Pancras and Southwark. However it is North London which emerges as the major residential area; Hackney and Stoke Newington, with Finsbury Park further to the north. The New Synagogue moved from Great St. Helens to Stamford Hill in 1915.

There was an equivalent volume of immigration to the

¹⁰⁸V. D. Lipman, Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950.

¹⁰⁹Ibid, p. 134.

provinces, mainly towards the major industrial centres with a thin trickle to cities such as Chatham and Reading etc.

From a provincial Jewish population of barely 20,000 in 1881 there was about 30,000 in 1891 (2,060 in Scotland, 1,779 in Ireland); in 1901 64,000 (including 7,400 in Scotland and 3,771 in Ireland); by 1911 the provincial Jewish population was estimated at nearly 100,000.¹¹⁰

Institutionally the major impact of the immigrants was felt by the formation, in 1887, of the Federation of Synagogues by Samuel Montagu.¹¹¹ From the outset relations between the Federation and the United Synagogue were tenuous and strained and the consequence of this will be developed later.

The children of the immigrants attended English schools of the school boards of the local education authorities. Special classes in English for adults were opened and the late 1800s saw a rash of clubs, such as Brady Street Club (1890), West Central, Victoria Boys' Club and Stepney Jewish Lads' Club opening their doors for the first time. Some intermingling between older and newer residents was achieved through the Friendly Society movement. A facet of the immigration was the importation of several strict forms of orthodoxy. The Machzike Hadath, for example, had a Talmud Torah capable of holding 1,000 children; the language of instruction was Yiddish.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 161.

¹¹¹ Infra, p. 95.

Economically, by 1914

Tailoring, boot and shoe making and furniture were, with cap making, tobacco and furs the characteristic occupations of the Jewish quarters of London and the great industrial centres. There was a considerable professional class and the Jewish middle class as a whole bulked very large in the community and its communal life.¹¹²

This is in contrast to the community of 1880 whose core was made up of largely middle class merchants and shopkeepers, and whose leadership was vested in about 100 wealthy and socially prominent families. The new influx tended to expand the ranks of the lower middle class and produce an appreciable artisan class as well. These working-class elements had to exert extreme effort to reach the levels of economic security that in fact many of them attained by the First World War.

The propensity for prominent Jews to engage in communal activities slackened during this transition period. Opportunities for public service were wider at the turn of the century and men of the stamp of Julian Goldsmid, Lionel Cohen and Samuel Montagu were not forthcoming. It has been conjectured that this may in part reflect the swing from liberalism to more conservative policies, but for our thesis it marks yet another facet of that movement into stormier waters which succeeded the descent of England from its nineteenth century zenith. By the time the new community faced out towards the post World War I years, war losses and the

¹¹²v. D. Lipman, op. cit., p. 162.

growing power of the immigrant families had changed the old patterns of oligarchic control in Anglo-Jewry.

(b) The status of the rabbinate

The criticisms of the more orthodox immigrants, the demise of two Chief Rabbis,¹¹³ the perplexities involved in the election of Dr. Hertz all acted as incentives for the Anglo-Jewish community to conduct a searching self-examination. Many of the discontents which had been smothered in the well-being and optimism of the Victorian era suddenly bubbled to the surface,¹¹⁴ and rendered that earlier epoch transparent and liable to criticisms which it itself had never dared or cared to make. This communal self-evaluation provided a post-script to our first period which could have only been written under the stress of more turbulent times, times which were described in the Jewish Review with a couplet:

Hard words, jealousies and fears
Set folks together by the ears.

When the Rev. A. A. Green¹¹⁵ wrote in the Jewish Review in

¹¹³Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler died Tuesday, 21st January, 1890; Dr. Herman Adler died July 18th, 1911.

¹¹⁴In reality the doors of criticism had already opened upon the death of Nathan Adler in 1890. The Jewish Chronicle in an editorial upon the year 5650 remarked upon the correctness of the warnings of their correspondent "Nemo" who had predicted of Adler "apres moi le deluge". Jewish Chronicle September 12th, 1890.

¹¹⁵A. A. Green was already a minister in Sheffield in 1884.

the Spring of 1911 that "all the old system of ecclesiastical government and ecclesiastical training was fundamentally wrong" he was not an embittered older man showing resentment at a hard apprenticeship, but rather a prophet giving typical utterance to the tenor of the times through which Anglo-Jewry was now passing.

The influx of East European immigrants brought not only strains and stresses to the carefully constructed fabric of Anglo-Jewish institutional life, but a moment of truth to the popular evaluation of the ideal minister. The more leisurely and opulent years of the earlier period had produced and nurtured the idea of the Anglo-Jewish pastor, that cultured gentleman in clerical attire, ministering to his middle class flock. The coming of the immigrants shattered this image and tilted the balance sharply in favour of a more traditionally oriented rabbi. The watershed in the old ideal of preacher-minister had been attained by A. L. Green and Simeon Singer, but the very type which these men represented now became the object of severe criticism. There appeared no portent of the storm which was to come in the address of Mr. Claude G. Montefiore at the annual distribution of prizes at Jews' College on a Spring day in 1895.¹¹⁶ Like his nineteenth century predecessors Mr. Montefiore spoke of the students' "broad and human and modern training of which ministers of modern men in Western lands stand so pre-eminently

¹¹⁶Isadore Harris, Jews' College Jubilee Volume, 1855-1905 p. cii.

in need" and again of the oft repeated ideal that

no minister can really influence his flock... who is not their equal all round, who is not at home on all sides of their lives, who is not a cultured and cultivated Englishman as well as a cultured and cultivated Jew".

Turning to the "East" (the residential area of the new immigrants from Eastern Europe) Montefiore predicted that wide general and cultural knowledge would also find its reception there because

you are quite wrong if you think that the East is only the home of conservatism, that a minister there must be trained above all, and trained only, in all the lore of a minister of a hundred years ago, trained to answer questions on the minutiae of ritual carried up to him by conscientious men and women living on a plane of their own".

Montefiore had made his point in favour of the old ideal, but it was those "conscientious men and women living on a plane of their own" who were indirectly and by their culminative effect to force greater inroads into the ministerial image than the earlier period of consolidation could ever have envisaged. But just as the minister-preacher had taken so much time and criticism to evolve from the chazan, so now the "minister-rabbi" made slow progress towards public favour. Those concerned with the status of the rabbinate and the unity of the community were in the vanguard, but the majority continued to conceive the ministerial functions as

To preach simply, decently and in good English and not above the heads of the congregants, to read the Law correctly, to assist in the reading of prayers, to engage in charitable work, to keep books, render synagogue bills, and to be all things to all men.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷Augustus Kahn, "The Status and Training of Jewish Ministers", Jewish Review, Vol. I, No. 6, March, 1911, pp. 501ff.

The report of the advisory committee of the United Synagogue of 1910 put the requirements of a minister in the following fashion:

(a) to preach efficiently (b) to teach Hebrew and religion (c) to read the prayers in synagogue including the Law with proper intonation (d) to help their congregants with advice and sympathy (e) to engage actively in and organize charitable work which formed so large a portion of the duties devolving on the United Synagogue and (f) to aid if necessary the routine administrative work of their congregation.¹¹⁸

One of the senior ministers of the United Synagogue, the Rev. A. A. Green had a somewhat different view. The community required very much from its clergy. The minister was expected to be a preacher, a Hebrew scholar, a generally cultured man, a reader in the synagogue, a labourer in various fields of communal activity and a worker among the poor, and in some places a competent accountant.

The tenor of both the popular and official images was apparently to place little emphasis upon scholarship and it is with this in mind that at the end of our period Waley-Cohen reported:

¹¹⁸A. M. Hyamson, Jews' College, London 1855-1955, p. 85. Dr. Buchler, principal of the College opposed almost all of these recommendations and the Council of the College practically ignored the recommendations and proceeded on its way. A letter in the Jewish Chronicle, July 29th, 1910, claimed that the principal of Jews' College had said "their [ministers and readers of the United Synagogue] functions are supposed to be to read the prayers (which so few do) preach and teach as little as possible". It was variously charged that Dr. Buchler was not in favour of visitation work on behalf of the United Synagogue.

The community is clamorous for cultured gentlemen of whose secular and aesthetic accomplishments they are quite ready to pronounce themselves judges, whilst they are complacent in respect both of their Judaism and Hebraic learning.¹¹⁹

Others were more biting in their condemnation of the present status of the ministry, the neglect of Jewish scholarship and the serious confusion of role which seemed to have taken place between chazanim, rabbis, ministers and preachers.¹²⁰ Following the first conference of Anglo-Jewish ministers in 1909,¹²¹ at which the title, function and status of the Jewish minister was for the first time officially aired, the Jewish Review commented:

...it [the Conference] might have raised an effective protest against the recommendation of a 'saving ignorance' of Jewish learning, and against the degradation of the position of the wise and honoured teacher of the community to that of a combined preacher, synagogue official, and charity visitor.

¹¹⁹ Israel Finestein, Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History, p. 107ff.

¹²⁰ This role conflict can be seen in the debacle which took place at the 2nd conference of ministers in 1911 (infra, p. 74).

¹²¹ A Union of Anglo-Jewish Preachers was founded in 1894, Founder/President being the Rev. S. Singer with the Rev. A. A. Green as Hon. Secretary. One subject for discussion suggested by Singer was "How to deal with various classes of congregants -- the know-nothings and the know-alls, the careless, the callous and the contemptuous, the diffident, the perplexed, the sorrow-stricken". Jewish Chronicle, December 9th, 1949. The Rev. A. A. Green says that the first conference of Anglo-Jewish ministers was due to the happy accident that the Chief Rabbi was celebrating his 70th birthday and all the prominent ministers would be in London. The Jewish Chronicle proposed that the ministers meet to consider holding a conference in the near future. Jewish Chronicle, January 27th, 1911.

We look to the Conference as well as to Jews' College in future to save us from all that tends to the production of a peculiar order of Anglo-Jewish ministers and a consequently peculiar Anglo-Judaism. /Abroad/ the position of the rabbi is defined. He is a master of Jewish science.... The position of the minister, however, is undefined.¹²²

The outspoken Solomon Schechter in one of his famous Four Epistles to the Jews of England had this to say of ministerial status:

...Jewish clergy, the most hard-worked men of their class, but which labouring under a cruel system, reducing man to a mere plaything of politico-economic forces, is rapidly losing touch with the venerable rabbi of Jewish tradition, whose chief office was to teach and to learn Torah...in his capacity as full Reverend he [the Anglo-Jewish minister] is expected to divide his time between the offices of cantor, prayer, preacher, bookkeeper, debt-collector, almoner and social agitator...imitating the establishment in which...the man of business or the great organizer has of late years gained ascendancy over the man of thought and learning. Looking upon our ministers as a sort of superior clerk in whom businesslike capacity is more in demand than any other virtues they may possess.¹²³

The image of the "preaching minister" which had seemed to attractive to the nineteenth century congregations, had suddenly foundered and been eclipsed by the appeal of producing religious leaders who could minister under the more

¹²²Jewish Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1910, pp. 11ff.

¹²³S. Schechter, Four Epistles to the Jews of England, Epistle No. 3. "Occasionally rumour spreads about some minister that he neglects his duty to his congregation through his being secretly addicted to Jewish learning, but such rumours often turn out to be sheer malice". Quoted by Rabbi Lew, 8th Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1949, p. 38.

traditional title "rabbi". It was not that all comprised in the older concept of "minister" was inherently faulty, but rather that the Anglo-Jewish community itself had undergone change and now made new demands upon its religious functionaries. The effects of these new concepts of the ministerial role and status can be seen in the changes which took place within Jews' College and the ecclesiastical organization. But as in the previous period there were first to be considered some popular explanations of the unsatisfactory state of affairs. These were in the main repetitions of earlier suggestions, namely poor remuneration and one class recruitment.

...the scandal of men being paid less than the wage of navvies...should cease. In a community such as ours it was recognized that the raising of the status of the ministry was closely allied to the raising of the remuneration under which they laboured.¹²⁴

And an editorial of 1910 on ministerial reform and charity puts it this way:

1. Necessary so to increase the pecuniary attractions of the pulpit as to make it worth the while of men of ability to enter the ministerial profession. 2. Centralization of the ministerial salary list. Single remuneration fund from which all salaries would be paid. /The advantages would be/...equalizing of salaries...making the way of the talented beginner less hard...weakening the cash nexus between minister and his honorary officers...add to the ease of mind, sense of dignity and personal power of the ministers.¹²⁵

Morris Joseph in an article in the Jewish Quarterly Review charged:

¹²⁴Jewish Chronicle, June 23rd, 1911.

¹²⁵Jewish Chronicle, November 4th, 1910.

...that the Anglo-Jewish preacher is shamefully underpaid. It should scarcely need to be pointed out that if religion is to be respected those who administer it must be invested with a certain degree of social dignity and this can only be secured by the payment of liberal salaries... as people are constituted they are impressed more by outward comfort than inner worth.¹²⁶

This last reflection was endorsed in a lament by the Jewish Chronicle following the death of the Rev. Simeon Singer.

The world is often apt to judge a man by the quality of his clothes or the size of his establishment. So few wordly prizes does the ministry offer that the profession fails to attract a sufficient number of able men.¹²⁷

Perhaps it was not so much a question of "able men" but rather of men of good address. The appeal for the "upper crust" to donate a son which we met with back in the mid 1800s again makes itself heard. This time the clergy too adds its voice. The Rev. A. A. Green condemns the reluctance of prosperous Jews to make their sons clergymen.

I have in my time had some strong things to say concerning the fact that the Jewish clergy is drawn in such overwhelming proportion either from the poor or the humbler working classes, and I have offered reproachful criticism of a community which does not seem to regard the ministry as even a possible career for the sons of the commercially prosperous. As time has gone on, and my outlook upon things has somewhat widened, I have seen reason to modify, to an appreciable extent, my earlier opinions upon this subject. Of my criticism of a communal attitude which takes it for granted that the ministry is no career for the sons of the well-to-do, I desire to say that I feel as strongly as ever, and do not take back one single word. But I recognize that in many respects

¹²⁶ Referred to in an editorial, Jewish Chronicle, October 17th, 1890.

¹²⁷ Jewish Chronicle, August 31st, 1906.

there is incalculable good to be derived from the fact that so many men assume the office of a minister of religion with a personal experience of struggle and sacrifice, and with a sympathetic and intimate knowledge of conditions of life, which call for religion at its best and have the best effect upon a personal character.¹²⁸

For others it was the old question of incentives. And this panacea specifically suggested itself with reference to the vacancy left by Simeon Singer at the New West End Synagogue:

...not much clerical preferment in the Jewish community because the positions are, none of them, prizes in emolument or in dignity, while those showing even any approach to standing of any kind are very few and far between...see what has happened and what is happening in reference to the greatest piece of clerical preferment which has been available for a quarter of a century in the Jewish community...the methods of the New West End Synagogue were not those of the Church of England /who chose the Bishop of Stepney-- Dr. Cosmo Gordon Laing to be the Archbishop of York/...it would have been easy to find such a man...to reward him and uplift the whole of his colleagues by so doing. But it was not done, and now...the position is again advertised as vacant, and the young man /Hochman/ who has been a year in office on a sort of hire system has to continue preaching the word of God in a spirit which bids him, in his own interests to do battle in the pulpit against all comers. And his colleagues in the clergy are invited to compete with him and try to oust him from his position¹²⁹

The Rev. Joseph Hochman, who was referred to above, attributed the lack of status to the fact that the ministry is drawn from only one social stratum:

¹²⁸Paper read before the North London Jewish Literary Union on "Clerical Organization", Jewish Chronicle, November 9th, 1906.

¹²⁹Jewish Chronicle, November 20th, 1908.

So long as the conditions of the Anglo-Jewish ministry are such that only members of one social stratum enter it, so long will it suffer in influence and efficiency, whatever the 'fictitious respect' that ministers enjoy.¹³⁰

Just before the turn of the century the Jewish Chronicle made its own contribution to this question by commenting that:

It is useless to ignore the fact, the ministry is not a popular profession with us Jews. Parents of the wealthy class never dream of selecting it as a career for their sons...lads who do study for the ministry are almost exclusively drawn from the lower social strata, which is in itself an undesirable thing...at the moment there are important pastorates vacant or on the point of becoming vacant, in English-speaking congregations, and practically no men in sight to fill them worthily...[the ministry has become] a mere opportunity for bread-winning that is seized upon by poor lads in default of anything better.¹³¹

On occasion the ministry as "a mere opportunity for bread-winning" proved to be an unfortunate choice, as the so-called "Tribich Case" amply illustrates. It was to prove a cause celebre for an evaluation of ministerial status, at least as far as the provinces were concerned. The charges in the case as outlined by the Rev. A. A. Green in a letter to the Jewish Chronicle were that (1) the minister was forced off the reading desk by the warden-president and his sermon refused (2) the congregation finally "condescended" to grant an annual holiday (3) on his retirement a children's "testimonial meeting" was broken up by the president and (4) a tablet in recognition of his services in raising money to found the congregation was kept covered for a year with a black cloth.

¹³⁰ Jewish Chronicle, January 6th, 1911.

¹³¹ Jewish Chronicle, November 7th, 1890.

Although these charges were somewhat modified following a subsequent letter from an ex-president who claimed that the minister himself was to blame for the friction, they did serve to provide the Rev. A. A. Green with material for one of his characteristic diatribes on behalf of justice towards the ministry:

In more than one congregation the minister's salary is lower than that of the reader...and he lives with a three or six months' written notice in his pocket...why is it that in England alone the minister is treated with so little respect, with so little consideration? Is it the foreign members of the congregations who are the greatest culprits in this respect? Were they not wont really to respect their Rav in their native country? How is it then, that they turn against the head of the congregation in England? ...English members are not much better...quieter only because they are more indifferent...the fault is the status and position of the ministry. Is he supposed to be the head of the congregation? No. Is he expected to be the scholar of the congregation? No. Is he expected to answer religious questions? No. Is he expected to influence the old and to shape the education of the young? No. Is he expected to be a great preacher? No. Is he expected to speak with authority on Jewish matters? No. What is he then expected to be? He is expected to assist the first reader in the conduct of the service in the synagogue, to give every week or every fortnight a "lecture" in English, to the quality of which no importance is attached, to go about visiting the poor and sick, to enquire as often as possible after the well-being of his congregants, to make his presence felt among our neighbours, and to perform similar duties. The religion classes are also on the programme, but the demands in that direction are, as a rule, little. In short, the minister is expected to be an "all-round man". Is there one capacity in which he can command special respect? As a reader the chazan is superior, as a teacher he is not great, as a preacher he is weak. In his other duties there is no room for excelling. ...After a while the feeling grows...the minister is a nuisance to them. He is no rabbi, no preacher, no guide, what do they want him for? ...a man from whom nothing specific is expected cannot rule, cannot

be generally respected...if the ministry is to be a real force--instead of being a farce--in our Judaism, we must have the best men with the best possible Jewish and secular education...make the minister the rabbi, the teacher, the guide, the head of the congregation (as in all other countries of the Diaspora) and the situation will be changed as by a magical hand. [It is]...the system which is responsible.¹³²

A key figure in the "system" to which A. A. Green referred was the Chief Rabbi.

(c) The institutions and their effect on status

While Nathan Adler maintained the hegemony of the Great Synagogue over the expanding Anglo-Jewish community and helped to found its central institutions, Herman Adler, his son and natural successor carried the prestige of the office to its greatest heights. Despite the clear line of succession from father to son, the demise of the elder Adler was made the occasion for an evaluation and eventual change in the powers and duties of the Chief Rabbinate. An indication of the stresses which had existed hidden beneath the surface of the administration of Nathan Adler now made themselves felt. The floodgates of controversy were opened and the columns of the Jewish press were filled to overflowing with discussion on the future ecclesiastical policy of the community. Such questions as where should the Chief Rabbi live, in East or West London were raised.¹³³ Should there be a Chief Rabbinate

¹³²Jewish Chronicle, December 11th, 1908.

¹³³A question which was not at that time merely academic as it involved the whole matter of the relationship to the immigrants.

at all?¹³⁴ The powers of the Chief Rabbi, it was suggested, should be modified in questions where alterations to the synagogue service were concerned.¹³⁵ There was the proposal that greater power be given to the Beth Din.¹³⁶

The Rabbinate Conference of 1890 attempted to deal with these various questions and to reconcile the disparate forces. According to the Deed of Foundation all who subscribed to the Chief Rabbi's fund were entitled to representa-

¹³⁴An American Jewish minister discussed in the press the advantages and disadvantages of having a Chief Rabbi in America. "To have a Chief Rabbi would be tantamount to an abandonment of liberty of action which all now enjoy...but experience shows it is a necessity if Judaism is to be preserved...if you abolish the office in England you would in due time have chaos also...there is as much necessity for a Chief Rabbi [in the United States] as there is for a President..." Jewish Chronicle, May 30th, 1890.

¹³⁵There were for example controversies in the 1890s over Simeon Singer's suggestion that biblical passages might be read in English during the service. Following his election the new Chief Rabbi did in fact in 1892 sanction minor liturgical changes. In general the Adlers acted with considerable discretion in the face of many appeals for liturgical amendments which arose at this time. No doubt the Margaret Street schism was an ever present spectre.

¹³⁶Various agitations in 1890 proposed to transfer the semi-autocratic power of the Chief Rabbinate to the Beth Din or the ecclesiastical court of the United Synagogue, a court of which the Chief Rabbi would be merely the head. (See Jewish Chronicle, January 5th, 1890; 9th May, 1890; November 21st, 1890). By adding to the number of dayanim diverse elements in both the East End of London and the provinces could be drawn under the existing institutional machinery of the United Synagogue. The Jewish Chronicle and communal leaders espoused the increase in power of the ecclesiastical authorities; not just the Chief Rabbinate alone but also a Board of Rabbis and English synagogue officials.

tion at this Conference, but on this occasion Berkeley Street and the Sephardim refused to send representatives. A letter was received signed by F. D. Mocatta, Sir Philip Magnus, Samuel Montagu and others which favoured the principle of divided authority, and a petition signed by 500-600 people under the name of Louis Davidson also favoured this principle.

The Rabbinate Conference did not in fact interfere with the prerogatives of the Chief Rabbi in questions of shechita, get, issuing of marriage licences and granting of certificates of competency to candidates for ministerial appointments. As in the time of the hegemony of the Great Synagogue he was to continue to perform all weddings.¹³⁷

A decision was made that the Chief Rabbi should not in future be dependent upon fees, but that his salary should be a fixed one. His salary was in fact finally entered at £2,200 out of which he had to maintain a residence and pay his secretary, etc.

¹³⁷A function which the Jewish Chronicle reported adversely affected local ministers at a time when people were demanding an improvement in the status of the Jewish minister. Jewish Chronicle, December 26th, 1890.

Chief Rabbi Brodie summed up his duties as follows: "In defining the powers and duties of the Chief Rabbi, attendance at his office for interviews, answering religious questions, granting authorization of marriage, examination and certification of candidates for the post of ministers, readers, teachers, mohelim and shochetim, correspondence with the United Kingdom, the Colonies and in other parts of the globe, presiding at sittings of the Beth Din, superintendence of shechita and official attendance at synagogues and preaching therein, pastoral visitation in the provinces etc., are described as routine work. In addition there are duties of a complex character and 'being not exclusively religious, it may be fairly said they touch upon every point which concerns the religious, moral, and general welfare of the community'." Jewish Chronicle Supplement January 27th, 1956.

Several minor changes were made in the functions, powers and duties of the Chief Rabbinate, but according to contemporaries the most important was with reference to forms of worship in the constituent synagogues (see note 135). Agitation and a considerable correspondence in the Jewish press, had favoured some liturgical changes. When the question of appointing a new ecclesiastical head arose, Lord Rothschild as president of the United Synagogue conferred with him on this matter. As a result it was decided that whenever a demand should be made by any synagogue for alterations in the form of worship or ritual, the Chief Rabbi was to consult with a committee of the preachers of the synagogue in question, before giving his decision. This need for consultation would be waived if he were prepared to authorize the alterations on request.

Despite the unanimity of his election Herman Adler found himself in a difficult position as Chief Rabbi. A westerner by training and temperament he found control of the immigrant Jewry a difficult task, as the struggles with the Machzike Hadath surely testifies.¹³⁸ It is not without interest that the final letter of his life had in it a charge to the community to appoint a successor who would be able to appeal

¹³⁸Founded by a group of Central European Jews who had opened the North London Beth Hamedrash together with more recent arrivals. The schismatic Chevra'ch Machzike Hadath centred their struggle over the question of shechita, and set up autonomous institutions headed by Rabbi Weiner who exercised his powers in matters of marriage and divorce. There seemed no doubt as to the blow it struck against Adler's prestige. By 1898 they possessed an independent place of worship, but by 1905 they collapsed and joined the Federation.

to both "East and West".

The death of Herman Adler on July 18th, 1911 immediately opened up the question of the future ecclesiastical administration of the community. Within a week the standing committee of the Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers had addressed a letter to the council of the United Synagogue on this question. Letters and leader articles on the subject began to proliferate in the Jewish press. In general the question of the vacant Chief Rabbinate became the focal point around which both clergy and laity could organize and express their opinions on the question of ministerial status. It appears that each change of Chief Rabbi became an occasion for the expression of suppressed feeling, usually taking the form of calls for administrative reform.

Aside from the centrally vexing question of who was to actually fill the vacant office of Chief Rabbi, and the various altercations which arose over the problem of representation and voting at the elective assembly,¹³⁹ it was

¹³⁹In which for example the Federation and Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue were involved. Originally the Federation were granted only three delegates, but later 28 votes were allocated with 75 votes being held by the honorary officers of the United Synagogue. The Jewish Review in an editorial of July 1912 referred to the resourceful strategy of the honorary officers of the United Synagogue, "they have taken to themselves a voting power which, to use their own expression--will enable them to come to the elective assembly with due 'authority', and the gentleman --whoever he may be--whom their authority will help to appoint and whose own authority will so largely reflect theirs will be helped into the rabbinical chair in the calm and quiet of that holiday season, which with fuller information before us, we had hoped would be used for reflection before action".

the criticisms emanating from Bentwich and Hochman's¹⁴⁰
Jewish Review together with the activities of the Second
 Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers which directly relates
 to the question of ministerial status and should therefore
 occupy our attention.

A time-table for the whole election controversy between
 1911 and 1913 can be outlined as follows:¹⁴¹

July, 1911: death of Herman Adler.

January 14th, 1912: Rabbinate Conference of the United
 Synagogue.

November 12th, 1912: Conference of Anglo-Jewish
 Ministers resolve that it is advisable that the election be
 postponed, and ask the honorary officers of the United
 Synagogue to receive a deputation from them on the subject.

December 5th, 1912: the honorary officers of the United
 Synagogue refuse the Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers'
 request for an interview.

January 17th, 1913: The Jewish press announce that their
 columns are henceforth closed against discussion on the
 subject of the Chief Rabbinate.

¹⁴⁰Dr. Hochman educated at Jews' College received his
 B.A. from London University and Ph.D from Berlin under the
 auspices of a Sir Moses Montefiore studentship, 1905. Called
 for ritual reforms at the New West End Synagogue in 1912 and
 wrote a series of critical letters to the Jewish Chronicle
 prior to that date. His resolution about an annual confirma-
 tion of girls was not carried out till 1929 and for a tri-
 annual cycle of Torah readings was eventually turned down.
 Left the ministry in 1913 for the English Bar. Later
 became Legal Adviser to the King of Siam.

¹⁴¹Made up with the help of material in Personalia
Relating to Sir Hermann Gollancz, p. 60ff.

January 28th, 1913: The Standard¹⁴² opens its columns to a discussion of the question.

February 16th, 1913: J. H. Hertz elected Chief Rabbi.

April 14th, 1913: Hertz inducted.

The second Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers met in the month preceding the death of Herman Adler--June, 1911. The central paper was delivered by the Rev. J. F. Stern on "The Future Religious Government of the Community".¹⁴³ This contained, amongst other things, the suggestion that it was necessary to establish an ecclesiastical board for Great Britain and Ireland on a proper legal basis and to frame a constitution so that in certain religious matters its decisions would be paramount and binding. The Chief Rabbi would be a sort of chairman who would operate through this ecclesiastical board and a central consistory. "In its present form the Chief Rabbinate undoubtedly implies an autocracy, and it is not given to all autocrats so to act as to gain the affection and esteem of their subjects".¹⁴⁴ It was further proposed that in future ministers should have a voice in the election of the Chief Rabbi.

¹⁴²Other papers also discussed the event, among them Daily Telegraph, Daily Chronicle, Westminster Gazette, South Wales Daily News etc. Headlines appeared such as "The Chief Rabbi--is there to be a successor?"; "Rabbinate or Synod?"; "Protest of Jewish Laity"; "Need for Postponement", etc.

¹⁴³This paper is to be related to the report by the meeting of the standing committee of the Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers in 1911 and its scheme for regional councils. These regional councils were to (1) Take care of clerical vacancies (2) Arbitrate between a congregation and its officials (3) In an advisory capacity consider the qualifications of clerical candidates. Jewish Chronicle, January 27th, 1911.

¹⁴⁴Second Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers, 1911, p.16ff.

The Conference itself was marred by a schism between the preacher-ministers and the chazanim in which the anomaly and confusion in the ministerial role became most apparent. It appears that the preacher assumed a superior status which the chazanim resented. Accordingly they proclaimed that they too were "ministers" and said "we will bow to rabbis, but not to ministers".¹⁴⁵ The result of this internal struggle was a breakaway movement which formed a preachers' union, and future conferences were in fact called Conferences of Anglo-Jewish Preachers.

¹⁴⁵Samuel Daiches of Sunderland claimed that the preachers themselves had been constantly telling the community that the preacher must also be a chazan. "And now the chazanim turn and say, and rightly so, that they are ministers". Jewish Chronicle, June 23rd, 1911. (I have found no other reference to this particular claim). Augustus Kahn had this to say on this role confusion: "Preacher is indeed as a rule also a reader (and vice versa). This want of differentiation of office is illustrated by the nomenclature employed by the United Synagogue. For instance the Hambro Synagogue has a 'first reader' and a 'minister, second reader and secretary'; the Central Synagogue has a 'preacher and reader', and a 'first reader', and St. John's Wood Synagogue possesses in addition to its 'minister' a reader and secretary who also preaches and is styled 'junior minister and secretary'." Jewish Review, Vol. I, No. 6, March, 1911, p. 501ff.

Other indications of this role confusion are to be found in the Jewish Chronicle, for example "where a minister takes part in the service he is criticized and by a very large number of the worshippers compared unfavourably with the chazan...indeed, everything is done to degrade the position of the minister in this country, and to make students don the cloth only as a very last resource. To such an extent has this gone that at a very important ceremony in a large synagogue in the West End I saw...the beadle take precedence over the minister because he--the beadle--was an older official of the synagogue. Take the marriage column of the Jewish Chronicle and see the untrue and ignorant announcement made that the wedding of so-and-so was solemnized by the chazan, assisted by the minister." Jewish Chronicle, March 13th, 1908.

Taking into account the truncated reports which reached the Jewish press the effect of this squabble was severe enough to lead the Jewish Chronicle's Mentor to bewail that the

...meglomaniac egoism...[and]...miserable small spite...[had tended to] excuse the community to itself for its attitude towards our ministry... and just at a time when the Conferences were regarded as a real hope for securing higher status for ministers... 146

The call for decentralization and limitation on the powers of the Chief Rabbinate which formed the burden of the ministerial case for ecclesiastical reform were embodied in a memorandum sent to the Rabbinical Conference of the United Synagogue in January, 1912. The reception of these proposals by Lord Rothschild was scornful--"irresponsible frivolity"--it would "place the Chief Rabbinate in slavery and chains" and Lord Rothschild went on "I am perhaps very old-fashioned, but I do not know at the present moment that we officially recognize the position of ministers".

In the opinion of the Jewish Review this refusal by the Rabbinate Conference to consider the question of religious organizations (as raised by the Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers) prior to the question of the Chief Rabbinate

...played into the hands of those who are determined to have a Chief Rabbi who shall be personally and directly responsible to the community, i.e. to the communal leaders. 147

¹⁴⁶Jewish Chronicle, June 23rd, 1911. It is of interest that the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, the rabbis of France and the Kehilla movement in the United States were also concerned with questions of rabbinical status at this time. Jewish Review, Vol 2, No. 8, July, 1911, p. 175.

¹⁴⁷Ibid, Vol. 3, May, 1912.

Despite the obvious ministerial discontents engendered by the near-certainty that the Chief Rabbinate would be filled from abroad¹⁴⁸ it is still worth considering their complaints with some attention. Aside from the various calls to appoint a Chief Rabbi from amongst the English clergy, the main burden of complaint appeared to be the undue power of the central authority. Samuel Daiches in a letter in which he hoped to make up for the inadequate coverage of the Second Conference of Anglo-Jewish Ministers claimed that it was the

almost unanimous opinion that the Chief Rabbinate after the retirement of the present holder should cease...general view that the Chief Rabbinate has crippled the community, has destroyed the sense of responsibility in congregation and minister alike, has been responsible for the fact that many congregations have ministers not able to be the spiritual guides to their flocks.¹⁴⁹

The strongest support for the ministerial position came from the Jewish Review who in the years of controversy over the election constantly and consistently pleaded for the postponement of the appointment of a Chief Rabbi pending consideration of the whole communal organization of Anglo-Jewry. Giving strength to the statements of Samuel Daiches they

¹⁴⁸"We hope that any surrender of what yet remains of dignity to religious leadership in Anglo-Jewry, and what inducement to effort still remains to Anglo-Jewish ministers will not be affected [by choosing a Chief Rabbi from abroad or placing the office in commission while a young man is put into training for it]". Jewish Review, Vol. 2, No. 10, November, 1911. The names of Dr. Gaster and Dr. Gollancz were mentioned as possible candidates. Of these Dr. Gollancz was the most popular, and it can be conjectured that his subsequent knighthood (1923) was not entirely unconnected to his earlier failure to attain to an office for which in many ways he had exemplary claims, only his age being a serious bar.

¹⁴⁹Jewish Chronicle, June 23rd, 1911.

pointed to the restraining power implicit in the Chief Rabbinate.

The status of the Jewish minister is dependent far more on the responsibility and the sphere of activity than on the salary which attaches to the office. The limitation of these must militate against the entry of men of capacity into the service of the synagogue...simple solution is being sought along the delegation of duties from the Chief Rabbi to various ministers. Key to the problem it seems to us, is in the status of ministers vis-a-vis the Chief Rabbi... hitherto...Chief Rabbi, the authority who ruled alone...there was no gradation within the ministry. If more influence was exercised by one or two individuals than by the rest of their colleagues, it was due entirely to their personality, and constantly there militated against them the lack of distinction in status.¹⁵⁰

Earlier the editors had seen the Chief Rabbi's powers in terms of "the energy whereby he concentrated so many activities in his own person no doubt limited the opportunities of service which his collaborators enjoyed".¹⁵¹ More pointedly the Jewish Review claimed that the

...religious spirit of Anglo-Jewry is annexed to the Chief Rabbinate...he stands between every congregation ^{and} its minister to deprive the congregation of all powers and the minister of all influence.

Perhaps, they go on to suggest, a Chief Rabbi is not needed at all as

...the absence of a Chief Rabbi has by no means so affected Anglo-Jewish life as to demonstrate that such organization is not possible. The need for a Chief Rabbi is not urgent.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Jewish Review, Vol. IV, January, 1914.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, Vol. II, No. 9, September, 1911.

¹⁵² Ibid, Vol. III, May, 1912.

The organization to which they make reference called for a decentralization with a separate head for Beth Din, shechita, etc.¹⁵³ while "rabbis at heads of local communities would meet the needs of internal administration...enlist rabbis in our midst trained abroad".¹⁵⁴

The wisdom which was exercised in the selection of Dr. Hertz can best be seen in the consideration of Anglo-Jewry in the post World War period which follows.

Closely allied to the election struggle and the future position of the Chief Rabbi in the community is the interesting problem of the rabbinic diploma and Jews' College, and to this question, which for many observers was crucial in any consideration of ministerial status, we now turn.

¹⁵³Ibid, Vol. II, No. 9, September, 1911.

¹⁵⁴Ibid, Vol. II, No. 10, November, 1911. There were other specific proposals from various quarters in connection with the functions of the Chief Rabbinate. At the council of the United Synagogue Augustus Kahn commented "that the function of the Chief Rabbi in licensing ministers who subscribe to a certain theological standpoint, from which they afterwards departed with impunity, led to the creation of an organized hypocrisy and the straining of the conscience of the Chief Rabbi to the utmost". Jewish Chronicle, November 10th, 1911.

A further editorial urges a rise in salary for the Chief Rabbi who "has to be the social equal of the religious heads of other denominations whose stipends are far higher than that hitherto attached to the Chief Rabbi's office... such extra expenditure would be...to raise generally the market value...of the Jewish ministry as a whole, the members of which, it is notorious, are as a body underpaid. A higher norm of salary would by the natural working of economic law induce many men of talent and ability to join our ministry". Jewish Chronicle, January 12th, 1912.

The death of A. L. Green in 1883 and the benefactors Sir Moses Montefiore and Louis Meyer Rothschild some two years later marked the end of an era for Jews' College, which almost coincided with the new era in Anglo-Jewish life as a whole. Following the closing of the Judith Lady Montefiore College in 1896 that institution transferred its resources and a considerable annual grant to Jews' College in the following year. In 1900 the College was inaugurated in its new Queen Square house.

Despite the importance of Jews' College to the community it did not receive the financial support which it merited. "When it is a question of economising, the first institution to be squeezed and slaughtered as a sacrifice is the College".¹⁵⁵ There were complaints against the United Synagogue for not raising its grant. "The United Synagogue grudgingly grants to Jews' College today [1910] the £200 it granted over 30 years ago."¹⁵⁶ Throughout the years before the Great War, the College worked on a precarious financial basis in the midst of a community of about 240,500 Jews whose London Jewish citizens at least were reputed to be wealthier than their Berlin counterparts.

¹⁵⁵Jewish Chronicle, March 3rd, 1911.

¹⁵⁶Jewish Review, Vol. I, No. 2, July, 1910. In 1913 the United Synagogue grant was restored to the earlier 1906 figure of £300. In 1914 the grant was shown in the balance sheet as £400. Considerable heat was generated at one point in 1911 when the United Synagogue in respect of depleted resources proposed to remove the grant altogether.

In view of the conflicting reports about the conferment of the rabbinic diploma prior to the First World War it can be asked who actually received it.¹⁵⁷ The Jews' College Jubilee Volume of 1905¹⁵⁸ records that the rabbinical diploma was awarded to Rev. Francis Lyon Cohen (1905), Rev. Asher Feldman (1899) and Rev. Moses Hyamson (1899),¹⁵⁹ but the same volume reports that the Rev. Prof. Hermann Gollancz received the rabbinical diploma in 1897, as was also the case with the Rev. Simeon Singer in 1890: but in both these latter cases the diploma was awarded by authorities outside the United Kingdom. Another source¹⁶⁰ reports that the first examinations following the changed curriculum of 1901 were held in 1908, when the diploma was conferred on the Rev. Barnet

¹⁵⁷For example the Jewish Review reported "up to the present [1910] only 5 persons have received the rabbinic diploma--only 1 before leaving the College". Jewish Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, July, 1910, and later "since 1900 the diploma has been granted to one student and one ex-student". Jewish Review, Vol. II, No. 3, March, 1911.

¹⁵⁸Isadore Harris, op. cit., Appendix IV for Rules and Regulations and subjects for examination for the diploma of rabbi.

¹⁵⁹In 1899 the Chief Rabbi in conjunction with the dayanim conferred Hatarath Horaah on Asher Feldman and Moses Hyamson, but their diplomas contained a qualifying clause to the effect that they should exercise rabbinical functions only under the supervision of the Chief Rabbi. Jewish Chronicle, February 17th, 1950.

¹⁶⁰Albert Hyamson, op. cit., p. 76.

I. Cohen. All of these men were ex-students of the College with the exception of Barnet I. Cohen who only took up his appointment at Sheffield Synagogue in 1908, thus becoming the first student to receive the rabbinic distinction while still at the College. This makes the report that "up to the present [1910] only 5 persons have received the rabbinical diploma--only 1 prior to leaving the College" (see note 157) appear accurate.

An examination of the curriculum prior to 1900 shows no provision for students to take the rabbinic diploma, which had to await the curriculum changes made effective in 1901.¹⁶¹ The Chief Rabbi, Herman Adler, gave his particular reasons for the curriculum change in a paper read at Jews' College in 1905:

There is another function which Jews' College is now called upon to fulfil. When originally founded it was for the purpose of educating ministers and teachers, but provision was not made for training the students to become rabbis. The reasons for this limitation were twofold. As before stated, the subjects then required for the graduate examination were entirely outside the curriculum of a strictly theological College, and the strain of preparing for these tests did not leave the time required for mastering the bulky treatises of the Talmud and the massive ritual codes, a knowledge of which is indispensable for enabling candidates to obtain the rabbinic diploma. Nor indeed was the possession of such *הוראה* necessary, as the members of our community both here and in the provinces were fully satisfied with the facilities for deciding religious questions afforded by the Chief Rabbi and his Beth Din. This condition has been materially modified during the last quarter of a century. Congregations are springing up in the Australian Commonwealth, in South Africa, and other portions of the British Empire, which require the supervision and guidance

¹⁶¹See Appendix IV.

of a local Beth Din. Moreover, owing to the unrelenting persecutions in the near East--persecutions of which we are now unhappily witnessing so appalling a recrudescence--vast numbers of the oppressed have fled to our shores. Our brethren who hail from Russia and Poland have been accustomed to consult their rabbis on every detail of their daily life, and to submit to them questions of *halachah*, of things forbidden or permitted. At present several communities in the provinces have enlisted the services of rabbis, who, however competent in their own department are as yet ignorant of the vernacular. It is, therefore, felt that it would conduce to the welfare of the community at large if the various congregations would be enabled to obtain English ministers, who, being equipped with the needful rabbinical learning and authority, would be able to command and to secure the confidence of every section of their flock. The College is therefore giving the needful facilities for enabling the advanced students to prepare themselves for the prescribed rigid examination.¹⁶²

This line of explanation was followed by Dayan M. Hyamson:

The chief need fifty years ago was for qualified ministers...twenty-five years ago there was an urgent necessity for teachers in the smaller provincial congregations. In recent years the complaint has occasionally been ventilated that the students are sent out too young and immature, raw or half-baked. The age at which they leave has, therefore, been gradually raised. Owing to the Russian persecutions and the consequent large influx of immigrants from the East of Europe, the need has been felt for equipping the minister with the special Halachic learning, qualifying him to exercise rabbinic functions. The process is necessarily slow...severe and protracted intellectual discipline...community must exercise patience...if only a small percentage of the students leave with the Hatarath Horaah.¹⁶³

The change in the structure of the community is thus made the official reason for the introduction of the new rabbinical status. But is this the whole story? In common with other

¹⁶²Isadore Harris, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

¹⁶³Jewish Chronicle, June 31st, 1908.

appeals for reform prior to the induction of Herman Adler in 1891, an editorial in the Jewish Chronicle had stated:

Jews' College does not at present confer the rabbinical diploma on its students...consequence ...that, our Jewish clergy are not in the strict sense of the word qualified rabbis at all...if it were made an instruction to the new Chief Rabbi to refuse point blank to accept as his colleagues in the ministry any but ordained Dayanim... East Ender...thinks our English minister a very cultured man no doubt, but would never place him for an instant on the level of a real rabbi or a Maggid. The West Ender on the other hand admires our ministers' rabbinical learning, but regards him rather unjustly as somewhat wanting in general knowledge.¹⁶⁴

The communal situation certainly impelled these comments, but it was the action of two English Reverends which was to spur action. In 1890 Rev. Simeon Singer obtained the rabbinical diploma from Lector Weiss of Vienna.¹⁶⁵ It was commented at the time "no reason why Jewish ministers in England should form a lower caste than their colleagues on the continent".¹⁶⁶ "Singer's motive in seeking this

¹⁶⁴Jewish Chronicle, March 21st, 1890. Editorial headed "Let him teach, let him judge".

¹⁶⁵ Having taken a reading assignment plus 300 hours under Weiss's direct tuition. Jewish Chronicle, August 24th, 1906. Simeon Singer was not the only acting minister of a congregation to hold a Hatarath Horaah. Rev. Dr. B. Salomon of Manchester together with Joseph Kohn Zedek and Eliezer Saul also held it, but Singer was the only Jews' College graduate to hold it.

¹⁶⁶ Jewish Chronicle, August 29th, 1890. Many years later in a report on the Sunderland celebrations it was stated that "Dr. Herman Adler at the 1890 Rabbinic Conference had already expressed the hope that when appointed Chief Rabbi he would be extremely grateful if our students trained at Jews' College should be qualified to obtain Hatarath Horaah." Jewish Chronicle, December 22nd, 1911.

certificate was not personal" wrote Israel Abrahams in his memoir of Simeon Singer,

he felt that the Jewish ministry in England was drifting into an anomalous position. The discrimination which had grown up between rabbi and preacher was degrading to both officers...the absence of the diploma in the case of the great majority of English ministers at the time of which we are speaking, was a far reaching evil. In the minister it tended to produce indifference to learning, and in the laity disrespect of the minister. Singer regretted that there was no English word corresponding to the German "Rabbiner",¹⁶⁷ a newly-coined word which retains the old time-honoured rabbinical flavour, yet indicates the modernity of the conditions under which the Jewish minister must now exercise his functions. Singer's resolve to qualify for the rabbinical diploma, and his demonstration that students educated in England were competent to secure the diploma from the greatest of European authorities, did much to encourage the movement which, it may be hoped, will oust the nondescript "Reverend" in favour of the characteristically Jewish "Rabbi" in England as has happened in America. Singer signalized his attainment to the rabbinic dignity by publishing (jointly with Dr. Schechter) a fine volume entitled Talmudical Fragments in the Bodleian Library...¹⁶⁸

The process which Singer had begun was a few years later carried further along by Dr. Hermann Gollancz who obtained his rabbinical diploma in 1897 from Saul Horowitz, Chief of the Rabbinate, Tysmienitz, Galicia (September 5th, 1897).

¹⁶⁷The German congregations also had the distinction between Chief Rabbi, rabbi and preacher. The use of these latter two terms was employed to end hostility between its rabbis--Reform and Orthodox. In Breslau, 1844 Tiktin was Rabbi and Geiger preacher.

¹⁶⁸Simeon Singer. Sermons. Israel Abrahams, Editor, p. xxix.

The acquisition of these "Certificates of Competence", known as Hatarath Horaah, from the said outstanding ecclesiastical authorities abroad, gave rise to a storm in the hierarchical chair which practically ended an anomalous and unsatisfactory state of affairs--there was no system--in the Jewish community here, and in reality revolutionized the entire status of the Jewish ministry in England. Once and for all there were defined, by means of a clear-cut syllabus, the requirements in Hebrew and Rabbinics necessary to obtain the diploma of rabbi in this country, which had hitherto not been granted--a stronger term might be used--to any student or scholar, however competent.¹⁶⁹

Several confirmations of the value of Dr. Gollancz's achievement were forthcoming. The Globe of January 6th, 1900 says

The Jewish Chronicle thinks that it has never been sufficiently emphasized that Dr. Gollancz deserves the credit of having been somewhat of a martyr in hastening the consummation of the long-deferred aspiration of the Anglo-Jewish clergy to take equal rank as rabbis with their colleagues abroad, by their obtaining on English soil the only Jewish academic hall-mark of competence in Jewish learning, the Hatarath Horaah. By subjecting himself abroad, in the very stronghold of rabbinical learning and orthodoxy, to the severest tests of old-world rabbinism, according to the methods in vogue for centuries, at a time when the avenues to progress were practically closed by the system which obtained here, Dr. Gollancz has deserved well, not only of the students and teachers of Jews' College and others, but of the community generally.¹⁷⁰

Rev. A. A. Green said of Gollancz that "you remain the doughty protagonist for an improved status for the Jewish clergy,

¹⁶⁹Personalalia Relating to Sir Hermann Gollancz, p. 25ff. For nearly ten years Gollancz refused to be called to the reading of the Law at Bayswater Synagogue of which he was the rabbi because those in authority refused to recognize his semicha. The names of learned dayanim such as Aaron Levy, Jacob Reinovitz and Susman Cohen had the title "The Reverend" prefixed. Jewish Chronicle, February 17th, 1950.

¹⁷⁰Personalalia Relating to Sir Hermann Gollancz, p. 26.

which is now on an assured basis".¹⁷¹ In 1911 this same minister writing in the Jewish Review could say of the rabbinic diploma that

No student should leave Jews' College without it...the rabbinic diploma should be raised to the status and provided with the accepted accessories of a University degree...diploma shall be lifted in the eyes of the community from the personal opinion of the examiners...bitter regrets that Jews' College had not provided a more generous and adequate theological training...all the old system of ecclesiastical government and ecclesiastical training was fundamentally wrong...centralization of rabbinical functions in the Chief Rabbi...his powers were unrestricted. Every rabbi in the world granted היתר to a qualified candidate except the Chief Rabbi of England. If my memory serves me, even a great rabbi like Dayan Aaron Levy was not called to the reading of the Law as הגבאי but only as החזן, i.e. just as any chazan and shochet. The student was trained to be a preacher of Judaism...Jewish Law he might learn as an extra (and not to be put into practice).¹⁷²

Here was pathos and the burden of the ministerial explanation as to their status, namely the central power and authority of the Chief Rabbi together with his withholding of the rabbinic diploma. How much difference the nomenclature of rabbi could make will be seen in the fortunes of the rabbinate in the post World War I period, but some straws are already in the wind in the "Lazarus" case which is bound up with the following account of the United Synagogue.

From the days in the 1870s when the Borough and North London Synagogues became its first members, the United

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 46.

¹⁷² Jewish Review, Vol. II, No. 7, May, 1911. Also "that B.A. Honours in Semitics at London University or Semitic Tripos at Cambridge covers the requirements of a truly rabbinical training."

Synagogue had continued to expand its organization. At the turn of the century an associate synagogue scheme was adopted, which enabled synagogues in the poorer neighborhoods to attach themselves to the union without sharing its burdens. By 1903 there were 15 constituent metropolitan congregations and an annual budget running close to £46,500. Total membership was estimated at 7,273.¹⁷³ This membership was, however, small in the face of a London Jewish population which by 1906 was estimated at 158,000.¹⁷⁴ Jews' College graduates almost monopolised the metropolitan synagogues of the United Synagogue so that by 1910 it could be noted that with 2 exceptions every occupant of the office of first minister and preacher in each of then then 16 London constituents was trained at Jews' College (together with 2 Dayanim).¹⁷⁵ These two factors, the small percentage of Jews who were actually seat members of the United Synagogue and the number of Jews' College graduates occupying their pulpits were to make themselves felt in the debates of the United Synagogue Council in the pre World War I period.

In 1901 Russell and Lewis pointed out that:

¹⁷³ Jewish Year Book, 5665, (1904-1905).

¹⁷⁴ Jewish Chronicle, November 23rd, 1906. Survey by Rosenbaum. In 1910 Jewish population of the United Kingdom was placed at 240,500 of which only 10% were on synagogue rolls. Jewish Review, Vol. I, No. 2, July, 1910.

¹⁷⁵ Jewish Chronicle, September 30th, 1910. Mentioned in a pamphlet by "Historicus" called Ministers in the Making. (Printed by Raphael Tuck & Sons).

He [The English Jew] does not become a paying member of a synagogue unless he reaches a certain level of prosperity and he attends but rarely, except at times of family festivity or sorrow.¹⁷⁶

And indeed there were reasons for assuming that the United Synagogue was not intended for the poorer brethren. At most synagogues¹⁷⁷ the cheapest seat obtainable was £2.2.0d. which together with a burial fee and other expenses of 14/0d. placed it out of reach of many middle-class workers.¹⁷⁸ Nor was this all, as "offerings" at most synagogues averaged out to an additional £1/10/0d. per year. Taken on its own the comparatively exclusive nature of the United Synagogue was its own prerogative, but it is recalled that for practical purposes it was in control of the communal fortunes of Anglo-Jewry. As we have noted earlier when the time came for the election of the new Chief Rabbi these matters of representation and authority were to receive anxious attention.

If the United Synagogue was not numerically representative, what was its authority? There seems no reason to doubt that its power increased with each decade that passed after the death of its founding father, Nathan Adler. Nor can it be glossed over that a good deal of its power was by virtue of

¹⁷⁶Charles Russell and H. S. Lewis, The Jew in London, p. 168.

¹⁷⁷At Hammersmith Synagogue in 1890 gentlemen's seat rentals were from 10/6d. to £5/5/0d.

¹⁷⁸Jewish Chronicle, April 13th, 1906.

its financial position, a fact which some observers were quick to expose, "it impressed one as a great business concern, expecting its officials to work in the first instance for the balance sheet".¹⁷⁹ These were the words of Dr. Buchler, Principal of Jews' College. Ernest Leeser put it in terms of the

Persistent propensity of the United Synagogue for assuming fresh duties and responsibilities alien to its main purposes, and on its ingrained and unfortunate habit of measuring the success of its work by the state of its balance sheet.¹⁸⁰

The United Synagogue did not dispute the financial aspects of its position, and in fact the Council explicitly reported on one occasion, in response to an accusation of their ruling their synagogues with a rod of iron that "the Bond of Union...is a slight one--it is only a financial bond". (A point upon which Mr. Montagu disagreed, as he "could not think it could be stronger, as the United Synagogue was the possessor of the land and buildings of the synagogues".)¹⁸¹

Our central concern is with the status of the Anglo-Jewish ministry and we must perforce view the institutions of Anglo-Jewry as they refer to that specific question. However the financial bonds within the United Synagogue are important. The minister was a salaried employee of the United Synagogue and as such the financial help of the corporate body and the powers to which its position as employer entitled it, were

¹⁷⁹Ibid, December 23rd, 1910.

¹⁸⁰Jewish Review, Vol. I, No. 4, November, 1910.

¹⁸¹Jewish Chronicle, July 25th, 1890.

most germane. We see, for example, that a Board of Management in a synagogue had to apply for permission to increase the salaries of its ministers, and the advertised salaries in the case of new incumbents had also to pass the United Synagogue Council. The signs are that by 1906 the financial position of the United Synagogue had become a source of concern. The number of deficit synagogues was reported to have increased, and gross income to have shrunk despite the increased assessments of the year before.¹⁸² In March of that year the number of vacant seats among the constituents was placed at 966.¹⁸³ There were various complaints that provincial contributions to the Chief Rabbi's fund were diminishing. Even Chaikin's removal from the Beth Din in August of that same year was reported to be "connected to the straightened condition of the finances of the United Synagogue".¹⁸⁴ In the provinces the picture was very much the same. Birmingham, for example, reporting an income of £3,337 in 1905 as against £3,421 in the preceding year.

How this contracted income picture affected the salaried officials of the United Synagogue can be seen from a report on the Budget night, March, 1908. At that time it was reported that the gross income of the United Synagogue for

¹⁸²Ibid, February 23rd, 1906. By 1910 the surplus of income over expenditure was only £6/1/3d.

¹⁸³Ibid, March 9th, 1906. With some 4 fewer constituents (Hammersmith, Hampstead, South Hackney and Stoke Newington) the figure of vacant seats was put at 730 on February 14th, 1890.

¹⁸⁴Ibid, August 17th, 1906.

1907 was £39,289 as against £39,679 in the preceding year.

11 synagogues showed a decreased income.

Various synagogues had made application for various increases amounting to £736 which the finance committee had reduced to £309, though he [the Chairman] hoped in view of the special services rendered by the New West End Synagogue to the whole body, that the £100 which they asked for to increase the salaries of their reader and secretary would be acceded to; the amount asked for by the New West End Synagogue was voted as well as increases in the salaries of the beadle of the New Synagogue... and the reader of the South Hackney Synagogue... a proposed increase in the salary of the reader of the Hampstead Synagogue was lost by the casting vote of the Chairman [the increase was for £25 for the Rev. W. Stoloff].¹⁸⁵

By 1911 affairs had reached the point where it was seriously proposed by the finance committee that the United Synagogue withdraw its current £200 annual grant to Jews' College.

The uproar that this suggestion evinced, was matched by the storm of protest which accompanied the so-called "Lazarus affair".

During 1911 various Boards of Management applied for increases in the salaries of some 10 ministers.¹⁸⁶ In three cases these were rejected by the finance committee. A letter-writer pointed out that in one of these instances the minister had served 14 years, in another 6 years and that these men were still in receipt of their initial salaries. It was further charged that the

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, March 6th, 1908 and May 15th, 1908.

¹⁸⁶ This application was statutory upon constituent synagogues as was the need to apply to the Council before placing advertisements.

Council...were keeping the salaries of the clergy as low as possible and even sanctioning reductions in the income of several ministers by voting smaller grants from the augmentation fund."¹⁸⁷

In this connection it must be noted that the United Synagogue although paying out in 1903, for example, some £12,000 in salaries to some 34 synagogue officials (ministers, preachers, readers, secretaries plus about 15 beadles), still reimbursed their own officials to the sum of £4,500. The secretary of the United Synagogue already in 1911 received a salary of £750.

In March 1911 at the United Synagogue's annual Budget night, a proposal was made by the Brondesbury Synagogue to increase the salary of the Rabbi, H. M. Lazarus, from £250 to £275 per annum. (Lazarus provided his own house). A. H. Jessel K.C., the Chairman, opposed the increase on the basis of certain troubles which were reported to have arisen with Rabbi Lazarus over visitation work. The report of the meeting then went on to quote Jessel as having said:

That was not the opportunity to raise the salary of this gentleman. Otherwise they would have no hold over ministers who were required to do certain work (namely visitation work)...Mr. J. Cohen said that if the accusation of Mr. Jessel was correct, Mr. Lazarus instead of having £25 added to his salary, ought to have £50 taken off.... Another member, Asher Isaacs made an observation "the terms of which we the Jewish Chronicle have deemed it well to leave unreported".¹⁸⁸

This undignified and disgraceful public treatment of a minister who by various accounts was exceptionally worthy (eventually

¹⁸⁷ Jewish Chronicle, March 3rd, 1911.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, March 10, 1911. The responsibility for this piece of censorship being taken by the Editor.

becoming a dayan and already one of the first ex-students of Jews' College to receive the rabbinic diploma) aroused a storm of protest in the Jewish press in which the value of the new rabbinic diploma was called into question. The visitation work which ministers undertook for the United Synagogue, and for a defection from which Rabbi Lazarus was (incorrectly as it was later discovered) penalized, was a long-standing bone of contention between the ministry and the United Synagogue. Already in 1906 A. A. Green had spoken out against the officers of the United Synagogue in relation to their visitation committee:

I venture to think that there is no other religious body whose accredited administrators would so treat its representative ministers...no Christian body...who would have treated us as the United Synagogue did. Ministers are alternately snubbed and patronised and that when things are normal we receive no encouragement.¹⁸⁹

And again,

Honorary officers of the United Synagogue, who first treat ministers with contempt and then insult them by way of explanation.¹⁹⁰

Jessel's public reproof of Rabbi Lazarus, who was not there to defend himself, was later the subject of an apology, but the insight into current lay-clerical relations is not lost to us, nor was it ignored by a wider public at the time. The Jewish Comment of Baltimore had a leading article headed

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, June 1st, 1906.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, June 15th, 1906.

"Cheap Rabbis" in which they reported:

...that the Lazarus affair...illustrates...what a distinguished American Jewish scholar who knows Anglo-Jewish life means when he condemns it for 'flunkeyism'...could not happen in our representative synagogue organization...because the very function of an American Rabbi would not permit of such handling of him...he embodies the dignity, the self-respect of the Jews he represents and they would lift their voice in his behalf....¹⁹¹

This criticism holds an interpretative point which will be taken up in a later section. One salutary effect of criticism was the action of the Council of the United Synagogue in adopting certain proposals, among which were some which would provide for an automatic rise in the salaries of officials--ministers, readers, beadles, etc. and so avoid the disagreeable discussions which took place when increases in salary of various officials was proposed. Under Clause 6, maximum salary would be reached after 20 years of service.¹⁹² The picture of the United Synagogue power which a consideration of these matters have exposed cannot be easily removed, and the effect upon clerical prestige through control by an entirely lay body, specially in times of stress, easily conjectured. There were dedicated public servants in the United Synagogue, and the good of the community was no doubt at heart, but books had to be balanced and at a time of restricted income the Anglo-Jewish minister seems to have

¹⁹¹Jewish Chronicle, April 7th, 1911. The scholar in question was Solomon Schechter who used the phrase 'flunkey Judaism' in connection with Anglo-Jewry. N. Bentwich, Solomon Schechter, p. 55.

¹⁹²Jewish Chronicle, April 28th, 1911.

fared somewhat badly.

"The Federation of Small Synagogues or Chevras" formed under the impetus of Samuel Montagu in November, 1887¹⁹³ differed from the United Synagogue in two important respects. (1) The history and character of the individual congregations were carefully preserved and (2) the principle upon which the Federation was based was that of a loose federation of synagogues in which each unit retained a maximum of autonomy. Samuel Montagu's motives in founding the Federation have been the subject of speculation. Those who know him most closely,¹⁹⁴ claim that his own piety was captured by the fervour of the small chevroth whose integrity he wished to preserve. Dr. Gartner repeats the idea that Montagu's rise to the summit was permanently baulked by the hereditary rule of the Rothschilds and that he found a way round this in the creation of the Federation. Communal gossip sought

¹⁹³In January 1886 at a meeting in East London, Samuel Montagu advocated the greater independence of individual synagogues expressing his wish that there should be a synagogue for the very poor. In October at the Council of the United Synagogue he introduced a scheme for maintaining small synagogues, so as to make them independent and self-managing. Lily H. Montagu, Samuel Montagu, First Baron Swaythling, p. 32ff.

¹⁹⁴For example his daughter Lily Montagu claimed that "it is sometimes thought that Samuel Montagu helped to organize small synagogues and to make them independent, in order that in some way he might create his own following with which to fight his communal battles. As a matter of fact he felt that the earnest believers who belonged to these synagogues would be the salvation of Anglo-Jewry". Ibid. (Whitechapel was Samuel Montagu's constituency).

in the rivalry between the two bankers a cause for the organization of the chevroth apart from the United Synagogue where Rothschild ruled.¹⁹⁵ A more Machiavellian interpretation would consider that the aims and interests of both Montagu and Rothschild were logically identical, namely the hope for the speedy and effective integration of the aliens into English life and existing Anglo-Jewish institutions, in the cause of communal unity. The championship of the cause of the newcomers by a man who avowedly shared their dislike and distrust of the West End Jews and their institutions may have assured the relatively smooth transition of the immigrants into existing communal structures rather than by frontal overtures on the part of the United Synagogue. Certainly there was an apparent rivalry between Rothschild and Montagu. The United Synagogue's East End scheme planned the construction of a large new synagogue in the East End of London with the aim of drawing away members from the foreign-born chevroth and the Anglicization of their members. In the words of the Jewish Chronicle "each Jew in the East End sorely needs Anglicizing".¹⁹⁶

Mr. Blank, the Secretary of the Federation, had no illusions about the obstructions of the United Synagogue:

Had the Federation not been kept waiting by the United Synagogue for twelve years the opposition Shechita Board of the Machzike Hadaas...might have

¹⁹⁵Lloyd Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914, p. 203.

¹⁹⁶Jewish Chronicle, March 13th, 1896. The call for Anglicization of the immigrants found its counterpart in the United States in the call for Americanization.

been avoided. A different reception of the proposals made to the United Synagogue for cheaper funerals might have obviated the necessity for...the Federation burial society.¹⁹⁷

With or without the integrating power of the Federation it was possibly the eve of the First World War before the 1880 immigrants or their children were able to reach positions of power within Anglo-Jewry. In the provinces this process may have been somewhat accelerated.

We have remarked earlier on the part played by the immigrants in the role confusion which adversely affected the Anglo-Jewish ministry and in passing we may now note the impact of the appointment of a "Minister of the Federation". The need for such a minister or Dayan was voiced at the first meeting of the new Federation in October of 1887,¹⁹⁸ where it was suggested that such a man should be certified as holding orthodox opinions by the ecclesiastical authorities. Some two years later following an East End strike,¹⁹⁹ the acting president said in a letter:

that his...experience...during the recent strike
.../showed that the/ influence of a few atheists
over Jewish working men can no longer be ignored
...engage a gentleman well acquainted with Judisch

¹⁹⁷ Joseph E. Blank, The Minutes of the Federation of Synagogues, p. 8ff. The United Synagogue obstructed the Federation from representation at, and a share in, the profits of the Shechita Board for as long as it could (till 1901). The Federation wanted direct representation at the Board of Shechita and with the Board of Deputies and Guardians from the outset, but it was to be many years before this was achieved. Ibid, p. 18.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 8ff.

¹⁹⁹ England became the original home of the Jewish Workers' Movement. See Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII on Aaron Samuel Libermann.

Deutsch and able to lecture in English as a Maggid or minister. Salary of £300 per annum. No perquisites or other gains to be permitted. Qualifications: to be a Talmudical scholar, well versed in Jewish laws, orthodoxy to be vouched for by our ecclesiastical authorities, in religious matters he must be under the jurisdiction of Dr. Adler.²⁰⁰

In January of 1890 four candidates preached sermons to 1,000 people at the hall of the Jewish Working Men's Club--"the contest" being won by Dr. Mayer Lerner, Rabbi at Winzenheim in Alsace who, according to the rather hostile commentator, on what was later called a "gladiatorial performance", "spoke with all the characteristics and intonations of the Polish Maggid".²⁰¹ In 1907 the post of Minister of the Federation was again vacant and on this occasion a call was extended to Dr. Mair Jung of Ungebrod, Hungary who was inducted on June 16th, 1912. According to a bequest of Lord Swaythling £5,000 was placed in the hands of 4 trustees to pay for his salary for the new ten years. The growth and scope of the Federation can be gauged from the 51 synagogues with upwards of 6,000 members who comprised that organization in the year of Dr. Jung's induction.

As Dr. Gartner points out the new immigrants addressed queries to eminent East European rabbinic figures for adjudication. "Their views far outweighed the opinion of any rabbi of the new country".²⁰²

²⁰⁰ Joseph E. Blank, op. cit., p. 8ff. (Among the applicants was Rev. M. Hyamson.)

²⁰¹ Jewish Chronicle, January 31st, 1890.

²⁰² Lloyd Gartner, op. cit., p. 187.

both the London and provincial synagogues in the top category.²⁰⁵ This is born out in the case of Brondesbury, for example, where in 1910 the salary offered was £250.²⁰⁶ This last figure stands very close to that which was offered in the earlier period for similar posts.

Some figures are realistic in terms of increased living costs. In 1889, for example, the Federation Minister was engaged at £300 per annum, with no perquisites and by 1910 the figure stood at £500. In 1910 a Jewish Chronicle editorial commented that "a London minister who gets £600 is near the top".²⁰⁷ Other evidence seems to bear out the accuracy of this proposition. From information derived from the statements of the Provincial Jewish Ministers' Fund it appears that Jews' College graduates in smaller provincial towns between 1884 and 1891 were considered reasonably treated with a salary of £150 per annum.

Comparing this relatively static picture of ministerial

²⁰⁵ Birmingham in 1912 offered a commencing salary for a minister at £250 per annum, but its late incumbent had received £500. The first reader of the Great Synagogue: commencing salary was not to exceed £350 rising to a maximum of £500. Jewish Chronicle, January 12th, 1912.

²⁰⁶ A letter from a beadle's son in 1911 places the average salary of a minister at £250 per annum with in most cases free house, gas and coals worth another £100 at least. Jewish Chronicle, March 17th, 1911. We might on the strength of this and other information say that the expected income in the most sought after congregations was close to £400 per annum, but if the earlier perquisite figure is correct (see note 97, page 44) this must be amended to £500.

²⁰⁷ Jewish Chronicle, September 16th, 1910.

income with the state of the economy as a whole, a none-too salutary result emerges.

The cost of living fell with some interruptions from 1880 (and indeed from 1873) to a minimum in 1895-6, and then rose with one set-back till 1907, reaching approximately the level that was recovered after a slight fall in 1914. Purchases costing 25/- in 1904 would have cost 28/- in 1880 and 27/- in 1914.²⁰⁸ Real wages are seen to rise rapidly from 1880 to a temporary maximum in 1895-6, increasing some 40% in 15 years and then to oscillate about that maximum for nearly 20 years. Since it is doubtful exactly at what dates in the nineties prices were effectively at their minimum, it might be accurate to date the end of the rise of real wages at 1899. There seems to be no doubt, that except for the years of the brief crisis of 1907, there was no significant change in real wages in the 13 years before the Great War. Income per head of the whole population followed nearly the same course as money wage-rates throughout the 35 years.²⁰⁹

A study of the cost of living and real wage indices of Jurgen Kuczynski shows a somewhat similar position. He places the minimum cost of living figure in 1896, and shows a steady rise with one interruption after that date till 1914. Over real wages Kuczynski places the maximum figures somewhat later than Bowley, namely between 1899 and 1901 rather than 1895. Be this as it may, in general outlines the implication is clear. The height of spending power was reached by the end of the 1800s and thereafter stabilised incomes were faced by an increasing cost of living which was maintained till the First World War.

²⁰⁸ Average earnings for adult males in 1886 were 24/7d. per week and 30/9d. in 1906, an increase of 24%.

²⁰⁹ A. L. Bowley, Wages and Income in the United Kingdom Since 1860, pp. xiiiiff.

The effect of fixed salaries such as in the case of the rabbinate must have been most marked, especially as there seems no evidence readily available that their salaries partook of the general wage rises between 1880 and 1895 (or 1901). That the area must be further researched is shown by at least two cases, namely Cardiff (£100 in 1881 to £200 in 1890) and the Federation Minister (£300 in 1889 to £500 in 1910). In these cases salaries appear to faithfully follow the wage/price figures as was found to be the case in the pre-immigration period.

A further factor must be taken into account with which we were littled troubled in the pre-1880 period, namely supply and demand. There were reports in the 1883 period of preachers with no outlet for their services, but these appear to be in terms of inability to meet qualifications of the new preacher-minister rather than actually a case of having no job to go to. The impress of many already trained rabbis (or men capable of securing the Chief Rabbi's certificate, which apparently he was prepared to grant) on to the congregational market, tended to increase competition for whatever vacancies occurred.²¹⁰ The years between 1900 and 1914 were

²¹⁰"In fact" writes the Jewish Review in 1914 "there are more fully qualified ministers than are necessary in the United Synagogue". "The dimunition in the number of vacancies for ministers in the country...not all graduates of the College could obtain appointments. ...led to dispute with provisional Chief Rabbinate [comprised of Dayanim M. Hyamson and A. Feldman] regarding the qualifications of prospective ministers not graduates of the College--whom the Chief Rabbinate was licensing". Albert M. Hyamson, op. cit., p. 87.

marked by an exceptional number of removals to overseas pulpits or other occupations, and we may seriously speculate how many of these losses were caused by an increasingly competitive market for ministerial positions whose remunerations were just not keeping pace with an increasing cost of living. To this must be compounded what has already been noted on the renewed interest in appointing rabbis rather than ministers, together with the general discontent over the future of the Chief Rabbinate.

The Rev. A. A. Green protested at a council meeting of Jews' College²¹¹ against the position in which graduating students had no congregation to go to. He quoted the case of Birmingham where the selected candidates were three alumni of the College, one an M.A. of the University of London, another a B.A. of London and accomplished graduate of Cambridge, a "double first", and another at present at Oxford with every promise of a brilliant career. The men heard that the election had fallen through.

The effects of discontent can be seen not only in the "clerical revolt" at the time of the 1911 election controversy, but also in the amount of pulpit change. Even taking into account the increased number of pulpits, the number of synagogues who advertised pulpit vacancies steadily increases in the period from 1890 to 1914.²¹² An examination of

²¹¹ Jewish Chronicle, October 20th, 1911.

²¹² 1890--10 vacancies; 1906--11 vacancies; 1910--7 vacancies (between July and December).

overseas appointments taken up by ex-students of Jews' College shows a high percentage of the pulpits were entered between 1883 and 1914, at least 24 Jews' College graduates leaving the country during this period.²¹³ The losses to the community incurred by the removal to the United States of such men as Joseph Jacobs in 1900²¹⁴ and Schechter in 1902 must be compounded with the names of talented individuals such as Herman Cohen, Abraham Wolf, Maurice Simon²¹⁵ and the promising Dr. Hochman, who all failed to enter or remain in the active ministry. The Rev. A. A. Green also recalls the Hebrew scholars A. H. Gowler and B. Saul who left the College without entering the ministry. The tendency has been to claim a mood of discontent and restlessness under the Chief Rabbinate, but the cause may be more basically economic distress than was either admitted at the time or subsequently.

As in the earlier period economic means are able to provide some indication of rabbinic status. A point of comparison can be found with the non-Jewish clergy where it

²¹³See appointments held by ex-students, 74th Annual Report of Jews' College, pp. 7-13, Appendix VI.

²¹⁴In the 1880s a group was formed under the leadership of Jewish Chronicle publisher Asher Myers called "The Wanderers"; from its globe-trotting activities. Included were Israel Zangwill, Lucien Wolf, Joseph Jacobs, Moses Gaster, Israel Abrahams and Solomon Schechter. One product was the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887.

²¹⁵Maurice Simon commented "the restrictions imposed by the present system of the rabbinate had prevented him from entering the ministry". Jewish Review, 21st November, 1919

was reported that quite half of the parochial clergy, beneficed and non-beneficed, had an income of under £200 a year prior to 1905.²¹⁶ A survey of the Jewish clergy might reveal a similar percentage.

(e) Assessment of Status and Interpretation

While it was possible in the early period to legitimately point to certain central parallels between the image of the Anglo-Jewish minister and his counterpart in the Christian clergy his fortunes in this later period appear to be more heavily dominated by tensions within the Anglo-Jewish community

²¹⁶Elie Halevy, History of the English Peoples, Vol. V, p. 170. In 1857 the average salary of a certificated master in the public elementary schools was £65, in 1868 £91, in 1887 £113, in 1890 it had risen to £120. Ibid, p. 171. Almost all offered salaries for ministers by 1859 were in excess of that figure (£65), but by 1879 the school-teacher was better paid than the average minister if advertised salaries are anything to go upon. By 1890, with the exception of the very large congregations in London and the provinces this is even more true.

These figures of ministerial income should be rounded out by an examination of the amount of synagogue subscriptions in relation to estimates of the income of congregants, seeing what percentage of total synagogue income was allotted to the minister's salary. There are complications for we must take into account the effects of changing patterns of giving. In the early 1900s the impact of Zionist appeals must have made inroads into the surplus available for donations to the synagogue, and in England at least there seems no doubt that the prosperity of the middle classes started to decline after 1900. Only some major change in habits about dispensing of surplus generally could have avoided a slackening of contributions to the synagogue.

itself. This is not to say that he did not share certain over all difficulties with his Christian counterparts. Up till 1900 both had ridden the wave of the expanding middle classes, and now both felt the pressures as that class was increasingly eroded largely by augmented taxation. Church ordinations in the later part of the nineteenth century fell off sharply²¹⁷ while we have seen a considerable exodus from English pulpits among the Jewish clergy. Here the parallels, which are not central, seem to end. There was unfortunately no move towards an equalization of "clerical and episcopal stipends" in Anglo-Jewry as was the case by 1914 in the Church. The agitation to return to the nomenclature of rabbi rather than minister seems to mark a new trend towards individuation on behalf of the Anglo-Jewish community. Perhaps some of the extreme sensitivity which had marked the pre-emancipation years was beginning to be toned down, while the picture of the "cultured English gentleman" which was acceptable in the liberal nineteenth century became altered by the narrower Tory ideals during the straightened circumstances of the twentieth century.

Despite this the old hierarchical structure still maintained its traditional place, and the strong opposition to watering down the power of a single Chief Rabbi seems to

²¹⁷ From 2,324 in 1886 to 1888 to 1,994 in 1896-98. Kenneth Scott Latourette, The 20th Century in Europe, Vol. IV, p. 398. The number of persons admitted to the Diaconate fell from a maximum of 814 in 1886 to 638 in 1898. Elie Halevy, op. cit., p. 170.

imply that the old formula of control through a central figure was maintained. Certainly the United Synagogue continued to increase in strength, but the support of a strong Chief Rabbinate by Lord Rothschild provided a limiting factor.²¹⁸

If salary be a mark of status there can be no doubt that the financial control of the United Synagogue in the pre-World War I years was a damaging factor which must be noted. But perhaps more central than salary, assimilation or the power of the Chief Rabbinate was the serious role confusion to which several allusions have been made. Rev. A. L. Green and Rev. Simeon Singer seemed to have both created and met an ideal of the Anglo-Jewish minister dear to the hearts of the nineteenth century community, but, with the coming of the immigrants and the strengthening of Jewish identity in general, the minister found himself curiously balanced between two stools. He was not cultured enough or learned enough Jewishly. He was not definitively functional in the manner of the chazan. The Anglo-Jewish community had produced by their ambivalent ideals an unstable ministry, whose movement was suddenly checked by the First World War, which also served to usher in the modern period.

²¹⁸It was Herman Adler who played with the idea of wearing a Bishop's gaiters but a Rothschild who was President of the United Synagogue did not want it. Personal memo from Rabbi Dr. Ignaz Maybaum, London, November 19th, 1962.

Chapter Five

Modern Period: 1915-1960

(a) Anglo-Jewish History

Facing the task of outlining the modern period from the First World War to 1960, one is faced with difficulties not in the main incurred in the two previous historical surveys. The material in secondary sources on Anglo-Jewish history is reduced to a thin stream once the modern period is reached. The effects of two depressions on the fortunes of Anglo-Jewry, a detailed assessment of the impact of the German refugees in the 1930s, the consequences of post-war Socialist rule, and the influence of men such as Wolfson, Cotton and Clore are all largely undocumented. A whole generation has grown to manhood and communal responsibility without an adequate record of their activities.

Two World Wars, the Depression, the Balfour Declaration, the founding of the State of Israel, immigrants from Nazi Germany, the anti-Semitism of Oswald Mosley, a new Chief Rabbi--these are the highlights of the modern period. As in previous decades the movement away from central London areas was continued, and in the case of the mass exodus of the immigrants from the East End to North, North-East and North-West London large numbers were involved; one figure quoted is 20-30,000 a year after the late 1920s.²¹⁹

²¹⁹H. M. Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History, p. 496.

The once heavily populated Borough of Stepney was vacated, leaving great communal centres such as the St. George's Settlement a shadow of their former selves. However, until the air attacks of 1940-41 finally settled matters, Whitechapel still contained a good 50% of London's Jewry.

Transport systems such as the Metropolitan Railway provided access for Jews working in London to reach the suburban settlements located along their various routes. Up to very recent years Golders Green, Hendon and Edgware provided terminal points for this movement.²²⁰

Outside of London the manufacturing towns of Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow absorbed about half of the provincial Jewish population. In general the dispersion of the community has provided, especially in the provincial areas, problems of assimilation and inter-marriage, but in the urban centres there is some evidence that the tendency towards ghettoization is on the increase.

Economically Jewish occupations continue to diversify.

²²⁰Golders Green Synagogue, for example, was founded in 1915 with 20 members. By 1919 plans were ready for building under the chairmanship of Mr. Lionel de Rothschild, membership having reached 140 males, and 125 females. In 1924 synagogue consecrations were held at Canning Town, Shepherd's Bush and Hanley. "Jewish society is in fact fast becoming a 'Green Belt' society". E. Krausz, "Occupation and Social Advancement in Anglo-Jewry", Jewish Journal of Sociology, June, 1962, p.82ff. "Settling in the poorer districts of East London, he rapidly improves his status and moves out to the North. From Dalston he migrates to Willesden, and thence to Maida Vale and Hampstead, then a halt is called--so far may be attained by the immigrant himself, certainly by his children; but the later stages of social advancement come slowly and only to the few". Jewish Chronicle, April 29th, 1921.

Many still find employment in tailoring, but Jews as shop and clerical workers, salesmen and shop assistants are a more common feature. The number of Jews entering the professions continues to rise steadily, while small businessmen proliferate. There is the customary pioneering advance into new businesses such as Laundromats, coffee bars etc. and the communication industries such as radio and television. Mass urban markets gave opportunities to Montague Burton in tailoring, Marks and Spencer in merchandising and Salmon and Gluckstein in catering. The First World War provided the basis for the fortunes of men such as Lord Bearsted in oil and Lord Melchett in chemicals, as well as contributing the initial capital for new generations of business magnates.²²¹

Socially the older eschelons of the Montefiores, Mocattas, Rothschilds and Franklins were reinforced by self-made men of the stamp of Rufus Isaacs, Herbert Samuel and Harold Laski.²²² In 1921 the Anglo-Jewish community contributed two cabinet ministers, Viceroy of India, two Governors of Imperial Provinces, three members of the House of Lords and 12 M.P.s,

²²¹These men together with Lord Southwood, Sir Samuel Instone and Sir Louis Sterling all came from poor immigrant families.

²²²Rufus Isaacs was in the Commons in 1904; became Attorney General in the Cabinet. Later Lord Chief Justice of England and Ambassador to the United States in 1918. Viceroy for India in 1921. Herbert Samuel in parliament in 1902, entered the Cabinet in 1910. High Commissioner in Palestine from 1920 to 1925. Harold Laski, Professor of Political Science in 1930s and 40s. Intellectual spokesman for Fabian Socialism. Director of Economic Planning in the Labour Party.

the Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Forces, numerous generals, several K.C.s, six Fellows of the Royal Society, 12 senior Professors of Universities, Secretary of the British Academy and the Vice Chancellor of Dacca.

The fortunes of self-made men such as Bernhard Baron, Cassel, and later Sir Simon Marks, Cotton, Wolfson and Clore carried them forward to communal significance. How much wealth these men contributed to Anglo-Jewish institutions has yet to be established, but the impact of these new monied classes on the old structure made profound changes in the administration of the community.²²³

²²³The upper classes of Anglo-Jews [wrote Dr. Salaman in 1921] are composed of families derived in most cases from Germany or Holland who have been settled here for several generations. They are recruited from the most successful of the Russian immigrants, but so far the governance of the community still rests almost exclusively in the hands of the older non-Russian families". Jewish Chronicle, April 29th, 1921.

Bernhard Baron, for example, in 1927 gave £50,000 to the building fund of the St. George's Jewish Settlement. This man was one of a group of Jewish benefactors which included the families of Goldsmid, Cohen, Salaman, Stein, Harold Samuel, Cassel, David Lewis, Alfred Beit, Zunz, Arthur and Alexander Levy, Maurice Bloch, Sir Albert Levy, Sir Edward Meyerstein, Lord Duveen, Barnato-Joel and Montagu Burton, together with men on the periphery of Anglo-Jewish life such as Sir Alfred Mond. In 1956 Harold Samuel gave £250,000 for the furtherance of research and study in the Department of Estate Management at Cambridge, Maurice Bloch contributing £20,000 to Jews' College. There are Montagu Burton chairs in International Relations at Oxford, Dublin, London and Jerusalem Universities and of Industrial Relations at Cambridge, Cardiff and Leeds Universities. We note the Beit Foundation for the study of Colonial History at Oxford, and the contribution of £70,000 by the Cotton family for a chair of Architecture and Fine Arts at Hebrew University. There were various donations to hospitals, namely by R. S. Zunz, who distributed a capital of £500,000 among them in 1937 and the Wolfson Foundation had by 1958 undertaken grants totalling £1,000,000. Sir Edward Meyerstein provided funds for Middlesex Hospital and the Cancer Wing at that hospital was assisted by £250,000 from the Barnato-Joel families. In the provinces David Lewis left £400,000 to various charities.

Religious divisions within the community were multiplied during this latter period. The Reform and Liberal Jewish movements extended their memberships and were joined by the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations.²²⁴ The Orthodox elements among the German refugees of the 1930s also tended to exacerbate differences between the various groupings. The impact of the establishment of the State of Israel on Anglo-Jewish life has not yet worked itself out, but from the outset it drew to itself both physically and in spirit some of Anglo-Jewry's most talented younger men as well as stimulating youth group activity. Education, which largely had to operate through Sunday and weekday afternoon classes became more efficiently organized. In 1920 Sir Robert Waley Cohen set up the Central Committee for Jewish Education which operated till 1939 at which time it was merged in the Joint Emergency Committee. After the Second World War it emerged as the London Board of Jewish Religious Education and the Central Council for Jewish Religious Education. The Jewish Day School movement continues to make progress under Rabbi

²²⁴The North London Beth HaMedrash continued a separate existence after the Machzike Hadath became merged with the Federation in 1905, and developed into the Adath Yisrael congregation. This, in turn, became the founder of another group fed, in the main, by German refugees carrying with them the Samson Raphael Hirsch type of orthodoxy. This later formed the basis for the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations who found members from among the Chassidim fleeing from Nazi aggression. In 1954 this Union had forty small London congregations and some provincial, such as Gateshead.

Schonfeld.²²⁵

The World War II years, which deserve a chapter of their own, had already made their mark with the coming of the German refugees after 1930. These refugees were under regulated admission, but with guarantees of maintenance during their stay in England and the assurance of their eventual transmigration. Their numbers by 1938 are placed at 14,000.²²⁶ Most of these newcomers to Anglo-Jewry were, however, self-supporting and a considerable number in a position to establish new industries. The Jewish community had guaranteed that no Jewish refugee would become a public charge, but as restrictions were slowly relaxed many of them entered the War effort as doctors, or as part of the war labour force and agricultural service. More dramatically the activities of the British Fascists aroused public feeling. Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists were already somewhat curbed by the passage in December 1936 of the Public Order Bill which prohibited the wearing of uniforms by political bodies. The stringency of British libel laws also served to

²²⁵The Orthodox Jewish Day School movement had small beginnings in late 1942 with the Yesodey HaTorah School under the inspiration of Rabbi A. Pardes. By 1946 there were 300 pupils in their own premises in Amhurst Park Road, N.16. By 1957 there were 470 primary school pupils and 240 grammar school pupils in 5 buildings. Vice President was Dayan A. Grossnas. Jewish Chronicle, December 20th, 1957.

²²⁶Neustatter estimates 60,000 newcomers settled between 1933-39. Maurice Freedman, A Minority in Britain, p. 110.

draw the teeth of the Union papers, Fascist, Action and the Blackshirt. Despite this there were various lively marches and countermarches through London's East End. As Britain entered the War the Jewish community attempted, somewhat ineffectively, to resolve its internal divisions in the face of the total challenge. The Chief Rabbi set up a Joint Emergency Committee to deal with matters of a religious character--education of evacuated children and provision in the safety zones of synagogal and dietary facilities. In religious life the Chief Rabbi ruled that in the face of the emergency dietary laws would be fulfilled by the abstention from the flesh of forbidden animals and from shellfish. Kol Nidre services were cancelled to prevent crowds and regular services shortened so that they could terminate before the blackout. Various London rabbis and laymen organized services in the Underground shelters. The activities of pseudo-Fascist groups were combatted by counter-propaganda from the London area council of the Board of Deputies and the Jewish People's Council against Fascism and Anti-Semitism. By 1941 the British Government itself had helped to curb most Fascist activity.

The communal and economic effects of the War were reflected in the large deficit of the United Synagogue and by the resignations and retirements from communal life of such men as Mr. Neville Laski from Presidency of the Board of Deputies and Leonard Montefiore from the Anglo-Jewish Association. The losses to synagogue property were immense.

The Mocatta Library, the Great Synagogue, the Central Synagogue and the Western Synagogue were destroyed while many others were severely damaged.

In the post-War years the ideal of 1835 that in the political sphere Anglo-Jewry should speak with one voice was shattered when the United Nations granted consultative status to non-governmental bodies. By 1961 5 Anglo-Jewish institutions had been recognized, each group claiming the right to approach the Foreign Office on Jewish political issues. The old partnership between the A.J.A. and the Board of Deputies through their joint foreign committee of 1878 was finally dissolved in 1943. The provinces, so long under the shadow of London, have attempted to gain independent strength by their appointment of communal rabbis and by the establishment of "representative councils" which, through delegates of all religious and secular bodies, deal with public affairs and hold periodic conferences.

The Anglo-Jewish community never particularly famed for its scholarship, can make no outstanding claims in this direction during the modern period. However, it has contributed its share of creative talent. The philosophy of Samuel Alexander at the University of Manchester achieved international recognition, as also the names of Sir Leon Simon, Redcliffe Salaman, David Daube, Meir Wallenstein, Cecil Roth and others. In the literary field the works of Louis Golding, Leopold Greenberg and Wolf Mankowitz together with the playwrights Wesker and Pinter have been widely acclaimed.

The place of Jews in political life, in particular the Labour Movement after it came to power in 1945, has yet to be evaluated.

By the 1950s Anglo-Jewry was again settling into the postures of a well established middle class community reminiscent of the pre-1880 period; wealth more evenly distributed, new men at the helm, but otherwise somewhat similar. The next impact will hardly result from the old style mass immigrations but from the effect of Common Market re-alignments and the increasing American involvement in the European sphere.

(b) The status of the rabbinate

An American visitor to England, while sharing his impressions of European Jewry in the October, 1961 issue of Congress Bi-Weekly serves to point up a constant factor in the whole 120 year period of this study: the climate of concern for the status of the Anglo-Jewish rabbinate. He writes:

Time and again in British homes the subject of the plight of the rabbinate came up. When I was first told that the average salary of an English rabbi is less than £1,500 English pounds, or less than \$3,000,²²⁷ I was incredulous, but so many people corroborated the statement I had to believe it. ...English rabbis are so hard put that, as one person told me sadly, "Their eyes bulge with gratitude when they get a generous fee for a Bar Mitzvah or a wedding". I was informed that nearly all the younger rabbis are searching for pulpits in America. Every synagogue-going Jew in England seems to think that something should

²²⁷ This figure is incorrect. More accurately, closer to \$4,000.

be done about this, but to the best of my knowledge nobody is doing anything. It could be that the low financial status of so many English rabbis accounts for an arresting fact that immediately strikes the American visitor. In the United States, at least in certain areas, rabbis are somewhat sacrosanct; a criticism about any small minority of them--that they're more interested in matters other than the spiritual welfare of their congregants, that they don't read as much as they should--is, in some quarters, taken as a criticism of the whole Jewish people. But in England criticism of the rabbinate is open and often very sharp...it's hard for me to believe that the general indictment of the English rabbinate is a sound one. I spoke to a half-dozen or so rabbis and found them all well-informed, at least as attractive intellectually as most of the American rabbis I have met. But it could be that I was merely lucky.²²⁸

Reading this forthright account by an outsider we seem to be plunged all the way back to the inception of our study of rabbinical status. The intervening years with their occasional ministerial luminary, the creation of Jews' College, the foundation of the United Synagogue, the Conference of Preachers and so forth seem to have achieved so little. The rabbi is still considered to be underpaid, publicly criticized, and apparently without sufficient justification. How much truth is to be found in Mr. Angoff's observations may be seen from the survey of rabbinic status and the Anglo-Jewish institutions in the years between the First World War and 1960.

²²⁸Charles Angoff, "Impressions of European Jewry", Congress Bi-Weekly, October 16th, 1961, pp. 6 & 7.

"The parochial pastor...the parochial priest",²²⁹--this is how at least one speaker at the 1927 Conference of Preachers described the lay conception of the Jewish minister. Here was a picture of what constituted the ministerial image in the 1920s. It is not focused as clearly as the call for the minister-preachers of the pre-immigration period or the demand for more learned rabbis in the pre-World War I days, but nevertheless what we might expect of a community in the grip of the Depression years.

The average layman, the congregant who calls the tune because he pays the piper will, if you question him, tell you that every hour spent by the minister in study is an hour spent in neglect of his ministerial duties.²³⁰

The same indecision which marked the earlier periods found its place in the latter. Was the rabbi to be ideally conceived as primarily a preacher, a scholar or a parochial pastor? Was he a preacher, teacher or visitor? The Jewish press, even while in the shadow of war, looked for guidance in this matter to the Preacher's Conference of 1938. An idea of what they ideally envisaged can be obtained by negative implication from what they wrote at the time.

But in the mass our ministry presents the appearance of men who have gone into their profession primarily for a livelihood, and who carry out their routine duties with exemplary

²²⁹Sixth Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1927, p. 67. Some continental colleagues were formerly in the habit of speaking disparagingly of the Anglo-Jewish minister as being nothing more than a "pastor" or "parish priest". Eighth Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1949, p. 31.

²³⁰Sixth Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1927, p. 66.

regularity, if not devotion, but no more...
but for the most part they are devoid of
personal magnetism, bold constructive ideas
and driving power... .

and as if in anticipation of our own conclusions respecting
the failure to achieve status they went on to say

[The community] should make up its mind as to
what it wants its ministers to be. Are they
to be primarily scholars, preachers or parish
workers whose first object should be contact
with youth? The community has not, and never
has had, clear ideas on this subject.²³¹

It seems that the tensions and difficulties of the pre-
and post-World War II period produced an outburst of romanti-
cism which was to have a strong effect on the ideal image.
The mere preacher or pastoral worker or even rabbinic scholar
was not enough. The call for passion, the charismatic
figure, the dynamic leader seem to temporarily conquer the
old ambivalence. The urbanity of the ideal minister of
Victorian times and the call for revived scholarship in the
days before the First World War are merged and superceded
in the typically mid-twentieth century ideal of the rabbi as
the dynamic leader of men. A letter to the Jewish press in
1951 is perhaps typical of this new direction:

Ministers' sermons too scanty, do not strike deep
enough, that they are too conciliatory, timid
and insipid...instead of that burning, inspired

²³¹Jewish Chronicle, May 27th, 1938. This inability to
crystallize the image of the rabbinic role was apparently shared
by the rabbis themselves. Rabbi Dr. M. Lew in his address,
in the Eighth Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1949, p. 35
could still ask "what was, what is and what should be the
rabbi, the minister, the religious guide of a modern Jewish
community?"

yiddishkeit, which is the minister's rightful legacy...a lukewarm, unedifying Judaism is dished up.²³²

The wells of the past are to be tapped by the rabbi, but not for the purposes of scholarship as in the immediate post-immigration period, but rather in the service of a romantic ideal.

The Anglo-Jewish Association²³³ (who in the post-War period seem to have taken a particular interest in problems of communal structure and ministerial status) provided the opportunity for the Rev. I. Levy, senior Jewish chaplain to H.M. Forces, to provide us with another insight into the ideal image during this period.

...community demanded of its minister primarily that he should display eloquence as a preacher, the erudition of a scholar, and the pedagogic ability to be a good teacher. In addition he should possess the organizing ability which would make him a good social worker, and must possess some knowledge of psychology to enable him to deal with domestic and social problems. He must have the necessary gifts which would make him a good hospital and prison visitor. In some cases he must be a "first-class second reader" in order to assist with the conduct of services on Sabbaths and festivals. He must be a capable youth leader who could inspire young men and women so that they might take their rightful place within the religious life of the community. In addition to all these essential qualities he must be endowed with sufficient personality to be able to hold his position in the community.²³⁴

²³²Jewish Chronicle, January 5th, 1951.

²³³Founded in 1870. Membership included the intellectual social and economic elite of Anglo-Jewry.

²³⁴Jewish Chronicle, January 19th, 1951.

In a social study of the Anglo-Jewish community compiled in 1955, Maurice Freedman was able to uncover other factors in the construction of an ideal rabbinic image, factors which had perhaps tended to be suppressed or temporarily forgotten during our second period, namely those connected with the problem of assimilation. In a series of interviews with Jews from various economic and social strata, attitudes towards the rabbinate were exposed:

"Rabbi X...has got to be able to speak the King's English, he deals so much with the non-Jews... Rabbi Z...couldn't, but maybe above him in learning."

"I hold a rabbi with an English education higher than the ten-a-penny kind in the East End...non-Jews are apt to disparage the latter as foreign and especially the way they dress... ."

"His [the Talmudically trained scholar-rabbi] frustration is only increased by seeing other rabbis who, to him, are his inferiors in scholarship rise in esteem throughout the community and obtain the leading ecclesiastical appointments simply because they are native born... ."

The author of this particular study sees that

In the case of the British-born Orthodox rabbi, what has evolved is a kind of compromise. Where it is most successful the rabbi would be respected for his scholarship by the educated and for his ability to represent the minority (and also act in its defence) by the community at large.²³⁵

How many of these conflicting ideals are still with us at the very end of our study can be gauged from an Anglo-Jewish Association Braintrust of 1958:

²³⁵Maurice Freedman, op. cit., p. 171ff.

Harold Soref pictured his ideal minister as a pastor. He should visit people, make witty speeches, represent the Jewish community to the gentiles, he did not need to be either a scholar or an academician.... . Mr. Frankel saw the minister's main functions as/ the provision of scholarship, and spiritual leadership in really important matters.... .

In contra-distinction to these ideals they commented that the community seemed to want their minister as a functionary "who would not make upon them too great demands of a moral nature".²³⁶

It was this negative image of the "functionary" which was to provide the main target in an address by Dr. I. Epstein at the 1958 Anglo-Jewish Ministers and Preachers Conference:

No longer can we rest satisfied if we go on producing as in the past more or less efficient religious functionaries, primed chiefly in the practical duties of their office and pastoral methods of preaching, reading the service, congratulating and consoling. What our times cry out for is religious leaders fitted in mind and in spirit to answer the call to service and to rally communities for the great tasks ahead. Training in the discipline of Halacha /still essential/...but Torah-learning was not enough. Attention must also be given to the claims of general culture. "The synagogue needs intellectuals desperately, and needs men who can speak to secular intellectuals in their own language. Unless the synagogue is intellectually on the map, discerning men will sooner or later turn their backs on it. Knowledge, understanding, faith, and fear of heaven, were...qualifications towards the attainment and development of which all training for the ministry must be directed."²³⁷

Here, from the head of the principle training college for ministers in Europe was the call which may prophetically set the pattern for the ideal minister of the future. Not just

²³⁶ Jewish Chronicle, April 4th, 1958.

²³⁷ Jewish Chronicle, May 9th, 1958.

Torah or Torah and general culture, or preacher and social worker, but the call for the ministerial intellectual. An attempt to cast the rabbi in yet another role was beginning. The new generation of Anglo-Jewry, increasingly university or professionally trained, with weakened ties to the old immigrant generations, more confident and less concerned over questions of assimilation could be reached by the rabbi with his roots in Halacha and traditional learning, but whose categories were those of the intellectual rather than those of the cultured English gentleman of past generations.

Close upon the heels of the Minister's Conference of 1932, and amidst the chilly climate of the Depression years, the readers of the Jewish Chronicle were treated to an open attack upon the English ministry perhaps unparalleled either before or since. All the frustrations of the post-War years seemed to burst into print and find a focus in an article entitled "Our Bankrupt Ministry":

[The Conference has proved a]...piece of pre-tentious futility...an exhibition of intellectual poverty...total bankruptcy of the Anglo-Jewish ministry. Its Conference was the apotheosis of pettiness, the triumph of vacuous triviality, the final notification to English Jewry that if it was placing any reliance on its ministry in the mounting difficulties of the day it was tempting providence and gambling with its life....

[The Conference had manifested] blatant insufferable humbug and mischievous self-delusion... [and the ministers have provided] spineless, nerveless, imagination-less leadership... 238

²³⁸ Jewish Chronicle, May 27th, 1932. Author wrote under the name of "Watchman".

Reading the records of the Conference, and noting the many succeeding letters to the press which defended the proceedings and the ministry, we could gain the impression that "Watchman's" anger was perhaps too shrill and somewhat unjustified, but exaggerated or not this monument to the depths to which ministerial status had fallen still stands. Here was not a specific criticism of some unattained ideal, but mass condemnation. A month later a man who had left the ministry gave his reasons for retiring and for the low status of the ministry in general.

The community which pays the piper insists upon calling its own tune. Communal machine which endeavours to restrict...the work of the minister to those fields of activity in which the results can only be petty, trivial and negative.... During the last 25 years at least, the spokesman of the Jewish ministry (I include therein the Chief Rabbinate and the teaching staff of Jews' College) have protested again and again at the cribbing confinement of the machine which employs them.... "Curate" ideal is not a satisfactory substitute for the "rabbi" ideal...ignorance is our greatest curse, but the community will not be taught.... If Judaism is to be properly served, the minister must be a student and scholar, a well-equipped teacher and preacher.... 239

This personal statement is interesting because it covers in germinal form the whole spectrum of subsequent popular explanations for poor ministerial status; namely, the old question of role confusion--rabbi or minister,²⁴⁰ the undue

²³⁹Jewish Chronicle, June 24th, 1932.

²⁴⁰An editorial in 1950 stated "in England the convention is to think of chazan as a minister, but in practice the tendency to confer the title, garb and status of clerics upon vocalists who have little or no sense of vocation often brings the profession into disrepute." Jewish Chronicle, July 28th, 1950.

restrictions of the synagogue and institutional machinery, paucity of scholarship,²⁴¹ and finally the new concept of the communal isolation of the minister. We notice the absence of complaint about remuneration, and in general the tendency to directly link status to salary was not as clearly marked in this latter period as in the two previous periods, the emphasis being laid rather upon functions. A curious commentary on this question of salary was produced when an American visitor discussed the question of status with an

²⁴¹During an address at Oxford Dr. George Webber, Chairman of the Jewish Memorial Council, stated in 1950 that "during the last 30 years the general level of the Jewish ministry had risen, but the cultivated parish priest of the United Synagogue--a beneficent institution conducted with the highest devotional efficiency--had little time left for learning, we needed a few more men in the ministry whose life was scholarship. Anglo-Jewish ministry...could do with a few men from Oxford and Cambridge who had already graduated in some discipline other than Semitics. Those men would provide some of the scholars and the thinkers in the ministry. Not all congregations would require a rabbinical diploma, nor should the acquisition of that diploma be regarded as the culmination of study. Jews' College, under its vigorous principal, was promoting university extension courses and the training of teachers..." Jewish Chronicle, June 9th, 1950.

The principal in question, Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein commented that "the reason for the paucity of entrants for the ministry, it was stated, was principally that there was a general feeling that no qualifications were required for it, and, least of all that of learning. The minister, it was asserted, might well be relieved of intellectual discipline and be trained mainly in liturgical and social service. It was this confusion which was the reason for the appointment of non-qualified and untrained men to serve some of the highest ministerial positions in the community. If they wished to remedy the situation the ministry must be established on the same footing as other professions, so that no-one would be appointed to a ministerial position without proper qualifications". From an address to the Conference of Jewish Communities in the Commonwealth, London. Jewish Chronicle, July 28th, 1950.

English congregant, who said:

"Well, we should pay our rabbis more. But maybe you pay your rabbis too much. Our rabbis, in their poverty, can afford to be honest from the pulpit." He reminded me of a sermon by an English rabbi I had listened to, in which the rabbi denounced, with considerable bitterness, the growing non-Jewishness of so many of his rich congregants. I had never heard an American rabbi engage in such "impolitic" sermonizing.

My friend went on, "Our rabbis have no fear. They know there are relatively few younger rabbis waiting for their jobs. Our rabbis can also write what they please. If the gaboyim don't like what they write, the gaboyim, as you Americans say, can lump it. Your rabbis haven't got that freedom. A man earning \$20,000 a year, often with a home and a car thrown in free, learns to live on a certain high level, and he knows that there are many younger rabbis waiting for his job. Being a rabbi has become profitable with you. Well, your rabbis just can't afford to be as honest and outspoken as ours."²⁴²

Not perhaps the last word on the matter of status and salary, but sufficient to show the shift in attitude. The age which was to raise and explore the whole question of the "status-seekers" also evolved other ideas about what constituted the status symbol. In religious leadership status was made more centrally dependent on certain concepts of freedom and function.

Chief Rabbi Hertz had already set the scene for this new emphasis during his introductory address to the 1927 Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers.

Especially in our camp is the influence of the preacher at a low ebb. Owing to a multiplicity of causes leadership has almost everywhere today been wrested from the Jewish minister by the lay element. As I pointed out in my opening address

²⁴²Charles Angoff, op. cit., p. 7.

in 1923 he is kept away from the more important councils or movements of the community, except when it is a matter of collecting funds, and even then he is given no voice as to the allocation of these funds. The attitude of the lay leaders to the clergy is sometimes quite Mexican. There are those who, ...desire the clergy to surrender their independence and perform the functions delegated to them as the controlled servants of the lay element, and as the paid interpreters of the aspirations and prejudices of that lay element.²⁴³

"Perform the functions delegated to them"--here we see the burden of criticism becoming centred on the concept of the functionary. David Kusevitsky on a return visit to England in 1950 voiced the complaint of the minister being treated like a servant,²⁴⁴ while the Secretary of the Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers stressed in a sermon that

There was something wrong with an attitude which regarded the minister as a servant in the sense of a functionary. It might be more effective if there was an examination of the position of ministers, with a view to alterations which would help those appointed to lead their congregations spiritually, to have the status which was their due, and make them better able to render valuable service to the community as a whole.²⁴⁵

A functionary was a person with a function, but the ministerial function has been circumscribed by the lay authorities. Rabbi Lew, in his address to the 1949 Conference of

²⁴³Third Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1927, p. 5.

²⁴⁴Jewish Chronicle, July 7th, 1950.

²⁴⁵Jewish Chronicle, December 2nd, 1949. Commenting on the exodus of ministers from Great Britain, Rev. L. H. Hardman said "Far too many synagogues had honorary officers...treated their ministers like a "private servant"--derech erez giving way to 'ignorance, pomposity and a sadistic desire to tell the minister what to say, how to say it and how long to say it'." Jewish Chronicle, December 6th, 1957.

Anglo-Jewish Preachers gave his interpretation of this subordination and its effect upon ministerial recruitment:

It goes without saying that a low status of the ministry circumscribed and hedged in by obsolete and undignified by-laws, will not induce them to turn to its representatives for guidance or counsel. Of course when we speak of the status and dignity of the ministry we are liable to be misunderstood. Jewish life knows no clerical caste, and the dread of clericalism which used to haunt the old maskilim and which oppresses the modern secularists is ill founded. It was this dread that has set up barriers between ministry and laity and turned the minister into a mere synagogue functionary, who is so often kept away from the counsels and deliberations of the community. Leadership implies an opportunity for participation in all departments of Jewish organized activity. Once the ministry established its claim to representation on all communal organizations, more men of character and ability will seek careers in its service.²⁴⁶

This new emphasis upon the limitation of the minister as synagogue functionary is a significant departure in the popular criticism of ministerial role and status. Previous evaluations had tended to centre upon what the minister said and did within the synagogue, now the important thing seems to be on what he can say outside the synagogue. Status has become a question not of culture, ability to preach or acumen as a scholar but rather of sphere of influence. The Rev. I. Levy, senior chaplain, comments that the ministry

...had become a profession, and that was a retrograde step...schedule of duties had been devised for him...paid servant of the congregation...somewhat restricted by the peculiar predilections of those who held lay office in the synagogue.

²⁴⁶ Eighth Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1949,
p. 39.

The minister was forbidden to represent his synagogue on extra-synagogal bodies...for example the Board of Deputies, or on the Council of the London Board of Religious Education...the problem of status and dignity of the profession had a direct bearing upon the present crisis [1951] through which the Anglo-Jewish minister was passing.²⁴⁷

He went on to say that a system of promotions would be preferable to the current practice of preaching trial sermons, and there should be some specialization in the ministry in recognition of the fact that a minister could not be a master of all trades. Room must be found for the scholar and the administrator, the preacher and the teacher.

Perhaps a final formulation of what was defective in the popular image and treatment of the ministry, and what could be done about it, can be found in the words of Rabbi Dr. Lehrman: (1) Most unsatisfactory is the present procedure in the election of a minister. Applicants for a post should be heard in their own pulpits, more than once by the parties interested. (2) One of the deterrents in the choice of the ministry as a career for many is the fact that it holds no glittering promotion before the successful and ambitious candidate. (3) Many a minister feels frustrated on seeing that even in his sacred vocation scrambling for posts and "backstage" influence are often rewarded with success. (4) Another obstacle in the path of promotion and a happy ministry is the barrier of the age limit. Why should a man over 40 or 45 be too "old" to be transferred?

²⁴⁷ Jewish Chronicle, January 19th, 1951.

Rabbis should be given an opportunity to serve on the panel of the Beth Din for at least three years in a part-time capacity. Facilities to serve the larger community should also be given to the more academically minded minister, and he might be allowed the opportunity to teach for a year or so at Jews' College subjects he has made his own. The enhanced status of the minister will be brought about not only by a rise in salary, important though this is, it will be the result of greater opportunities to participate in a directive capacity on the executives of the essential services of the community, whether it be Jews' College, the United Synagogue, the London Board, the Board of Guardians, youth clubs,²⁴⁸ and so on. Reintroduce the almost still-born idea of the regional rabbi scheme.²⁴⁹

The status of the rabbi had become annexed to the possibility of a distinct expansion of his functions beyond the synagogue, not through the old medium of social work or

²⁴⁸In 1950 the following advertisement appeared: "Youth minister attached in the first instance to the New Synagogue, Stamford Hill. Applicants must be both willing and able to undertake the leadership of local youth movements attached to the synagogue and/or locality; duties, which will be under the guidance of the welfare committee and the local synagogue, will include the organizing of regular youth services, welfare work and activities that will help strengthen Jewish religious consciousness in local youth groups...duties, appointment and engagement are subject to the regulations and conditions of the Youth Ministers' Scheme adopted by the Council of the United Synagogue. Jewish Chronicle, May 26th, 1950.

²⁴⁹Jewish Chronicle, January 6th, 1956. Some corrections were suggested in a letter by J. Mendel re. (1): United Synagogue had made changes in the procedures and regulations for election of ministers. Re. (4): age was not a definite barrier. Rev. Walter Levin had come to Bayswater over age. Rev. I. Goldston was over age when elected to New West End. Re. the London Board, both the Union of Anglo-Jewish Preachers and Association of Chazanim send representatives.

participation in various non-Jewish communal organizations, but by the new vehicle of the intellectual world and the allotment of a place for him on the executives of the representative institutions of his own community. To these institutions we now direct our attention.

(c) The institutions and their effect on status

Chief Rabbi Hertz who remained at the helm of Anglo-Jewry across two World Wars and the Depression received an illuminating epitaph from his successor, Israel Brodie. He wrote in the tercentenary year, a decade after Hertz's death:

His office gained in prestige and compelled a wider positive realization of its necessity as a preservative and directing centripetal force in Anglo-Jewry...the Rabbinical Commission whose formal existence is established by an Act of Parliament, is in communal terms an expression of the co-operation of rabbis representing metropolitan and provincial Jewry with the Chief Rabbinate, in an essential subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Provincial and Dominion Batei Din were recognized and their jurisdiction confirmed by the Chief Rabbi and his court, the London Beth Din.²⁵⁰

In this synpathetic picture Chief Rabbi Brodie has displayed a happy solution of the problems of decentralization of authority which so beset the ministry and the lay institutions at the turn of the century. But it is doubtful whether centralization of authority was so easily given up. Various minor rabbis in England and the Empire assumed the title of

²⁵⁰ Jewish Chronicle, January 27th, 1956.

"Chief Rabbi" (e.g. Ireland) usually applying the title to refer only to some municipal district. Chief Rabbi Hertz had to remind the whole community of his unique position, and we accordingly find, at least from 1925 onwards, the Jewish Chronicle referring to him as "Chief Rabbi of the British Empire". A reflection of this struggle to maintain sole authority can be seen, for example, from a parliamentary debate in 1924 concerning a bill authorizing the shechita method of slaughtering in the United Kingdom. The Bill provided merely that the shochet had to be authorized and licensed by "ecclesiastical authorities". The Jewish Chronicle insisted that the wording should read "the ecclesiastical authorities", that is the Chief Rabbi and his Beth Din. In 1928 Parliament debated a more specific measure which effectively placed all shechita authority in the hands of the Chief Rabbi.²⁵¹

The relationship and opposition of Hertz to the plans of the Jewish War Memorial scheme to remodel Jews' College and remove it to Oxford or Cambridge, together with the older question of semicha will be considered in the succeeding chapter.

Amongst other things Hertz was instrumental, together with Archbishop William Temple in the foundation of the Council of Christians and Jews, and inaugurated the first

²⁵¹Jewish Chronicle, March 23rd, 1928.

pastoral tour of the Jewish communities of overseas dominions in 1920-21.

Some 30 years later his successor, Israel Brodie, was again on the high seas as part of another dominions tour, but although the name was the same, the country he left and the man himself were greatly different from that of their predecessor. Israel Brodie himself was the first Chief Rabbi to be born and bred in England. Educated at Newcastle, Jews' College and Balliol College, Oxford, he received his rabbinic diploma from Jews' College in 1923, but his first pulpit was in Australia. In 1937 he became lecturer in homiletics at Jews' College and College tutor. Ecclesiastically and in popular eyes, Brodie has not appeared to hold the central and dominant position of his three predecessors. For example, one of the conditions governing his appointment was that he retire at 70 and "on the ecclesiastical side the Chief Rabbi has adhered fairly closely to the line mapped out by the Beth Din before he took up office."²⁵² In 1957 and 1958 the question of the independence of both the Chief Rabbinate and the Beth Din were the subject of a considerable press correspondence.²⁵³ While at least one popular observer commented

²⁵² Jewish Chronicle, June 27th, 1958.

²⁵³ See Jewish Chronicle, December 20th, 1957, January 31st and February 7th, 1958. There was some legal question as to whether the dayanim were intended to have the same status as the Chief Rabbi. Their judicial independence is preserved by the scheme of the charity commissioners of 11th September, 1903, Clause 17. If not by the earlier United Synagogue Act of 1870.

The general view in London is that Dr. Brodie is rather ineffectual as Chief Rabbi. As one prominent Jew told me "we listen to him with respect, for English Jews are Englishmen as well as Jews, very courteous, but we seldom follow him." When Chief Rabbi Brodie therefore speaks in the name of British Jewry he is doing so only nominally.²⁵⁴

The end of the First World War opened a new era for Jews' College, largely focusing about an ambitious plan called the "Jewish War Memorial" which was launched at a public meeting in Westminster in June, 1919. The impression conveyed, both by the size of the sums involved and its wide perspectives, was that this was a real attempt at communal re-invigoration on realistic grounds. Under the drive of Sir Robert Waley Cohen the original desiderata called for (1) endowment of Jewish religious education (2) building an endowment of a Jewish theological college at Oxford or Cambridge to which Jews' College would be transferred (3) making of further provisions for the Jewish ministry. After further meetings it was proposed that Jews' College be reconstituted so as to comprise (1) "the Jewish Theological College of the British Empire" run on principles of traditional Judaism. (2) An academy of Jewish learning distinct from the theological college, in which presentations of the Jewish religion as taught in the synagogues represented on the Jewish Memorial Council could be freely expanded. (3) Students in training be graduates. We can supplement these goals from the analysis by Isadore Harris. (1) to re-organize Jews' College.

²⁵⁴Charles Angoff, op. cit., p. 6.

(2) Promote Hebrew and religious education generally. (3) Raise the status of the Jewish ministry by the creation of a clergy endowment fund for the improvement of those ministerial posts which in the past have been notoriously ill-paid; (4) By the creation of district rabbimates which will give preference to ministers of outstanding ability and thus encourage men to fit themselves for positions of higher responsibility which the ministry, as hitherto constituted makes no provision for.²⁵⁵ These ideals were modified and statesmanlike expenditure hampered by the inadequate funds which were only gradually accumulated, one factor being the competition from Zionist appeals at that time.²⁵⁶

In his evaluation of the scheme, some 8 years after its inception, the Chief Rabbi had this to say:

The Jewish War Memorial came before the public with three purposes; the endowment of religious education, the training of ministers and teachers, and the creation of a sustentation fund for the poorer clergy. As to the endowment of religious education, it has done little beyond taking over the Council of Jewish Education which was formed during the War, and spending something like £3,000 annually towards fulfilling its undertaking "to bring every Jewish child in the Empire under the influence of religious instruction"--a sum equal to about three-fourths of what the Rev. J. K. Goldbloom annually collects for his Talmud Torah. Still, the War Memorial's co-operation with the Jewish Religious Education Board and the Union of Hebrew

²⁵⁵Jewish Chronicle, May 27th, 1921, Supplement.

²⁵⁶By December, 1920 donations promised had reached £193,700 of which £97,750 had been received. Jewish Chronicle, April 15th, 1921. It was hoped that the Chief Rabbi's Dominion tour of 1920-21 would raise £50,000 for the fund. This it did but it must be noted that the Chief Rabbi was in opposition both to the Jewish academy and the move to Oxford or Cambridge.

and Religion classes in securing the services of Mr. Herbert Adler for the supervision of elementary Jewish education is an excellent thing, and has received the fullest appreciation.

In regard to the second purpose of its appeal--the training of rabbis, ministers and teachers--the War Memorial contributes the sum of £2,000 to the maintenance of Jews' College, and nominates eight members of its Council. The Executive of the War Memorial did nothing in regard to the pressing need of adequate entrance bursaries at Jews' College for men of 18 and over who are anxious seriously to prepare for the ministry. Instead, it has for the last five years spent thousands of pounds on five annual bursaries, of £85 each, for the education of lads between the ages of 13 and 17--with little or no results to justify such an experiment. The Chairman of Jews' College, Mr. S. Japhet, is now doing what the War Memorial has failed to do.

The Executive of the War Memorial helps the Yeshivah; and, further more, selects the holders of various Jewish scholarships at the Universities. This selection by the War Memorial Executive, and not by the Council and Principal of Jews' College who are competent to do so, is a distinct danger to Traditional Judaism, as well as to the ministry. The standard of Jewish knowledge qualifying for these scholarships has been made by the War Memorial disastrously low. Even this little Jewish knowledge is in most cases forgotten during the three years of dejudaising influence at Oxford or Cambridge. When at the age of 21 or 22, the years of impatience and fermentation for the adolescent, the student comes to Jews' College and grapples with the elements of Rabbinic learning, it is not likely that he will remain longer than a year or two. In view of his University degree, however, the Jewish War Memorial leaders may decide that further Rabbinic knowledge is unnecessary; and a post will be duly found for him. That way lies not only a serious lowering of the status of the ministry, but the danger of encouragement of charlatanism and quackery that would debase the ministry.

As its third aim, the War Memorial in 1919 undertook to "remove for ever the scandal of an underpaid ministry". During all these years, however, only a Pension Scheme has been evolved which he who is alleged--falsely so--to be its author, he who should be its strongest advocate, declares to be unworthy of a moment's consideration.²⁵⁷

As will be noted later the War Memorial Scheme was from its

²⁵⁷ Conference of Anglo-Jewish Preachers, 1927, pp. 12-13.

inception very closely connected to improving ministerial status and materially helped the financial welfare of Jews' College; after 1924 the finances of the College greatly improved. The Memorial made an annual grant of £2,000 and the United Synagogue, through a voluntary levy on its members beginning in 1927, was by 1932 contributing £1,625 towards a total budget of £6,000. The move to Woburn House (a new communal centre shared with the United Synagogue, the Memorial Council and the Board of Deputies) precipitated further severe financial crises.

In 1930 the Chief Rabbi appointed a Board to conduct examinations of candidates unconnected with the College for the rabbinical diploma. In the year that Israel Brodie joined the College as lecturer its principal had started attending meetings of the Appointments Advisory Committee of the United Synagogue, also cooperating with the Jewish War Memorial Council regarding appointment of ministers in the provinces and Commonwealth. As in the days of the 1880 immigrations, the new German refugee ministers were, by 1937, receiving positions at the expense of Jews' College graduates, who were now forced to wait for appointments. The student roster in 1939 was 20, compared to a previous high of 37 in 1930 and 8 in 1922.

With the end of the Second World War the principalship which had laid in abeyance for 6 years (after Adolf Buchler--1907-39) was for all practical purposes handed to Isadore

Epstein who in 1945 became director of studies. A course of instruction was drawn up for ex-students of the College and others who wished to sit for the rabbinic examination. By 1947 30 students were working towards the rabbinic diploma, many of whom completed the course successfully. This class, under Rabbi Kahana marked a definitive stage in the semicha controversy which, as we have noted earlier, began in the years before the turn of the century. As we have seen facilities for taking the semicha were officially available after the curriculum changes of 1901, but it was many years before students availed themselves of the opportunity: "Dayan Lazarus obtained the rabbinic diploma in 1910, long before it was the fashionable thing to do".²⁵⁸ Rev. S. Gross and Israel Brodie received their diplomas in 1923, but it does not appear to have been encouraged until about 1925. Accordingly we read that R. N. Salaman at a council meeting of Jews' College suggested that

It will not of course be seriously contended that a minister should not be required to possess the Hatarath Horaah...Anglo-Jewry suffers from a peculiar anomaly. There are rabbis and ministers, the majority of the former unable to preach in the vernacular and the latter unqualified to decide religious questions. The minister is a comparatively modern institution...he has come to stay.²⁵⁹

It has become accepted then that a minister should be a rabbi, but not all ministers were seeking their semicha at the hands

²⁵⁸ Jewish Chronicle, June 13th, 1958.

²⁵⁹ Jewish Chronicle, April 29th, 1927.

of the Jews' College Board. Just as the actions of Gollancz and Singer before 1900 had forced the hand of the rabbinical authorities into instituting facilities at Jews' College for taking the semicha, so, between the Wars, circumstances urged the Chief Rabbinate into providing some official opportunity to qualify for semicha outside of the Jews' College system.²⁶⁰ Accordingly, in 1930 a central examining board was set up for candidates who were not members of Jews' College. This board included representatives from the College, the Beth Din and

²⁶⁰There were moves in this direction as early as 1913 when Chief Rabbi Hertz sent the following letter to the Council of Jews' College: "I beg to submit to you the following suggestions for amending the existing regulations for the Diploma of Rabbi. Under the rules of the College now in force, the examination for that highest degree is confined to a most searching test of the candidate's knowledge of Talmud and Shulchan Aruch. In all other matters appertaining to Jewish learning, such as the Philosophy of Religion, Theology of Judaism, or the Liturgy, nothing more is required of the candidate than that he shall have passed the Third Theological Examination which entitled him to the Chief Rabbi's certificate of Minister. In order, however, that the English degree of Rabbi be on a par with that of the best institutions elsewhere, a much wider and riper acquaintance with the whole range of the "Science of Judaism" should be required of candidates for the degree of Rabbi than that for the Third Theological Examination. Again, there is to-day no possibility of external students to appeal to the Chief Rabbinate for the conferment of such degree, Jews' College needlessly weakens itself. The Rabbinate, on the other hand, while reserving to itself the unquestionable right of dealing with exceptional cases, as it only deems fit, is most anxious that, with the above exception, Jews' College become the seat of degree-giving power in the field of Jewish learning in this country. My proposal is therefore two-fold:-

1. That the scope of the examination for the degree of Rabbi in the case of internal students be widened by the institution of a preliminary Fourth Theological Examination.

2. That corresponding arrangements be made so as to enable external students to obtain the Rabbinical Diploma at Jews' College. Jews' College Annual Report, 1913, pp. 15-16.

Yeshiva Etz Chaim, and one of its conditions was that where a candidate had no university degree his standard of education and culture should be reported on by a committee of a few members. It was hoped that this move would now standardise the whole semicha procedure and prevent what Hertz used to scathingly call those "weekend excursions to Galicia",²⁶¹ as well as private semicha from rabbis in England such as Dr. Gaster. The presence of the Yeshiva in this scheme was a hopeful sign and apparently the central examining board was able to control affairs at least till the outbreak of the Second World War. With the extended facilities for preparing for semicha at Jews' College the semicha controversy seemed to be at an end, but in early 1950 the Rev. I. L. Swift, minister of Dollis Hill Synagogue received a semicha in Israel, and once again the whole matter of the Chief Rabbi's authority was brought to public attention.

The Chief Rabbi does not object to the Rev. I. L. Swift assuming the title of Rabbi. It is understood that his right of exercising ecclesiastical functions is, as in all similar cases, always subject to the authority of the Chief Rabbi so long as Rabbi. I. L. Swift is in a community within the direct jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi.²⁶²

This apparent condoning of an earned semicha outside of the established system gave rise to immediate press comment on the "standards for semicha and authority of the Chief Rabbi", for Rabbi Brodie had already commented that "in addition to

²⁶¹ Jewish Chronicle, February 17th, 1950.

²⁶² Jewish Chronicle, February 10th, 1950.

rabbinical qualifications, the Anglo-Jewish minister must be familiar with the trends of world culture and appreciate the scientific and moral bias of the age".²⁶³ It appears that Rabbi Swift could not satisfy on that score. In his defence Swift claimed that the Chief Rabbi had his hand forced by Jews' College and its important patrons who did not want the Jews' College semicha class under Dr. Kahana side-tracked and thus reduced in appeal. Apart from the inherent reflections upon the position of the Chief Rabbi, this controversy led to important legislation within the United Synagogue. A motion was presented to their council which would have forced a special clause into contracts of service to be entered into with ministers of the United Synagogue by which such ministers would not apply for rabbinic semicha except through the Rabbinical Diploma Examining Board set up in 1930. This motion was passed at a council meeting of the United Synagogue in July, 1950 and received the Chief Rabbi's support.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Jewish Chronicle, February 17th, 1950.

²⁶⁴ The motion as passed read "that the Council instruct the honorary officers of the United Synagogue to insert in all contracts of service to be entered into with ministers of the United Synagogue or with ministers serving (or associated with) the United Synagogue, a provision that such ministers, while they are in the service of the United Synagogue, will not apply for Hatarath Horaah except to the rabbinical diploma examining board appointed by the Chief Rabbi, or to Jews' College examining board".
Jewish Chronicle, July 14th, 1950.

Subsequently a letter was printed from a rabbi who called this scheme hypocritical "as the United Synagogue continues to appoint to its most important ministerial positions men without any rabbinical qualifications."
Jewish Chronicle, July 28th, 1950.

The rabbinic diploma class thus received considerable strengthening. Dr. Epstein also introduced important revisions into the general curriculum of the College. A chazzanuth class was begun²⁶⁵ and extension courses arranged in collaboration with the University of London. Classes at the College were augmented by lectures in pedagogics, sociology and psychology. The M.A. degree was linked to the minister's certificate which in turn was renamed the Minister's Diploma, to give it a higher status. In November, 1951, the council of the United Synagogue invited the council of Jews' College to join with it in investigating the recruitment of candidates for the Jewish ministry, a subject that was causing some uneasiness.²⁶⁶ Jews' College moved to its new building in Montagu Place in December, 1957 at which time its walls accommodated some 55 students, including overseas students who had begun to join the College after the War.

²⁶⁵In 1910 chazzanuth was not optional but imposed upon candidates for rabbinical office. Jewish Review, Vol I, No. 2, July, 1910.

²⁶⁶This is part of a general pattern of failure of ministerial recruitment in post-War Britain, which affected all groups. We have tended to centre attention upon Jews' College, but other groups, both Orthodox and Progressive, were contributing to the stream of Anglo-Jewish life by graduates from their own institutions of higher learning: the Reform movement through the Leo Baeck College founded in 1956 and the Liberal movement through its own training programme in conjunction with London University. Gateshead Yeshiva had provided many rabbis, shochetim and teachers since its inception in 1927.

The committee on recruitment set up between Jews' College and the United Synagogue reported in 1953 that during the past 27 years, of the average of 6 annual entrants into the College expected to fill vacancies occurring in the ministry, about 4 were forthcoming. Of 114 students who had joined the College during the previous 27 years, 48 had received appointments in the ministry, 26 held other positions in the community, and 18 were still in the College. These and other details of from A. M. Hyamson, Jews' College, London 1855-1955.

Jews' College owed a good deal for its improved condition to the help of the Memorial Council which since its inception had been of great help to the ministry and a unifying factor in the community:

Since the launching of the great communal scheme there has been an increase of ministerial stipends all along the line...most striking in the provinces, where some congregations have lately been offering salaries that a few years ago were only to be obtained in a few wealthy London congregations.²⁶⁷

This War Memorial had one final part to play in the organization of Anglo-Jewish life and the status of the ministry and that was in the plan for "district rabbis" (regional ministers, communal rabbis or local rabbis as they were variously called). The financial troubles of the War Memorial were a decisive factor in holding up this scheme but in 1924 Rabbi I. J. Unterman (of Grodno) was appointed communal rabbi of Liverpool with the aid of a "district rabbi's trust project". The district minister's scheme was finally adopted by the council of the United Synagogue in July, 1931, but it was 7 years before Rabbi Dr. I. Goodman was appointed regional minister of North and North-East London.²⁶⁸

From the First World War onward the United Synagogue had drawn into its ranks the children of East European immigrants. Under the leadership of the Anglo-Jewish elite and in particular

²⁶⁷Ibid, p.

²⁶⁸Rabbi Goodman was associate rabbi of the Institutional Synagogue, New York, 1918-1925. Rabbi of Congregation Beth El, Indianapolis, 1925-1927.

the Rothschilds and Waley Cohen families it thus continued to expand its membership, scope and power in the modern period. However, the organization had the Second World War to thank for the most spectacular national extension of its operation. During the early part of the War its affiliations in the interests of religious co-ordination, especially in the mushroom communities of the evacuation areas, were expanded. The first conference outside London was held in Manchester in 1941 and brought in delegates from London, Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow and Liverpool, communities which already embraced about 80% of Anglo-Jewry. A situation typical of this new expansion was, for example, in May 1942 when the Glasgow congregations encouraged the formation of a local United Synagogue. In general the provincial congregations tended to turn more and more to the United Synagogue, either because of membership depletion and subsequent threat of bankruptcy, or through the difficulties caused by a sudden influx of new members in flight from the danger areas in the larger industrial centres. By 1956 its membership stood at 32,500 and its support was extended to many general, communal and charitable agencies through the following committees: Beth Hamidrash and Beth Din Committees; Jewish Committee for H.M. Forces; Jewish Chaplaincy Department; Bequests and Trusts Committee; Mutual Aid Fund; Burial Committee; Burial Society; Cemeteries; Visitation Committee; Spiritual Ministration at Hospitals, Prisons, Children's Homes, etc.; Jewish Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society; Conjoint Passover Flour Committee;

Matzos for the Poor; Welfare Committee; Building Committee; Singer's Prayer Book Publication Committee.

Financial support was provided for maintenance of the Chief Rabbinate; Jewish Board of Guardians; Committee for Proclaiming Jewish Ethics; Sabbath Observance Employment Bureau; Jewish Religious Education; London Board of Jewish Religious Education; Jews' College; Yeshiva Etz Chaim. In 1956 there were 26 constituent synagogues, 20 district synagogues, 30 affiliated synagogues and 5 burial rights synagogues.

The United Synagogue was additionally responsible for making ministerial appointments and for seeing that their synagogues were staffed. As we have noted, by 1950 there was an increasing concern over ministerial shortages. Accordingly, during that year, a commission of inquiry was set up to look into the whole question of the status and emoluments of ministers in their employ. Additionally "it was of paramount importance...for every minister to know that when he accepted service within its ranks, every facility for promotion would be within his reach".²⁶⁹ This executive committee duly made its report to the council in January, 1951.

Often there was a feeling that ministers were at the beck and call of people who sometimes were not too helpful, that they were not given the same prestige and status as ministers in other religions, and that they very often had their lives made a misery. The ministers recognized that theirs was a vocation rather than a career. But it must be a vocation in which a man who served the community well could live a reasonable life and bring up his

²⁶⁹ Jewish Chronicle, January 20th, 1950.

family in a reasonable way. Referring to the proposal to set up a committee to be called the Ministerial Advisory Committee (the present committee of that name to be renamed the Ministerial Appointments Committee) which they hoped would be able to intervene when people were at loggerheads with each other, they had found, he said, that when a minister and congregation were not getting on well, if an outside organization had been in a position to hear both parties and give some advice, the matter would never have got to the stage where the parties really felt that they must part. In connection with the proposed increase of salaries Mr. Montagu said the cost of the increases would involve £6,500 a year, which was a very large sum in the present state of their finances. But it was one which they felt ought to be faced. The report and recommendations were adopted.²⁷⁰

The Jewish Chronicle in commenting upon this report said

The committee was seeking a state of affairs where- by the employer-employee relationship between synagogue and minister might be minimized. It was recognized that a tendency towards such an unsatisfactory relationship was aggravated by the form of some of the existing by-laws of the United Synagogue, and by some of the clauses in the minister's agreement of service. New salary proposal means that a family allowance will be given for each child. That the present salary scales will be increased by approximately 10% and the 10% cost of living bonus based on the new increased salary continued. Moreover, this scale will bring improved pension benefits.²⁷¹

Although emoluments and conditions of service for ministers in the employ of the United Synagogue are still not considered adequate, even at the end of our final period it can be fairly stated that in comparison with the circumstances of the two earlier periods under study, a reasonable

²⁷⁰ Jewish Chronicle, January 19th, 1951, from an Executive Committee Report on the Status and Emoluments of Ministers.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

equity has been achieved and henceforth considerations of status will be concentrated in areas other than finance. One final factor in the improved relationship of the ministers with the United Synagogue, apart from the supply and demand factor and the calls for reform from within, is the increasing bargaining power of ministerial organizations themselves.

We have made frequent reference to the Preacher's Conference and its deliberations since its formation in 1923. This body, despite the frequent criticism laid against it, provided a cohesive force in the ministry and was certainly instrumental in furthering its status.²⁷² In 1951 the Association of Ministers (Preachers) of the United Synagogue was founded with this object:

To represent its members in their relations with the United Synagogue, with other communal bodies, and with the Chief Rabbinate as also to act as a professional body in matters affecting the dignity and prestige of the ministry.²⁷³

At least one example of this newly felt ministerial bargaining power can be seen in 1955 when they rejected a £60 per annum

²⁷² Matters such as the provision of pensions for ministers were considered at these conferences. At the Preacher's Conference of 1932 Dr. Hertz reported that the Ministers' Superannuation Fund together with pensions for their widows and orphans had for some time been functioning and over 100 ministers were now affiliated to the fund. This fund had been operating since its adoption by the Conference of 1911. Jewish Chronicle, May 13th, 1932.

²⁷³ Jewish Chronicle, February 23rd, 1951. Other ministers' associations were Agudas Harabbonim (Association of Rabbis of Great Britain)--1st conference 1911 at which time there were 30 orthodox rabbis in England. Jewish Chronicle, February 3, 1911; Association of Ministers (Chazanim) of Great Britain; plus local units such as Manchester Association of Ministers and Rabbis (which includes local chazanim).

increase proposed by the District Synagogues, whose salary scales were far below those of the constituent synagogues.

My association is deeply concerned for the welfare of the ministers who faithfully serve these non-constituent synagogues and who are forced to subsist on the minimum salaries of £700-800 per annum.²⁷⁴

How much justice there was in this rejection can be seen from the following survey of how the status of the rabbi was affected by economics.

(d) The Rabbinate: status and economics

Prior to the Second World War ministerial increments tended to keep in line with the movement of salaries in relation to cost of living in general, a tendency which was aided by such measures as a special-£50 grant to be made to all ministers of the United Synagogue in consideration of the high cost of living during the post World War years.²⁷⁵ An examination of the salaries offered during that year show figures close to or just over £300 per annum, which reflect the general wage rise between 1914 and 1924, when, for example,

²⁷⁴Jewish Chronicle, November 25th, 1955.

²⁷⁵A recommendation to the executive committee that "a special grant of £50 be made to each minister and reader who was an official of the United Synagogue in consideration of the high cost of living during the past year". This followed a deputation from the ministers and readers regarding the suffering of some of the officials of the United Synagogue. The grant was recommended and carried, but it was stated by the United Synagogues that "their ministers were not an ill-paid body as compared with those of other denominations." Jewish Chronicle, February 25th, 1921.

the average weekly earnings of all male manual workers had increased 91%.²⁷⁶

This salary is very close indeed to the current stipends in the Church of England, although in some cases, for example, in the Presbyterian Church, a "thanksgiving" fund had to be started to increase the minimum stipend to £300 in the provinces and £350 in London and large cities. (It is noted that the Labour Party in 1920 demanded £250 as the living wage for a working-class household, and that scales of salaries for teachers, including assistant teachers, are £400 rising to £500 per annum.²⁷⁷)

By 1932 salaries were only slightly higher, but we must bear in mind the fact that average wages were nearly stationary from 1924 to the end of 1929, before falling to a minimum in 1933-34. The slow upward turn which preceded the Second World War also found its counterpart in ministerial increments.

²⁷⁶These and other statistics from A. L. Bowley, Wages and Income Since 1860 in the United Kingdom. See supra, p. 99--increments in 1911 stood at an average £100-150.

²⁷⁷Clerical Incomes. J. Howard B. Masterman, Editor. An appendix to the book (Appendix I, Vicar, wife and two daughters) has an outline of a clergyman and his household's expenditure during 1920. A budget of £338 per annum is arrived at with the comment that £300 per annum was not a living wage for a married clergyman and even if raised to £400 it would not be adequate.

In 1921 Latourette put the average stipend of incumbents at £426 per annum (a figure which remained almost stable till 1936). Kenneth Scott Latourette, The 20th Century in Europe, Vol. IV, p. 407.

The fact that the minister had a fixed income and a pension plan at this time of economic uncertainty may have been a compensating factor as far as ministers were concerned.

Before turning to the post World War II scene, a general observation, which has a bearing upon all three periods covered by this thesis can be made. Both Lipman and other observers have remarked upon the diminishing percentage of those who were actually members of synagogues at all. In 1857 when the Jews in England numbered only 35,000 there were 6,000 synagogue seat-holders, which was more than 50% of the male adult population.²⁷⁸ In 1910 with a population of 240,500 the proportion of members on the rolls of synagogues registers was estimated at about one-tenth.²⁷⁹ 40 years later the Rev. Dr. A. Cohen, President of the Board of Deputies estimated that in 1950 synagogue membership was about 50,000 "little more than quarter of Jewish men are members of synagogues."²⁸⁰ In perspective this would mean that although the whole Jewish population had increased 13-fold, synagogue membership had multiplied only 8-fold (or even 7-fold according to some criteria).²⁸¹ This startling figure is to be

²⁷⁸Jewish Chronicle, July 21st, 1950.

²⁷⁹Jewish Review, Vol. 1, No. 2, July, 1910, p. 106ff.

²⁸⁰Maurice Freedman, op. cit., p. 112. A decade later Freedman estimated that one-third of all Jewish men were members of synagogues. Jewish Journal of Sociology, June, 1962.

²⁸¹Jewish Chronicle, July 21st, 1950.

compounded to the fact of an ever-increasing number of Jews who lived in the six largest Jewish communities--by 1952 86%.²⁸² The effect of this unequal support of established religious institutions hardly needs stressing, and even if we take into account the entry of the children of the immigrant generation into the middle-class income bracket, the strain upon a minority percentage of the Anglo-Jewish population must be increasingly severe.

Possibly, one factor above all others can be adduced to explain the much improved financial position of the English ministry post-1950--namely the shortage of ministers. We have seen attention drawn to the comparative poverty of the ministry in both preceding periods of the thesis. Some attempts at improvement were certainly made, but it was not until very recent years that ministerial incomes, by and large, have had a remote air of respectability. In both the pre-1880 and post-1880 eras there was always a supply of European rabbis and chazanim to bolster the English market. With the destruction of the older European centres Anglo-Jewry was forced to rely upon her own resources. A survey of the vacancies in 1950, for example, shows many openings, not only for ministers but also for readers. In addition to this the Jewish press had a conspicuous number of reports concerning ministers

²⁸²Maurice Freedman, op. cit., p. 77.

leaving for overseas pulpits.²⁸³

Even without the 10% temporary cost of living bonus introduced in 1950 and the children's allowance which began in 1951, the level of ministerial salaries continued to rise sharply between 1950 and 1960. Between 1945 and 1960 the rise may have been as high as 100%. In the Reform and Liberal movements salaries, by 1960, are approaching, at least in the larger synagogues, professional levels.²⁸⁴ However, even with the long overdue advances the incumbents of the majority of Anglo-Jewish pulpits have still not achieved a financial level commensurate with the professional image to which they appear to aspire.

(e) Assessment of status and interpretation

The dominant factors in the modern period are the integration of the 1880 immigrants and their children into Anglo-Jewish life as a whole together with the increasing assimilation of the Jewish community into the life of the country itself. In this sense the assimilative pattern of the pre-immigration period repeats itself in the modern era, but with one significant difference. In the earlier days we were confronted with an ultra-sensitive community who found a definite need to effect their assimilation via chosen

²⁸³ Jewish Chronicle, January 13th, 1950: Rabbi Harris Swift on leaving St. John's Wood Synagogue for a position in Durban, South Africa remarked that "there had been much speculation as to the reasons for the emigration of a number of ministers in recent years... ."

²⁸⁴ Close to £2,000. p.a.

representatives, either individuals or institutions. In this process the Anglicised Jewish pastors and corporation-like United Synagogue performed a definite function. In the modern period, however, aided by two World Wars, individuals themselves were able to enter and become absorbed into the fabric of English life. The need for spokesmen or institutions has diminished. Some of the effects of this mass by-passing of Jewish institutions and synagogues in particular can be seen in the increasing sense on the part of the ministry that they are being rendered superfluous and, at best, merely cultic functionaries. This situation was not alleviated by the rise of Zionism, which at least on the economic level must have withdrawn large sums from the Anglo-Jewish institutions.²⁸⁵ Despite this and the blows to synagogue finances delivered by the Depression, the Second World War and the falling percentage of Anglo-Jews who were paying members of synagogues, the financial status of the rabbinate continued to rise during the modern period. This was partially the result of the regenerative forces conjured up by the Jewish War Memorial scheme and much more significantly, at least in the post-World War II period, by the exigencies of supply and demand.

The change of ministerial status was, in the modern period, conditioned largely by the altered position of the synagogue within the community as a whole. Whether the minister was

²⁸⁵Maurice Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 122 discounted this, at least in post World War II period: "No more than 30% of London Jewry make regular contributions to J.P.A."

ideally a preacher-minister or a learned rabbi was of relative unimportance, for it was the institution in which he performed his role that had itself been displaced.

In the earlier two periods, the synagogue still had a functional centrality corresponding to real needs either in terms of assimilation or self-identification; in the latter period these needs were answered by extra synagogal bodies. A largely middle-class community, increasingly self-employed or professionalized, found its interests beyond the synagogue, which it tended to see more in terms of status or being fashionable than anything else.

As our study closes, we see a rabbinate which is attempting to end its comparative functional isolation by an appeal for a wider role in Anglo-Jewish affairs. Although not yet professional in terms of salary, it nevertheless aspires to such a status. Its success may depend on the ability to delineate a specific and unambiguous professional role for itself amidst the rising generations of Anglo-Jewry. As the ministry is able to uncover and serve the inner needs of the congregations, it can successfully afford to discard the roles assigned to it by earlier periods.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Feudal and medieval ideals, although deflated by the industrial revolution, continue to exercise residual power in England as evidenced by the hierarchical and stratified nature of her society. It is therefore no surprise to find that the basic pattern of Anglo-Jewish life is still one of patronage in which a few powerful lay leaders offer their protection in return for unity, order, and a high degree of co-operation on the part of the Jewish community as a whole. Thus, although the synagogal institutions after 1840 became progressively democratized, this lingering feudalism prevented the democratic process from reaching down too deeply beyond certain outward forms. The minister, for example, remained a servant and by and large did not reach a position in which he had the automatic right to a place upon synagogal or community councils. This patronage was in turn increasingly exercised, not by Jewishly educated individuals, but by more or less beneficent businessmen, a tradition which relates back to the original commercial nature of the Cromwellian resettlement itself. A community founded

on such a basis can only find room for a rabbinate which will conform to its needs, and undoubtedly the drive which produced the preacher-ministers was so conditioned. Despite the temporary emergence of a more rabbinical figure during the immigrant years, the rabbi tended to fall back into a pattern and adopt a role in which he would not disturb the equilibrium, and thus draw attention to the Jewish community which he served.

A perpetually "other-directed" society, Anglo-Jewry was content, except for example under extreme provocations at the time of Mosley, or under the enlightened representations of a Moses Montefiore, to carry on an unobtrusive existence below the levels of English life. In a word what all this adds up to is assimilation. However, in the specific pattern of Anglo-Jewish assimilation to its host culture--involving among other things a mimicry of English ecclesiastical institutions--the effect upon the role and status of the English ministry was not a fortunate one. Alone this explanation is not adequate, for although there were equivalences of salary and nomenclature between the Anglo-Jewish ministry and the established church, we note that the Anglo-Jewish community as a religious minority had an autonomy not shared by the Church of England, which was never fully disestablished.

In the United States the rabbinate achieved status largely as a result of the efforts of Reform rabbis, who in turn

modelled their clergy upon the other denominations. Specifically the American rabbi gained respect by his secular activities in the community. In England the Reform or Liberal movements claimed only a small percentage of the total synagogue affiliation and for this reason their rabbis played no similar role. This may in part be due to their numerical weakness, but also because they could not function as secular leaders in their community on the lines of their American cousins. The failure to obtain this role may have been fatal to any attempt to gain lasting status.

Status, while not equivalent to stipend, nevertheless had strong affinities to it. The ongoing problem was, however, for what role could the English minister or rabbi be compensated? He did not fulfil the functional position in the community of the American rabbi, and he was not an established spokesman as in the case of Germany. Then again he had no place in the strong institutional pattern dominated by the Chief Rabbi and the Beth Din, or on the representative institutions such as the Board of Deputies. The United Synagogue, in turn, was also under lay control and despite all attempts at reform remained at the level of a business corporation in which the minister was an employee.

The question of role ambivalence and status thus springs not only from internal problems attendant upon the varied ministerial images cast up by the established English middle class, or the newer immigrant families, but also from the

undelineated position of the Jewish minister within the communal structure as a whole. From its inception Anglo-Jewry was dominated by lay figures. At no time did the English rabbi have the opportunity to take the initiative in fomenting harmony or unity in the community, nor could Anglo-Jewry say that its structure or future at any time depended upon the ability, imagination or perseverance of its ministers.

Such institutions as did arise sprung from the hypersensitivity of Anglo-Jewry and the need to discipline itself through its institutions as a means of self-defence. In this defensive process it was the laity which took the lead and the rabbinate became a subsidiary tool to that end. Even in the agitations for self-identity which were attendant upon the immigration period the rabbinical diploma was only tardily introduced, and the disruptive elements slowly forced into line by the absorptive power of the United Synagogue and the Federation.

The external pressures in the English environment occasioned a response, but the character of that response was conditioned by factors unique to the Anglo-Jewish community. There was perhaps a need for a powerful Chief Rabbinate and the centralised bureaucracy of a United Synagogue, but the form they took need not have entailed the overwhelming lay control which they in fact manifested. The Anglo-Jewish minister lacking from the outset a responsible and wide-ranging communal position could only become increasingly subservient to the institutional machinery and, when the synagogue itself was displaced, increasingly redundant.

The supremacy of the Adlers, the some time nomenclature of minister, the ambivalence of the rabbinic role, are all by-products of a system which allowed the ministry to become functionaries and thus liable to the criticisms of a society in which the laity had, and still possesses, the dominant position.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Ministerial Incomes as Indicated in Newspaper Advertisements

KEY

V.J. = Voice of Jacob

J.C. = Jewish Chronicle

J.G. = Jewish Guardian

Sunderland = History of the Sunderland Jewish Community.

* = Coverage and notation of all advertisements appearing in the Jewish Chronicle during one complete year.

P = Perquisites

N/S = No salary specified

COL = Temporary cost of living bonus

child = Children's allowance

N.B. All salaries quoted are computed at pounds per annum.

Location	Date & Ref.	רש"י קורא	הנהל	רש"י	SECRETARY	Spec. Requirements	Salary	Remarks
Portsmouth	V.J., No. 65 Feb. 2, 1844	X		X	X	Hebrew instructor. If competent to deliver lectures in English. Preferred.	90	
Manchester Cong.	V.J., No. 95 Jan. 31, 1845	X				Competent. Lecturer. Age not over 40.	150	
Manchester Hebrew Assn.	V.J., No. 101 Apr. 25, 1845					Competent lecturer and teacher to deliver religious discourses in English at the synagogue. Conduct Hebrew & English school.	180	
Manchester Cong.	V.J., No. 102 May 9, 1845	X				Age not over 40.	100	
Hebrew Cong. Dublin	V.J., No. 17 May 7, 1847	X	X		X	Hebrew teacher. If competent to lecture in English. Consideration.	70	P and income from teaching
Sheffield Heb. Cong.	V.J., No. 23 July 30, 1847	X				Teacher	52	
Manchester (local rabbi)	J.C., No. 31 May 5, 1854					Dr. Schiller-Szinessy to act in conjunction with Rev. Dr. Adler	250/300	
Central Synagogue	J.C., No. 38 Jun. 23, 1854					A.L. Green appointed reader & preacher <u>pro tem.</u>	300	Free residence
Swansea	J.C., Vol. XVI Jan. 21, 1859						75	

Manchester	J.C., Vol. XVI Feb. 18, 1859		X		150/200	
Wolverhampton	J.C., Vol. XVI Apr. 15, 1859		X		60	
Manchester Cong. of Bri- tish Jews	J.C., Vol. XVI Jan. 6, 1860			Minister & theologian, sincerely attached to the cause of progress within tenets of the Jewish faith.	N/S	
Birmingham	J.C., Vol. XVI Aug. 24, 1860			Lecturer	300	
Sunderland Heb. Cong.	<u>Sunderland</u> p. 54 Sept. 29, 1861	X	X	Teacher of Hebrew and English	80	House rent free
Newcastle-on- Tyne	J.C. New Series May 13, 1872		X	X	65	P
Cardiff	J.C. Jun. 14, 1872	X			80	P
Norwich	J.C. Jul. 5, 1872	X	X		42	P
Liverpool New Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug. 2, 1872	X		Lecturer	150	House, rent and tax free
"	J.C. Nov. 15, 1872		1st	Minister. Age not to exceed 40. Must be able to lecture in English language. Choir	200	House, rent and tax free

Location	Date	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Occupation	Age	Notes
West Hartlepool	J.C. Aug. 16, 1872	X				Teacher	80	House and gas free + P-- "considerable"
"	J.C. Aug. 30, 1872	X				Teacher	100	P
Newport Heb. Cong.	J.C. Sep. 6, 1872		X		X		80	House, rent, gas free + P
Manchester Heb. Cong.	J.C. Oct. 18, 1872	1st	X			Training a choir	200	P
"	J.C. May 21, 1873	X	X			Training a choir	200	P + prospect of early advance
Sheffield Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov. 1, 1872	X	X	X		Applicants under 40 No. <u>Cohen</u> .	100	
"	J.C. Aug. 1, 1873	X	X	X		Applicants under 40 No. <u>Cohen</u> .	150	P
Edinburgh	J.C. Nov. 15, 1872	X	X	X		Under 40	75	Free house
Birmingham Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jan. 10, 1873	1st	X			Not a <u>Cohen</u> . Not over 40.	250	With residence
Princes St. Spitalfields	J.C. Feb. 21, 1873	X	X				50	
Pontypridd Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb. 21, 1873	X	X	X			52	
Wolverhampton	J.C. Feb. 21, 1873	X	X	X			100	

Manchester Cong. of Bri- tish Jews.	J.C. Jun.6,1873					Minister acquainted with Jewish theology. English sermons.	300	Fixed salary of £300. Addi- tional income of £200-300 has hitherto been realized.
Sunderland Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.11,1873	X	X				100	
Leeds Gt.Syn.	J.C. Jul.25,1879	X	X			Conduct choir	156	
Sunderland Heb.Cong.	J.C. Jul.25,1879	X	X	X			80	Good P
Bristol Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug.22,1879		X			Lecturer	200	Salary not exceeding £200 p.a.
Hanley Heb. Cong.	J.C. Sep.26,1879	X	X	X			65	Free residence P+teaching children over £25 p.a.
Swansea Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb.18,1881	X	X	X	X	Collector. Must be married.	100	P
Sunderland Heb.Cong.	J.C. Mch.4,1881					Preacher and Hebrew teacher.	100	
North London Synagogue	J.C. Mch.11,1881				2nd X	Preacher	200	
"	J.C. Mch.18,1881				X X	Preacher.	200/260	

Belfast Heb. Cong.	J.C. Mch.18,1881				Minister. Must be unmarried	N/S
Leeds Gt. Syn.	J.C. Apl.15,1881	X		1st	Choir leader	156
Polish Syn. Hounsdlitch	J.C. May 13,1881	X	X			24
Manchester Heb.Cong.	J.C. Jun.24,1881	X		1st		200
Cardiff Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov.11,1881	X	X	X	X	100

Location	Date & Ref.	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Spec. Requirements	Salary	Remarks
East London Syn.	J.C. Mch.28,1890	X				X		140	3 years at option of the Board. Free residence and taxes
Central Hull Cong.	J.C. Apr.4,1890		X	X	X			90	
Stroud Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jun.6.,1890		X	X			Hebrew lessons	65	To start
St. John's Wood Syn.	J.C. Jul,11,1890					X	Secretary. To sign an agreement and insure his life on terms approved by Council. Not over 40.	300	Inclusive of all fees, all allowances for rent, etc.
West Hartlepool Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.11,1890	X	X	X	X		Hebrew teacher	55	Free house, gas, water & taxes
Liverpool Old Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.18,1890						Minister. English and of English parents. To preach and assist in services.	300	
Cork Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug.1,1890						Hebrew & English teacher	100	(£50 granted by Provincial Ministers Fund).
Nottingham	J.C. Aug.15,1890	X	X	X	X		(Teacher and lecturer £150 p.a.)	100	
Merthyr Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov.28,1890						Minister, teacher.	100	(£50 of which from Provincial Ministers Fund).
Cardiff	J.C. Dec.19,1890		X				Minister. Teach children in Hebrew and English	200	(£50 from Provincial Ministers Fund).

Brondebury Syn.	J.C. Jan.12,1906				X	Secretary. Not over 40.	200	Appointment for one year.
Dundee Heb. Cong.	J.C. Mch.9,1906	X	X	X		Teacher	65	+ P
Reading Heb. Cong.	J.C. Mch.23,1906	X	X	X		Teacher	65	
Bournemouth	J.C. May 4,1906	X		X	X	Teacher	150	
Dalston	J.C. Jun.29,1906				X	Not over 40.	225	Free residence, rates and taxes.
Central Hull Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.20,1906	X	X	X	X		78	P
Bristol Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug.10,1906	X				Assistant teacher and porger. <u>Chazan</u> preferred.	75	
Woolwich Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug.31,1906		X		X	Teacher. Under 35.	From 75	
Plymouth Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug.31,1906				2nd	Teacher. Able to porge	100	
Gt.Yarmouth	J.C. Sep.7,1906	X		X		Teacher	65	P
Gateshead-en-Tyne	J.C. Nov.23,1906	X	X	X	X	State age and salary required.	N/S	
Sunderland Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jan.10,1908					Minister. Teacher	N/S	
Manchester New Syn. & Beth Hamidrash	J.C. Feb.14,1908	X				Train and conduct choir	208	

Grinsby	J.C. Mch.13,1908	X	X	X	X		104	Later increased to 130.
Belfast Heb. Cong.	J.C. Mch.20,1908	X		X	X		125	
Borough Syn.	J.C. Apl.10,1908					X One year contract	100	
Dundee Heb. Cong.	J.C. Apl.10,1908		X	X	X	Teacher	65	+ P
New Syn. Liverpool	J.C. May 1,1908	X					N/S	
Beth Hamedrash Hagodel, Leeds	J.C. May 15,1908	X		X	X		100	+ <u>shechitat</u> <u>ofot</u> , etc.
Cardiff Heb. Cong.	J.C. May 15,1908	X				Train choir. Hebrew classes.	150	
"	J.C. May 22,1908					English minister & head- master of Hebrew classes.	150	
Portsmouth Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jun.5,1908	2nd		X		Teacher	91	Free residence, taxes and gas.
Tonypandy Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jun.12,1908		X	X		Teacher	54/12/-	Free house and extras
Merthyr Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.10,1908	X		X	X		125	
New Philpot St.Syn.London	J.C. Jul,10,1908	X	X				N/S	
Dalry Heb. Cong. Edinburgh	J.C. Jul.31,1908	X		X	X	Teacher. Single man preferred.	65	

Pontypridd	J.C. Aug.21,1908	X		X	X	Teacher in Yiddish and English	91	
Queens Park Heb. Cong. Glasgow	J.C. Aug.21,1908	X			X	Assistant teacher	N/S	
New Syn. New-castle-on-Tyne.	J.C. Sep.11,1908	X		X			N/S	
Nottingham Heb. Cong.	J.C. Sep.25,1908					Minister. Teacher	100/130	According to qualifications
New West End Syn.	J.C. Nov.13,1908				X	Minister. Preacher. 2 year appointment renewable at Syn. option.	Not exceeding 600	
Bradford Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov.20,1908					Minister (preacher & teacher).	N/S	State wages required
Gateshead United Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov.27,1908	X	X	X	X	Teacher	N/S	State salary required.
'Rising Cong. in N.London"	J.C. Jul.1,1910	X		X		Teacher	50	
United Syn. & Beth Hamid-rash Hagadol, Manchester	J.C. Jul.8,1910	X					N/S	
Aberdeen Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.8,1910			X	X	X	71/10/-	

		X	X	X			
Byron Heb. Cong. Leeds	J.C. Jul. 29, 1910	X	X	X	Under 40	54	
Edinburgh Centrak Syn.	J.C. Oct. 14, 1910	X	X	X	Minister	78/91	To commence
Edinburgh Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov. 4, 1910	2nd	X		Assistant <u>mohel</u> . Teacher	75	To commence
Federation of Synagogues	J.C. Nov. 18, 1910				Chief minister	500	11 year appointment
Liverpool Old Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jan. 13, 1911	X		X	Choirmaster	200	Max. salary
South Shields Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jan. 27, 1911	X	X	X	Teacher. Under 35	75	
Bangor Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb. 10, 1911		X	X	Teacher. 'Application from 130 a superior gentleman'.		
Coventry Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb. 10, 1911	X		X	Teacher	75	

Location	Date & Ref.	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Spec. Requirements	Salary	Remarks
Blackburn Heb. Cong.	J.G. Nov.7,1919	X	X	X				312	
Manchester New Syn. & Beth Hamedrash	J.G. Dec.5,1919	X					1st To train choir	500/600	
Aberavon and Port Talbot	J.C. Jan.7,1921		X		X		Teacher	312	
Barrow Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb.4,1921	X	X				Teacher	260	House and light free
Cork Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb.21,1921	X	X	X	X		Teacher	416	
Great Syn.	J.C. Mch.25,1921						2nd Capable of acting as <u>Baal Koreh</u>	400	Rising every 2 years by £10 to £500.
New Syn. Stam- ford Hill	J.C. Apl.1,1921						Assistant reader	250	
Liverpool Central Syn.	J.C. May 13,1921	X			X		To lead choir	400	
Shaw St.Syn. Liverpool	J.C. May 27,1921	X						500	
Dundee Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jun.10,1921	X	X	X			Teacher	250	+P (Later revised to 260).

Brixton Syn.	J.C. Jul.8,1921			X	Two year probation	300	Rising biannually to 400
Bradford Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.29,1921	X	X	X	Assistant teacher	286	
Chester Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jul.29,1921		X		Teacher	275	
Doncaster Heb. Cong.	J.C. Aug.5,1921		X	X	Teacher	260	+P
Cricklewood Syn.	J.C. Jan.15,1932			X	Minister	550	Offered to pay income tax. Rising to max. £700.
Brondesbury Syn.	J.C. Jan.29,1932			X		550	Maximum of £650
Birmingham Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jan.29,1932	X		X	1st Good communal worker	500	
East London Syn.	J.C. Apl.15,1932			X		425	Maximum of 500
Hull Old Heb. Cong.	J.C. May 20,1932				1st	416	
Hull Old Heb. Cong.	J.C. May 20,1932	X	X	X	2nd	208	
Canning Town	J.C. Jun.17,1932				Minister. Able to act as reader.	156	

Stoke Newington	J.C. Mch.25,1938	X		475	Rising to 575
Finsbury Pk. Dist. Syn.	J.C. Mch.25,1938		Assistant reader. Minister 200 Headmaster		
Brixton Syn.	J.C. Jan.27,1950	X		600	Rising by biannual increment to 700 + 10% COL
Bayswater Syn.	J.C. Feb.3,1950		Minister	750	Rising to 850 + 10% COL
Finsbury Pk. Dist. Syn.	J.C. Feb.10,1950		Minister	550	Rising to 650 + 10% COL
Preston Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb.17,1950		Minister. Teacher	550	Free flat and expense allowance
East Ham, Manor Pk. & Ilford Dist. Syn.	J.C. Apl.7,1950		Minister	550	Plus 10% COL
Ruislip & Dis. Heb. Cong.	J.C. Apl.7,1950	X	Minister. Teacher	500	Plus 10% COL
Kingsbury Dist. Cong.	J.C. Apl.14,1950	X	Minister. Teacher	550	Plus 10% COL
Regents Pk. & Belsize Pk. Dist. Syn.	J.C. May 19,1950		Minister	600	Plus 10% COL
Ilford Dist. Syn.	J.C. May 19,1950	X	Teacher	550	Rising to 660 inc. 10% COL. Contributory superannuation & pension scheme.

Southend & Westcliff Heb. Cong.	J.C. Jan. 5, 1951			Rabbinical and/or academic 850 qualifications desirable. Minister. Headmaster.		
Upton Pk. Dist. Syn.	J.C. Jan. 12, 1951	X	X	Minister	550	Rising to 650 + 10% COL
Addiscombe & Dist. Syn.	J.C. Jan. 19, 1951			Minister	400/500	
Dalston Syn.	J.C. Jan. 26, 1951			Minister	657	Rising to 775 + 10% COL and <u>child</u>
Finsbury Pk. Dist. Syn.	J.C. Feb. 2, 1951	X		Minister	625	Rising to 725 + 10% COL and <u>child</u>
Harrow & Kenton Dist. Syn.	J.C. Feb. 2, 1951			Minister	625	Rising to 725 + 10% COL and <u>child</u>
Sutton & Dist. Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb. 9, 1951			Minister (part-time)	250	Plus free residence
Cork Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb. 16, 1951	X		Minister, teacher.	700	+ P
Whitby Bay Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb. 23, 1951		X	Teacher	450	+ Free house
Stoke New- ington Syn.	J.C. Mch. 2, 1951			Minister	775	Rising to 875 + 10% COL and <u>child</u>
Finchley Syn.	J.C. Mch. 9, 1951			Minister	900	Rising to 1050 + 10% COL and <u>child</u>

Finchley Syn.	J.C. Mch.9,1951		X		725	Rising to 825
Kingsbury Syn.	J.C. Mch.9,1951		X	Minister. Teacher.	625	Rising to 725 + 10% COL and <u>child</u>
Cork Heb. Cong.	J.C. Feb.3,1956	X	X	Minister. Teacher	1100	+ P
Finsbury Pk. Dist. Syn.	Mch.2,1956 J.C.			Minister	775	Rising to 875 + <u>child</u>
Wembley Syn.	J.C. Mch.2,1956			Minister	1012	Rising to 1181 + <u>child</u>
Wembley Syn.	J.C. Mch.9,1956		X		800	Rising to 925 + <u>child</u>
East London Syn.	J.C. Apl.13,1956		X		800	Rising to 925 + <u>child</u>
Kingsbury Dist.Syn.	J.C. Nov.22,1957			Minister	925	Rising to 1025 + <u>child</u>
Stockport Heb. Cong.	J.C. Nov.22,1957			Minister. Teacher		
Edgware Syn.	J.C. Nov.29,1957			Minister	1000	
Glasgow New Syn.	J.C. Jan.17,1958			Minister	1000	+ P and super-annuation
Dalston Syn.	J.C. Jan.31,1958			Minister	1100	+ <u>child</u>
Kenton Affiliated Syn.	J.C. Jan.31,1958			Minister	825	Rising to 925

Cricklewood Syn.	J.C. Feb.14,1958	X	1000	Rising to 1150
Hackney Syn.	J.C. Mch.7,1958	X	975	+ <u>child</u>
Higher Prest- wich Heb. Cong.	J.C. Mch.21,1958	Minister	650/850	
Bayswater Syn.	J.C. May 23,1958	X	850	Rising to 975 + <u>child</u>

קמו

כל המותרות מקהל, אשר ביד הגובה, תהיינה נפקדות
באפותיקי המדינה, באופן אשר ישיב בעיניהם:

קמד

אם לא נמצא ביד הגובה די תשלום הוצאות הקהלה,
ברשות הקהל באסיפה לגבות מעות על צד
הלואה, או באופן אחר, כפי ראות עיניהם:

קמה

רשות ביד ראשי העדה אם השעה צריכה לכך
למכור מנכסי הקהל Funds (הון מנכסי עזבוניות)
עד סך שלא יעלה על אלף לטורות לשנה אחת, אמנם
אין בכחם להוציא יותר מסך הנ"ל כי אם ברשות הקהל
באסיפה:

(Trustees). מהמנים

קמו

ארבעה אנשים יהיו נבחרים מבין ראשי העדה,
להתעסק בכל מיני אפותיקי מנכסי הקהל,
באופנים הנזכרים, והמה יהתמו שטר מהמנא (Trust deed)
בענין התעסקות הזה:

קמו

אם יעדר א' ממהמנים הנ"ל, או אם ימאן לקבל
פקודתו, על ראשי העדה לבחור אחר למלא
מקומו תוך חדש ימים אם אפשר:

מהרב אב"ד

קמז

הנהגות העדה בדברים הנוגעים לדת ישראל היא
תחת יד הרב אב"ד:

קמט

הוא מנהל עדתו בנתיבות הדת, ובמנהגי אבותינו—
ועליו להורות לכל מי שישאל תורת ה' מפיהו:

קנ

ודורש ברבים בשבת הגדול ובשבת תשובה קודם
קריאת התורה, ובשבתות הללו הוא חייב
לעלות לתורה:

קנא

וברצונו הטוב ידרוש טוב לעמו בשאר שבתות תוך
השנה, ובכל עת אם ישאלו הפרנסים את
פיהו לדרוש ברבים, ודרוש כזה יהי תמיד אחר קריאת
התורה:

קנב

ויקך הוא לכבוד הצבור שיתפלל לפני התיבה תפלות של, גשם, ונעילה :

קנג

כל הנהגה בבהכ"נ מה שנוגע לעניני הדת ולמנהגי ישראל, היא תחת יד הרב אב"ד, אמנם כל שארי הנהגות, הלא המה תחת ממשלת הפרנסים והגבאים, ובהפקד מקומם, תחת יד ראשי העדה וראה תקנה רמ"ח :

קנד

חובת האב"ד לסדר קדושין לכל איש ישראל בקהלה, אם יקבל רשות לזה בכתב מראש הפרנסים, ומבלעדי הרשיון הזה, אין בכחו לסדר קדושין הן בקהלתנו והן בקהלה אחרת פה :

קנה

אם יארע הדבר שיצא שם רע על הכלה, או פרסום דבר שלא כהוגן על ההתן, או הוא על הרב אב"ד לדרוש ולהקור באמתת הענין, ואם אמת נכון הדבר, ברשות הרב אב"ד להפקיד אחר במקומו לסדור הקדושין, וכל זה יהי בהסכמת ראש הפרנסים :

קנו

אין בכח שום אחד בקהלה לסדר קדושין, מבלי התרה מהאב"ד ורשות מראש הפרנסים :

קנז

והאיש אשר יעשה בזדון לסדר קדושין מבלי התרה ורשיון כנ"ל ענוש יענש, הוא וגם העדים שחתמו הכתובה, כפי ראות עיני ראשי העדה :

קנח

מכל סדור קדושין יקבל הרב אב"ד סך אי גינע אם לא יעלה סך הנדן על מאה לטרות, אמנם אם לא תשיג יד הבעלים יהי שכרו חצי גינע :

קנט

אם יעלה סך הנדן על מאה לטרות, יקבל הרב אב"ד חצי גינע על כל מאה ומאה העולה על הסך הראשון, אמנם אם סך הנדן הוא מאלף לטרות ומעלה, תהי חוספת שכר קדושין כפי נדבת לב הבעלים :

קס

כל עניני גט וחליצה, המה תחת יד הרב אב"ד ושכרו מזה הוא כפי השגת יד הבעלים—ואם עניים המה, והסופר והעדים יקבלו שכר עבודתם לזה מקופת

הצדקה, גם הרב אב"ד יפשוך אותם מתשלומים, וכל זה תהי' ביריעת ראש הפרנסים, ובהסכמתו:

קסא

אם יישיב בעיני הר"אבד, לתת סמיכת חבר או מורנו לאחד מב"ב דקהלה, תהי' נה בהסכמת הפרנסים:

קסב

כל כתבי הכשר הבאים ממדינות אחרות יהיו מוחזקים בח"י הרב אב"ד, ושכרו מזה הוא חמשה שיללינג:

קסג

אין בכח הרב אב"ד לשום חרם על יחידי הקהלה—וגם אין בכחו להעביר ב"ב מחזקתו, ומחזכיות המגיעות לו מצד התקנה, כ"א ברשות ראשי העדה:

עבודת בהכ"נ

קסד

העבודה בבהכ"נ תהי' ע"י אלה משרתי העבודה—שני חזנים ושמש—וראשי העדה יסדרו את עבודת הקודש אשר עליהם כפי רצונם:

קסה

החזנים והשמש יעמדו על משמרת הקודש, מהודרים בבגדי עבודתם כנהוג, ערב, ובקר מהתחלת זמן התפלה עד סופה, וכל מי שהגיע עליו התור

להתפלל בימי חול, יתפלל מראשית התפלה עד סופה, אבל בשבתות וי"ט יוכל להפקיד אחר משאר משרתי העבודה לסדר התפלה עד תפלת שוכן עד:

קסו

חזן שהגיע יומו להתפלל, ולא היה על מקומו כנ"ל יקנס כפי ראות עיני הפרנסים:

קסז

בהפקד מקום החזן העומד על משמרת העבודה, חובת חזן השני להתפלל במקומו, ואם יפקדו שניהם, על השמש לשרת בקודש, ומי שלא יעמוד על משמרתו יקנס כנ"ל:

קסח

אין פוטרים את משרתי העבודה מעבודתם המיוחדת להם, אם לא מחמת אונס או משום סבה מה, שיכשר הדבר בעיני הפרנסים לפטרם מקנס:

קסט

שכר קדושין לחזנים ושמש, הוא המהצה בערך מה שמקבל הרב אב"ד לסדור קדושין [ראה תקנות קנה וקנט]:

Regulations governing the election and office of the New Chief Rabbi 1843. Voice of Jacob, 3rd March, 1843.

"At Meetings of the Representatives of the several Metropolitan and Provincial Congregations, appointed to confer on matters relating to the Office of Chief Rabbi, held at the Vestry Room of the Great Synagogue, London, on Sunday, the 19th, and Tuesday, the 21st day of "Adar Reshon," 5603, being the 19th and 21st of February, 1843, Isaac Cohen, Esq. in the Chair, it was resolved:—

1. That this Conference, having heard the Resolutions of the Committee of the Great Synagogue of the 14th November last, are of opinion, that

it is desirable that a Chief Rabbi be appointed, duly authorised as the Spiritual Guide and Director of all the Jews of this Empire.

2. That the amount required for the maintenance of the dignity of the office of Chief Rabbi, be raised by sums to be contributed by the various Congregations in the Empire, in such manner as shall be hereafter agreed upon.

3. That no person be admitted a Candidate unless he be a Chief Rabbi, רב א"ב, and must have held such office at least six months immediately preceding the death of the late lamented Rev. SOLOMON HIRSCHEL.

4. That each Candidate shall present to the Committee, Testimonials of ability from Chief Rabbis and others, and shall be expected to be well acquainted with Ancient Classical and Modern General Literature, and to have a competent knowledge of some of the Modern European Languages.

5. That he shall be able to deliver Discourses when required; and the successful Candidate will be expected to qualify himself to deliver such Discourses in the English Language, within two years from the date of his appointment.

6. That the Candidates shall not be under thirty, nor above forty-two years of age, at ראש השנה תר"ג (5603).

7. That a Committee, consisting of the same number, and in the same proportion as compose this Conference (of whom eleven shall form a quorum), be appointed by the several uniting London Congregations to select Candidates, and that from the number of Candidates for the vacant office, not less than two, nor more than five, be returned for election.

8. That it is desirable, in the election of Chief Rabbi, the votes of each Synagogue be taken separately, agreeably to their own Regulations; but that the Candidate returned by each Synagogue be taken as having each a number of votes estimated, according to the amount subscribed by such Congregation, on the following Scale:—

Per Annum.			Per Annum.		
£ 5, and under £10,	1 Vote.		£ 50, and under £ 75,	10 Votes.	
10, "	15, 2 "		75, "	100, 20 "	
15, "	20, 3 "		100, "	150, 25 "	
20, "	25, 4 "		150, "	200, 30 "	
25, "	30, 5 "		200, "	300, 35 "	
30, "	40, 6 "		300, "	400, 40 "	
40, "	50, 8 "		400, and upwards	50 "	

9. That this Conference is of opinion that the Salary of the intended Chief Rabbi should be not less than £1100 per annum, which shall include the payment of an efficient Secretary, and the sum of £100 annually for a Life Assurance, (such Policy of Insurance to be considered as a provision for the family of the Chief Rabbi after his decease), but shall be irrespective of what may be required for the annual payment of an Ecclesiastical Board.

10. That the Delegation for the Great Synagogue having stated their intention to recommend their Congregation to subscribe an annual amount of £500, (irrespective of what they now contribute to the Ecclesiastical Board), the several Congregations in London and the Provinces be requested to intimate to the Secretary, by letter, or through their representative, on or before the 20th of March next, the amount they will be willing to contribute toward the annual fund required for the purpose.

11. That the Honorary Officers, and three of the committee of the Great Synagogue, together with the Honorary Officers, (for the time being), of the other London uniting Synagogues, do constitute a permanent committee, with which the Chief Rabbi may communicate, when necessary, on any subject relative to the exercise of the duties of his office, through the medium of the President of the Great Synagogue.

12. That should it unfortunately happen that the רב should fail in his duty, the conjoint committee, composed as above, shall in the first instance inquire into the matter; and, if they deem it requisite, convene a meeting of twenty-three Delegates, (to be elected by the vestries of the London uniting congregations, in the same proportion as constitute this conference), and such body, consisting of the conjoint committee and delegates, shall, after investigation, be empowered to do what is just and necessary.
13. That the Chief Rabbi shall have the general religious direction and superintendence of each of the uniting congregations.
14. That he shall determine all questions on religious points referred to him by any member of any such congregation.
15. That he shall deliver Discourses in the several Synagogues, at such times as shall be hereafter arranged.
16. That he shall perform the Marriage Ceremony for the בעלי בתים (Members) and תושבים (Seatholders) of all the uniting London congregations, their widows and children, under such regulations as shall be hereafter agreed upon.
17. That he shall superintend the affairs of שחיטה, both in London and the Provinces, assisted by the gentlemen of the בית דין, under such regulations as may be adopted by the conjoint committee of the שחיטה.
18. That he shall determine all religious matters referred to him by any of the Subscribing Provincial Congregations, and shall give חתרת קדושין without fee, on receiving a request from the President of any such Congregation, provided he see no cause to withhold such permission, and shall give קבלה when a שוחרט is required.
19. That he shall be recommended to visit the Public Educational Establishments, and to assist in carrying out their objects.
20. That he shall on no account denounce חרם (anathema) against any person, neither shall he deprive any member of his religious rights in the Synagogue, without the consent of the Committee of the Congregation to which such person shall belong.
21. That he shall occasionally visit the country, to superintend the religious condition of the Provincial Congregations, at such periods as his duties in London will permit; the mode of disbursement to be arranged at a future meeting.
22. That copies of the foregoing Resolutions be forwarded to the Presidents of each of the Metropolitan and Provincial Synagogues, and to the Colonies.
23. That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to ISAAC COHEN, Esq., for his very able and impartial conduct in the Chair."

APPENDIX IV

Rules and Regulations and Subjects of Examination for Obtaining the ~~Rabbinic Diploma from Jews' College, 1901.~~ Isadore Harris, Jews' College Jubilee Volume, 1855-1905.

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The following gentlemen were appointed members of this Committee: The President, the Principal, the Theological Tutor, the Senior Tutor, Messrs. M. N. ADLER, ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, JUDAH D. ISRAEL, and E. L. MOCATTA, Prof. SCHECHTER, and the Revs. M. HYAMSON and S. SINGER. After holding many meetings, the Committee recommended the following Scheme of Examination, which was duly adopted by the Council: —

החזרת הוראה

DIPLOMA OF RABBI.

RULES AND REGULATIONS AND SUBJECTS OF EXAMINATION.

- (1) Candidates for the Diploma of Rabbi shall be required to have passed the Third or Final Hebrew and Theological Examination of the College, and the Degree Examination of some recognized University, or some Equivalent Examination.

The Council shall be empowered, in exceptional cases, to dispense with the qualification of the University Degree. The Third or Final Hebrew and Theological Examination of the College shall be obligatory for all Candidates.

- (2) Every Candidate must, at least three Calendar months before the Examination, inform the Principal of his proposed candidature, and must obtain from him within that period a Certificate, confirmed by the President, that in respect of his religious and moral life he is a fit and proper person to be entered for the Examination.
- (3) The Examination shall be held during the month of December in each year, and the first Examination for the Diploma shall be held in the year 1903.

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- (4) The Scheme and Subjects of Examination shall be as follows: —

I. TALMUD.

Candidates must be able, after a preparation lasting not more than two hours, to expound a סוגיא in any one of the following Masechtoth: — גמין, וחולין, וומא, קרושין, גמין, וחולין, שבת, מסכים, וומא, קרושין, גמין, וחולין, with the Commentaries of Rashi and Tosafoth.

II. SHULCHAN ARUCH.

Candidates must pass (a) a *vivâ voce* and (b) a written Examination,

(a) *Vivâ Voce*;

Solution of שאלות in

אורח חיים יורה דעה. אבן העזר (ה' אישות
ה' קרושין ה' גמין וחליצה) חושן משפט (דיני פסולי העדות)

(b) *In writing*;

Not less than ten searching questions (שאלות והשוכות) in the above to be answered in writing. The Candidate to be permitted the use of the עם בא"ח ופ"ה during this part of the Examination.

III. During the twelve months preceding the Examination, opportunities shall be given to Candidates to become conversant with the practical portions of מילה ומילה שחיטה וכדיקה ומילה with the answering of שאלות דיני א"ה and the סידור גמין וחליצה.

IV. The Examination shall not last longer than three days.

- (5) To conduct the Examination, the following (or such of them as shall be able and willing to act) shall be constituted as the Board of Examiners: —

The President (the Chief Rabbi); the Haham; the Principal; the Theological Tutor; and a Member of the Beth Din to be nominated by the Council, and to hold office for the ensuing Examination.

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The President shall be the Chairman of the Examiners, with an additional casting vote in the event of an equality of votes.

- (6) As soon as possible after the Examination, and within one calendar month, the Principal shall draw up a Report for the Council upon each Candidate separately; each such Report shall state the recommendation of the Examiners, and in the case of a successful student that he has been recommended to the President of the College (the Chief Rabbi) as competent for החרת הוראה, the Diploma of Rabbi.

In the case of an unsuccessful Candidate, the Report shall clearly state in what subject or subjects he has failed to satisfy the Examiners. A Candidate who has failed to pass on one occasion shall be allowed to enter for any subsequent Examination, provided that he comply with the Regulations set forth above.

- (7) The Diploma, with the Seal of Jews' College attached, shall be presented to the successful Candidate or Candidates at the Public Distribution of Prizes next following the Examination.

- (8) The Diploma shall be in Hebrew and English:

(I.) The Hebrew, written, in accordance with the customary form and phraseology;

(II.) The English, printed in the following terms:—

JEW'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

החרת הוראה

DIPLOMA OF RABBI.

As the result of an Examination conducted within the College, by the BOARD OF EXAMINERS for the החרת הוראה, consisting of: —

APPENDIX V

Curricula and Schemes of Study at Jews' College, 1905.
Isadore Harris. Jews' College Jubilee Volume, 1855-1905.

APPENDIX III.

CURRICULA AND SCHEMES OF STUDY,
1905.

I.

1.—This College, founded in the year 5616—1855, provides for the education of Rabbis, Ministers, Preachers, Readers, and Teachers of Religion for Jewish Congregations in the British Empire.

It comprises three divisions—a Preparatory Class, a Junior Students' Class, and a Senior Students' Class.

2.—The charge for Students in the Junior and Senior Classes is £30 per annum, and for Pupils in the Preparatory Class £10 per annum, but the Council have power to remit the whole or any part of these charges.

3.—The Academic year at this College begins immediately after the Summer Holidays, and is divided into three terms:— (1) A term beginning after the close of the Summer Holidays, and ending with the close of the secular year; (2) A term ending immediately before the beginning of Passover; and (3) A term extending thence to the beginning of the Summer Holidays.

4.—Examinations for entrance into the College are held shortly before the beginning of each of the above terms. Notice of such examinations is published previously.

The subjects of these examinations are Hebrew and Religion, English, Geography, History, and Arithmetic, with the addition of any two of the following:— French, German, Latin, Elementary Science, Algebra, and Geometry.

Candidates successful in these examinations begin their courses of study at the commencement of the Academic year which follows next from the date of their entrance examination.

II.

I.—PREPARATORY CLASS.

(a.) *Hebrew and Theological Studies.*

The course of these studies includes the text of the Bible, Talmud,

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doctrines and practice of the Jewish Religion, Hebrew Grammar, Jewish History, Elocution and Singing.

Pupils of this Class on passing the First Theological Examination, are, at the discretion of the Principal, promoted to the Junior Students' Class.

The subjects of the First Theological Examination are — Bible (text and commentary), Religion (principles and practice), Talmud, Liturgy, Hebrew Grammar, Jewish History, Practical Tuition in Religion, and *דיוקנות*.

(b.) *Secular Studies.*

This course is so arranged in combination with the theological studies of the Class that a pupil at the time of his passing the First Theological Examination shall have attained the grade of the Matriculation Examination of the University of London.

The subjects of study include English, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Modern Languages.

2.—JUNIOR STUDENTS' CLASS.

(a.) *Hebrew and Theological Studies.*

The curriculum of Students in this Class normally extends over two years.

The subjects of study are — Bible (text with commentaries), Talmud (with commentaries), Jewish History and Literature, Hebrew Grammar, principles and practice of Religion, Liturgy, Homiletics, Elocution, Singing, and *דיוקנות*.

Students of this Class on passing the Second Theological Examination are, at the discretion of the Principal, promoted to Division A. of the Senior Students' Class.

The subjects of the Second Theological Examination are included in the curriculum of the Class.

(b.) *Secular Studies.*

This course, which is carried on at the University College and the Jews' College jointly, is arranged so that it shall bring Students to the grade required for the Intermediate Examination in Arts in the University of London.

3.—SENIOR STUDENTS' CLASS.

Division A.

(a.) *Hebrew and Theological Studies.*

The curriculum of Students in this Class normally extends over two years.

The subjects for study include Bible (text with commentaries), Talmud, Grammar of Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac, principles and practice of Religion, Jewish History and Literature, Elocution, Singing, and *דיוקנות*.

The texts read are in the main those prescribed by the University of London for the B.A. examination in Hebrew and Syriac, the course

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being so arranged as to bring students to the grade required for that examination.

Students in this Division on passing the Third Theological Examination are, at the discretion of the Principal, promoted to Division B of the Senior Students' Class.

The subjects for the Third Theological Examination are similar to those studied in the curriculum of the Class.

(b.) Secular Studies.

Special arrangements are made for Students to pursue studies in Philosophical or Literary courses at University College.

Division B. (Class for חוררת הוראה).

This Class is for the preparation of Students for the Diploma of "Rabbi" (חוררת הוראה).

Before entering this Class Students must have passed the Third Theological of the College, together with the Degree Examination of some recognised University or some equivalent examination.*

The course of study in this Class normally extends over two and a half years.

The subjects of examinations are:— Talmud, Posekim, and Responsa.

The Examiners are:— The Very Reverend the Chief Rabbi, the Reverend Haham of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation the Principal and the Theological Tutor of the Jews' College, and a member of the Beth Din of the United Synagogue.

The following titles shall be conferred as a result of the above Theological Examinations:—

- (1) The title of Associate of Jews' College, to be granted to Students who shall have passed the Third Theological Examination and likewise graduated at a University.
- (2) The title of Fellow of Jews' College, to be granted to Students obtaining the Rabbinical Diploma.

* The Council of the College is empowered in exceptional cases to dispense with the qualification of the University Degree.

APPENDIX VI

Appointments held by ex-students of Jews' College between
1855 and 1930. 74th Annual Report of Jews' College.

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III

APPOINTMENTS HELD BY EX-STUDENTS

The following Synagogues, Schools, and Public Institutions
have obtained Ministers, Readers, and Teachers from
among the Students trained at Jews' College.

A. METROPOLITAN

UNITED SYNAGOGUE:					
DAYANIM	...	...	...	Rabbi M. HYAMSON, B.A., LL.D., 1902-1913.	
				Rabbi A. FELDMAN, PH.D., 1902-	
				Rabbi H. M. LAZARUS, M.A., 1914-	
				Rabbi L. MENDELSON, M.A., 1914-	
ASSISTANT VISITORS	IN			Rabbi M. GOLLOP, M.A., 1930-	
EAST LONDON	...	...		Mr. I. STATMAN, M.A., 1911-1912.	
				Mr. D. HIRSCH, B.A., 1912-1925.	
				Mr. L. MORRIS, B.A., 1912-1915.	
WELFARE MINISTER	...			Rev. JOHN S. HARRIS, 1925-	
BAYSWATER SYNAGOGUE	...			Rabbi Prof. Sir H. GOLLANCZ (the late), M.A., D.LIT., 1892-1924.	
				Rev. A. BARNETT, B.A. (Assistant Reader), 1914-1919.	
				Rabbi M. GOLLOP, B.A., 1923-1930.	
				Rev. W. LEVIN, 1930-	
BECONTREE HEBREW CONGREGATION				Mr. H. BORNSTEIN, B.A., 1928-1929.	
BORO' NEW SYNAGOGUE	...	...		Mr. W. MOREIN, B.A., 1929-1931.	
				Rev. S. SINGER (the late).	
				Rev. B. BERLINER (the late).	
				Rev. F. L. COHEN, 1886-1904.	
BRONDESBURY SYNAGOGUE	...			Rev. M. ROSENBAUM, 1905-	
CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE	...	...		Rabbi H. M. LAZARUS, M.A., 1905-	
DALSTON SYNAGOGUE	...	...		Rev. M. ADLER, B.A., 1903-	
				Rev. Dr. H. GOLLANCZ (the late), 1885-1892.	
				Rev. M. HYAMSON, B.A., LL.B., 1892-1902.	
				Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A., 1903-1920.	
				Rabbi S. GROSS, B.A. (the late), 1920-1923.	
EALING AND ACTON SYNAGOGUE				Rev. J. RABINOWITZ, B.A., 1925-	
EAST LONDON SYNAGOGUE	...			Rev. J. S. HARRIS, 1919-1924.	
				Rev. JOSEPH F. STERN, 1887-1928.	
				Mr. M. BRAUN, B.A. (Assistant Minister), 1911-	
GOLDERS GREEN SYNAGOGUE	...			Rev. M. ZEFFERT, 1928-	
HAMBRO' SYNAGOGUE	...	...		Rev. I. LIVINGSTONE, 1916-	
				Rev. H. GOLLANCZ (the late).	
HAMMERSMITH SYNAGOGUE	...			Rev. W. ESTERSON.	
				Rev. M. ADLER, B.A., 1890-1903.	
				Rev. S. A. ADLER (the late), 1904-1909.	
HAMPSTEAD SYNAGOGUE	...			Rev. J. S. HARRIS, 1916-1919.	
				Rev. A. A. GREEN, 1892-1930.	
				Rabbi M. GOLLOP, B.A., 1930-	

JEWS' COLLEGE

HORNSEY AND WOOD GREEN SYNAGOGUE	Rev. H. GOODMAN, 1919-
NEW SYNAGOGUE	Rev. S. LEVY, M.A., 1895-
NEW WEST END SYNAGOGUE	Rabbi S. SINGER (the late), 1879-1906.
	Rev. J. S. HARRIS (Assistant Reader), 1891-
	Rev. Dr. J. HOCHMAN, 1907-1915.
	Rev. E. LEVINE, M.A., 1915-
NORTH LONDON SYNAGOGUE	Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH (the late), 1868-1874.
	Rev. I. HARRIS, M.A., 1874-1881.
	Rev. J. A. GOULDSTEIN (the late), 1881-1902.
	Rev. W. LEVIN, 1903-1930.
	Rev. W. MOREIN, B.A., 1931-
POPLAR ASSOCIATE SYNAGOGUE	Rev. Dr. I. COSGROVE, B.A., 1928-
RICHMOND SYNAGOGUE	Rev. S. MESTEL, B.A., 1918-1919.
ST. JOHN'S WOOD SYNAGOGUE	Rev. Dr. H. GOLLANCZ (the late), 1876-1880.
	Rev. B. BERLINER (the late), 1878-1912.
	Rev. E. LEVINE, M.A., 1914-1915.
SHEPHERDS BUSH HEBREW CONGREGATION	Rev. I. ABRAMOVITCH, B.A., 1928-
STOKE NEWINGTON SYNAGOGUE	Rev. A. FELDMAN, B.A., 1899-1902.
	Rabbi H. COHEN, 1903-
SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE SYNAGOGUE	Rev. S. DE SOLA (the late).
	Mr. J. PEREIRA-MENDOZA (Assistant), 1911-1915.
BERKELEY STREET SYNAGOGUE	Rev. I. HARRIS, M.A. (the late), 1881-1925.
	Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH (the late), 1893-1923.
WESTERN SYNAGOGUE	Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN (the late).
	Rev. G. FRIEDLÄNDER (the late), 1897-1923.
	Rev. A. BARNETT, 1924-
NORTH-WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE	Mr. S. FRIEDMAN.
	Rev. J. FRIEDLÄNDER.
	Rev. W. ESTERSON.
	Rev. W. LEVIN, 1899-1903.
	Rev. B. N. MICHAELSON, B.A., 1909-1911.
	Rev. E. DRUKKER, B.A., 1911-1915.
	Mr. S. MESTEL, 1915-1917.

B. PROVINCIAL

ALDERSHOT SYNAGOGUE	Rev. M. I. COHEN, B.A.
	Rev. R. TRIBICH.
	Rev. A. LEVY.
	Mr. D. MANN, M.A.
	Mr. J. K. LEVIN, B.A.
	Mr. S. PLASKOW.
	Mr. I. LIVINGSTONE.
	Mr. A. BARNETT.
BIRMINGHAM HEBREW CONGREGATION	Rev. A. COHEN, B.A., 1913-
	Mr. S. I. SOLOMON, B.A., 1927-
BLACKPOOL SYNAGOGUE	Rev. L. WEIWOW, B.A., 1918-1922.

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BRADFORD HEBREW CONGREGATION	Rev. R. TRIBICH, 1902-
	Mr. I. LIVINGSTONE, 1909-1916.
	Rev. J. RABINOWITZ, B.A., 1916-1918.
	Rev. I. ISRAELSTAM, B.A., 1920.
BRIGHTON SYNAGOGUE	Rev. G. LIPKIND, B.A. (Assistant Minister), 1898-1911.
	Rev. B. LIEBERMANN, B.A., 1915-1930.
	Rev. L. WEIWOW, B.A., 1917-1918.
	Rev. I. FABRICANT, 1930-
BRISTOL SYNAGOGUE	Rev. B. BERLINER (the late).
	Rev. JOSEPH LEVY, B.A.
	Rev. M. HYAMSON, B.A., 1891-1892.
	Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A., 1893-
	Rev. J. ABELSON, B.A., 1899-1907.
	Rev. H. GOODMAN, 1907-1919.
	Rev. A. BARNETT, B.A., 1919-1924.
	Rev. S. MESTEL, 1919-1920.
CARDIFF SYNAGOGUE	Rev. J. H. LANDAU.
	Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A., 1891-1895.
	Rev. J. ABELSON, B.A., 1896-1899.
	Rev. P. WOLFERS.
CARDIFF NEW SYNAGOGUE	Rev. Dr. J. ABELSON, M.A., D.Lit., 1918-1920.
DUBLIN SYNAGOGUE	Rev. F. L. COHEN, 1885-1886.
	Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A.
GLASGOW SYNAGOGUE	Rev. E. P. PHILLIPS.
	Rev. L. MORRIS, B.A. (Assistant Minister), 1915-1916.
HANLEY SYNAGOGUE	Rev. M. ROSENBAUM, 1893-1894.
	Rev. M. BENSLEY, 1901-1905.
	Rev. H. GOODMAN, 1905-1907.
HARROGATE, HEBREW CONGREGATION	Rev. E. COHEN, B.A., 1918-
HULL, WESTERN SYNAGOGUE	Rev. S. GROSS, B.A. (the late), 1914-1920.
	Rev. D. HIRSCH, B.A., 1931-
LEEDS SYNAGOGUE	Rev. M. ABRAHAM, B.A. (the late).
	Rev. Dr. J. ABELSON, B.A., 1920-
LEICESTER SYNAGOGUE	Rev. A. CHODOWSKI, 1888-
LIVERPOOL (OLD SYNAGOGUE)	Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH (the late), 1874-1882.
	Rev. J. POLACK, B.A., 1881-1890.
	Rev. JOHN S. HARRIS, 1894-1916.
LIVERPOOL (HOPE PLACE SYNAGOGUE)	Rev. S. A. ADLER (the late), 1901-1904.
MANCHESTER (PORTUGUESE) SYNAGOGUE	Rev. J. H. VALENTINE.
MANCHESTER (HIGHER BROUGH-TON) SYNAGOGUE	Rev. A. COHEN, B.A., 1909-1913.
	Rev. B. LIEBERMANN, B.A., 1914-1915.
	Rev. J. RABINOWITZ, B.A., 1915-1925.
	Rev. S. M. LEHRMANN, B.A., 1926-
MANCHESTER (SOUTH) SYNAGOGUE	Rev. Dr. H. GOLLANCZ, 1882-1885.
	Rev. L. WEIWOW, B.A., 1922.
MANCHESTER (WITHINGTON) SEPHARDI CONGREGATION	Mr. J. PEREIRA MENDOZA, 1915-

JEWS' COLLEGE

MANCHESTER CONGREGATION OF BRITISH JEWS...	...	Rev. A. WOLF, M.A., D.Lit., 1900-
MERTHYR SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. H. COHEN.
MIDDLESBRO' SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. I. ISRAELSTAM, B.A., 1917-1920.
	...	Rev. M. E. DAVIS, 1888-
	...	Rev. W. HIRSCHOWITZ, B.A., 1913-1920.
	...	Rabbi I. EPSTEIN, 1920-1928.
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. L. MENDELSON, B.A.
	...	Rev. M. ROSENBAUM, 1894-1905.
	...	Rev. B. N. MICHAELSON, B.A., 1905-1909.
NEWPORT, MON., SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. E. DRUKKER, B.A., 1915-
	...	Rev. Z. LAWRENCE, 1896.
NOTTINGHAM SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. B. N. MICHAELSON, B.A., 1900-1902.
	...	Rev. H. COHEN, 1890-1903.
	...	Rev. M. SIMON, B.A., 1909.
	...	Rev. S. MESTEL, B.A., 1919-1923.
OXFORD SYNAGOGUE	...	Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M.A.
PORTSEA SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. B. LIEBERMANN, B.A., 1910-1914.
RAMSGATE MONTEFIORE SE-	...	Rev. I. PHILLIPS.
PHARDI SYNAGOGUE	...	Mr. D. A. J. CARDOZO, B.A.
READING SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. S. A. ADLER (the late), 1901.
	...	Rev. R. TRIBICH, 1901-1902.
SHEFFIELD SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. A. A. GREEN, 1884-1888.
	...	Rabbi B. I. COHEN, B.A., 1908-
SOUTHEND AND WESTCLIFF SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. M. GOLLOP, B.A., 1913-1923.
SUNDERLAND SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. A. A. GREEN, 1888-1892.
	...	Rev. Z. LAWRENCE, 1896-1902.
SWANSEA SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. M. HYAMSON, B.A., 1884-1891.
	...	Rev. P. WOLFERS.
	...	Rev. H. J. SANDHEIM, 1906-1913.
	...	Rev. M. WEINTROBE, 1930-
WOLVERHAMPTON SYNAGOGUE	...	Mr. I. AARONS.

C. OVERSEAS

BRISBANE (AUSTRALIA)	...	Rev. A. CHODOWSKI.
	...	Rev. B. N. MICHAELSON, B.A., 1902-1905.
	...	Rev. A. LEVY, 1910-1913.
CHRISTCHURCH (NEW ZEALAND) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. A. CHODOWSKI.
MELBOURNE (VICTORIA) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. J. ABRAHAMS, M.A., Ph.D., 1883-1925.
	...	Rabbi B. I. BRODIE, B.A., B.Litt. (Oxford), 1923-
	...	Rabbi S. MESTEL, M.A., 1923-1930.
ADELAIDE (S. AUSTRALIA) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. D. HIRSCH, B.A., 1925-1930.
PERTH (W. AUSTRALIA)	...	Rev. D. I. FREEDMAN, B.A., 1897-
ST. KILDA (VICTORIA) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. J. FRIEDLÄNDER, 1886-
	...	Rev. J. DANGLOW, M.A., 1905-

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SYDNEY (NEW SOUTH WALES) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. J. H. LANDAU.
	...	Rabbi F. L. COHEN, 1905-
MONTREAL (CANADA) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. H. J. SAMUEL (the late), 1925-1926.
TORONTO (CANADA) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. B. ELZAS, 1889-
	...	Rev. A. LAZARUS, B.A. (the late), 1893-
VICTORIA (BRITISH COLUMBIA) WINNIPEG (CANADA)	...	Rev. M. N. COHEN, 1900-
	...	Rev. J. K. LEVIN, B.A., 1907-
	...	Rev. H. J. SAMUEL (the late), 1914-1925.
BARBERTON (S. AFRICA) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. P. WOLFERS.
BLOEMFONTEIN (S. AFRICA)	...	Rev. Z. LAWRENCE, 1904-
BULUWAYO SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. M. I. COHEN, B.A., 1899-
DURBAN (S. AFRICA) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. A. LEVY, 1903-1910.
	...	Rev. E. I. LEVY, B.A., 1924-
JOHANNESBURG (S. AFRICA) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. P. WOLFERS.
	...	Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A., -1903.
	...	Rev. B. I. BECKMAN, B.A., 1925-1928.
KIMBERLEY (S. AFRICA) SYNAGOGUE...	...	Rev. A. ORNSTEIN (the late), 1884-1885.
PORT ELIZABETH (S. AFRICA) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B.A., 1895-
	...	Rev. A. LEVY, 1913-
PRETORIA	...	Rabbi W. HIRSCH, B.A., 1925.
DALLAS (TEXAS, U.S.) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. E. CHAPMAN, D.D.
NEW YORK (ORACH CHAYIM)	...	Rabbi M. HYAMSON, B.A., LL.D., 1913-
NEW YORK (SHEARITH ISRAEL)	...	Dr. D. DE SOLA POOL, B.A., Ph.D., 1907-
PHILADELPHIA (U.S.) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. LEMAN LEVY, B.A.
	...	Rev. J. H. LANDAU, 1906-1910.
PITTSBURG (U.S.) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. LEMAN LEVY, B.A.
PUEBLO, CAL., TEMPLE EMANUEL	...	Rev. M. N. A. COHEN.
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA (U.S.) SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. JOSEPH LEVY, B.A.
	...	Rev. B. ELZAS.
SAN FRANCISCO	...	Rev. J. NIETO, 1893-
SHANGHAI, CHINA	...	Rabbi W. HIRSCH, B.A., 1920-1925.
ST. LOUIS, MO. SYNAGOGUE	...	Rev. G. LIPKIND, B.A., 1911-

HEAD MASTERS OF, LECTURERS OR TEACHERS IN-

JEWS' COLLEGE	...	Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN (the late).
	...	Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH (the late).
	...	Rev. S. SINGER (the late).
	...	Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M.A. (the late).
	...	Rev. F. L. COHEN.
	...	DAYAN M. HYAMSON, B.A., LL.D.
	...	Rev. A. A. GREEN.
	...	Rev. H. GOLLANCZ, D.Lit.
	...	DAYAN A. FELDMAN, B.A.
	...	Rabbi I. EPSTEIN, Ph.D., D.Lit.
ARIA COLLEGE (PORTSEA)	...	Rev. Dr. J. ABELSON (Principal), 1907-1918.

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JEWS' FREE SCHOOL (Teachers' Classes)	Rev. MICHAEL ADLER, B.A. Rev. W. LEVIN.
JEWS' INFANT SCHOOLS (Teachers' Classes)	Rev. A. FELDMAN, B.A. Rev. JOSEPH SIMMONS. Rev. W. LEVIN.
BRISTOL UNIVERSITY — HEBREW LECTURER	Rev. J. POLACK, B.A.
CLIFTON COLLEGE	Rev. J. POLACK, B.A. (Master of the Jewish House), 1890-
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE — READER IN TALMUDIC AND RABBINIC LITERATURE	Dr. I. ABRAHAMS, M.A. (the late), 1902-1926.
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON — GOLDSMID PROFESSOR OF HEBREW	Rev. Prof. H. GOLLANCZ (the late), M.A., D.Lit., 1902-1924.
LECTURER IN PHILOSOPHY (LOGIC), Assistant Professor	Mr. A. WOLF, M.A., 1899-
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES — READER IN MODERN HEBREW	Mr. A. WOLF, M.A., D.Lit., 1908-
JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK — LECTURER IN THE CODES	Mr. I. WARTSKI, B.A.
DROPSIE COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A.	Rev. Dr. HYAMSON.
VON LÄMMELE SCHOOL AND ORPHAN ASYLUM, JERUSALEM	Dr. B. HALPER, B.A. (the late).
TEACHERS' TRAINING CLASSES (JEWISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION BOARD)	M. E. COHN (Head Master).
BALTIMORE JEWISH TRAINING COLLEGE	Rev. M. ADLER, B.A. Rev. A. LEVY. Rev. J. DANGLOW, B.A. Rev. H. M. LAZARUS, B.A. Rev. B. I. COHEN, B.A. Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M.A. Rev. A. FELDMAN, B.A. Rev. B. LIEBERMANN, B.A. Rev. W. LEVIN. Rev. S. LEVY, M.A. Rev. M. ROSENBAUM. Rabbi M. GOLLOP, B.A. Mr. J. H. TAYLOR, M.A.
CINCINNATI HEBREW UNION COLLEGE (PROFESSOR)	Dr. J. MANN, D.Lit. Dr. J. MANN, D.Lit.

Classes of the Jewish Religious Education Board and of the Synagogues in London and the Provinces.

SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

IV

FELLOWS OF JEWS' COLLEGE

(Instituted in 1883)

1896 SOLOMON LEVY, B.A.	1913 RABBI MENDELSON, M.A.
1898 ASHER FELDMAN, B.A.	1920 RABBI W. HIRSCH, B.A.
ABRAHAM WOLF, B.A.	1923 RABBI B. I. BRODIE, B.A., B.Litt. (Oxford).
1899 B. N. MICHAELSON, B.A.	RABBI S. GROSS, B.A. (the late).
1900 MICHAEL ADLER, M.A.	1924 RABBI M. GOLLOP, B.A.
1901 MAURICE SIMON, B.A.	1926 RABBI S. MESTEL, M.A.
1908 RABBI B. I. COHEN, B.A.	
RABBI H. M. LAZARUS, B.A.	

ASSOCIATES OF JEWS' COLLEGE

(Instituted in 1883)

1883 MOSES HYAMSON, B.A.	1898 MAURICE SIMON, B.A.
B. SAUL, B.A.	M. I. COHEN, B.A.
1887 A. KENNER, B.A.	1901 HENRY SNOWMAN, B.A.
D. WASSERZUG, B.A.	1902 J. K. LEVIN.
1888 L. MENDELSON, B.A.	1903 BARNETT I. COHEN.
MICHAEL ADLER, B.A.	ISRAEL COHEN.
BARNETT ELZAS	J. DANGLOW.
1889 J. F. STERN.	D. MANCHEVSKY, B.A.
1891 D. WASSERZUG, B.A.	1908 I. STATMAN, B.A.
1892 A. LAZARUS, B.A.	1910 B. LIEBERMANN, B.A.
S. LEVY.	1912 E. DRUKKER, B.A.
S. GELBERG.	L. MORRIS, B.A.
JACOB H. LANDAU.	1915 JACOB MANN, M.A., D.Lit.
1893 ASHER FELDMAN.	1919 S. MESTEL, M.A.
J. ABELSON.	E. M. LEVY, B.A.
1894 B. N. MICHAELSON.	1923 B. I. BECKMAN, B.A.
GERALD FRIEDLÄNDER.	1924 S. M. LEHRMANN, B.A.
1895 ABRAHAM WOLF.	

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